

ing the alcohol contents of any drink above one-half of 1 per cent; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

2184. Also, petition of Mr. F. T. Perchen and other citizens of Minneapolis, urging support of drastic restriction of immigration and placing quota upon 1890 census basis; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

2185. Also, petition of J. G. Dill and other citizens of Minneapolis, urging support of drastic restriction of immigration legislation and use of 1890 basis for quota; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

2186. Also, petition of Mr. F. B. Matlach on behalf of the Western Bohemian Fraternal Association of St. Paul, protesting registration of aliens and basing immigration quota upon 1890 census; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

2187. Also, petition by the Soo Line Shop Employees' Association, of Minneapolis, opposing any act or legislation that will tend to hamper or interfere in the efforts of the railroad managements toward efficient and economical operation of railroads; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

2188. Also, petition of Mr. Erick S. Dahlberg and numerous citizens of Minneapolis, indorsing the Sterling-Reed educational bill and Johnson immigration bill; to the Committees on Education and Immigration and Naturalization.

2189. By Mr. O'CONNELL of Rhode Island: Petition of American citizens of Ukrainian descent of Providence, R. I., appealing to the President and to the Congress of the United States urging their best efforts for the release of the Ukrainian political prisoners; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

2190. By Mr. PATTERSON: Petition of numerous residents of Elmer, Salem County, N. J., urging passage of the immigration bill now before the House; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

2191. Also, petition of 930 residents of Gloucester County, N. J., favoring the immigration bill now before the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

2192. By Mr. ROUSE: Petition signed by 1,468 citizens of Boone, Campbell, and Kenton Counties, in the State of Kentucky, indorsing the immigration bill; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

2193. By Mr. STES: Petition of citizens of the nineteenth district of Pennsylvania, urging legislation for the drastic restriction of immigration, and that the 1890 census be used as a quota basis, or that immigration be completely restricted until January 1, 1930; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

2194. Also, memorial of Star of America Commandery, No. 113, Knights of Malta, Harrisburg, Pa., urging the passage of an immigration restriction law with the 1890 census as a quota basis; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

2195. Also, resolution of Fort Hunter Council, No. 596, Fraternal Patriotic Americans, Fort Hunter, Pa., indorsing restricted immigration as proposed in the Johnson immigration bill; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

2196. By Mr. VARE: Petition of the city council of the city of Philadelphia, asking the passage of legislation to return certain taxes illegally collected by the Treasurer of the United States from the City of Philadelphia; to the Committee on Claims.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SATURDAY, April 5, 1924

The House met at 11 o'clock a. m.

The Rev. Walter A. Morgan offered the following prayer:

May we pause for a moment, O God, before we enter upon the work of this day to remember that back of us, and long before we were born and working through us for great goals, is the eternal Spirit of God. May we shape our lives, we beseech Thee, in conformity with Thy will and may we so live as Americans that through us the eternal purposes may be carried nearer and ever nearer to the Kingdom of God. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

### CORRECTION OF REPORT

Mr. SHREVE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to correct the report on H. R. 8350. Inadvertently there was an error in the statements about the 1924 appropriations and the 1925 estimates for the Department of Commerce. It does the Department of Commerce, and especially the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, a great injustice, and I would like to have this permission.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania asks unanimous consent to correct the report on H. R. 8350. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Crockett, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

S. 2573. An act to amend and reenact sections 20, 22, and 50 of the act of March 2, 1917, entitled "An act to provide a civil government for Porto Rico, and for other purposes."

### SENATE BILL REFERRED

Under clause 2, Rule XXIV, Senate bill of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and referred to its appropriate committee, as indicated below:

S. 2573. An act to amend and reenact sections 20, 22, and 50 of the act of March 2, 1917, entitled "An act to provide a civil government for Porto Rico, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

### SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER. The Chair designates the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLLIER] to act as Speaker pro tempore at the memorial exercises for the late Mr. HUMPHREYS, of Mississippi, on Sunday, April 6, 1924.

### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. ASWELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that at the close of debate on the rule I be permitted to speak one hour for the purpose of reporting my trip to Europe with Secretary of Labor Davis with reference to immigration and with special reference to this bill.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Louisiana asks unanimous consent to address the House for one hour at the close of debate on the rule with reference to immigration. Is there objection?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I wish the gentleman from Louisiana would wait until we have passed the rule, and then see what arrangement can be made with the gentleman from California [Mr. RAKER] and myself by which we might be able to give him at least 30 minutes.

Mr. ASWELL. I will not accept 30 minutes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I doubt whether I can secure more than 25 minutes for myself.

Mr. ASWELL. I have made this request because I did not want to interfere with the gentleman in having all the time he needs.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Gentlemen want this bill passed and it will take us until next Saturday, driving as hard as we can, to pass it, with the two or three days that are to come out for other business.

Mr. ASWELL. I will suggest to the gentleman that he will economize time by granting my request.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I need an hour to explain this bill.

Mr. ASWELL. I will vote for the gentleman to have an hour.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. If I can arrange with the gentleman from California [Mr. RAKER] to give the gentleman 30 minutes, would not that be satisfactory?

Mr. ASWELL. I have talked with the gentleman from California and the gentleman from Washington and they say they need all the time that has been assigned to this subject, and while it embarrasses me to intrude upon the chairman of the committee, I decline to accept 30 minutes.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Reserving the right to object, the time has been allotted for the discussion of this bill, and, I understand, equally divided between those in favor of it and those opposing the bill.

Mr. ASWELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Yes.

Mr. ASWELL. I recognize that, and that is the reason I am asking for an additional hour.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. But that would give an additional hour to the side supporting the bill, and I do not think that is fair.

Mr. ASWELL. I am willing for the gentleman to have another hour.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. If that can be coupled with the gentleman's request, it will be all right with me.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. In that case I shall have to object.

Mr. ASWELL. I want to notify the gentleman that there will be more than an hour wasted. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order of no quorum.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Louisiana makes the point of order that a quorum is not present. It is evident there is not a quorum present.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

Aldrich	Fish	Lindsay	Sears, Fla.
Anderson	Frear	Lineberger	Sinclair
Bacharach	Fredericks	Linthicum	Snyder
Barkley	Freeman	Lowrey	Sproul, Ill.
Beers	French	Luce	Sproul, Kans.
Bland	Funk	McClintic	Strong, Pa.
Boylan	Gallivan	McDuffie	Sullivan
Brand, Ohio	Garber	McFadden	Sweet
Brand, Ga.	Geran	McNulty	Swoope
Britten	Gifford	McSwain	Taber
Browne, N. J.	Glatfelter	Magee, Pa.	Taylor, Colo.
Browne, Wis.	Goldsborough	Michaelson	Tydings
Brumm	Graham, Pa.	Miller, Ill.	Upshaw
Burdick	Graham, Ill.	Mills	Vare
Butler	Green, Iowa	Montague	Ward, N. Y.
Carew	Greene, Mass.	Mooney	Ward, N. C.
Christopherson	Griffin	Moore, Ill.	Wason
Clancy	Haugen	Morgan	Watres
Clark, Fla.	Hawes	Morin	Watson
Cleary	Hill, Md.	Mudd	Wefald
Cole, Ohio	Howard, Okla.	Murphy	Weller
Connolly, Pa.	Hull, Tenn.	Nelson, Me.	Welsh
Corning	Hull, Morton D.	Newton, Mo.	Wertz
Cramton	Hull, William E.	O'Brien	White, Me.
Croll	Johnson, S. Dak.	O'Connor, La.	Williams, Mich.
Crowthier	Jost	Paige	Williams, Ill.
Cummings	Kahn	Phillips	Winslow
Curry	Kendall	Prall	Wood
Deal	Kent	Quayle	Woodrum
Dempsey	Kiess	Ragon	Wright
Denison	Kindred	Rathbone	Wyant
Doyle	Knutson	Reed, N. Y.	Yates
Drane	Kopp	Reed, W. Va.	Young
Drewry	Kurtz	Romjue	Zihlman
Eagan	Langley	Rosenbloom	
Edmonds	Lee, Ga.	Salmon	
Evans, Mont.	Lilly		

The SPEAKER. Two hundred and eighty-five Members have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I move to dispense with further proceedings under the call.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

IMMIGRATION BILL.

Mr. HUDSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record on H. R. 7995, the immigration bill.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Michigan asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the Record on the immigration bill. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. HUDSON. Mr. Speaker, it is my desire to discuss briefly the matter of immigration, owing to the pending bill H. R. 7995. Immigration is not a new thing. It is as old as the human race. Races, tribes, and families have left their ancestral homes and made new nations, blotting out old cultures, and absorbing or being absorbed by other peoples. History is repeating itself in this land of ours. The pressing question before us is, Shall the result be the absorption of immigration by this Nation or shall this Nation be absorbed by the immigrant? This question is very fundamental to our national life and national existence. For three centuries old Europe has been depopulating herself in response to the urge of greater economic opportunity. America has been the pot of gold at the foot of the rainbow of promise. For two and a half centuries these seekers of better conditions came almost exclusively from the north and west of Europe, from races of Nordic stock, the British Isles, the Scandinavian lands, and Germany. About 1890 the tide turned to the people of southern Europe, middle Europe, and the Near East. By 1914 the predominant immigration was from those lands, so that to-day of the 33,000,000 persons in this country of foreign birth or with one or both parents of foreign birth the great majority are of Italian or Slavic stock.

The attitude of America toward the question of immigration in the past has been one largely of complacency and toleration. We took great pride in calling our land "the great melting pot" of the world, we called our Nation the haven of refuge for the oppressed and distressed of all races and nations of the earth.

The early years called for settlers in the great free lands of the ever-extending West. We wanted settlers and took no particular thought of whence they came. That was true up to early in 1895. Then our industries began to expand

rapidly. We wanted men for our mines, our mills, our factories. For 20 years this development was most rapid and the demand for artisans, as well as unskilled laborers, by the captains of industry called for wide-open doors for the immigrant. They were not content to let the flow of immigration, however, as in the early years, be dependent upon those who sought our shores because of their desire to have our land their land, our faith their faith, our ideals their ideals, but through organized agencies sought to stimulate immigration beyond the normal. It was a policy shaped by large contractors and large industrial corporations and steamship companies. The tide became a flood, a deluge, a devastation. Still we went on expanding, enlarging, bringing in more and more of contract labor heedless of a day of reckoning. Here and there a voice was raised as of a prophet crying in the wilderness, but except for the protest of organized labor no insistent warning voice was raised. That protest was only against contract labor and had no relation to the finer aspect of the perpetuity of the traditions and institutions of the Nation. In 1914 the only limit was the capacity of the steamship companies and the aid that could be extended by the immigrant already here to his friends and relatives back in the old land. Not until 1917 did we pass any real restrictive legislation. That was the illiteracy test.

Then came the World War and the conditions arising from it. These conditions brought to a sharp focus the problem that confronted us in this question of immigration, a problem that had given every thoughtful American alarm for half a century. The certainty was that the immigrants of the immediate future at least would be the hordes of eastern and southern Europe, with miscellaneous Asiatics, fleeing from the ruin and devastation of the war. That meant the turning over of the Nation and its destinies to a helpless heterogeneous mass, with our national ideals and institutions thrown into discord. Prompt, decisive action was called for, and the new policy of America in the matter of immigration was enacted. History will record it as one of the greatest achievements of the domestic policies of the Republican administration under the leadership of President Harding.

The question now to-day before us is, Shall we continue in that wise policy, even to the further strengthening of the policy, or shall we modify the law by lifting some of its provisions? For one, I desire to be recorded as an advocate of not only defending the present policy, but, indeed, of urging still greater restrictions.

Early migration involved a certain degree of ambition, independence, courage, energy, and forethought, all those characteristics which are required in the individual who forsakes the known for the unknown. But all this is a thing of the past. To a host of them the change is no greater than to go to the next village in their native land; perhaps less so, for as likely as not as many of their friends and relatives are awaiting them in the new country as are lamenting them in the old. Neither is the voyage, bad as it is, beset with the uncertainties, hardships, and perils which used to characterize it. The way is cleared for the travelers at every step. Never in the history of our country has artificially stimulated immigration formed so large a part of the whole as now. There is nothing in the modern conditions of immigration which serves as a guaranty of high quality in the immigrant.

I repeat that the present conditions give us no guaranty of desirable qualities of the incoming immigrant whom we are asked to take into our national life. May I quote, as my definition for "desirable," Marcus Eli Ravage, who writes: "What America means by desirable is no question of superiority. The word does not mean anything. The definition of a desirable immigrant is: A person who can with the least expenditure of time and trouble be made into an American."

A law restricting immigration to meet labor conditions is necessary. The proposed legislation offered by the Committee on Immigration aims to do this. The early distinction between the Republican and Democratic Parties was their attitude toward labor. The Republicans favored free labor; the Democrats slave labor. The first was high priced; the latter cheap. Since the Civil War public opinion has continued to favor well-paid labor. A policy of unrestricted immigration would flood the country with cheap labor. It would encourage an attitude of considering manual labor as menial labor. This attitude is all too prevalent, as evidenced by the preference for white-collar jobs. The demand on the part of certain great lines of industry that the restriction be removed in order that they may have an abundance of cheap labor is a short-sighted policy. What is the thought? Simply immediate profits; and if so, is the theory correct? Can cheap labor have the purchasing

power of adequately paid labor? Is cheap labor as productive as skilled labor? It is the age of machinery skillfully handled, rather than brawn without brains. But, after all, shall not our industrial leaders think of posterity and the perpetuity of the Nation? I believe they do and will continue to do so even more intently. The preservation of this great Republic of ours, with its great ideals, is the imperative matter at hand.

One of the great things that we need is the readjustment or distribution of the common labor that we have. There are to-day 150,000 more men engaged in mining than can be profitably employed there at a full-time employment. This condition gives rise to hardship for the miners and high prices for the consumer, who must pay for men to lie idle six months of the year, even though it may be at an inadequate income. Yet the operators of the same mines would have the law weakened in order to secure still more cheap help.

Everywhere we find that the efficiency of common labor is up to the pre-war level, but that the efficiency of skilled labor depends entirely on the supply and demand. The whole United States seems to be short of plasterers, for the simple reason, however, that the unions have not allowed others to join, thus making it necessary, when union labor controls building enterprises, for contractors to pay exorbitant prices for laborers. Because the 38,000 plasterers of the Nation have limited their number is no reason why we should let down the immigration bars and flood the country with more millions of aliens in the hope we might get a few plasterers; rather, let the union admit into their number a few of the thousands that want to join. Another place where we have labor shortage is on the farm, but the average farmer gets little help from the present sources of immigration. The orientals that would flock into our western lands would not help out American farm owners. Of all foreign born gainfully employed in the United States, only 12 per cent are in agriculture, and those are all practically working for themselves. The National Grange has gone on record many times in declaring that they are opposed to proposals which would bring about a general influx of immigrants of race and traditions radically differing from American standards.

The Constitution of the United States acknowledges the right of human beings to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Unrestricted immigration, while bringing happiness to some individuals because of the admission of members of families—which can usually be secured anyway—would work a hardship on those foreign born already here by removing or making more difficult economic advancement, by keeping their standard of living to the present level, and because of their very numbers keeping them from becoming acquainted with American institutions and ideals.

Now, to-day we are thinking of the new problem that confronts us, not so much a problem of the past as of the future. The old theory of "no bars" was that in the atmosphere of America we could make full-fledged Americans out of any and all racial groups.

All we needed to do was to let them see the flag, put their children in the public school, teach them to speak English, and the miracle was performed. We have become sadly disillusioned. The "melting pot" has proved to be a myth. We are slowly awakening to the consciousness that education and environment do not fundamentally alter racial values. To-day we face the serious problem of the maintenance of our historic republican institutions. Now, what do we find in all our large cities? Entire sections containing a population incapable of understanding our institutions, with no comprehension of our national ideals, and for the most part incapable of speaking the English language. Foreign language information service gives evidence that many southern Europeans resent as an unjust discrimination the quota laws and represent America as showing race hatred and unmindful of its mission to the world. The reverse is true. America's first duty is to those already within her own shores. An unrestricted immigration policy would work an injustice to all, which would fall hardest on those least able to combat.

George Washington in his Farewell Address said:

Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affection \* \* \* with slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles.

Washington observed—  
slight shades of difference.

But to-day we see huge masses of non-American-minded individuals, living in colonies or ghettos, or even cities and counties of their own. Here they perpetuate their racial mind-

edness, their racial character, and their racial habits. Here they speak their own tongue, read their own newspapers, maintain their separate educational system. Mr. Gino Speranza gives us the following statistics:

In 1920, out of a white population of about 95,000,000, nearly 14,000,000 were born in 45 different foreign countries and 23,000,000 more were of foreign or half-foreign parentage. These 14,000,000 foreign born, as part of more than 34,000,000 of aliens officially admitted into the United States from all countries since 1820, are supporting and reading 1,052 papers in more than 30 different languages, varying from Arabic to Yiddish, from Albanian to Welsh.

Add to the number of these people, who get their news and views from the foreign-language press, the million and three quarters of illiterates among the 14,000,000 foreign born under the 1920 census and you will get a glimpse of how far we have strayed from Washington's democratic homogeneity of manners and habits of life.

You will find that in a single block in New York City 18 different languages are spoken and that one public school in that city harbors children of 26 different nationalities.

In social Newport, R. I., you will find a large colony of Greeks, mostly from the island of Xanthes, whose local "king" can boast of the unchallenged allegiance also of the Xanthias in the large Greek colony at Tarpon Springs, Fla.

In the progressive State of Michigan one school principal writes that in his small rural jurisdiction, of 306 children enrolled only 97 speak English at home.

Not long ago the Milwaukee (Wis.) Journal quoted with approval, in reference to its own State, from a leading magazine that—

it is not hard to find communities in this country in which the English language is to the inhabitants a foreign tongue, and in which habits of thought and conduct are widely variant from those of neighboring communities.

These differentiating elements, moreover, through large accretions in their number tend more and more to cohere. They not only become more difficult of absorption because of their increasing bulk but they solidify their differences, and thereby actually obstruct and resist the process of absorption.

And we must recognize the danger in the fact that we have armed these heterogeneous American stocks with a political weapon which many of them are congenitally unfit to use, and clothed legions of them by legislative fiat with an "equality" which flies in the face of nature and their history.

Respect for and observance of law have become a byword and a hissing in certain sections of our land, though, and because of the vast numbers of the population that neither understand nor sympathize with American ideals and institutions. Granted citizenship without qualifications and given the right thus to sit on jury panels, they threaten the very foundation of our legal system. Much of our lax law enforcement and disregard for the law itself can be traced to these causes. In fact, let us bear in mind that the ultimate enforcement of law rests upon the jury box. When it takes only a brief residence in this country and the most simple tests in the veneer of "Americanization" to make the rawest recruit in immigration entitled to sit in judgment as a "peer" in an American jury, one can readily sense the great menace to all law:

This American democracy of ours is not merely a form of government, but primarily a social and a spiritual community, closely knit together by sentiment, tradition, interest, and aspiration. It is possessed of a common consciousness, a general will.

The fight to-day for restricted immigration is the fight of patriotism that runs parallel with the hearths of American homes and the altars of American ideals and the foundations of American institutions.

We have let in or enticed within our land innumerable people who have had no training or race inheritance in self-government and with ideals far below ours. Our American race, the race that made the Nation what it is, is now almost swamped. The present battle will decide whether Americanism shall be effaced from our land or whether it shall be permitted to expand and develop to the freedom and blessing of the human race. It is an epoch-making struggle.

#### IMMIGRATION

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker. I call up a privileged resolution, H. Res. 236, from the Committee on Rules, and pending that I desire to prefer a unanimous-consent request. I ask unanimous consent that the debate on the rule may be limited to two hours, one half to be controlled by the gentleman from New York [Mr. O'CONNOR] and the other half by myself, and that

at the end of the general debate the previous question be considered as ordered on the resolution.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SNELL. I yield.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Does not the gentleman think he should add that the debate shall be confined to the bill?

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, I include that in my request, if that is necessary.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent that there be two hours of debate on the rule, one-half to be controlled by himself and one-half by the gentleman from New York [Mr. O'CONNOR], and at the end of the two hours the previous question be considered as ordered.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to make this statement to the House. In view of the pressure for time for debate on this question and in view of the fact that the rule limits the debate on the bill to eight hours, I suggested to the gentleman from New York [Mr. SNELL] that we endeavor to accommodate a few Members by having two hours' debate on the rule, and stated to him that so far as I was concerned—and I may say that this occurred in an open meeting of the Committee on Rules and all the members of the Committee on Rules were agreeable to it—there would be no objection to the previous question being considered as ordered. We do that in order to get an extension of time for debate on the rule.

Mr. SNELL. That is exactly the understanding.

Mr. ASWELL. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to couple with that request that at the end of the two hours I be granted one hour to make a report of my trip to Europe with Secretary of Labor Davis.

Mr. SNELL. I would not want to include that with my original request at this time.

Mr. ASWELL. You will save time by it.

Mr. SNELL. I would like to say to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT] that perhaps we might arrange for an evening session Tuesday evening of two, or even three hours, for people on general debate.

Mr. ASWELL. What people?

Mr. SNELL. Have it divided equally among those in favor and those opposed to the bill. That is the way we always divide the time.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. It will be a part of the general debate.

Mr. SNELL. Yes; part of the general debate.

Mr. LONGWORTH. That would be an additional three hours to be consumed on some evening, perhaps Tuesday evening?

Mr. SNELL. I think probably Tuesday evening would be the most convenient evening.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I very much hope that can be arranged. It will accommodate a number of Members.

Mr. SNELL. I would be willing to do that and give three hours extra time for general debate, to be controlled in the same way as the other time for general debate.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, will the gentleman permit a suggestion? Instead of convening at 8 o'clock and running until 11 o'clock, why should we not continue the debate without adjournment on some day?

Mr. SNELL. I have no objection to either one, so far as I am personally concerned.

Mr. ASWELL. Will I get an hour in that way?

Mr. SNELL. As I explained to the gentleman, personally I do not control the time of general debate, and I do not know which side the gentleman is on. I presume he could arrange for an hour with the people who have control of the time.

Mr. ASWELL. Could not that be arranged now?

Mr. SNELL. So far as I am concerned, I have nothing to do with that. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH] and the gentleman from Washington [Mr. JOHNSON] control the time, I believe, under the rules.

Mr. ASWELL. I would like to have that settled now. I want an hour.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, I have done everything I possibly can to accommodate the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. ASWELL] and the other people who want additional time. I do not know of anything more that can be done, and if that is not satisfactory, I will present the rule and take the usual hour and let the House vote whether they want additional time or not. [Applause.] It seems to me I have made a fair proposition to all sides. [Applause.]

Mr. ASWELL. That kind of threat does not get anywhere with me.

Mr. SNELL. It is not a threat. We just want to do business.

Mr. ASWELL. I am making a reasonable request, and I would like to know about it.

Mr. SNELL. I have gone as far as I possibly can. I will ask unanimous consent to get three hours' additional time for debate, and of course one-half of it will be controlled by one side and one-half by the other.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask for the regular order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent that there be two hours' debate on the rule, one-half to be controlled by himself and one-half by the gentleman from New York [Mr. O'CONNOR], and at the end of that time the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the rule.

Mr. SNELL. And it is understood the general debate will be confined to the bill.

The SPEAKER. The general debate to be confined to the bill. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House concludes its session Tuesday afternoon it shall recess to meet at 8 o'clock Tuesday evening and continue in session until not later than 11 o'clock for general debate on the immigration bill, which will close the general debate.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, does the gentleman mean we should proceed under the rule providing for eight hours' debate in the evening session?

Mr. SNELL. This will be additional time, to be equally divided between those favoring and those opposing the bill.

Mr. SABATH. This is additional time?

Mr. SNELL. Yes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent that on Tuesday afternoon the House shall take a recess to meet at 8 o'clock Tuesday evening and continue not later than 11 o'clock on general debate, and that when the House adjourns that evening the general debate shall be concluded. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, I present the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

#### House Resolution 236

*Resolved*, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of H. R. 7995, a bill to limit the immigration of aliens into the United States, and for other purposes. General debate on said bill shall be limited to eight hours, one-half to be controlled by the gentleman from Washington, Mr. JOHNSON, and one-half by the gentleman from Illinois, Mr. SABATH. That the debate shall be confined to the bill. At the conclusion of the debate the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule, after which it shall be reported to the House and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill to final passage without intervening motion, except one motion to recommit.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, the present resolution, if adopted, simply provides for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 7995) to limit the immigration of aliens into the United States, and for other purposes. General debate, although provided in the rule to be limited to eight hours, has been somewhat modified by unanimous-consent requests. After general debate, the bill is to be considered under the general rules of the House as ordinarily is done.

The need for considering this legislation at this time is this: The original immigration act of 1921, as amended by the act of 1922, and commonly known as the restricted 3 per cent law, expires on June 30, 1924, and it is absolutely necessary to protect ourselves that some legislation of this character shall be considered at this time. We are definitely informed by our consular representatives and all people representing us in foreign countries that there is a great migratory movement, and that most of these people desire, if possible, to come to the United States. Unless we have more protection than is provided under the original immigration act of 1917 it will be impossible to protect our country from the hoard of foreign aliens that are now ready to come to America.

Furthermore, this legislation is really about the most important and far-reaching piece of legislation that will be presented to this House at this session because of its important bearing on the future development of the life and character of our own people.

Practically all of the people from foreign countries who want to emigrate from their own soil want to come to the United States. Considering the fact that they all want to

come here we are in a position to select the best class of people. I think it is incumbent upon this body at this time to enact an immigration law which will protect us at all times and get this best class of people.

I have had some experience with various classes and races of people, and I am not ready to say yet that any one class or any one race of people are all bad or all good. I personally believe that as far as it is possible we should make discrimination in the particular cases, individuals, rather than discrimination in classes or races. I believe that we should enact an immigration law which will bring to this country only those people that we ourselves believe are competent and able to become intelligent, honest, patriotic American citizens, and that is the kind of immigration bill I desire to see passed at this time. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time, and I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. VAILE].

Mr. VAILE. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, I have asked for time at the outset of the debate in order to get certain figures before the House for your early consideration.

The charge has been made many times on the floor of the House, it has been repeated from many a platform, and it has been broadcasted in the press, particularly in the foreign-language press of the United States and in many papers and magazines published in our large cities, in nearly all of which the population is chiefly of alien birth and parentage, that the pending immigration bill (H. R. 7995), commonly called the Johnson bill, is discriminatory against the people from southern and eastern Europe and in favor of the people from northern and western Europe.

The words used are generally "unfair discrimination" or "un-American discrimination."

It is my purpose to show that toward the very people who make this complaint the bill is fair to the point of extreme liberality, and that it exemplifies the American trait of self-sacrifice for the benefit of those who least appreciate it.

The charge of discrimination is made against the pending bill because of its proposal to change the base of the immigration quota percentage from the census of 1910 to the census of 1890. I admit, of course, that this change will make a very great shift in the proportion of our immigration which will be permitted to come from these two groups of countries. It is assumed by the opponents of this legislation that this constitutes a discrimination between these two groups and in favor of the northern and western group.

It is my purpose to convince the House that the exact contrary is the case, and that instead of constituting a discrimination the bill removes a present very heavy discrimination and puts these two groups of countries on a basis of substantial equality, such small discrimination as remains being still in favor of the southern and eastern group.

It is my purpose to demonstrate that those who oppose this bill on the alleged ground really demand the continuance and perpetuation of a very gross discrimination in favor of the countries of southern and eastern Europe, a discrimination against the countries of northern and western Europe, and, in effect, a discrimination against the United States.

I shall not discuss at length the right or the possible duty of the United States to actually and actively discriminate, though that might well be discussed.

The United States ought not to have to apologize for or explain any actual discrimination which it might think expedient for its own welfare and prosperity. Immigration, a matter going to the very lifeblood of the American people, is a matter to be decided in their interests and not in the interests of any other people or nation. [Applause.] If we were inclined to be so arbitrary, we would be well within our rights to decide that no immigrant should be admitted unless he was 6 feet 2 inches tall and had red hair.

The complaint which alleges discrimination against other countries in regard to the numbers of their people whom we shall admit necessarily rests upon some theory of the right of those countries that their nationals shall be admitted. Of course, we can concede no such right, however much we may be disposed to accord the privilege as a matter of grace or generosity or as a part of our domestic policy. It would seem, however, that our concessions in the past are regarded by many people, especially new arrivals from Europe, as establishing some actual right, equivalent almost to a constitutional guaranty, that more shall be admitted, and that they shall be admitted in this or that proportion from different countries.

It is difficult to imagine a principle more at variance with the fundamental obligation of an independent government to supervise the elements which are to make up its population. Such supervision must necessarily be a matter entirely of its own will. When it surrenders its will in this respect to the will of

some other people or nation or of any group of peoples or nations it surrenders its life.

My present argument, however, does not deal with that branch of the question. It assumes that in the exercise of our unquestioned right to determine our own immigration policy we desire to do nothing which could be construed as an arbitrary exercise of that right. It assumes that though we have the right to discriminate, and though we may some time be required to exercise that right, we intend to avoid anything that looks like discrimination at the present time, and that in reducing our total immigration we desire to distribute it with substantial equality of treatment to all countries.

The present law, our first numerical limitation of immigration, which has been in effect for three years, admits from any country—with certain exceptions not involved in this inquiry—3 per cent of the number of persons born in that country who were resident in the United States by the census of 1910. The total quota is 357,803.

The Johnson bill, now pending, proposes to admit from any country 2 per cent of the number of persons born in such country who were resident in the United States by the census of 1890, and, in addition, 100 from each country. The total proposed quota is 161,184.

Now, people who have come here from Italy, Rumania, Greece, Czechoslovakia, and other countries of southern and eastern Europe claim that this "discriminates" against their countrymen. Why? The answer is a complete refutation of their own argument. The "discrimination" lies in the fact that, as they themselves admit, the bulk of their immigration came after 1890, whereas the great bulk of immigration from northern and western Europe came before that year.

We would not want any immigrants at all unless we could hope that they would become assimilated to our language, customs, and institutions, unless they could blend thoroughly into our body politic. This would be admitted, I suppose, by the most radical opponent of immigration restriction. In fact, it is one of the stock arguments of these gentlemen that, although the immigrant himself may be assimilated slowly, his children, born here, become Americans in thought, action, speech, and character. That statement, often splendidly true, must nevertheless be accepted with many qualifications; but at least it is clear enough that the second generation will be assimilated quicker than the first—whatever may be the effect in many cases of such assimilation upon the United States. It would seem still clearer that the third and subsequent generations will be still more American than their predecessors.

It is also one of the stock arguments of the antirestrictionists that the immigrant has taken an important part in the building up of the country. Surely his children and grandchildren, both in numbers and in the quality of their work, have taken a still more important part.

Now, it seems rather illogical for gentlemen who vaunt the assimilability and the work of alien groups in our population to claim that those who have been for the shortest time in the process of assimilation and in the work of the Republic should have greater or even equal consideration because of this very newness. It would seem if those who came to the work at the eleventh hour are to have a penny, then at least those who have "borne the heat and burden of the day" should not be put off with a farthing.

It is a fact, not merely an argument, that this country was created, kept united, and developed—at least for more than a century of existence—almost entirely by people who came here from the countries of northern and western Europe. That people from southern and eastern Europe did not begin to come in large numbers until after 1890 certainly proves that those who came before them had built up a country desirable enough to attract these late comers.

Shall the countries which furnished those earlier arrivals be discriminated against for the very reason, forsooth, that they are represented here by from 2 to 10 generations of American citizens, whereas the others are largely represented by people who have not been here long enough to become citizens at all?

If there is a charge of "discrimination," the charge necessarily involves the idea that the proposed quota varies from some standard which is supposed to be not "discriminatory." What is that standard? From the arguments of those opposed to the bill it would appear that the census of 1910 is now regarded as not "discriminatory," or at least as less "discriminatory" than the census of 1890. It will be remembered that the census of 1910 was adopted as a base for emergency legislation, legislation not expected to be permanent, legislation not

claimed to be exact, but intended to answer the purpose of an urgently needed restriction of the total volume of immigration. It has answered that purpose fairly well, but with some unnecessary hardships obviated by the present bill. The number admitted under it, however, has been far too great, and it is now proposed to cut the quota more than one-half.

But it is not the cut in the total which is so bitterly complained of. It is the change in the proportions, and it is interesting to note that those who violently opposed the passage of the 3 per cent law now with equal violence demand the retention of its proportions in the present legislation. But at least we can say that it has not been in operation long enough to have become an established and inviolable principle of distribution if some more equitable basis could be devised.

It is submitted that the Immigration Committee might fairly have determined to disregard the claims of very recently arrived immigrants that they should be figured at all as a basis for the admission of others. Congress might reasonably say, "Your value to the United States may be proved. We hope it will be. But it has not yet been fully proved, and we prefer to base our quotas on groups whose value has been established through several generations. We will therefore endeavor to distribute immigration in proportion to the elements of our population as they existed a generation ago."

But the committee did nothing of the sort, and the use of the 1890 census proposes nothing of the sort. Whatever our inducement to question it, we did accept the new immigration at its full face value, and we said, "We will distribute immigration in proportion to the elements of our population as they exist to-day. We will give you full credit for your recent additions to our population on exactly the same basis as we credit the contributions which started nearly a century and a half ago."

It is submitted that this is the very height of liberality to those who with ungrateful clamor are now complaining that they are being discriminated against.

Now, let me emphasize that with the 1890 census as a base we do divide our future immigration, as nearly as it can be divided, in proportion to our present population—not our population in 1890 or any other period, but our population of to-day—that is, of 1920, our last census.

I have prepared and will insert in the Record at this point a table based on the book A Century of Population Growth, published in 1909, and on the calculations of Mr. John B. Trevor, of New York, from the figures given in that book. Mr. Trevor's calculations are printed in the appendix of the majority report on this bill.

I have also prepared a chart showing the general summary of these figures, and also the application of these figures to three countries, namely, the British Isles, Italy, and Poland.

Country of origin	Apportionment, as in 1790 census, of descendants in 1920 of persons arriving before 1820		Apportionment, as in 1890 census, of descendants in 1920 of persons arriving after 1820		Foreign stock by 1920 census—i. e., foreign born, plus native born of foreign parents, plus native born of mixed parents		White population of United States 1920, by country of origin of residents or their ancestors		Present quota		Proposed quota 2 per cent of 1890 plus 100 each country		
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Number
Albania, southeast			0.0024	286	0.032	10,875	0.01	11,161	0.08	288	0.06	104	
Armenia, southeast			.0105	1,250	.088	29,894	.03	31,144	.06	230	.07	117	
Austria, southeast			.6153	73,235	3.130	1,093,087	1.22	1,138,322	2.08	7,342	.68	1,090	
Belgium, northwest			.3162	37,635		122,686	.17	160,321	.44	1,563	.38	609	
Bulgaria, southeast					.050	20,045	.02	20,045	.08	302	.20	100	
Czechoslovakia, southeast			1.1643	138,679	1.988	675,215	.88	813,794	4.01	14,357	1.22	1,973	
Danzig, southeast			.1385	16,485	.041	13,991	.04	30,416	.08	301	.20	323	
Denmark, northwest			1.7292	205,816		467,525	.72	673,341	1.57	5,619	1.79	2,882	
Esthonia, southeast			.0634	7,546	.379	128,731	.14	130,277	.38	1,348	.12	202	
Finland, northwest			.0901	10,724		296,276	.33	307,000	1.10	3,921	.15	245	
Fiume, southeast			.0062	738	.031	10,534	.01	11,272		71	.07	110	
France, northwest	0.6	279,118	2.0414	242,976		1,181,987	1.87	1,704,080	1.60	5,729	2.47	3,978	
Germany, northwest	5.64	2,623,705	31.0343	3,693,818		7,259,992	14.68	13,577,510	18.92	67,607	28.09	45,239	
Great Britain and Ireland, northwest	01.00	42,332,836	39.3247	4,680,566		9,160,645	60.74	56,174,047	21.61	77,342	38.87	62,658	
Greece, southeast			.0175	2,083	.967	328,441	.35	330,524	.86	3,063	.08	135	
Hungary, southeast			.3032	36,088	2.180	740,427	.84	776,515	1.61	5,747	.36	588	
Iceland, northwest			.0223	2,654	.014	4,760		7,414		75	.08	136	
Italy, southeast			2.4172	287,704		3,336,941	3.52	3,624,645	11.75	42,057	2.91	4,689	
Latvia, southeast			.0727	8,653	.434	147,411	.17	156,064	.43	1,540	.13	217	
Lithuania, southeast			.1877	22,341	.741	251,682	.29	274,023	.73	2,629	.25	402	
Luxemburg, northwest			.0360	4,285		43,109	.05	47,394		92	.10	158	
Netherlands, northwest	2.5	1,162,990	1.0175	121,107		362,318	1.77	1,646,415	1.08	3,607	1.08	1,737	
Norway, northwest			4.0109	477,392		1,023,225	1.72	1,500,617	3.41	12,202	4.07	6,553	
Poland, southeast			5.5120	656,058	6.256	2,124,811	3.01	2,780,869	8.66	30,977	5.67	8,972	
Portugal, southeast			.2946	35,064		124,794	.18	168,858	.69	2,465	.36	574	
Rumania, southeast			.3922	46,681	.565	191,905	.26	238,586	2.07	7,419	.45	731	
Russia, southeast			1.1188	132,568	6.873	2,335,389	2.67	2,467,957	6.82	24,405	1.11	1,892	
Spain, southeast			.0770	9,166		77,947	.09	87,112	.25	912	.14	224	
Sweden, northwest	.26	120,951	5.9428	707,333		1,457,332	2.45	2,285,666	6.60	20,042	5.99	9,661	
Switzerland, northwest			1.2934	153,945		327,797	.52	481,742	1.05	3,732	1.35	2,181	
Yugoslavia, southeast			.4568	54,370	.932	316,564	.40	370,924	1.90	6,426	.51	835	
Other Europe, southeast			.0776	9,236	.033	11,213	.02	20,449		86		410	
Palestine			.0006	71	.018	6,119		6,190		57	.06	101	
Syria			.0074	881	.292	99,183	.11	100,064	.21	882	.07	112	
Turkey, southeast			.0138	1,643	.203	68,954	.08	70,597	.74	2,654	.07	123	
Other Asia			.0279	3,321	.030	10,196	.02	13,517		92	.10	280	
Africa			.0234	2,785	.028	9,515	.02	12,300	.02	104	.10	106	
Egypt			.0037	440	.005	1,704		2,144		18	.07	410	
Atlantic Islands			.0254	3,023	.244	82,873	.09	85,901	.08	121	.11	141	
Australia			.0745	8,867	.061	20,724	.03	29,591	.07	279	.07	229	
New Zealand			.0416	4,951	.022	7,473	.02	12,429		80	.10	167	
Total	100	46,519,600	100	11,902,357		33,964,280		92,386,237		357,803		161,184	

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?  
Mr. VAILE. Yes.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Will the gentleman tell us what stock has been here for several generations?

Mr. VAILE. I am about to explain what stock has been here for several generations, and how the figures used have been derived.

The Census Bureau has estimated that in 1900, 20 years before the last census, there were in the United States 35,000,000 people descended from the original stock enumerated by our First Census, taken in 1790. In order to estimate the

number of such people in our population in 1920 they have applied, for the period of two decades since 1900, the rates of the natural increase of the whole population as given by the census. That gives us 45,309,600 as the descendants here in 1920 of the people who were here in 1790.

In the 30 years since the First Census, which would take us to 1820, 100 years before the last census, our immigration was from the same sources as those which furnished our original population. The number of these persons is known and their increase to 1920 has been calculated, using the figures of natural increase of the population for each decade, at 1,210,000.

Adding this figure to the 45,309,600 gives us 46,519,600 as the number of people in our present (1920) population descended from the people who arrived prior to 1820.

Since those people who came between 1790 and 1820 were of the same racial stock as those who came before 1790, it has seemed fair to apportion their origin to different countries in the same way in which people were apportioned in 1790 by the First Census.

This would divide the 46,519,600 people as shown in column C of the table.

Now, a hundred years after 1820—that is to say, at the time of our last census—we had 58,421,957 native-born white persons of native parents. The difference between this figure and the figure last mentioned would obviously be the descendants of the people who arrived in this country after 1820. This difference is 11,902,357.

In apportioning this number of persons, nearly 12,000,000, to different countries we here make an assumption which seems to be justified by the sources of our immigration between 1820 and 1890. In 1880 the immigration from southern and eastern Europe rose for the first time to more than 11 per cent of the total, and it was not until the middle of the decade after 1890 that it first rose to as much as one-half of the total. The earlier arrivals, though fewer in numbers, have of course contributed relatively greater proportions through their descendants to the number of native born of native parents than the elements which entered since 1880. And so in making an estimate of the racial origin of these 12,000,000 people (about one-eighth of our total white population of to-day) it would seem more than fair to assume that their anterior sources were about the same as the sources of our foreign-born population of 1890. Even if inaccurate as a division between particular countries, yet as between the two main groups of countries this method would give no disadvantage to the countries of southern and eastern Europe.

The division as between particular countries is based on the apportionment made by the Bureau of the Census to correspond to divisions of countries since the World War. Of course, many of the countries named in the table did not exist under those names in 1890. In the following table the countries whose names are starred were either not counted as separate countries in 1890 or their boundaries have been changed, and consequently the numbers credited to these countries have been estimated by the Bureau of the Census, the intention being to apportion to the territory now included in the boundaries of the country named as nearly as possible the number of people originating in that territory under whatever name or sovereignty it formerly existed.

The apportionment of this not quite 12,000 people, about one-eighth of our present white population, is the only part of this computation which can not be determined with an approach to accuracy. Any possible error would not seriously affect the conclusions depicted in the table or in the chart, but it is confidently believed that any error due to the assumption that those people were contributed from different countries in about the same proportion as the foreign born who were here in 1890 will result in crediting southern and eastern Europe with a larger part of our population than those countries actually contributed. This division has accordingly been made, as shown in columns D and E of the table.

The number of persons of "foreign stock"—that is to say, persons born abroad or having one or both parents born abroad—in our present population is, of course, stated in the census. The numbers, by countries, and the percentage of each is set forth in columns F and G of the table.

The whole number of persons whose origin is attributed to each country, whether native or foreign born and whether of native or foreign or mixed parents, and whether descended from original colonists or from later arrivals, is set forth in column H. This column is believed to fairly represent the contribution which each country named has made to the total present white population of the United States.

To facilitate reference I have designated the countries referred to as "northern and western" countries by the letters "NW" following the name of the country, and the countries referred to as "southern and eastern" countries by the letters "SE."

Gentlemen, this chart is made to illustrate some of the principal results shown by the table.

You will notice that there are several sets of three columns each. The first set of three columns represents northern and western Europe. The first column in the first set—the red column—is the total racial stock contributed by the countries of northern and western Europe to our present or 1920 white population. The second column represents the percentage of

immigration which that group of countries is getting under the present bill, taking the census of 1910 as a base. The third column represents the percentage which those countries will get under the pending bill, the Johnson bill. This is based on the white population of the United States. That population is a little over 92,386,000 people. The red columns represent the percentage of racial stock in the present 1920 white population in the United States, including immigrants, descendants of immigrants, and descendants of original settlers.

And, similarly, the table shows, first, the percentage of our present population contributed by each country listed, including immigrants, descendants of immigrants, and descendants of original settlers. It shows the percentage of our present immigration which is permitted to come from each of those countries. And, finally, it shows the percentage of immigration which will be entitled to come from each of those countries under the provisions of the pending bill.

From an analysis of these figures it will appear, as is shown also by the chart, that the countries of northern and western Europe have contributed 85.02 per cent of our present white population (1920), and that under the present law they are entitled to only 56.33 per cent of our quota immigration, but that under the pending bill they will be entitled to 84.11 per cent of our annual quota immigration. In other words, for the last three years those countries have been having about two-thirds of their share of the immigration, while under the proposed quota they get within less than 1 per cent of their exact share.

On the other hand, the countries of southern and eastern Europe have furnished 14.62 per cent of our present—1920—white population, but under the present quota law those countries as a group are getting 44.64 per cent of our immigration. Under the proposed bill they will receive 1.88 per cent, which is about a quarter of 1 per cent more than their "share." This will graphically appear from the chart.

In the grouping of countries the following are treated as southern and eastern countries, namely: Albania, Armenia, Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the Free City of Danzig, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Russia, Spain, Yugoslavia, and "Other Europe."

The following are treated as northern and western countries, namely: Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain and Ireland, Iceland, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland.

Mr. JACOBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VAILE. Yes.

Mr. JACOBSTEIN. Under the present bill is it true that Germans will be permitted to come in in larger numbers?

Mr. VAILE. That is true.

Mr. JACOBSTEIN. Then, according to the figures of the gentleman's report, 45,000 Germans will be admitted. Forty-one thousand people from Great Britain and North Ireland will be admitted, and yet the gentleman states that most of the racial stock came from Great Britain.

Mr. VAILE. We admit from Great Britain and Ireland 62,000 people. In my table the stock from Great Britain and the whole of Ireland are grouped together. The gentleman is correct in concluding that the British Isles under our pending bill will receive less than their theoretical "share," as I have expressed it, and Germany will receive more.

Mr. JACOBSTEIN. Does not the gentleman think he is taking a rather artificial basis for calculating?

Mr. VAILE. It is not artificial between the groups of countries. I have said it is not possible to adopt a system exactly equal between all individual countries unless you do one of two things—either base the quota professedly on its existing contribution or exclude immigrants altogether. We may yet be compelled to do the latter. [Applause.] If the gentleman will excuse me, I would like to proceed a little further on this if I have the time.

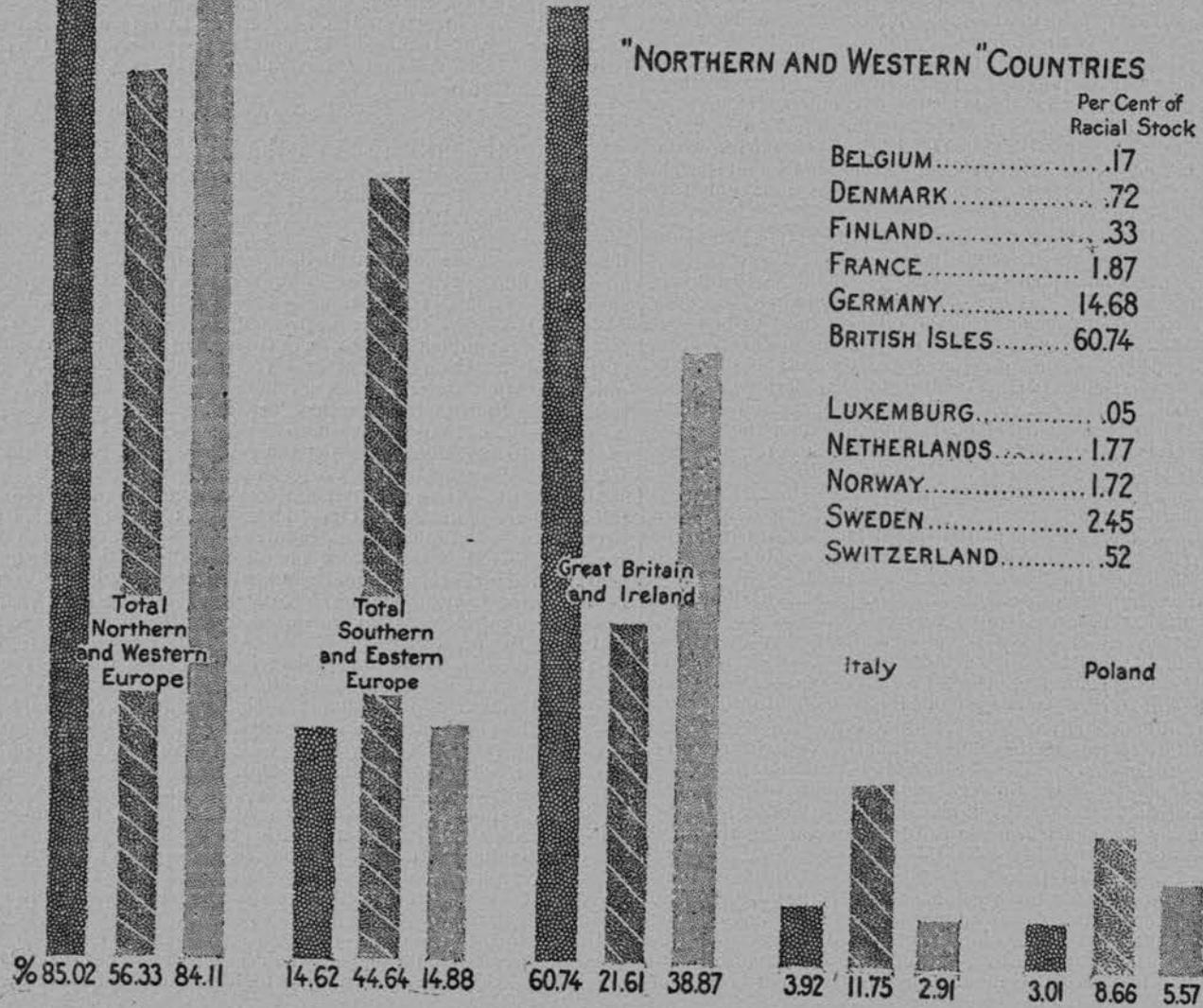
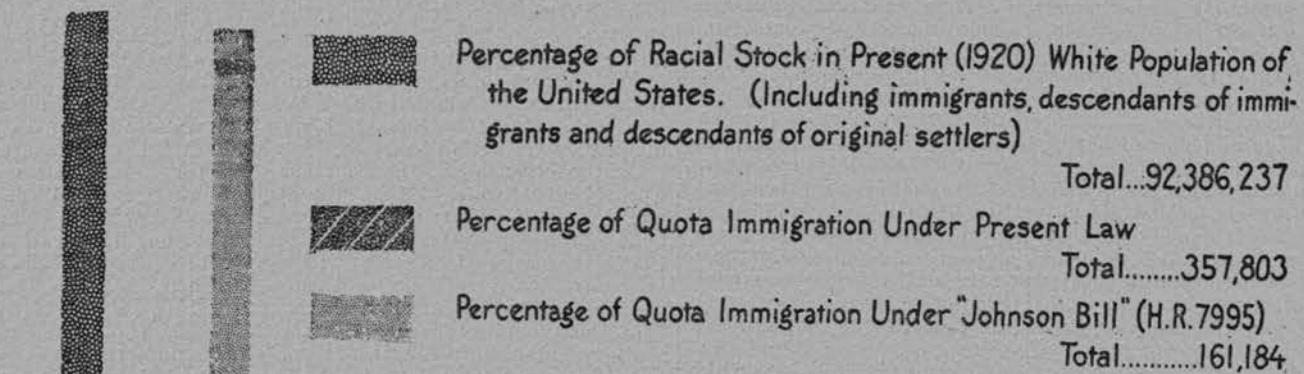
It will be apparent on very brief consideration that no census base would work out complete proportional equality between all countries individually. Thus, taking the examples given in the chart, it will be noted that under the 1890 census base Great Britain and Ireland, which have furnished 60.74 per cent of our present (1920) white population, have been allowed to furnish, under the present law, 21.61 per cent of our immigration for the last three years. Under the pending bill the British Isles would be entitled to furnish 38.87 per cent of our new immigration. This is nearly twice what the British Isles can get under our present law, but it is still less than two-thirds of their "share" on the basis of their total contribution to our population.

Italy, which is one of the loudest complainers, is cut a little, because the great bulk of her immigration came very late, not only after 1890 but considerably after that date. She has fur-

nished 3.92 per cent of our present white population. She will only be entitled to send 2.92 per cent of our future immigration. But for the last three years she has been sending 11.75 per cent of our total quota immigration, or nearly three times her "share" on the basis of her contribution to the population of the United States.

Poland, in whose behalf the welkin rings with cries of "unjust discrimination," has been receiving nearly three times her "share." She will be reduced to only a little less than twice her "share." This is doing pretty well for a country whose recently arrived population in one American city alone—Buffalo—outnumbers the native stock by 20,000 people.

# REMOVING THE "DISCRIMINATION" IN THE PRESENT "THREE PER CENT" IMMIGRATION LAW



Mr. MacGREGOR. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VAILE. I will.

Mr. MacGREGOR. It is in regard to the Polish outnumbering the native stock, so called, in Buffalo.

Mr. VAILE. If the gentleman will look in the street cars in that city, he will see the sign of a Polish dally—I can not pronounce the name of that paper—but it is a sign soliciting advertisements. On that sign it says that, according to the United States census, there are 181,300 Polish people in the city of Buffalo. I have confirmed that statement by the census. That number, 181,300, is more by about 20,000 than the total number of people in the city of Buffalo native born of native parents. Therefore it does not take the whole of the foreign stock to outnumber the native stock. The Poles alone can do it and have five regiments left over.

Mr. MacGREGOR. Of course, I do not agree with the gentleman's statement.

Mr. VAILE. Then the gentleman does not agree with the census. Now, Mr. Speaker, when it is boiled down, the charge that the 1890 census base discriminates against the countries of southern and eastern Europe is, in essence and effect, merely a greedy complaint that it does not perpetuate an existing discrimination in favor of those countries. It is a complaint from people who are given all that they could be fairly entitled to because we propose to stop giving them more than they are entitled to. And when it is remembered that no one is entitled to enter the United States at all to become a part of our permanent population except at the will and pleasure of the United States, such a complaint comes with particularly bad grace. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. VAILE. I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. O'CONNOR of New York. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, like the distinguished gentleman from New York, the chairman of the Rules Committee, I realize that legislation in reference to immigration is necessary, that the law automatically expiring at the end of June places a problem directly before this Congress, and I agree with him that no more important problem confronts this American legislative body than this problem of immigration. I believe that the traditions of America are involved in the handling of this problem. I do not believe it is generally contradicted that this problem has never been scientifically studied or scientifically handled up to this hour; that we are yet speculating in reference as to how we shall solve the problem of admitting immigrants to this country. I am surprised and shocked at the statements of the previous speaker. I had imagined that the proponents of this legislation boasted of the fact that this bill discriminated against southern and eastern Europe. I had thought that this bill was one in favor of blonds against brunettes.

My ancestors a long time ago came from one of our races of blonds which this bill favors as against the brunettes of southern and eastern Europe. If that bill does not discriminate against southern and eastern Europe, deliberately so, why the report of Doctor Laughlin, why all the scientific investigation under the Carnegie Foundation to prove that those races were inferior, socially and nationally; that they were inferior stock? If they were inferior stock, why put them on the same basis with the stock which earlier settled this country? Now, this situation has changed about, gentlemen, from its original basis. The proponents started out to scientifically prove that the recent immigrant was socially inferior, and then when they go before the people and are arraigned with narrowness and bigotry they seek to justify themselves; they are on the defensive. The proponents now say that they do not discriminate while the whole of the so-called scientific study carried on by this Doctor Laughlin—and the first syllable is spelled L-a-u-g-h—was to prove that we ought to discriminate against southern and eastern Europeans, because they are inferior.

Now, let us be on the level with ourselves. Let us not try to delude ourselves that we are trying to legislate and yet are not discriminating when the record shows that we are discriminating. Well, in a sense, it is the same old story. Once we get in we close the gates behind us and keep out the struggling immigrant who springs from the same ancestors as we do. I am amused at such illustrious Americans as Secretary of Labor Davis and the president of the American Federation of Labor in their great desire to exclude from this country and not afford the opportunities of this country to probably their own relatives after they have so eminently profited from its opportunities.

Mr. ASWELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'CONNOR of New York. I will.

Mr. ASWELL. I can answer in reference to Secretary of Labor Davis. He takes that position because his Americanism is such that he wants to legislate for America and not for Europe. [Applause.]

Mr. O'CONNOR of New York. I do not know anybody—

Mr. CELLER. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. O'CONNOR of New York. Wait until I answer the question of the gentleman who has consumed part of his hour. I do not know anybody in this Congress or any legislative body in the United States but who is just as good an American as Secretary Davis. I do not know anybody who claims to have landed in the steerage of the *Mayflower* that is any better American than the man who has been here a couple of generations and put to the test of his Americanism. [Applause.]

I know that many of us who are, by our names, obviously of foreign extraction are proud of our many generations in this country. I am not afraid of what I might say here, because I know the spirit behind this bill. I wonder how many dare trace their ancestry back to 1776 and see how American their ancestors were when these colonies were fighting; how many loyalists and followers of King George and imperialists are now represented by their descendants standing up and talking about America.

I thought when I entered this Chamber this morning that this report of Doctor Laughlin, this great genius of the Carnegie Foundation—that great American institution founded by that great American, of American stock, Andrew Carnegie—was going to be the basis on which to found the necessity for this legislation. He started out to prove a thing which the committee and the proponents of this legislation desired to prove, and he proved it—to their satisfaction. It is the greatest joke book that has been published during this session of Congress. It is founded on fallacies from beginning to end.

Now, gentlemen of the committee and proponents of the measure either stand on that report or fall. Do not take the position now that you are not discriminating against the very people whom Doctor Laughlin said you should discriminate against.

From where does this demand for the restriction of immigration come? Does it come from those States which have a problem of immigration? Does it come from those States where most of the immigrants settle? The figures show that most of the immigrants settle in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Massachusetts. Is there any demand in those States to further restrict immigration? I hope this question will be answered during this debate. Why, gentlemen, the demand comes from States where you have no immigration problem at all. We in New York have a great proportion of immigrants in our population, not as large, however as the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. VAILE] says are found in Buffalo.

Mr. REECE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'CONNOR of New York. Yes.

Mr. REECE. In those States that the gentleman refers to we do not want any immigration problem.

Mr. O'CONNOR of New York. The gentleman rose to ask a question, and asked one that is not comprehended.

Mr. PERKINS. I happen to come from New Jersey, and there is a great demand for the restriction of immigration there. [Applause.]

Mr. O'CONNOR of New York. I hope that that will be substantiated in this House.

Mr. PERKINS. I hope so, too.

Mr. O'CONNOR of New York. I fail to see any concerted demand from those States. I hold that a man who comes from a State that does not understand immigration, where the immigrants represent an infinitesimal part of the population, does not properly understand this question.

Now, this is a problem which really goes to the foundation of America. Up to this bill we have never discriminated against any race. Using the basis of the 1910 census, we have admitted people without any attempt to discriminate, and it was only this morning that we discovered that we had been discriminating against people under that census.

Now, gentlemen, for what purpose is the census taken? Should we abandon all censuses taken after 1890? Will any gentleman rise on this floor and say that the quota was based on the census of 1890 for any other purpose than to discriminate against certain races? Why did we go back those 34 years—to accomplish the very purpose for which you start out? To discriminate against the immigrants of southern and eastern Europe. That is why you take the basis of 1890 instead of the basis of 1910 or 1920; and you can talk about your new chart discovered this morning, and you will never con-

vince even yourselves that you go back 34 years for any other purpose.

Mr. MACLAFFERTY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. O'CONNOR of New York. Yes.

Mr. MACLAFFERTY. Is it the gentleman's idea that the purpose of this bill is to discriminate against any race?

Mr. O'CONNOR of New York. Yes. I never knew that that was not the intention of the committee.

Mr. MACLAFFERTY. Is not the purpose of this bill the preservation of American ideals and institutions in the future?

Mr. O'CONNOR of New York. According to some people's theory.

Mr. MACLAFFERTY. Is it the gentleman's idea that the primary object of this bill is to discriminate against certain people?

Mr. O'CONNOR of New York. I believe that the committee and the proponents of this bill believe that, in order to preserve the ideals of this country, it is necessary to discriminate against certain races.

Mr. MACLAFFERTY. That is fairly put. Would you discriminate against Asiatic races?

Mr. O'CONNOR of New York. I believe that is a well-founded tradition of America.

Mr. MACLAFFERTY. Is it discrimination?

Mr. O'CONNOR of New York. It is.

Mr. MACLAFFERTY. Is it necessary?

Mr. O'CONNOR of New York. It may be.

Mr. MACLAFFERTY. Is necessary discrimination ever justified?

Mr. O'CONNOR of New York. Sometimes.

Mr. MACLAFFERTY. Very good.

Mr. O'CONNOR of New York. I will say that because I desire to emphasize the fact that in one breath you say it is discrimination and in the next breath you deny it.

Mr. MACLAFFERTY. It seems to me that is an irrelevant point.

Mr. O'CONNOR of New York. Mr. Speaker, I hope before this debate is over we will be shown why this bill should pass, and I should like for my own satisfaction to have this matter threshed out as to which questions have been asked. If this bill is to discriminate, show us the reason for discriminating and we will all be for you. But if you are wrong on racial inferiority, if you are wrong in the idea that the traditions of this country are imperiled by certain races, then do not discriminate against anybody. We people who claim to be Americans would be the first to preserve the racial superiority of America against any race—English, Swedish, German, Irish, Italian, Russian, or any other. But we are not content that you should brand millions of people who are already in this country, making up a large part of our population and who contribute greatly to America and its works, and have it said to them: "You come from an inferior race. Your race is practically barred now from this country, and we to-day regret that we let you in." That is not the America I belong to. That is not the America that I was brought up to love and to worship. That is not the America I want to be a part of. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York reserves the balance of his time.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Washington [Mr. JOHNSON]. [Applause.]

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, I am sorry that although the debate seems long in hours it is going to be short in its distribution among the large number of Members who desire to speak on the restriction of immigration, a most intense subject. We are approaching a subject which is probably the hardest of any to handle in legislation, a subject upon which there are 20 or more well-defined plans for restriction. Each year that the Congress of the United States has deferred action the problem has become more difficult of solution. No bill will ever be proposed that really restricts immigration without the charge of discrimination and unfairness being made. No bill will ever be written that will be entirely satisfactory in all of its details.

My experience leads me to the observation that the very persons who are charging full tilt against this measure and charging discrimination are exactly the same persons who have assaulted every effort to restrict immigration in the past. If they were not making this attack they would be making an assault just as strenuous against any other restrictive measure that might have been reported by the committee.

I would like to say to the Members that a restrictive immigration act is as truly a conservation measure as any dealing

with natural resources. I believe that fully 80,000,000 citizens of the United States are bending a laboring oar with the majority of the Members of the House and Senate in this effort to really restrict immigration to the United States [applause], and restriction hurts, of course. This is not the day for producing a pretended restriction bill; neither is it the day for pulling the teeth of a restrictive measure.

As regards the charge just made by the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. O'CONNOR] that this committee has started out deliberately to establish a blond race, as he calls it, let me say that such a charge is all in your eye. Your committee is not the author of any of these books on the so-called Nordic race.

This committee has not built up any ideas of that kind. If the gentleman and others will carefully examine the Laughlin report they will find that his investigation was an effort to find out who is who in the penal and eleemosynary institutions of the United States. And because this census was taken in more than 400 such State institutions—not county jails and not county poorhouses—and because the figures hit certain races the cry is made that the committee is assaulting those races. Yet the gentlemen who criticize forget that some of the statistics as to certain delinquencies hit the very races which were among the first to build the United States of America.

Mr. ASWELL. Does not the gentleman recall that the Laughlin report does not declare that any race is inferior, but does show that they are not assimilable?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Exactly. Another thing that the Laughlin report did show, beyond dispute, was the tremendous cost to the States of their support of the alien defectives in the institutions. The cost to New York State alone is so great that New York legislature after legislature has appealed to Congress to permit New York to sue the United States for something like \$33,000,000, which New York has spent in caring for its alien insane. The cost of caring for these defectives alone takes from 3½ to 4 per cent of all the State taxes of all the States. That is what the Laughlin report disclosed. It is, in my opinion, one of the most valuable documents ever put out by a committee of Congress.

Why is it that, when only a few years ago so many people were saying we should not restrict immigration at all, now so many are demanding an even heavier restriction than under the present quota law which expires on June 30? I will tell you why. We have discovered that the reports that there are 600,000 persons in Russia who have already made application for passports and visés to come to their relatives in the United States are true; we have discovered that the reports that there are 70,000 persons, stacked up in Warsaw, trying to get to the United States are true.

It is true also that refugees are temporarily domiciled in all the countries on the western border of Russia waiting an opportunity to come this year. If you will notice, I say "temporarily domiciled," because those adjacent countries will not receive them as permanent residents, but are permitting them to stop there, hoping that our quota law will die, that we will have nothing in its place, and that they then may move on to be guests and wards of dear old Uncle Sam, and ultimately his citizens.

It is true also that on the books of the Italian emigration officials in Italy there are the names of nearly 300,000 would-be emigrants to the United States. That is the number already booked up by the Italian emigration authorities. Italy has made a business of exporting emigrants, and out of about 300,000 sent by Italy to all the countries of the world in the year just ahead of the enactment of our first quota law about 280,000 of all those Italians got to the United States and not to the other new countries of the world, South America, or Canada. Not many went back to Italy.

The United States from the beginning has been extremely generous with regard to immigration, but now the time has come to slow it down almost to the stopping point. If any Member will pause as he passes through the lobby and look at the large chart which shows the arrival of immigrants by decades and notice the great peaks which show the immigration waves after the year 1890, that Member will find out exactly why this committee reported a bill with 1890 as the census basis. It makes no difference from whence they come—too many come. What I want to impress upon you is this: The mass of immigration that came to the United States at the rate of 1,000,000 per year for several years began shortly after 1890, and it was so great that it caused the beginning of an intense agitation to shut down on immigration.

Although efforts to secure restrictive legislation had been under way for nearly 40 years, nothing was really done until

the first quota law was passed, and that quota law, my friends, was the beginning of the end of the United States as an asylum. People have charged Congress with delay and neglect, and have wondered why Congress did not long ago cause the overseas examination of prospective immigrants. The reason we could not do that, my friends, was that this idea of an asylum prevailed, and as long as the United States maintained the idea that we must continue as an asylum for the oppressed of the world, you could not very well examine prospective arrivals in other countries.

Mr. LA GUARDIA. Will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Pardon me, please. The quota act ended the asylum, partially at least, and this particular bill proposes to make certain that the asylum idea, which may have been and was all right for so many years, has now, with our population of 105,000,000, gone, never to return. Having gone, it then becomes comparatively easy for your committee to present plans for the examination of prospective immigrants abroad through a questionnaire by which immigrants may state something about themselves as they undertake to start this way to be future citizens of this country of ours.

Mr. CELLER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Not just now. I insist, my friends, there is neither malice nor hatred in this bill. It is a well designed bill. It is constructive throughout. It represents much work on the part of this committee and the preceding committee in the last Congress. The bill has been in process of construction for nearly three years or ever since the first quota law was established.

In its general provisions, which I will undertake to explain in some later remarks, we aim to take care of alien seamen, of stowaways. We undertake to make full provision for all who may properly come to the United States as travelers or tourists on a temporary stay, and all who may want to come in under any of the provisions of any treaty we may have with the other nations of the world. We have provided many paragraphs to reduce the hardships of those who come as immigrants, and we have tried to make sure that the measure is for all of the 105,000,000 people of the United States. [Applause.]

Mr. O'CONNOR of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH].

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the Record.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I am generally opposed to special rules, but I am not opposed to this rule because I believe it to be fair, but, unfortunately, the bill which it proposes shall receive the prior consideration of the House is not fair, and I can easily understand how the Rules Committee has been prevailed upon to report a rule for the consideration of this legislation. I observe from the remarks of the two gentlemen of the Rules Committee who have preceded me that neither is really aware of the discriminatory provisions in the proposed bill, nor do they realize or are they cognizant of the fact that we now have on our statute books a law which makes it impossible for the large immigration of aliens that the gentlemen from New York and Washington are so fearful are ready to swamp this country. The continuous statements made by the proponents of this legislation that if we do not pass the proposed bill it will result in our country being swamped with an influx of undesirable aliens are only made for the purpose of creating prejudice in the minds of the American people. We have now a splendid selective law on our statute books, the act of 1917, which makes it impossible for any undesirables to come. I hope the Members, before they vote on this bill, will familiarize themselves with section 3 of the 1917 immigration act:

[Extract from section 3 of the immigration act of 1917 now in force]

WHAT ALIENS CAN AND CAN NOT BE ADMITTED TO THE UNITED STATES

SEC. 3. That the following classes of aliens shall be excluded from admission into the United States: All idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded persons, epileptics, insane persons, persons who have had one or more attacks of insanity at any time previously; persons of constitutional psychopathic inferiority; persons with chronic alcoholism, paupers, professional beggars, vagrants; persons afflicted with tuberculosis in any form or with a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease.

Persons not comprehended within any of the foregoing excluded classes who are found to be, and are certified by the examining surgeon, as being mentally or physically defective, such physical defect being of a nature which may affect the ability of such alien to earn a living; persons who have been convicted of or admit having com-

mitted a felony or other crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude; polygamists or persons who practice polygamy or believe in or advocate the practice of polygamy.

Anarchists or persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States, or of all forms of law, or who disbelieve in or are opposed to organized government, or who advocate the assassination of public officials, or who advocate or teach the unlawful destruction of property; persons who are members of or affiliated with any organization entertaining and teaching disbelief in or opposition to organized government, or who advocate or teach the duty, necessity, or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers, either of specific individuals or of officers generally, of the Government of the United States or of any other organized government, because of his or their official character, or who advocate or teach the unlawful destruction of property.

Prostitutes or persons coming into the United States for the purposes of prostitution or for any other immoral purpose; persons who directly or indirectly procure or attempt to procure or import prostitutes or persons for the purpose of prostitution or for any other immoral purpose; persons who are supported by or receive in whole or in part the proceeds of prostitution.

Persons hereinafter called contract laborers who have been induced, assisted, encouraged, or solicited to migrate to this country by offers or promises of employment, whether such offers or promises are true or false, or in consequence of agreements, oral, written, or printed, express or implied, to perform labor in this country of any kind, skilled or unskilled; persons who have come in consequence of advertisements for laborers printed, published, or distributed in a foreign country; persons likely to become a public charge; persons who have been deported under any of the provisions of this act and who may again seek admission within one year from the date of such deportation; persons whose ticket or passage is paid for by any corporation, association, society, municipality, or foreign government, either directly or indirectly; stowaways, except that any such stowaway, if otherwise admissible, may be admitted in the discretion of the Secretary of Labor; all children under 16 years of age unaccompanied by or not coming to one or both of their parents, except that any such children may, in the discretion of the Secretary of Labor, be admitted if in his opinion they are not likely to become a public charge and are otherwise eligible; unless otherwise provided for by existing treaties, persons who are natives of islands not possessed by the United States adjacent to the Continent of Asia, and all aliens over 16 years of age who can not read the English language or some other language or dialect.

Mr. CABLE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I can not yield. I have only a few minutes; but later on I will yield.

Under the 1917 law, which is permanent and does not expire and is now in force, no one who can possibly be classified as an undesirable can be admitted, but, as I stated, these statements are made for the purpose of prejudicing the minds of the people. The gentleman from Colorado [Mr. VAILE] has brought in a chart and tried to show how just this bill is and attempts to show that there is no discrimination. It was not necessary for the gentleman to go to the extent of preparing or securing this beautifully colored chart. If the gentleman had desired to give the House information which is not misleading and given five minutes of his time in examining the report of the Commissioner of Immigration, he could have secured the correct figures—figures that speak much plainer than his "colored" chart. But that, evidently, he did not desire to do, namely, to give uncolored information.

This so-called fair law, based on the 1890 census, permits 161,184 to come from all of Europe, but of that number 131,037 would be allowed to come from Great Britain and Germany, from Scandinavia, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark, Netherlands, and Iceland, leaving for the entire remaining countries of Europe only 30,147 divided as follows:

Denmark	2,882
Germany	45,229
Great Britain and Ireland	62,658
Netherlands	1,737
Norway	6,553
Sweden	9,661
Iceland	136
Switzerland	2,181
Total	131,037

Country or region of birth  
CENSUS OF 1890

Albania	104
Armenia (Russian)	117
Austria	1,090
Belgium	609
Bulgaria	100
Czechoslovakia	1,973
Danzig, Free City of	323

Esthonia	202
Finland	245
Primo, Free State of	110
France	8,978
Greece	185
Hungary	588
Italy	4,689
Latvia	217
Lithuania	402
Luxemburg	158
Portugal	574
Rumania	731
Russia	1,892
Spain (including Canary Islands)	224
Yugoslavia	835
San Marino	110
Andorra	100
Liechtenstein	100
Monaco	100
Palestine	101
Syria	112
Turkey	123
Hejaz	105
Persia	125
Egypt	106
Liberia	100
Abyssinia	100
Morocco	100
Union of South Africa	110
Australia	220
New Zealand and Pacific Islands	167
<b>Total</b>	<b>30,147</b>

In fact, as the table will show, even of this small number of 30,147, several thousands go to the British-controlled countries, as will be noted at the bottom of the table.

Mr. ASWELL. Is not that a good thing for America?  
 Mr. SABATH. No; it is not. Do you think it is fair giving Great Britain, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries 131,037, and the balance of Europe only 30,147? You and others always claimed that America is fair. I know America is, but are you? I am satisfied that the majority of the Members of this House are fair and just and that they will not stand for such a discrimination. Mr. Speaker, under the provisions of this bill only about 18 per cent of the people are permitted to come from the central, southern, and southeastern sections of Europe, and 72 per cent from Great Britain and Germany. The chairman [Mr. JOHNSON of Washington] and several other members of the committee and their professional propagandists, for the purpose of creating apprehension and prejudice, make statements that millions of aliens are ready to sail.

The magazines, yes, the daily newspapers, under prominent headlines, reprint these prejudice-creative statements that millions are ready to come. The same irrational statements were made in 1919 and 1920 before the quota legislation was enacted, and what are the actual facts, gentlemen, before the 3 per cent quota act went into effect? I know you will be surprised when I tell you that since the enactment of the literacy test immigration law of 1917, and up to and including the fiscal year 1921, before the quota act went into effect, only 1,087,432 came and 623,076 departed, leaving an increase due to immigration in five years of only 464,356.

You are being made to believe that millions arrived here within the last 10 years. The facts are that since the 1917 illiteracy, restrictive, and selective immigration bill was enacted the entire increase in our immigration has been 760,710. In other words, in seven years the entire increase from European immigration since 1917, including 1923, is only 760,710. To verify my statement I insert herewith a table of immigration and emigration for the years 1917 to 1923, inclusive:

Immigration and emigration, 1917 to 1923, inclusive  
 [From pp. 119 and 120 of Report of Commissioner of Immigration, 1923]

	Total European immigration	Emigration	Net gain	Net loss
1917	133,083	35,367	97,716	
1918	31,063	31,500		437
1919	24,627	84,531		59,904
1920	246,295	285,433		10,138
1921	652,364	215,245	437,119	
1922	216,387	166,297	50,090	
1923	307,920	61,656	246,264	
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,611,739</b>	<b>851,029</b>	<b>831,189</b>	<b>70,479</b>

Less loss by emigration, 1918, 1919, and 1920..... 70,479  
 Net increase of immigration, 1917-1923..... 761,710

And of this number a majority are women and children. Where are these millions that the various gentlemen are talking about and making the country believe have been coming and are coming? As I say, there is no justification for these state-

ments. These figures I have given are authentic, having been taken from the report of the Commissioner of Immigration. Of course, they do not include the legal and illegal Canadian and Mexican immigration, which amounted to 247,540 since the 3 per cent law went into effect. That figure represents a two-year increase; and for the purpose of comparison of the immigration from these two quota-exempt countries with that of all European countries I submit the following table, giving the immigration and emigration from Canada and Mexico for the years 1917 to 1923, inclusive:

Immigration	
CANADA	
1917	103,399
1918	32,452
1919	67,782
1920	90,025
1921	72,317
1922	46,810
1923	117,011
<b>Total</b>	<b>521,796</b>
MEXICO	
1917	17,869
1918	18,524
1919	29,818
1920	52,361
1921	30,758
1922	19,951
1923	63,768
<b>Total</b>	<b>233,049</b>
<b>Total Canadian and Mexican immigration..... 754,845</b>	
Emigration	
CANADA	
1917	18,994
1918	27,170
1919	10,726
1920	7,608
1921	5,456
1922	4,480
1923	2,775
<b>Total</b>	<b>77,269</b>
MEXICO	
1917	812
1918	25,515
1919	18,000
1920	6,606
1921	5,705
1922	6,285
1923	2,660
<b>Total</b>	<b>65,583</b>
<b>Total Canadian and Mexican emigration..... 142,852</b>	
<b>Total Canadian and Mexican increase immigration for seven-year period, 611,793.</b>	

Five hundred and twenty-one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two Canadians and 233,049 Mexicans have entered this country in this seven-year period, a grand total of 754,845, and during the same period but 142,852 have returned to their respective countries, leaving an absolute net increase in Canadian and Mexican immigration to this country of 611,793. Refer to the European table which I have submitted and you will observe the net increase in immigration for the same seven-year period is 761,710. The greatest immigration from Canada and Mexico in the history of our country took place in this last fiscal year, ending June 30, 1923. I am not in position to say how much greater it will be in 1924. Understand, Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, the bill under consideration does not put any restriction upon Canada or Mexico. The quotas do not apply to these countries. I have been frequently asked if it is not a fact that a majority of the Mexicans that come in under the act, and, again, as to those who are smuggled in as peons by the thousands, are not absorbed immediately by Texas, California, and Colorado. This I have been unable to ascertain, but I do know that the great bulk of them remain in California, Washington, Oregon, and Colorado, and many of the Canadians are received with open arms in the New England and lake region States. I am forced to the conclusion that this legal and illegal immigration from Canada and Mexico must be welcomed in these States and must be beneficial to these States, because there is no demand or request from any source for the stopping of it, and there is nothing in this bill that would prohibit the coming of this immigration, notwithstanding the fact that these States which receive a great majority of this Mexican and Canadian immigration are well represented on the committee and are actually in control of the committee.

But I could not honestly charge that in any way is responsible for the harsh restriction on European immigration so as to give advantage of securing common labor to the States. I do know no serious efforts have been made by Members representing these States to place Mexico and Canada on the quota

basis, notwithstanding that such recommendation has been made by the Secretary of Labor, Mr. Davis, and others. Consequently the House can make its own deductions.

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, the proponents of this legislation are trying to make the country and the membership of this House believe that we who oppose this discriminatory bill are for an open-door policy. These statements, as nearly all others, are unfounded and unwarranted. We are not for an open door. Though opposing every harsh provision in every immigration bill, I have always stood for selected and limited immigration. The advocates of this legislation also charge that it is a foreign bloc that is opposed to this legislation. This statement I have already challenged, and again challenge, the same as the charge that the present immigration can not assimilate and are undesirable. Furthermore, no one that I know of favoring this legislation maintains that the immigrant claims any vested rights. Gentlemen, I repeat that my interests are the interests of America, and that I am trying to the best of my ability to legislate in the interest of America and in the future welfare of our country, and as one who helped to draft the 1917 act I will say without fear of successful contradiction that I was responsible for the embodiment in that law of more beneficial and restrictive provisions than any other member of the committee.

I am in favor of provisions in this bill which tend to humanize and strengthen our immigration law, but I am opposed to discriminatory and harsh provisions. I am against the use of the 1890 census as a basis, as it is bound to wound the feelings of at least 6,000,000 of our citizens. I am against the provision that would classify about 6,000,000 of our citizens as being inferior, when all the reliable facts disprove such contention, and which is only based on discredited, false, and unfounded theories. I want fair legislation, legislation that will not willfully and deliberately discriminate against people who have made good in every way in this country. I think it would be manifestly unfair that we should go on record for the 1890 census. We hear frequently certain men who, for the purpose of creating prejudice in the minds of the people, say, as was stated on the floor a little while ago, that these people—the new immigrants—do not assimilate. Such statements are without foundation and can be proven to be false. We will hear gentlemen from nearly every section of our country on the floor who are familiar with these people, who know them as I do and are in a position to know and do know whether they assimilate and whether they have made good, loyal, patriotic citizens. Some will say that they are not good Americans. I want to say to you that the so-called immigration against which you are about to discriminate has demonstrated during the war in every conceivable way that they are law-abiding, that they are patriotic, that they are deserving people.

They have without hesitation when the country needed them offered their lives and all to show their loyalty and patriotism, and still there are those who do not know them, and the chances are even never have seen any of them, insinuate and charge that these people that they do not know are inferior and unassimilable.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. Yes.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Was there any limitations put on these men who were drafted during the war from southern and eastern Europe?

Mr. SABATH. Oh, the gentleman knows that there were about 420,000 men who came from southeastern stock that volunteered or were inducted into our Army, Navy, and Marine Corps, and how many of that number could have claimed exemption on the ground that they were married, but who gladly joined the colors of their adopted country. [Applause.] And did not their service, heroism, devotion, and loyalty equal that of the most loyal descendants of the *Mayflower*? I am sure their record more than favorably compares with that of the so-called Nordic stocks whom the world admits made a splendid record and helped to make up the most efficient, brave, and courageous army in the history of the world. Yes; in those days we heard no charges of their inferiority. They were then recognized as capable, brave, patriotic adopted sons of our country, and those who, due to age or infirmities, could not secure a place in our armed forces greatly contributed to the needs of our fighting forces. They loyally and industriously, without a murmur, worked and helped to supply the needs of those at the front.

Every dollar that they could spare, and, contrary to the charge that they sent their earnings abroad, the records will show that every one of those of the new immigration, including their families, bought liberty bonds as they were solicited, and many without being asked, to such an extent that the most

prejudiced restrictionist could not help but admit that they were doing their full share to their adopted country.

Mr. Speaker, I point with the highest pride that in every section of our country where the foreign-born people lived in large numbers, that these centers of foreign population were always the first that went over the top; and I recall with what satisfaction the daily press—yes, even the very magazines that to-day are so unfair and biased—printed column after column of praise of the full devotion and patriotism of these people. Oh, I wish I had the time and permission, I could fill thousands of pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, not only with headlines but of reports of the splendid deeds of the peoples of this so-called newer immigration that is now being so willfully and maliciously libeled as an inferior people.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. PERLMAN].

Mr. PERLMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. PERLMAN. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, to us here immigration is an American problem that should be solved from the standpoint of what is best for America. But America means no hatred, no prejudice, no bigotry. I ask you gentlemen and I appeal to you to decide the immigration question without considering from whence you come, not from where your parents come, not from any like or dislike of any class of people because of their nativity or religious convictions but rather from the standpoint of what immigrant because of his mental, physical, and moral fitness may contribute most to American prosperity and ideals.

We have no right to claim that any racial stock has a greater share in America than any other racial stock. I listened to the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. VAILE], and I wondered whether, after the bill was passed, if it does, with the 1890 census, at some future time there would be agitation in favor of letting into the United States only the English race, because in the days of 1776 the majority of the people here were of English birth or parentage. Can we say that in 1924 and in the future they have a greater right in America than any other class of our people? I claim they have no greater right. I claim the people who came here before the Revolutionary days came here to escape religious persecution, came here to establish a country that would be owned by no one class of people but by all the people of the country. They came here to escape from countries where they had no liberty and not even the right to their very souls, to a religion of their choice, or to the right to govern. To-day in 1924 in the greatest country of the world it is proposed to say by law that a certain class of people or race of people have a greater right than others in America. I deny that the people of the United States agree with such a principle. I deny that that is an American principle, and because it is un-American I will not consent to it. I am opposed to using the 1890 census as a basis for immigration quotas, because it is discriminatory and therefore un-American.

Mr. MACLAFFERTY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PERLMAN. I will yield to the gentleman.

Mr. MACLAFFERTY. Does the gentleman consider that any person or persons living outside has the right to come to America?

Mr. PERLMAN. No; but I consider that those who are here and may have had the good fortune to be born of ancestors coming over in the *Mayflower* have no greater right in America than those who came 10 or 20 years ago.

Mr. MACLAFFERTY. Does the gentleman claim that this bill deals with the right of people living in the United States?

Mr. PERLMAN. Yes; I claim that when you pass this bill with the 1890 census you are indirectly establishing in America a principle that those classes of people who are in the United States and who may have been born in southern or eastern Europe are inferior to those in the United States who were born in northern or western Europe. This applies with equal force to the children and grandchildren of our fathers and forefathers who may have been born in southern or eastern Europe. By that you are dividing your people into two classes, a superior class and an inferior class; and if anything can possibly bring Bolshevism in America it is class distinction, race hatred, and prejudice, which must cause discontent, which is un-American and undemocratic. That is the position that I take to-day. We have had three great wars among others—the Revolutionary War, the Civil War, and the World War. Who

was it fought in the Revolutionary War? It was fought by immigrants and children of immigrants. They came from all parts of Europe—from northern, western, southern, and eastern Europe. What about the heroes of the Revolutionary War, of the Civil War, and of the World War who came from southern and eastern Europe or who came from some of the other countries which you are discriminating against by this bill? Are they inferior? Have they not contributed much to the progress and prosperity of this the greatest country in the world? My position on this bill is that you are now for the first time in immigration legislation establishing as a permanent policy a new test, a test of place of birth, that is not a test of desirability.

Mr. MacLAFFERTY. Is not the gentleman mistaken there?  
Mr. PERLMAN. No.

Mr. MacLAFFERTY. How about the Chinese exclusion act of 40 years ago?

Mr. PERLMAN. The Chinese exclusion act of 40 years—

Mr. SABATH. Oh, the gentleman is from California, and the gentleman from New York ought to bear with him. He is troubled with that question.

Mr. PERLMAN. I shall bear with him, and discuss that at some future time during the debate on this bill, as I have only a few minutes now. You are saying that the place of birth shall be a test of admission to this country. Perhaps you and others may have been fortunate enough to have had your cradles rocked in northern or western Europe. You now claim that you have a better right, because of that, to bring your people here than those who did not pick their place of birth and may have been born in southern or eastern Europe. I say that that is not American.

The real test ought to be a man's fitness—his mental, his moral, and his physical fitness—and does he subscribe to American ideals and institutions. I care nothing about where a man came from, where he was born, or where his parents may have come from. I want to know is he honest, is he contributing his share to the well-being of our country.

Mr. STENGLE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PERLMAN. Yes.

Mr. STENGLE. Would the gentleman favor 1 per cent on the basis of 1910?

Mr. PERLMAN. I am against any quota law as the permanent immigration policy of the land. In 1921, when the Immigration Committee of the House of Representatives reported to the House the original quota law, they told us that because of impending mass immigration they wanted time within which to study the question, so as to bring before Congress a constructive permanent immigration policy. They then said to us, "Give us a year under this makeshift temporary law and we will bring in some final constructive plan." We gave them the law as an emergency measure, never subscribing at that time to the quota principle or the place-of-birth test as the immigration policy of the land. After a year's time the committee came back to us again and confessed that they had not given the subject enough time and thought to bring in a constructive and permanent policy. We then gave them two years more, and I would give the committee now five years more—yes; 10 years more—at the end of which time the committee is to bring before us some constructive policy that will fairly distribute the immigrants, that will not fix the place of birth as the test of the admission of an immigrant. We ought not to write into our statute books as a permanent law of the land something which says, "If you are fortunate enough to have been born in one part of Europe you are better than if you had been born in another part of Europe." That is a violation of all principles of America. I can hear the people in Europe who have been governed by kings and czars in amazement say that America, which has been the leader against any law that may be discriminatory, is now, in 1924, passing a law which is grossly discriminatory.

I have heard a great deal about the Laughlin report as to who is desirable. I prefer taking our own reports as to desirability.

The Secretary of Labor, in his last annual report, in discussing immigration said:

A total of 3,661 aliens were deported under warrant proceedings during the present fiscal year as compared with 4,345 during the fiscal year 1922. Some of the principal causes of deportation, and the races or peoples involved, are set forth in the following tables:

TABLE III.—Causes for deportation

Likely to become a public charge	1,188
Criminals	394
Mental diseases or defects	819
Prostitutes, procurers, and other immoral classes	299
Unable to read	262

Entered without inspection	229
Under per cent limit act	151
Under Chinese exclusion act	115
Other causes	704

TABLE IV.—Aliens deported, after entering the United States, during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1923, by races or peoples

African (black)	70
Armenian	9
Bohemian and Moravian (Czech)	7
Bulgarian, Serbian, and Montenegrin	47
Chinese	221
Croatian and Slovenian	16
Cuban	7
Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian	4
Dutch and Flemish	24
East Indian	51
English	401
Finnish	17
French	302
German	121
Greek	83
Hebrew	99
Irish	137
Italian (north)	30
Italian (south)	188
Japanese	109
Korean	1
Lithuanian	9
Magyar	21
Mexican	1,012
Polish	63
Portuguese	37
Rumanian	21
Russian	37
Ruthenian (Russniak)	27
Scandinavian (Norwegians, Danes, and Swedes)	78
Scotch	149
Slovak	20
Spanish	151
Spanish American	22
Syrian	20
Turkish	3
Welsh	2
West Indian (except Cuban)	3
Other peoples	39
Total	3,661

Examine these tables and you will find there were 401 English deported and only 218 Italians; there were 121 Germans and 302 French, while there were only 37 Russians and 63 Poles. These tables prove conclusively that among the present-day immigrants there is no particular superiority in favor of any immigrant by reason of nativity.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. O'CONNOR of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. BYRNES].

Mr. BYRNES of South Carolina. Mr. Chairman, to appreciate the necessity for this legislation one has but to consider the figures of the last census. Of our total population of 105,000,000, there are approximately 58,000,000 native white of native parentage. Approximately 37,000,000 are foreign born or of foreign born or mixed parentage. Approximately 10,000,000 are colored people. While there are 37,000,000 foreign born or of foreign-born parentage, the number of foreign born is placed at 14,000,000. Of these 14,000,000 less than half are American citizens; 1,500,000 of our foreign-born population can not speak English.

This foreign population is not distributed. Foreign colonies have been created in the large cities, it being estimated that 75 per cent of the aliens remain in large cities. Foreign-language newspapers have above 5,000,000 subscribers.

Now, I do not care where a man was born, if he lives in this country and if his sympathies are with this land and not with some fatherland, upon consideration of these figures he must conclude that the time has come to drastically restrict immigration. If the ideals of other nations and of other peoples are not to be substituted for the ideals of America and Americans, we must assimilate the large foreign-born population now in our midst before we admit any more. These figures indicate that the United States is suffering from indigestion of aliens, and the remedy is the passage of this bill.

Instead of the quota of 3 per cent, based on the 1910 census, this bill provides a quota of 2 per cent based on the 1890 census. The effect of this is only to balance the immigration. To fix the 1920 or 1910 census is to discriminate in favor of the immigration of recent years and against those who arrived at an earlier date and contributed greatly to the development of the Nation.

It is the present law, not the proposed law, that is discriminatory. Under the present law the quota is based on the number of foreign born in this country in 1910. No consideration is given to the number of native citizens who made this country what it is to-day. According to the figures of 1920, the total number of foreign born from southern and eastern Europe was

6,422,727. Counting those who were born in this country but whose parents were born in southern and eastern Europe, they constituted approximately 12,000,000, or 11 per cent of the total population. And the immigration from these countries last year constituted 44 per cent of our total immigration. Was this not discrimination in favor of these nations?

Under the Johnson bill southern and eastern Europe, whose people constitute 11 per cent of our total population, will be allowed 15 per cent of the total quota immigration. In addition, they will profit most from the provision allowing parents and minor children to enter outside of the quota. It can not be fairly contended that this is discrimination against those nations. Any other basis would be unfair and discriminatory against those people comprising the other 79 per cent of the population, who are entitled to consideration in the determination of this question, so vital to the future of America.

But this bill will do no injustice to those now here. Fathers and mothers over 55 years of age, husbands and wives of citizens of the United States, as well as their unmarried children under 18 years of age, will be admitted outside of the quota. So no injury will be done to aliens who have become citizens. And admittedly this bill is urged in behalf of this country and its citizens and not in behalf of any other country or the citizens of any other country.

An effort is made by opponents of the bill to create the impression that the quota provision is directed against the Jewish people. I have confidence in the statements of the members of the committee that the statement is untrue. And, in fact, Jews can come in under the quotas from any country in which they were born. But opponents of the bill, knowing the esteem in which Jewish citizens are held, are simply seeking to arouse them to oppose the measure.

The effect of the bill will be to reduce the number of immigrants from 357,000 to 169,000. It will result in the inspection of immigrants abroad instead of in New York. It will cause the issuance by an American consul of a certificate to the alien and will stop the racing of ships bringing immigrants to America, resulting often in the deportation of those arriving after the quota has been exhausted. No man can start without a certificate, and if he has one he can be admitted any time within 60 days.

This selective system will enable our Government to have some discretion in selecting those who are to be admitted and who may become citizens in the future. European governments are not encouraging their desirable citizens to come to this country. They are encouraging only the less desirable, and under the present law when the entire quota is landed at Ellis Island within two or three days it is impossible for our officials to make such an inspection as will protect the interests of this country.

Under this bill the smuggling of aliens into the country will be curtailed. It is estimated that last year about as many aliens were illegally admitted to our shores as were admitted legally.

Many aliens unconsciously, in the consideration of this question, are influenced by what they believe to be the best interests of other governments instead of this Government. Organizations of foreign-born men and women protest against the passage of the bill and threaten Congressmen who favor it. They are joined in their opposition by the capitalists who want cheap labor and by some few misguided persons in the agricultural sections who believe that by unrestricted immigration the labor problems of the farm may be solved.

In my own State, South Carolina, this argument has been made and some gentlemen in high position have lent themselves to the mistaken effort to have immigrants from Europe take the place of the negroes who have during the last few years left the cotton farms. The absurdity of the proposal is at once apparent. The immigrant who does not speak English, placed upon a farm in an isolated section, separated from any of his countrymen, engaged in cultivating a crop he never saw before, unable to speak to the employing farmer or to understand him, would indeed be an unhappy creature. Such an effort was made about 15 years ago when a ship called the *Wittekind* landed at Charleston, S. C., with a shipload of immigrants supposedly selected by officials of the State. Some of the aliens were sent to farms and others to factories. In a few years every last one of them had left the State.

When confronted with these facts, those who favor unrestricted immigration as a solution for our farm-labor problems usually take the position that the admission of immigrants will result in the negro returning to the farms of the South. But this is equally untenable. If it is proposed to admit a sufficient number of immigrants to break down the wage scale and drive the negro out of the industries which he has entered in

the North in recent years, so many will have to be admitted that they will not only break down the wage scale but will likely break down the Government. In this day of organization in industry a reduction of wages to such an extent as to drive the negro back to the farm will result in destroying the purchasing power of the people of the North and be reflected in the inability of the farmer to sell the products of the farm at a profit.

Only 2 per cent of the aliens admitted last year claimed to be farmers. The immigrants coming to this country during recent years could not be induced to work upon farms in the South, and the only conclusion one can reach is that those who make such arguments hope that after a short stay upon the farms they will drift into the cotton mills. All sane manufacturers know that it is impractical at this time to successfully work aliens in the cotton mills of the South. I favor the development of the textile industry in the South, but if it can not be developed with the supply of labor available and must depend upon the introduction of foreign labor to operate our mills, I am willing to forego the further development. Paraphrasing a question asked long ago, "What will it profit us if we grow a few more bales of cotton or operate a few more spindles and yet suffer the loss of our civilization?"

I regret exceedingly that gentlemen who have spoken this morning in opposition to the bill have attributed to the advocates of the measure prejudice against certain races. The hearings show that the American Federation of Labor, the American Legion, and other organizations, composed of people of all nationalities, advocate the passage of the bill. I know that in my heart I entertain no prejudice against any government or any people. I admit that I do entertain a very strong prejudice in favor of the Government of the United States and in favor of the people of this country, and I am convinced that the enactment of this bill is in the interest of our Government and its people. It is time that some one should consider the interests of America and not merely the interests of people who want to come to America.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. O'CONNOR] made a splendid argument from his viewpoint opposing this bill. But when he refers to the fact that most of the advocates of this bill come from States having few immigrants, while New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and Illinois, having most of the foreign born, are opposed to the bill, he answers his own argument. An unkind person will say that the fact that in the States named the foreign born constitute so large a percentage of the voting population accounts in great measure for the attitude of the Representatives from those States.

In the State of South Carolina we have not more than one-half of 1 per cent of foreign born. But our Americanism is not confined to the State of South Carolina. We are interested in the Nation, in every man, woman, and child, and in every foot of ground within the borders of the Nation. We know that this is a representative government and we believe in representative government. We know that the votes of seven Representatives from New York will in this House offset the votes of the seven Representatives from South Carolina.

We know that from Illinois, New Jersey, and New York there come to this Congress Representatives elected in great measure by the foreign born and those native born of foreign parentage, who influence the policies of this Government, and thereby control the destinies not only of New York and New Jersey but of California and South Carolina as well. Only recently we have had a demonstration of the influence of the foreign born in our large cities.

Whenever death comes to a President of the United States, Americans forget their partisanship and join in mourning. The President, regardless of his politics, is my President. Within 12 months we have had a Republican President die and we saw the people, Democrats and Republicans, join in sincere grief. Then Ex-President Woodrow Wilson died in this city and Republicans joined Democrats in mourning his death. But within the past week in the city of Milwaukee, in the United States of America, a mayor was elected on the ground and the issue that he had refused to sign a resolution of sympathy on the occasion of the death of the President of the United States.

Mr. SCHAFFER. I do not think that was the only or main issue.

Mr. BYRNES of South Carolina. It may not have been the only issue, but I have heard from reliable sources that it was the controlling issue that influenced the people of Milwaukee. The fact that he did it ought to have been sufficient issue to cause his defeat. When I look at the census I find that 78 per cent of the people of Milwaukee were either foreign born or children of foreign born, and it is an additional reason for restricting immigration. When in the United States of America

a candidate for the office of the chief magistrate of a city refuses to express sympathy for the death of an ex-President of the United States of America, and is supported by the 78 per cent of people of foreign birth and parentage, it shows they do not understand our people or institutions and should be Americanized before we admit any more. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired. Mr. SABATH. That gentleman is in favor of this bill.

Mr. O'CONNOR of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. DICKSTEIN].

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, after listening to some of the remarks by some of my able colleagues regarding the immigration question and the danger that is confronting us, I can safely say, after giving this my careful consideration and study, keeping in mind at all times America, that there is no danger at all, except a false alarm. The gentleman tells us that there are so many thousands of people trying to come from Europe that now we can select the best material. Does the Johnson bill give us the right to select? It does not. The Johnson bill does not give you the right to select anybody. The Johnson bill gives a quota to those who apply first, those who happen to stand in line first, whether from Poland, Austria, Germany, or any other national—those are the men whose passports you will visé, and those are the men to whom you will give a certificate of arrival.

Mr. CABLE rose.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I can not yield; my time is limited. In debate I will yield all the time the gentleman wishes. Now, with reference to the statement of the gentleman from Washington, I deny there is a selective immigration bill now before the House. My good colleagues ask, "Have we not the right to stop immigration?" Yes; you have the right to expel me from office; you have a right to declare war against all immigrants; in fact, Congress has the right to do almost anything it desires. But is it fair, is it American, to exercise a power merely because you have it? I will say it is not, and I will prove to you in the little time I have that this bill is not just. This bill is a rank discrimination. You can not justify a bill in which out of 161,184, which will be allowed under the Johnson bill, we give the Nordic race, the northern races, 134,824, and you leave 29,360 for the rest of Europe. Now, I will show you why it is discriminating. Because, prior to 1890, the bulk of the immigration came from the south, and my restrictionist friends who came before the committee said that the southern immigration might absorb the northern immigration and leave more southerners than northerners of Europe. And here is their proposition: In 1890 there were 180,580 foreign born from Italy. After 1890 and up to 1910 we have 1,343,125. There were 182,000 foreign born from Russia in the country in 1890. We had 1,184,422 in 1920. On the other hand, the foreign born from Ireland decreased 519,251 in number between 1890 and 1910, and the foreign born from Germany decreased 473,657. The 1890 census basis therefore becomes unfair and discriminatory. The chairman tells you about the 600,000 in Russia knocking at the door. I say that is a smoke screen, and when he tells you about the 300,000 in Italy waiting to come to our shores, it is a smoke screen, because, as a member of that committee there has not been a scintilla of evidence before the committee to substantiate any such statement as that made on the floor of this House.

Mr. BOX. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I can not, because my time is limited. Now, what the chairman had in mind was this: The chairman has been talking against the immigrant before the bill was ever introduced in Congress. My friend from California was talking against these immigrants from southern and western Europe for a number of years. A statement was made by Mr. JOHNSON in the New York World of February 16, while we were considering the bill in committee, and he said:

And we may say, better than that, we have narrowed down the immigration field to the area of northern and western Europe. Virtually all of the rest of the world is barred.

Virtually all the rest of the world, he says, is barred. And this was the publicity that was given against immigration from southern and eastern Europe. I say, it is discrimination; and I call attention again to the third column of this World article, where it is reported that Congressman JOHNSON had a galley proof of the committee report and handed it over to the reporters to show that they—the committee—are going to allow into this country only the admission of immigrants from northern and northwestern Europe and bar the rest of the world.

Well, what do you say about that? Is not that proof enough that it was in the contemplation of some of the members of the

committee to discriminate against southern and eastern Europe? Now, they talk about the State of New York making a claim for \$33,000,000. In the first place, the State of New York is not making a claim of \$33,000,000, as the gentleman says, as a result of foreigners or aliens in hospitals. The facts relevant to this claim arose upon an investigation of the care and treatment of alien patients in the State hospitals for insane and public charges, from 1882 to August 1, 1921, and the State claimed \$17,447,616.17, which would be the cost of the care of said patients admitted each year since 1882. The Federal immigration act of 1882 provided for a head tax upon each immigrant for the purpose of creating an immigrant fund to be used under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury to defray the expenses of regulating immigration under the act and for the care of immigrants arriving in the United States, for the relief of such as are in distress, and for the general purposes and expenses of carrying the act into effect. The constitutionality of this provision has been affirmed by the Supreme Court, and the provision is still in effect. It seems to me that the unexpended balance to the credit of the immigrant fund on the books of the Secretary of the Treasury amounts to about \$11,000,000. A large portion of this money rightfully belongs to the State of New York for its care of the immigrants, who came into distress subsequent to the passage of the act of 1882, and were cared for in the New York State hospitals, and amongst these claims are bonds given to the Government that the immigrant will not become a public charge.

Thousands of these bonds have been forfeited and the United States Government got the money, and all that the State of New York is seeking from the United States is part of that money under which these men have forfeited their bonds. That is all that the State of New York is seeking. The State of New York is not here complaining against the immigrants. The State of New York does not come in here and say to you Members of Congress, "Close the doors of Ellis Island." It is men from other parts of the State and men from thousands of miles away, who do not know anything about the immigrant, who come here and say, "Yes; we will discriminate against one class in preference to another class, or nation, or creed, or color."

It seems to me there are some good features in this bill, and I am going to give credit to the Johnson bill to that extent. It allows the nonquota relatives into this land. Outside of that, gentlemen of the committee, the bill is discriminatory from its inception, because if you follow the hearings before the committee and the statements of proponents of the bill you would be easily convinced that this bill is not an American measure.

And by the way, gentlemen, I want it understood now that the minority of the committee, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH] and myself, are not for an open door. We are for America just as much as any Member of this House. We want to get the best material that we can get; but we say to you, if you are going to argue on quotas, "make it a fair quota, so that no one can say that we have discriminated against people abroad." I am not talking about the citizens abroad, in Europe; I am talking about those who are here from southern and eastern Europe.

I think you will agree with me that immigration is among the many pressing problems facing America to-day. The Immigration Committee of the House, of which I have the honor to be a member, has considered this important question for weeks and finally reported out the Johnson bill, H. R. 7995, which if enacted would replace the present immigration law, which expires June 30, 1924.

The chief point of departure in this Johnson bill as compared with the present law consists in shifting the basis of calculation from the 1910 to 1890 census and substituting a 2 per cent quota in place of the 3 per cent quota. Other new features will be analyzed and commented on later, but I will proceed immediately to a discussion of this first and, from my point of view, objectionable feature of the bill.

The Johnson bill is frankly and unquestionably a restrictive immigration measure of an unprecedented character. Former laws have restricted immigration on the basis of certain stringent tests, where the present law, notwithstanding these tests, admitted into the United States 522,919 ending July 1, 1923. The proposed bill will admit only 161,184 plus an uncertain but limited number of those not coming within the quota law. In normal years in pre-war days this country was able to absorb 1,000,000 immigrants a year. It was a drastic cut when we reduced it to 500,000 under the 3 per cent quota law now operative. A further restriction is recommended in this bill bringing the figure down to 161,184, as above stated.

Now let me present some figures showing how the operation of the new 2 per cent quota law on the 1890 census would affect prospective immigration from various countries:

Estimated immigration quotas based on census reports of 1890, 1900, 1910, and 1920—2 per cent plus 100 for each nationality

Country or region of birth	Estimated quotas based on 2 per cent of census plus 100			
	Census of 1890	Census of 1900	Census of 1910	Census of 1920
Albania	104	121	202	212
Armenia (Russian)	117	141	252	419
Austria	1,090	1,891	4,994	11,510
Belgium	609	749	1,142	1,356
Bulgaria	100	100	302	311
Czechoslovakia	1,973	3,531	11,472	7,350
Danzig, Free City of	323	314	300	250
Denmark	2,882	3,208	3,646	3,844
Estonia	202	337	998	1,484
Finland	245	1,365	2,714	3,113
Fiume, Free State of <sup>1</sup>	110	117	148	210
France	3,973	3,734	3,920	3,177
Germany	45,229	43,081	40,172	28,705
Great Britain and North Ireland	41,772	37,282	34,593	29,132
Irish Free State	20,886	18,641	17,254	14,576
Greece	135	269	2,142	3,625
Hungary	588	1,232	3,932	8,047
Iceland	136	142	150	150
Italy	4,689	10,815	23,138	32,315
Latvia	217	371	1,126	1,681
Lithuania	402	655	1,852	2,801
Luxemburg	138	161	162	332
Netherlands	1,737	2,000	2,604	2,728
Norway	6,553	6,857	8,234	7,425
Poland	8,972	16,277	20,752	22,902
Portugal	574	1,016	1,744	1,616
Rumania	731	1,512	5,046	2,157
Russia	1,892	4,596	16,370	25,161
Spain (including Canary Islands)	224	245	708	1,320
Sweden	9,691	11,772	13,462	12,649
Switzerland	2,181	2,414	2,602	2,477
Yugoslavia	835	1,504	4,384	3,500
San Marino	110	110	110	110
Andorra	100	100	100	100
Liechtenstein	100	100	100	100
Monaco	100	100	100	100
Palestine	101	104	138	164
Syria	112	167	688	1,142
Turkey	123	218	1,870	841
Hejaz	103	105	105	105
Persia	125	125	125	125
Egypt	100	108	112	117
Liberia	100	100	100	100
Abyssinia	100	100	100	100
Morocco	100	100	100	100
Union of South Africa	110	110	110	110
Australia	220	240	296	323
New Zealand and Pacific islands	167	152	154	178
Total	161,184	178,769	239,930	240,400

<sup>1</sup>Fiume is to be added to Italy.

NOTE.—By reason of alteration of bases of computation, principally the elimination of "Other Europe," "Other Asia," and "black" Africa, certain quotas are materially changed. The German quotas are reduced by reason of the allocation of quotas to Czechoslovakia, Poland, etc. The Danish quota increases at the expense of the German quota by reason of the award of Schleswig to Denmark. The British quota increases by absorption of quotas from Cyprus, Gibraltar, and Malta (heretofore part of "Other Europe"), but is decreased by allocation of a quota to the Irish Free State. The Italian quota increases by reason of absorption of Rhodes, Dodekanesa, and Castellorizzo. All estimates printed above, therefore, are subject to considerable revision. They can not be considered as final.

You will observe from this table how drastic are the reductions for southern and eastern European countries as compared with reductions for northern and western European countries. As a matter of fact, these preferential countries labeled pseudo-scientific terminology, as the "Nordic" race will get the bulk of the new immigration. Great Britain, the Irish Free State, and Germany alone will be credited with 108,887 besides the other Nordic races, which would make a total of 131,824, and thus out of a grand total of 161,184 would leave only 29,360 for all the other nationalities combined.

All fair-minded Americans will agree with me that there is, in this new Johnson bill, a discriminating feature absolutely unjustified either by the facts of history or by any spirit of fair play.

Take the Italian immigration for example. Our loyal ally in the recent war is permitted under the present law to have 42,057 of its citizens enter our country; but under the new bill only 4,689 will be permitted to enter our land. Is it any wonder that the Italian Government has entered a form of protest and may we not expect protests to come from other countries who have been similarly discriminated against? In fact, we may expect form of protests from these countries on the ground that the Johnson bill violates, if not the letter at least the spirit, of existing treaties. Our Immigration Committee has received a communication from the Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes, that

we may expect such protests. This unjust and indefensible discrimination rests upon the theory that the northern and western Europeans belong to a superior race conversely and by implication that those coming from the southern and eastern Europe are the undesirables. This is a very superficial pseudo-scientific theory which has never been indorsed or accepted by scientific sociologists or anthropologists. It makes interesting and palatable newspaper and cheap literary reading. Superficial journalists have exploited and commercialized the immigration situation for private gain or to satisfy an inflated race ego.

All students of American history know very well that our majestic Republic has been built up by a mingling of many races, including those that are now designated as the undesirables. The Italians, the Jews, the Poles, the Russians, the Lithuanians, and the Bohemians have mingled and fused with the earlier immigrants—the English, the Scotch, the Irish, the German, and the Scandinavian. While the melting pot has not yet completed its amalgamating process, who shall say that America has lost any of its superiority because of this interracial transplanting and interracial fusion?

The Italian contribution to America did not end with Christopher Columbus. The Marconis and the Teslas with their wireless telegraphy and electrical inventions have contributed and are contributing much to the industrial and the art development of America. Who shall deny that Steinmetz, the electrical wizard, and Doctor Pupin, one of the world's greatest physicists, have contributed more than their share to the development and the progress of science, as applied to industry, and who by these contributions have justified the wisdom of admitting the Jews and eastern Europeans into this land of ours? The president of one of the largest construction companies of the world, the Thompson-Starrett Co., was once a poor immigrant boy of Jewish origin, Louis J. Horowitz.

It has always been the glory of American ideals that men shall be judged not by the test "Where did you come from?" but, rather, "Where are you going?"; not by the test, "What is your pedigree?" but, rather, "What is your destiny?"

On May 2, 1921, in the Senate of the United States, Senator REED of Missouri said:

I can not agree to the proposition that because a human being happens to be born in some other country he is therefore a menace to this Republic. I can not subscribe to the doctrine that because there are some people in other countries who will not make good citizens of this country or of their own therefore we should exclude all people indiscriminately.

I want to legislate for the United States; but I deny that we are legislating for the United States when we bar from our gates the man of good morals, good intelligence, good intentions, and good health. What we can do probably is to turn aside a tide of travel and send them possibly into Canada by the hundreds of thousands, and possibly by the millions in the long run, and can make of them loyal British subjects instead of American citizens.

We get excited very quickly about things that are purely temporary. If the price of coal goes up \$2 a ton, everybody gets a notion that there is a great crisis, and before you get the bill passed—I am simply using this to illustrate—the thing has regulated itself. We had a paper shortage in this country. Part of it was natural and part of it was artificial; but before we could think of any kind of legislation to regulate it the paper market was broken, and white paper was being sold on call only a few weeks ago at 4½ cents a pound.

There has been a war in Europe, and all of a sudden somebody concluded that we would be raided by vast numbers of people from Europe and that the wicked and bad elements of Europe would all come in. It is not difficult to keep—I will not say all—but any considerable number of bad people out of this country and at the same time keep our doors open for the proper kind of people. I have had occasion to say before, and I say now, that it is easy enough to establish in Europe tribunals that will be self-supporting, supported out of fees there collected. These tribunals can absolutely examine into the character and history and purposes of the people who apply for admission to this country. I assert that every man of sound morals and sound health and good intelligence who comes to this country is an addition to the wealth and power of this country.

I grant that there are classes of people in different countries of the world we ought not to admit to this country. There are races. I think the Chinese are a fine people, but I do not think they ought to be admitted to America to live here, because they are not assimilable by the white race with any justice to their blood or to ours.

I think the Japanese ought not to be permitted to come. I think for the most part Asiatics ought to be excluded. But they ought to be excluded because of racial differences.

I have more faith in my country and its institutions than some people. I think that our country is so much better than any other country that nine hundred and ninety-nine out of a thousand who

come here, not merely as laborers, but men intending to live here, can be absorbed and can be inspired with a love and reverence for our institutions. Has it not always been so?

History ought to teach us, and does teach us, that those countries which have set up arbitrary and narrow standards of race superiority are doomed in the end either to decline or destruction. Anyone who has but a cursory knowledge of Spanish history is fully aware of the truth of this lesson of history. It has been said of this once superior nation and proud people—until the end of the fifteenth century the Jew was happy in Spain, and he contributed greatly to its prosperity, to its literature, and to such science as was then known. However, on a single day the edict was issued, in 1492, which exiled 600,000 Jews from Spain. It is an interesting fact that in the very year when they were exiled Columbus discovered America; and what is more interesting, Spanish historians and authorities have proved now, to their own satisfaction, that Columbus himself was a Jew and not an Italian.

It may not be amiss, nor is it said with any spirit of boastfulness, that the Jews are proud of the fact that they rendered invaluable assistance and gave great encouragement to Columbus. Indeed reports of recent scholarship indicate that Columbus himself was born of Jewish parents. However this may be, we do know that Columbus was very closely identified with the learned and influential Jews of his age and secured material and other assistance from them. Luis de Santangel, a rich Jewish merchant of Valencia, loaned 17,000 ducats to aid Columbus, and perhaps this sum defrayed all costs of the voyage of discovery. It is related that—

Associated with Columbus in the voyage were at least five Jews—Luis de Torres, interpreter; Marco, the surgeon; Bernal, the physician; Alonzo de la Calle; and Gabriel Sanchez. Descendants of these Jews later settled in America. The astronomical instruments and maps which the navigators used were of Jewish origin. Luis de Torres was the first man ashore, the first to discover tobacco; he settled in Cuba and may be said to be the father of Jewish control of the tobacco business as it exists to-day. Columbus's old patrons, Luis de Santangel and Gabriel Sanchez, received many privileges for the part they played in the discovery.

In 1776 there were some 4,000 Jews in the United States, and generally they aided the Americans in the Revolution, and Haym Saloman, a Polish Jew, loaned his great fortune to help the colonies at a critical juncture.

So Columbus came with Jews to America 128 years before the *Mayflower* brought to Plymouth its political and religious refugees from England, who gave to America its spirit, its truth, its freedom.

If there is anyone who doubts or questions the value and the contribution made to America by the races and peoples of southern and eastern Europe, he has but to spend a few days or even a few hours in a typical New England industrial center. In Worcester, Mass., for instance, there are 37 nationalities at work in its various factories, creating the wealth of that thriving city, and what is true of Worcester is true of all of New England's industrial centers of population, with her humming mills and busy factories.

I have referred only briefly to the contributions made by the immigrants of southern and eastern Europe in the field of creative arts. I believe it is conceded by the keenest and deepest students of sociology that these peoples, because of their tradition and by virtue of their temperament, can and will and are supplementing our material development with creative production in the artistic realm.

The cultured of our people in New York enjoy and admire the world-famous Jewish violinists, pianists, vocalists, and actors. Dr. Leopold Auer, most famous of violin teachers, has his studio in New York. Rubin Goldmark is president of the New York "Bohemians," which is the largest and strongest of the world's clubs of musicians. His symphonic compositions are played by the world's great orchestras, and artists from all parts of America seek his studio for lessons in harmony and composition. In Puritan meeting houses the fiddle was thought an instrument of Satan's. Our Anglo-Saxon stock has crying need for the sobbing violins of virtuosi from southeastern and southern Europe and for all their wonderful arts. Zimbalist, Elman, Heifetz, Kreisler, de Pachmann, Godowsky, Rachmaninoff, Caruso, Gigli, and Bonel were never "icebound." Russia sent us Stokowsky, who gives to Philadelphia the most brilliant of all orchestras.

Naturally and instinctively we think of patriotism as the highest expression of Americanism. In the great hour of an emergency or national crisis all people of all races and religions are tested by the call to arms and by the service and self-sacrifice on the battle field, if need be. Anyone familiar with the

devotion and heroism of our boys in the recent war must admit that no single race had a monopoly on heroism.

I commend to those who are infected with the germ of the Nordic superior race theory their beautiful and effective story of the Eight American Soldiers, by Samuel McCoy, which I shall take the liberty to quote:

The heroism of the eight Americans whom I am about to name was duplicated in every one of the hundreds of regiments which were sent from America to serve in France; I name these eight men merely because their war records happen to be before me at the moment and because much has been said of late in regard to the proper qualifications for American citizenship.

Each of these men was awarded the distinguished-service cross. Twenty thousand men who fought in the same division to which they belonged all acquitted themselves with honor in the face of danger. A thousand men of the division were singled out to appear in the divisional citations for feats of heroism performed in that campaign. But these eight were ranked even higher than all these. They were of the handful who won the distinguished-service cross, a decoration awarded only "for extraordinary heroism in action."

The first man, a sergeant, in the assault launched against the seemingly impregnable Hindenburg line, "although twice wounded, refused to leave the field, but remained with his platoon, exhibiting magnificent courage and bravery until he was wounded a third time. His devotion to duty set a splendid example to the men of his company."

The second, a corporal, in the same fearful fire of the enemy, "was an advance scout for his platoon. The platoon was temporarily halted by machine-gun fire from a section of the enemy trench in their immediate front. He rushed through the heavy enemy fire to the trench, and at the point of his rifle compelled 12 of the enemy to surrender. He then signaled for the platoon to advance."

The third, also a corporal, "left shelter, went forward, under intense machine-gun fire, and carried a wounded officer to safety. In accomplishing this mission he was severely wounded."

The fourth man, a private, first class, "when the advance of his battalion was checked by heavy machine-gun fire, went forward, and two other soldiers, under heavy fire to reconnoiter the enemy positions. By effective rifle fire they drove the gunners from two machine-gun nests into a dugout nearby, which they captured, together with 35 prisoners, including 8 officers."

The fifth man, also a private, "after being severely wounded by shrapnel, took shelter in a shell hole somewhat in advance of his company, from which he had become separated in the fog and smoke. He saved the lives of four of his wounded comrades, who were occupying the shell hole, by throwing live grenades, which had been tossed into the shell hole by members of his own company in the rear, into the enemy's lines."

The sixth, a private, "under heavy shell and machine-gun fire, left the shelter of his trench, and going forward under a thick smoke screen, single-handed captured between 30 and 40 prisoners. \* \* \* Three weeks later, in a second battle, after the advance of his company had been stopped by strong, hostile machine-gun fire, he, with three companions, advanced far ahead of the front line to attack an enemy position located in a large farmhouse. By skillful maneuvering in the broad daylight they covered all entrances to the house and forced the surrender of the entire force of the enemy, numbering 36 men and 2 officers. During the exploit they killed 2 of the enemy, who attempted to take cover in the cellar."

The seventh, a private, "exhibited exceptional bravery by leaving shelter and going into an open field, under heavy machine-gun and shell fire, to rescue wounded soldiers."

The eighth man, also a private, "while the advance against the Hindenburg line was at its height, seeing an American machine gunner exposed to the enemy, ran to his assistance. On the way he was seriously wounded, but continued on, reaching the position and using his body to shield the gunner while the latter poured a fire into the enemy. He was wounded three times, finally losing consciousness, but after his wounds were dressed he insisted on leaving the field unaided."

The names of these eight American soldiers, all of whom are still living, are John N. F. Bilitzki, Lonnie J. Moscow, Aloizy Nagowski, Isaac Rabinowitz, Epifanio Affatato, Wasyl Kolonoczyk, Daniel Moskowitz, and Antony Sclafoni.

Having disposed of the racial ethnic argument used by the restrictionists to justify the Johnson bill, let me pass on to another phase of the question. The restriction act of May 19, 1921, was enacted as a postwar reconstruction measure. We had an army of unemployed, and as a temporary expedient we tightened up on our restrictive features. But that emergency has passed. Less than a year ago, when we were on the upward swing industrially, captains of industry and farmers were demanding the complete abandonment of all restrictive legislation on immigration. The cry went out that there was imminent danger of a labor shortage, seriously handicapping the industrial and the agricultural development of our Nation.

What has happened since then to justify swinging to the other extreme, as is now proposed by the passage of the Johnson bill? Let us take a long-time view of things. Let us not tie our hands in such a way that we will be denying ourselves the use of man power which can be absorbed now and which may be required in still greater number and quantity with the coming months.

Let us not too rashly and too lightly abandon the policy laid down by the founders of this Republic, which policies, so far as immigration is concerned, made possible the greatest development ever witnessed by any people and by any nation in history.

That the open-door policy in vogue for more than a century and a quarter has been a boon to our economic development is known to every student of economic history. During the very period extending from about 1880 down to the World War and down to the present in a modified form, when immigration was at its height, our country experienced unparalleled material prosperity. The wealth of the United States in 1880 was estimated at about \$43,642,000,000. In 1920 it reached the astounding figure of \$290,000,000,000—that is to say, the per capita wealth increased from \$870 to \$2,689, in the very period when we were admitting immigrants at the rate of about 430,000. In fact, in some of the pre-war years immigration hit the million mark per annum, whereas the proposed bill would admit under 162,000. During this period of unrestricted, or only partially restricted, immigration our country witnessed an unprecedented development of our foreign commerce. The annual average for the five-year period ending 1880 was only \$650,000,000. The average annual value of our exports for the five-year period ended 1922 was close to \$6,000,000,000. This marvelous material development both in the increase in our national wealth and the increase of our foreign commerce has been made possible only through the addition of our man power, brought about by a free and wise immigration policy. Of one thing we are absolutely certain: That our former immigration policy did not stand in the way of the most unparalleled material development experienced by any nation in the world's history.

I repeat, let us not too rashly and too lightly abandon the policy laid down by the founders of this Republic.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the Record.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. LaGuardia].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. LaGuardia. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, I can understand the pride, the pardonable pride, of my colleague whose ancestors came here in the *Mayflower*, and I hope that you can understand my pride when I say a distinguished navigator of the race of my ancestors came to this continent 200 years before you landed at Plymouth Rock. [Applause.]

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Has it not been a question whether Christopher Columbus came from your country or not?

Mr. LaGuardia. My country? My country is the United States. [Applause.] I can understand the desire of the gentleman at a loss to trace a straight line of racial ancestry to boast of a "Nordic" civilization. But do not forget that the people from whence my ancestors came were in England for 200 years, commencing at a period before Christ, civilizing that country. [Applause.]

Now, gentlemen, at this point let us define the issue as we will argue it in the general debate. The gentleman from Washington [Mr. Johnson], the chairman of the committee, says that he has put teeth in this bill. I deny that allegation. It is contended by the proponents of this bill that it is so drafted to assist in the assassination of aliens that you are doing this to get superior races into the country. I deny that. I will tell you what you are doing. That is the issue that I will assume during this debate. You are not keeping out eastern and southern Europe because you want to keep up the American standard of living. You are not debarring and cutting down immigration because you want to keep up wages. We are in a position now to take care of these people as they come, to protect them, so that they will not be exploited.

I will tell you what you are doing. You are keeping out these people and permitting Mexican peons to come by the thousands,

knowing they will be exploited in the factories, on the farms, and wherever they will be employed. If you want to reduce immigration, why let the doors open at the Mexican border? Sixty-three thousand Mexicans came in last year lawfully. The Secretary of Labor is authority for the statement that an equal number came in unlawfully. Well, you find them in the beet-sugar farms up North, in the factories, and in the shops, working on starvation wages. That is the kind of immigration you seem to want. If you are absolutely sincere in your representation that you want to keep up the American standard of living, why not close the doors against Mexico? No; you do not want the people who want to come here to stay and make their home, people who have their relatives here who can advise them and protect them; workers who will not reduce wages, understand the value of unions, and who will work only for living wages. You want to get 100,000 peons from Mexico and put them in the factories at starvation wages. Deny that if you can. You will soon create a condition of low wages which in turn will lower the standard of living.

Mr. HILL of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LaGuardia. Not just now, Colonel.

Mr. RAKER. Will the gentleman tell the House what the law is now with regard to the admission of Mexicans, and that if the law were enforced there would not be 5,000 Mexicans coming in?

Mr. LaGuardia. Why do you not enforce the law?

Mr. RAKER. We have not the Government.

Mr. LaGuardia. You had it in 1914, when you allowed 40,000 Mexicans to come in.

Mr. MADDEN. They did that during the war, when they had control of the Government. They invited and permitted them to come in during the war.

Mr. LaGuardia. Yes; and they are still in the country.

The gentleman told you about 160,000 Russians and the number of Italians that want to come in. He did not tell you about the British subjects who already have steamship passage. I will tell you why, and it is because the British steamship companies wanted to know exactly what you were going to do. We were talking the other day about the American merchant marine. We were united in our desire to protect the American merchant marine. Yet the British steamship companies had a great deal of influence, seemingly, in suggesting this very legislation. I read in a paper dated January 19, 1924, that 50,000 passages from Great Britain had already been sold to sail, beginning July 1.

Fifty thousand passages. Then it says that all the north Atlantic shipping companies are asking the American consular officials in Britain to give precedence in the granting of visés to those who have reserved passage. So the gentlemen of the Immigration Committee rush a rule to hasten legislation for the accommodation of the British steamship companies.

Ah, gentlemen, if you are sincere in your desire to stop immigration why do you not provide in this bill for a proper border patrol on the Canadian line? I will tell you why. Because your British companies are bringing in immigrants who are undesirable on British boats, who are smuggled in over the Canadian line, and yet you do not provide in your bill, nor is there provided in the appropriation bills, any means for protecting the Canadian border.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LaGuardia. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. If the gentleman will permit, I want to say that the next two things the committee intends to do is to bring in a bill for the deportation of convicted aliens, liquor violators, and narcotic violators, and a bill for the complete protection of our borders in behalf of our laws. That will be done before July. [Applause.]

Mr. LaGuardia. I will say to the gentleman that for every alien you deport for violating the liquor laws you ought to exile a hundred natives who buy the bootleg from him. [Applause.] If it is a crime for the alien to sell liquor, then it is equally a crime for the native of your Nordic stock to buy liquor from him.

Mr. HILL of Maryland. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LaGuardia. Yes.

Mr. HILL of Maryland. Does the gentleman know whether the stock of the State of Georgia is Nordic or from south Europe?

Mr. LaGuardia. I do not want to say anything about that now.

Mr. HILL of Maryland. I have here the figures showing the liquor convictions in south Georgia.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I can not yield further. Gentlemen, I hope that this very important and human subject will be intelligently debated. I do not know why this particular bill comes before us now. The President of the United States is not supporting this bill; the Secretary of Labor is not in favor of this bill; the Senate is considering another bill. Why not study the question thoroughly and bring in a real scientific bill which will meet the economic conditions of the country? No; you come here with a chart with pretty colors on it and you say, "The share of one race was a certain percentage and the share of another race was too large 10 years ago, so now we are going to equalize them." If you want to be fair on the question of percentage, then why do you not take the total population of the various races from the beginning to 1920 and then fix your quota on that basis. Take a correct average of all races and not an arbitrary census, if you want to get away from the charge of discrimination.

We all know you went back to the 1890 census, because the mathematics of that basis keep out the races you have admitted you want to keep out.

I will say in answer to the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. BYRNES], when he says we are threatened by the effect of the make-up of the voting population of our city, that in those districts you will find harmony and unity in striving to keep up the traditions of this country and love of country and love of their fellow men to the highest possible degree, and you will not find in those districts any religious warfare carried on in the darkness of night. [Applause.]

I will say to the gentleman who speaks for the State and district where they have no alien population, and who boasts of his one-half of 1 per cent, that I challenge a comparison of illiteracy in that State and in that district with the illiteracy in my district or in any part of New York City.

Now, let us be fair about this. If you want to protect the wages of the working people of this country, then put your restriction on all immigrants; if you want to be fair and escape the charge of discrimination, then take an average of all the races, and then you will not have to come here with a complicated chart and apologize instead of an intelligent presentation of your bill. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. O'CONNOR of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield six minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. RAKER]. [Applause.]

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, the lodestone that controlled the Committee on Immigration was what was the best to do for America and for American institutions. A special committee of the Committee on Immigration three years ago spent some four months traveling over the United States from city to city and going into the various features of immigration, studying legislation which it thought would be proper and best to present to the Congress. The provisions of this bill are in response, in great part, to the facts which were developed in that investigation. When that committee came back and reported a year and a half ago, the then committee, except two members, was unanimous for the matter contained in the bill reported to the House.

Mr. SABATH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RAKER. Will not the gentleman pardon me, so that I may present my statement? The present committee has had added to it six new members, and the members of the present committee have all signed this report save and except two members. I want to say to the members who are present that the two gentlemen who signed the adverse report agreed with practically everything in the bill save and except the 1890 census, and they voted for the other provisions of the bill.

Mr. PERLMAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RAKER. No. I am not going into an argument on the bill, but merely want to make a preliminary statement.

Mr. PERLMAN. I desire to correct a statement.

Mr. RAKER. I can not yield. So it might be said there is no partisanship in connection with this bill. Democrats and Republicans on the committee have ever since Congress convened in December, early and late, holidays and during the time between Christmas and New Year's, been working on this legislation for the purpose of presenting it in such shape as to give the best results to our country and at the same time fairly treat, as we believe, the people we intend to permit to come to the United States.

I want to say to you gentlemen, and the RECORD will show it, and every member of the committee will admit, there has not been a proposition in regard to immigration or in regard to legislation that would affect immigration suggested by any man in the United States, so far as the committee has been able to get it, but what has been actually considered and

acted upon by your committee. We gave everybody an opportunity to be heard before the committee, and no one was denied an opportunity of presenting his views. We have considered the methods that have been suggested by many, and believe that the unanimous opinion of the committee, with the exception of the two minority members who signed a minority report, is the composite judgment of your committee, that we have arrived at a method that will give us better results, that will put immigration on a better basis than it has been, and at the same time there will be no opportunity for complaining by those who are permitted to come here that they have been improperly treated or that there can be any possibility that there has been any division of families or any denial of rights that the parties who seek to enter may claim.

Mr. PERLMAN. Will the gentleman yield for just one correction?

Mr. RAKER. I yield.

Mr. PERLMAN. Is it not a fact that another member of the committee, the member from New York, dissented to the use of the 1890 census in the bill?

Mr. RAKER. I am sorry the gentleman has asked me that question, because I would rather not answer it before the House. I will answer it before we get through with the debate. The gentleman from New York [Mr. BACON] I consider one of the finest men in this House, a man of stability and standing, who voted with us on every proposition on this bill. Now, shall I tell the rest?

Mr. PERLMAN. Just answer the question.

[Cries of "Yes; tell it."]

Mr. RAKER. All right; I will tell it. It has been demanded of me and I will tell it.

Mr. PERLMAN. Will the gentleman first—

Mr. RAKER. No; I will not yield further. When we got down to signing the report, so there could be no question of politics in this matter, the New York Republican delegation met and invited Mr. BACON to appear before it, and they unanimously instructed that Mr. BACON should not sign that report; and your Mr. BACON, who was humiliated, came back and signed a minority report, but now signs this majority report on the present bill, H. R. 7995. I am sorry I had to tell that.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Will the gentleman take another minute so I can correct a statement?

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. O'CONNOR of New York. I yield the gentleman one minute additional.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. I simply desire to state to the gentleman that the picture he draws of the meeting of the New York delegation and what happened there is entirely erroneous.

Mr. RAKER. I have stated exactly what I was told by the gentleman from New York [Mr. BACON], who not only told it in my presence but told it in the presence of other members of the committee, and I am sorry the gentleman compelled me to make the statement before the House.

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Will the gentleman yield for just one correction? There was no direction. There was a unanimous vote, in which they all joined, but no direction was given to Mr. BACON.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from California has again expired.

Mr. O'CONNOR of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. KUNZ].

Mr. KUNZ. Mr. Speaker, we have often heard it said that history repeats itself. It seems to me that in this case—

Mr. RAKER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KUNZ. I yield.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may strike out of my remarks what I said about the gentleman from New York [Mr. BACON], because I do not like to refer to those things. It was drawn out by the gentleman. May I have that consent?

Mr. PERLMAN. Mr. Speaker, I have no objection; but I wanted the gentleman to answer the question, Did not the gentleman from New York sign a minority report?

Mr. RAKER. On the present bill he signs the majority report.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. O'CONNOR of New York. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I do not see the gentleman from New York [Mr. BACON] in the House, and I would like the request to be deferred until he comes into the House and finds out about the remarks. In the meantime I am compelled to object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York [Mr. O'CONNOR] objects.

Mr. KUNZ. Mr. Speaker, there is no question but what the war has caused a revolution in the world, created a good deal of unrest among the people, and it seems to me a great deal of unrest among the Members of this House. History repeats itself, and sometimes reverses itself. It seems to me that we are now going back to the time before the birth of Christ. As you know, before the birth of Christ, when the Jews were in power, the gentile had no opportunity. History has now reversed itself with the gentile, and it seems to me now that we are following the footsteps of the Jews, Pericles of the Athenians, in saying to the other nations, "We do not want you." I have heard a great deal said and a great deal preached by men whom I know are not practicing what they preach. A great many men talk about their Americanism, and they want the world to know how much they love this country and how much they desire to protect it. You are not going to protect this country by a bill that discriminates like the Johnson bill.

Only a few moments ago a gentleman rose and talked to you about a man who was elected mayor in Milwaukee who declined to sign resolutions mourning the death of an ex-President of the United States. You do not put a limit on the aliens coming into this country. Under your 2 per cent or 3 per cent you permit anyone to come in here. If you are true and loyal Americans, true to your cause, you would amend that clause. You would say to the foreigner or to the alien, "You can not enter the gates of this country unless you have some one in America who can vouch for you who is a loyal American citizen."

Look at the statistics. You have 5,000,000 aliens in America who are not loyal to the flag, who are not loyal to the Stars and Stripes. If they were, they would take the oath of allegiance. They would prove to the people of this country that they are loyal Americans, but they are not; and yet you open the gates to the very same class that you are to-day objecting to, and you permit them to come in here in the future.

You can not discriminate by saying to them that some have been here for a long time and some have been here for a short time. What difference does it make if you have 5,000,000 aliens from northern, southern, or eastern Europe; you claim they are here—good, loyal, American people—that they are going to protect the interests of your country. We must judge men not by their promises but by their deeds. Go back to your World War. There you had aliens; you had men there who did not have to join the Army; who could have claimed exemption; who were not citizens under the law, and could not become citizens until Congress passed the act giving those who live in the country one year that they might take the oath of allegiance and become citizens; you had 400,000 of those who were willing to volunteer and sacrifice their all to protect you and me, and to protect our interests and our institutions in this country, and out of that number approximately 300,000 took the oath of allegiance and became citizens.

Mr. WATKINS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KUNZ. Yes.

Mr. WATKINS. The gentleman should not fail to recollect that they were not only protecting our country but should bear in mind that they were protecting the mother country, whose cause was ours, and they were fighting for their native land.

Mr. KUNZ. Not at all, gentlemen, not at all. [Applause.]

The aliens of Polish extraction born in Austria, Germany, and Russia enlisted in the World War against the countries of their birth and fought with our American soldiers, which plainly shows their loyalty to the country which they desired to adopt, and did adopt when given the opportunity.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

[Mr. KUNZ had leave to extend his remarks in the RECORD.]

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. CABLE].

Mr. CABLE. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, this bill is selective, restrictive, and humane. The gentleman from New York [Mr. LaGuardia] has suggested that we state a definite issue. I say to the Members of this House who have been fighting this bill that they are beclouding and evading the issue. In the first place the very people they claim they are seeking to protect will be benefited by the humane measures of the proposed immigration bill.

What happens to-day under the quota law? You know Ellis Island is jammed at the beginning of every month with immigrants coming into the United States. We see the race between steamships across the ocean to be first in port so that their nationals may come within the quota. You see the distress of the aliens coming on the slower ships who because the quota is exhausted when their ship reaches here have been compelled to return home. You see families who have sold their

property to come to the United States and because of slow speed of steamships have been compelled to return to their own country from whence they came. And yet under the Johnson bill, the bill you are attacking, no such conditions will ever occur. In the first place I do not agree with the gentleman from New York [Mr. Dickstein], for I say that the bill is selective; it gives the American consul the right to select the immigrant. We want no one living in Europe to come to the United States unless he is physically, mentally, and morally fit to enter. The weakling will be weeded out at the source. Certificates will be issued to those who qualify, and the number counted at the rate of 10 per cent a month. No longer will the steamships race across the ocean, no alien unfit will be admitted, no longer will immigrants be compelled to stay on the ships two and three and four days waiting for other immigrants to get through Ellis Island.

Another thing. Under the present law aliens are counted and examined at Ellis Island at the rate of seven a minute. I ask you what kind of an examination can a Public Health doctor—what kind of an examination can an immigration inspector—give a future citizen of the United States at the rate of seven per minute? Ten per cent of the quota a month gives time for the much-needed inspection. The flow through the island will be constant and even.

Another proposition. I call the attention of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Sabath] to the fact that he fails to mention one good feature of the bill in particular—the right of the American citizen to bring his wife and family to the United States.

Mr. SABATH. The gentleman understands that I favor all the provisions of that kind in the bill.

Mr. CABLE. I am glad to hear that, but why does not the gentleman take the bill which is more humane to the aliens who want to come here than the present law?

Mr. SABATH. On account of its discriminatory provisions based on the census of 1890.

Mr. CABLE. There is no discrimination. I say that those who are opposing this restrictive measure are attempting to becloud the issue by bringing up a straw man and then knocking the straw man down, because of the census provision in the bill. In the first place, the immigration law must be framed for the benefit of America, and that is what the Johnson bill does. We take into consideration first the rights of America—the rights of the American people—and then we put in many excellent provisions, many good features of this bill relating to the aliens who may come to this country, that they may be treated in a proper manner. It will eliminate the racing of ships across the ocean. An examination will be held on American soil by American doctors, by American inspectors, in such a degree that each alien who gains admission to the United States will be due who can qualify for American citizenship. [Applause.]

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, that concludes debate upon the rule. No one else has asked for time and we are ready for the question.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 7995) to limit the immigration of aliens into the United States, and for other purposes.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the immigration bill, with Mr. SANDERS of Indiana in the chair.

The Clerk reported the title of the bill.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the first reading of the bill be dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Chairman, at first reading Members might think that this bill H. R. 7995 is a highly involved measure, but I think that upon examination it will be found not so. The key to the bill lies in an understanding of the definition of immigrants. The present quota law deals with the definition of aliens where, in my opinion, it should have dealt with the definition of immigrants. In this bill all persons who may come to the United States are considered immigrants except those who are exempted in the definition of immigrants; they will have no trouble with the bill. In the definition of immigrants it will be found that exemptions are

made in respect to Government officials and their families; aliens visiting the United States as tourists or temporarily for business or pleasure; aliens in continuous transit through the United States; aliens lawfully admitted to the United States who later go in transit from one part of the United States to another through foreign territory; bona fide alien seamen serving on vessels coming to and going from the United States, and all aliens entitled to enter the United States solely to carry on trade under and in pursuance of provisions of existing treaties of commerce and navigation. All of the classes that I have just named are not immigrants. The next step in the bill is to divide the immigrants into two classes, quota immigrants and nonquota immigrants.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question there upon the matter of the definition of immigrants?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Yes.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. Where an alien resident in the United States makes a temporary visit to Europe or to the land of his birth and returns, is he, upon his return, considered an immigrant?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. If the gentleman will permit me to come to the next division, he will get an answer to that question. I have attempted to define all who are not immigrants under the definition. Then I want it to be clear that the immigrants remaining are divided into two classes—quota immigrants and nonquota immigrants. Both classes are required to secure certificates, but only those in the quota class are counted to fill the quotas which are allotted to the various countries. In this provision our bill is more liberal than the bill pending in the other body. This provision and another one, to be described later, should remove the charge of discrimination. There is a good reason for these nonquota immigrants, but the opponents of the bill do not seem to see it. Now, answering the gentleman from Illinois, among the nonquota immigrants, for instance, is the man who is here, an alien, who goes out for a temporary visit. He comes back without disturbing the quota count at all. In addition, we have called nonquota immigrants all unmarried minor children and the fathers and mothers, over 55 years of age, and the husbands or wives of citizens of the United States. That is to say, a citizen here, desiring to bring his wife, my bring that wife without regard to the quota, and she still comes to the country as a nonquota immigrant. That is an important exemption, and it liberalizes the bill considerably. The countries from which the new immigration has come in largest numbers will be the greatest beneficiaries.

Mr. LAZARO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Yes.

Mr. LAZARO. Mr. Chairman, I know that the chairman of the Committee on Immigration has given deep study to this subject. The gentleman spoke this morning about putting teeth in the immigration law. Does the gentleman think that an immigration law can ever be rigidly enforced until the quota is applied to the surrounding countries on this continent and until the aliens are compelled to register?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Not quite; but I shall explain the attitude of the committee on that to the gentleman if he will just let me finish this feature.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Yes.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. An immigrant coming over, being admitted to the country, would have to live here five years to become a citizen of the United States?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Yes.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Then he could send for his wife?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Yes.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. And not otherwise?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Unless he can bring his wife with him; and it is quite surprising to learn the number of aliens here who had forgotten their wives for 6, 8, or 10 years. If this certificate plan works as we think it will, we hope that the consuls of the United States will not give out certificates so as to cause such divisions of families. One of the great problems we now have in trying to make any rational solution of the immigration question, even where we are charged with discrimination, is this matter of what we shall do with the families of immigrants who are here, who want to bring their wives, their children, their fathers or mothers to this country. That is one of the really hard problems, but I shall not go into that subject further at this point. In regard to the borders, it would be highly desirable to have put everything that the committee would have liked to put into this bill, which would have made it a very heavy bill. It would have been still more desirable to do what the distinguished Secretary of Labor, Mr.

Davis, wanted us to do, namely, write an entire new immigration code, which would take a long, long time. The committee came to the conclusion that until we could make sure of control of the European immigration situation, and of something to take the place of the quota law which is about to expire, we would better leave the matter of close restriction from contiguous territory until we could finish the matters in hand or until we could ask the House for permission to sit as a committee with power sufficient to frame a bill which we could present to the House establishing a complete border patrol, with authority to enforce all of the laws of the United States on the borders of the United States. Nothing much would be gained by trying to set up a quota for Mexico when a great number of Mexicans will continue to go back and forth over the Rio Grande at exposed points as they please. If you do not want that, and I know you do not, you must have a real patrol on the border.

Mr. LAZARO. What is the gentleman's opinion relative to a measure compelling the aliens to register?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I will answer that. This bill is designed to bring about proper registration of future arrivals in a quiet, orderly, inexpensive way. Any gentleman who speaks lightly of registering the aliens and then stops to consider that we have more than 13,000,000 foreign born in the United States, about one-half of them naturalized, leaving about six and a half millions of them actual aliens, must realize that the effort to register them on short notice under any plan that is devised will require heavy machinery and create much confusion. Now, if you will examine this bill, you will find those who do come to the United States as immigrants, quota or nonquota, come with a certificate which is attached to the application with the name of the persons and something as to their life history. In that document the facts are noted and recorded and sent to the Department of Labor, and they are to be of use to the alien and to the United States when the alien comes to apply for citizenship. That paper to all intents and purposes registers the aliens. That part of the plan will work out, I think, satisfactorily. The registration of the aliens in the United States will come about by the most orderly process possible. As time goes great numbers of the aliens now here will be naturalized. Others will pass away or return to the countries from which they came, so that year by year there will be fewer and fewer unregistered aliens and there will have been no confusion. Ten years roll by quickly, as we all know.

Mr. LAZARO. Another question for information: Suppose a man comes here from a foreign country, falls to take steps to become an American citizen, and wishes to visit the country from which he came, can he do so and come back?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. That is one of the big features of this bill. There is nothing in this bill to require anybody to step into citizenship. That is in a man's heart. I think we ought not to compel a man to become a citizen within a certain time or to leave. [Applause.]

An alien in this country is permitted to go out on a temporary visit for six months under the present quota law. Assume that the alien has taken out his first papers and has sworn allegiance to his mother country. He has not taken on complete allegiance to the United States, and in that event he can not get a passport from us to the country from which he came nor can he get a passport from the country he left, so in this bill we have provided a sort of travel permit which does not have the full force of a passport. It is simply to show that he travels with the intention of returning to the United States. However, that does not relieve him from being debarred on his return if he has contracted any disease or subjected himself to deportation under the Burnett law. This provision is for the benefit of all aliens in the United States.

Mr. KUNZ. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I will.

Mr. KUNZ. Under that provision can Italians come in the spring and work during the summer and leave in the fall and come back again? Is that true?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. That is possible, I think.

Mr. KUNZ. Does it do that? That is the question that comes before the people, that Italians come here and work during the summer months, return to Italy during the winter, and come back again.

Mr. BOX. Would not the gentleman state if they would come, they would come under the quota in such a case?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. The paragraph says:

An immigrant previously lawfully admitted to the United States, who returning from a temporary visit abroad.

He gets this permit. I believe that six months' time is reasonable for that.

Mr. PERLMAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I will.

Mr. PERLMAN. The gentleman is discussing naturalization and immigration. I have here a document of the Senate committee in reference to old and new immigration, and this document shows that southern and eastern immigrants take less time to become naturalized than those of northern and western Europe.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I do not agree with those figures.

Those are only from a limited number of papers examined. But I am not one of those unnecessarily alarmed because of the fact that we have five and a half or six million unnaturalized aliens, provided more do not come too fast. I realize the naturalization process is a slow thing, that the courts are not always ready to naturalize men, and that in many districts it is very hard for men to bring two witnesses to court at a date certain, and also that it is expensive. The very fact of the numbers of those naturalized depends, in my opinion, upon facilities of the courts who are sitting where the greatest numbers of aliens are. I do not attach any great value to the study. But this has occurred to me: Those who studied that paper find the average time it takes an immigrant to the United States to reach naturalization to be about 10 years, and to my mind that indicates just about the time that should be required for residence in the United States prior to admission to citizenship.

Mr. PERLMAN. If the gentleman will yield further. The gentleman correctly stated the investigation showed an average of 10 years. Is it not a fact the same investigation showed it took more than 10 years for those coming from Germany and Great Britain to become naturalized?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Does the gentleman know why that is so? Let me tell the gentleman that, in my opinion, those persons of the older immigration that come here felt the deepest emotion when they threw off their allegiance to their foreign country, their king or potentate. Their feelings, too, were deep and sincere when they took on allegiance to the United States of America. Many immigrants of the so-called new immigration have had feelings just as deep, but not all of them. I have seen the modern process. It will not do. It is too fast.

I say that the new type that has been naturalized in New York in the last two or three weeks at the rate of 1,000 a day, 6,500 per week—15 per minute, I believe, if those figures are right—have worked too fast. You do not throw off allegiance to one country and snatch on allegiance to another quite as easily as you would throw off a hat and put on another. [Applause.] It is not right for this country; it is not fair; and that is one of the reasons we are pressing this bill. The United States of America is entitled to have some little chance.

Mr. PERLMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for another question?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Yes; certainly.

Mr. PERLMAN. You say that recently thousands were naturalized in New York. Suppose you tell the committee here that those thousands had been investigated for weeks and months by the chief naturalization examiner in New York, and that if he had objected to them they would not have been naturalized, but only when he stated to the court that they were desirable were they naturalized.

Mr. RAKER. Is it not true that in New York the courts only naturalize aliens when they see fit to naturalize them?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. That may be so; but one can take an oath so fast and in such a crowd that it becomes a farce. Now, I have described the quota and nonquota and issuance of certificates. Next we provide here something which until a year or two ago many people thought could not be done, namely, a form of examination overseas. When we had that plan well under way the Department of State thought if we were to adopt the plan we might do well to give the consuls of the United States more power than we were then giving them, so that this bill that was recently reported is considerably stronger in that respect than the one reported about the middle of February. We were glad to adopt the suggestion of Secretary Hughes. The examination overseas is in the form of a questionnaire, which the prospective immigrant fills out with as much as he can of his life story.

Mr. HILL of Maryland. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I regret I can not yield further at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman declines to yield.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. By that means it is thought that the well-intended man who thinks of coming into the United States with his wife and children will find it out if

it so happens that one of his children is defective, and if he thinks it is not desirable to separate the family he will not separate the family. Now, thousands of men have made the trip with their families and then found on arriving here that one, perhaps some feeble and helpless child, could not be admitted. The question then was, Shall the mother go back with the weak child or shall the whole family go back, which perhaps they could not afford. The questionnaire permits selection. The consul is authorized to reject for cause, and the consul is authorized to investigate. We are advised by our consuls that generally since we have had in effect the present passport and visé system they have known of thousands who were coming to the United States for no good purpose. The consuls were helpless to refuse the visé, however. We correct that. It stands to reason that if a consul knows that a man has a bad criminal record, a man from the slums, a procurer, or something of that kind, the consul then and there should reject him. That is fair for the United States.

Mr. PERLMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I regret I can not yield further. Then we come to the alien seamen. That provision will be explained in detail when we reach the paragraph. To maintain a rigid restriction of immigration it is necessary that ships shall not be filled with stowaways, and that sailors entitled to leave ship under the La Follette Seamen's Act shall not be permitted to leave ship for the purpose of remaining here.

But after all, the nub of the bill—the fighting point—seems to be what year shall be taken for a census basis, and what quota we should establish in the bill. We have taken the year 1890 as the basis of the quota, and 2 per cent as the percentage. There is a sharp division on that and, as you can see from the debate thus far, it is apparently to bear the brunt of the fight. That is all right. We had to decide upon a census. We do not apologize for it at all. We think that the quickness with which the American public accepted the year 1890 as the rational place to make the division is proof that we have the right idea. However, the question is before the Committee of the Whole, and the opportunity will be offered to vote it up or down. I want the matter to be fully debated.

One other matter is attracting much attention, and that is the question of the regulation of immigration from Japan. I have already said this morning that this bill violates no treaty. Personally, I do not look on the so-called "gentlemen's agreement" as a treaty. But, whether or no, the provisions of this bill are such that if the bill becomes a law the agreement will be unnecessary.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired. Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I will yield the floor.

Mr. RAKER. Will the gentleman give me two hours? I will distribute it among others.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. A parliamentary inquiry. Will it be in order to have half of my time placed in the control of the gentleman from California?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman can yield an hour of that time. By unanimous consent he could yield time.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Then I will now yield one hour to the gentleman from California, and later on I will yield another hour.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois is recognized.

Mr. SABATH. Will the Chair please notify me when I have consumed 20 minutes?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, if the chairman of the Committee on Immigration would always be as pleasant as he is now, and unlike what he was when he answered the gentleman from New York, I am of the opinion that if he had been left alone to follow his own judgment there would not have been any trouble at all about this legislation, because he himself in his own heart believed that the 1890 census was unfair and unjustifiable.

The gentleman from California [Mr. RAKER], my beloved fighting friend, a little while ago stated that the committee had thoroughly investigated three or four years ago the question of immigration. I admit that they spent a great deal of time in the gentleman's State, and I will say it is a splendid State. I hope that the people, however, will be in a different state of mind from what they are in now, unfortunately due to the hysteria and prejudice that exists there against the Japanese and, in fact, against anyone who is of foreign birth. He stated that the committee had investigated thoroughly.

If that is the case, what was the result of the investigation? The chairman of the committee reported a bill, and the gentle-

man from California, the gentleman from Texas, the gentleman from Louisiana, and the rest of them voted for it, and it was not based on the 1890 census. The bill provided for the 1910 census, and it failed to pass, and the result was that the original 3 per cent quota bill was extended.

Oh, I have frequently been placed—as have those who are opposing this un-American, unfair, and unjust discriminatory legislation—in the attitude of favoring the open door. I can state that I am against the open door. I am for restrictive immigration; I am for selective immigration; and I am against any undesirables coming into the United States. I am viewing it from America's point of view; I am acting as an American, with America's interest at heart, and not from the point of view of any foreign nation, foreign people, or any steamship company. [Applause.]

The former chairman of the Immigration Committee, the late Mr. Burnett, of Alabama, who probably devoted more time to the study of immigration than any other man in Congress, was a restrictionist. The lobbyist of the restrictionists, who is over there in the gallery now, can so testify. He will tell you he was a restrictionist, but he did not advocate any such legislation as is proposed in this bill. In his last bill he proposed legislation that did not contain these discriminatory provisions, and though it provided for suspension of immigration for four years, it contained this provision:

That any alien heretofore legally admitted, or any citizen of the United States, may bring in or send for his father or grandfather over 55 years of age, his wife, his mother, his grandmother, his unmarried or widowed daughter, his son not over 18 years of age, or his nephews or nieces not over 14 years of age, who are full orphans, if otherwise admissible, and such relatives shall be permitted to enter: *And provided further*, That nothing in this section shall operate to exclude otherwise admissible aliens who shall prove to the satisfaction of the proper immigration officer or to the Secretary of Labor that they are seeking admission to the United States solely to avoid religious persecution in the country of their last permanent residence, whether such persecution be evidenced by overt acts or by laws or government regulations that discriminate against the alien or the race to which he belongs because of his religious faith.

Mr. Chairman, as to this bill, I want to say that I helped to draft, in my humble way, many of its provisions which will tend to eliminate many of the harsh features now in the 1921 act and which should have been eliminated at the time we passed it. Some of you older Members will recall how I pleaded for the elimination of those harsh and inhumane provisions.

I have called the attention of Congress and the attention of the country to these unfair and harsh provisions, but at that time, the same as now, the majority of the membership of this House was carried away by misinformation and even prejudice. They did not follow my suggestions then, but they realize to-day that I was right. I was right then, and I want to say that I am right now when I oppose the 1890 census, and I know that within a short space of time the country and all those honest, fair-minded American men and women who believe in justice will agree with me and say that I was and am now right in my position.

I am in favor, as I stated, of all the provisions of the bill with the exception of three or four.

Mr. RAKER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. My distinguished friend was against the quota of 1910 when we passed that bill, was he not?

Mr. SABATH. Yes; and for the same reasons that I am against the quota of 1890 now, and because I believed the census of 1920 should have been accepted. The reason you gentlemen gave for not embodying the 1920 census was that the census figures were not available at that time, but you were not so strong in telling the country the underlying reasons you had for adopting the 1910 census, namely, that you wanted to keep out the southeastern immigration, or so-called newer immigration, and which you now admit and concede by trying to adopt as a basis the census of 1890.

Mr. TINCHER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. Yes.

Mr. TINCHER. Why do the gentleman's colleagues on the committee want to keep out that immigration?

Mr. SABATH. Because they believe these people are inferior. They have been fed by misinformation; they have been fed by new dope, as I may term it, by unreliable statisticians, and by Professor Laughlin's eugenic and anthropological false tests, until they themselves believe that there is some foundation for the unjustifiable conclusions contained in the so-called Laughlin report.

But I know that you and all fair-minded men who know these people against whom this bill discriminates, such as Bohemians, the Slovenians, the Poles, the Lithuanians, the Austrians, the Belgians, and all these other people—that they have made good in every conceivable way, and that we should not say to these 6,000,000 people who are now in this country that they are inferior to those others, and should not be counted for the purpose of ascertaining the number that will be permitted to enter our country in the future.

Mr. TINCHER. As I understand, the gentleman does not impugn the very best motives of his colleagues but simply says their information is inaccurate?

Mr. SABATH. That is my opinion, because they are men of the highest integrity. But they are misinformed and they are misled. I am not going to hesitate to say this at this time, although this is all in confidence, of course: That unfortunately for the country this House has selected an Immigration Committee—I do not know whether deliberately or only by chance—made up of four members from the Pacific coast and six from the South. These Pacific coast gentlemen are up every hour of the night fearing the influx of the 1,500 Japanese who come to this country and go back every year, and some few Chinese who are smuggled in.

They are fearful, of course, that California will be taken by the Japanese very shortly, and naturally they judge all other immigrants in the same way, and say that none can be assimilated. In addition to that, there are the six other gentlemen who, unfortunately for the House and for the South, are from the South. People who really do not understand or know the conditions and do not know the good qualities of the new immigration. Oh, if they would understand it, and if they would know the people as we who live among them know them they would not be here to-day advocating this bill but they would come here and plead the same as many of their broad-minded, big men, men of vision from the South, have appeared before the committee pleading for labor, and pleading for a little aid in relieving conditions in the South. Unfortunately, these gentlemen from the South have failed to take notice of what is transpiring in this country to-day. They have failed to take notice of the fact that only last year 478,000 of their laborers left the South and are penetrating the North; they have failed to take notice of what effect it will have on the South and the future of the South, and at the same time some of the gentlemen have failed to take notice of what effect that migration will have upon the North.

I feel that if these gentlemen really understood the situation and the conditions they would not be advocating this bill to-day. I know them. They are honest men. They are sincere men. They mean to do what is right, but, unfortunately, they are led astray, as I stated, on false premises and on false statistics that they are being fed with day in and day out by a propaganda that I used to believe was the propaganda of a certain secret organization; but of late, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I think it goes much further than the so-called new secret organization that we have been charging up with being behind this measure. I believe, honestly and sincerely, that this is and has been British propaganda pure and simple. The British desire to retain the control of what they still believe is their colony. In this bill they are taken care of. Not only will they be able to continue to send all of their people over, but we also leave Canada free to send in all those that desire to come, whether they are desirables or not. Last year from Canada alone we had 117,011 immigrants in addition to a large number of Mexicans, but no criticism has been made, notwithstanding the Secretary of Labor and others have recommended that there should be a quota placed on Mexico and Canada as well as on the European countries.

This committee, this great committee, that has investigated this question so thoroughly, could not find a way to embody a provision in the bill that would place Mexico and Canada in the same position in which they are placing other countries.

Mr. WATKINS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I will in a moment.

Mr. WATKINS. Just for a question.

Mr. SABATH. I yield for a question.

Mr. WATKINS. Was the gentleman in favor of that provision of the bill, or is that one of the provisions he is against?

Mr. SABATH. I believe in fairness and justice and equal rights to all and special privileges to none.

Mr. WATKINS. That is democratic.

Mr. SABATH. I am pleased that the gentleman from Oregon recognizes that fact. That has been my position and is my position to-day, but, unfortunately, the gentlemen say they can

not now put Mexico and Canada under the quota system. The reason they give is because they are fearful they would not have enough men to patrol the border. And still I ask, what has this committee done, what steps have they taken to try to patrol and protect our border from the smuggling that they charge is going on, which permits the coming in monthly of from 50,000 to 100,000 undersirables from Canada and Mexico? Subjects of both these countries are exempt from the quota restrictions and can come in legally at any time during the year.

This statement, if intended to apply to aliens from countries other than Canada and Mexico, is, beyond doubt, greatly exaggerated, and emanates from the highest type of rabid restrictionists. Neither has the Department of Labor, the customs service, or the Department of Justice uncovered any plot involving such wholesale smuggling of aliens. Has the committee taken any position with regard to this supposed situation? Have they recommended any bill? Has the gentleman from Oregon? Indeed, none.

Mr. WATKINS. Have you?

Mr. SABATH. I have advocated it, yes; and I voted here for one bill which I thought would at least help, in a measure, to bring about the enforcement of the law.

Mr. WATKINS. What is the gentleman's position on Mexico and Canada? Answer that question, please.

Mr. SABATH. I can not yield further now. Not that I would not like to answer all the questions the gentleman desires to ask me, but time does not permit me; but if I had the time I think I could answer them, so as to give him the much-needed information.

Mr. MADDEN. Will my colleague yield for a question? The gentleman has been a long time on this committee and ought to know a great deal about what the situation is. I wonder if the gentleman could tell the House how many people come in from Mexico every year and whether they come in with the consent of the Government or without the consent of the Government; and also where they go and what they do when they come in. It would be interesting for us to know that. I have some doubt about what my own attitude is on this bill and I want to get some information.

Mr. SABATH. Last year from Mexico we received legally, I think, about 43,000, or rather 63,000.

Mr. WATKINS. Sixty-three thousand?

Mr. HILL of Maryland. Sixty-three thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight is the exact number.

Mr. MADDEN. What does that mean?

Mr. SABATH. That means those who came in legally. How many came in illegally that were bootlegged into Texas I do not know.

Mr. MADDEN. Do they only go into Texas?

Mr. SABATH. Oh, no. They go into Texas, into California, Colorado, and into all the bordering States.

Mr. MADDEN. Do the people in California want them?

Mr. SABATH. I believe a great many people in California do want them and I think a great many people in Texas want them.

Mr. MADDEN. And they encourage them to come in; not only encourage them, but they are paying fairly good prices to the Texas and California bootleggers for them.

Mr. KUNZ and Mr. RAKER rose.

Mr. KUNZ. If the gentleman will yield, I just want to answer the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN]. You will find a great many Mexicans employed at the New York Central freight yards.

Mr. MADDEN. I just wanted to know about that. I am trying to get some information from those who are supposed to have it, and I would like the gentleman from California to tell us something about how they invite them in.

Mr. RAKER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield.

Mr. RAKER. What was the gentleman's attitude upon striking out of the bill the provision which permits those who are aliens to come from Mexico—the gentleman's own position before the committee?

Mr. SABATH. What was my position on what?

Mr. RAKER. On excluding these Mexicans the same as others.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will allow me I would like to say that it is not in very good form for the committee proceedings to be debated here or a man's position to be discussed unless he wants to tell his position.

Mr. MADDEN. Will my colleague yield to me for one further question?

Mr. SABATH. In just one moment. I am ready and willing and anxious that the House and the country should know every

vote I have cast in the committee and everything I have said on this question or any other question at any time since I have been a member of this committee, for 17 years.

Mr. MADDEN. I would like to know what class of people come in from Mexico?

Mr. SABATH. It has been stated they are very undesirable and that they do not assimilate—

Mr. MADDEN. Do they send them back?

Mr. SABATH. And that they are a menace to the sections of the country to which they go, and that statement has been made by a gentleman, who is a member of the committee, in whom I have the utmost confidence.

Mr. MADDEN. Is there any restriction in this bill on their admission into this country?

Mr. SABATH. There is no restriction upon them in this bill. There is a restriction, however, in the 1917 literacy act, the law that is now in force.

Mr. MADDEN. When does that expire?

Mr. SABATH. That does not expire; that is permanent law. That is the immigration restriction law of 1917.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Will the gentleman allow me to interrupt him?

Mr. SABATH. Certainly.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. If the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Appropriations will see that the Bureau of Immigration has enough funds to employ a sufficient number of inspectors on the border of Mexico—

Mr. MADDEN. How many?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. It would take perhaps 30 more than they have now.

Mr. MADDEN. It would not take two or three thousand?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. No; the act of 1917 keeps out those men who can not read. I want to say that the headquarters of the Mexican bootleggers is in the city of Chicago, and the price is \$5 a head.

Mr. MADDEN. Is that all?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Yes.

Mr. SABATH. Oh, that is a wild statement. That is one of those irrational statements that the chairman of the committee will make once in a while, and it shows how unsafe it is for the House to follow him, and others who often give him misinformation. He may know all about the prices of bootlegging, but as long as he has called my attention to it I am reminded that I have in my possession a clipping from the Washington Times stating that the British have organized several corporations and that they control the unlawful booze of the United States; that they have purchased a large number of vessels and they reserve to themselves the right and privilege to control the seas for all the bootlegging business.

The Washington Times article I insert herewith:

LONDON, April 2.—Little by little the curtain is being drawn and light is being thrown on the inside working of rum-running syndicates, operating from the British Isles.

In a statement made to Justice Eve, of the chancery division, James Campbell openly charged that the Spike Trading Co. (Ltd.), a British corporation, was an organization formed for the purpose of smuggling whisky into the United States.

#### ARE "GENTLEMEN TRADERS"

Investigation of the Spike Trading Co. discloses that it is practically a British corporation in its entirety, Angus Campbell McLean, a retired British naval officer, being the only member of the corporation claiming American citizenship.

The corporation was formed in October, 1921, for the purpose of "carrying on the business of general traders." It was a private company, with no shares being offered for sale publicly, and its capital was fixed at the nominal sum of \$1,000, divided into 4,000 shares.

The original subscribers to the corporation are all men of apparently established business connection in England. They are officially listed as follows: James Campbell; Arthur T. Metcalf, a retired Government official; Angus Campbell McLean, a retired British naval officer. These same three appear as the original directors of the company.

#### PROSPECTUS BRINGS FUNDS

Shares were allotted to a considerable number of British business men, including merchants, accountants, business managers, real-estate agents, and one woman, Elizabeth Franklin, who gives her address in a fashionable suburban district of London.

That the people back of this corporation are persons of means is indicated by the addresses which they have filed with their incorporation papers, which make the addresses of the backers look like a list of substantial English country homes.

That the practice for the British rum runners to incorporate is general is indicated by the fact that during the court proceedings it was

brought out that the Spike Trading Co. was working in cooperation with a concern known as the Tudor Investment Trust.

Lieut. Col. Sir Broderick Hartwell has apparently not found it necessary to incorporate, but he is still doing business at his old stand, and it is understood that his prospectuses inviting investors to join in rum-running ventures have brought sympathetic responses from some American investors.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. Yes.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. The only provision in the bill with reference to Mexico is on page 6, and the only restriction is against others than natives of Mexico, who must reside in Mexico 10 years before they can come and bring in their wives and children under the age of 18.

Mr. SABATH. There is no restriction against Mexicans in this bill.

Mr. MADDEN. I notice that a good many men from Texas are strict restrictionists. Are they as strict in restrictions against those who come from Mexico as from other countries?

Mr. SABATH. I will say for the member of the committee from Texas that he is. I know that he is at heart a sincere restrictionist, and I believe if he could keep every Mexican out of the United States he would. I think he would go further and keep every other immigrant from our doors. [Laughter and applause.] But I hope after he has been here a little longer and gets a broader view, after he familiarizes himself with the immigrants that come from the newer sections of Europe, he will come to the conclusion that they make good citizens and will speak in their behalf. He will then some day admit that they are a deserving people in every sense of the word.

Now I am going, in fact I am obliged, to conclude because I do not desire to take up any more of your time. However, before I do so I want to call your attention to these facts. The committee in their desire to force through this legislation has ignored the recommendation of the Secretary of Labor; it has ignored the recommendation of the Secretary of State. The committee acted without any real knowledge and information when they reported this bill. I am of the opinion that for the best interests of our Nation, for the best interests of the people of our country, before we legislate permanently on the question of immigration that we should have thorough, unbiased, and unprejudiced information. I feel that that information could be had, and I know that a different proposition would then be submitted to the House. I am of the opinion that it would be for the best interest of the Nation for the present to modify the present 3 per cent quota act by eliminating its harsh provisions, and extending it for a year and a half, and for a commission, an unbiased commission, not controlled by any British propaganda or any bunch of lobbyists, to be appointed, who would be responsible for this legislation. I feel that if a fair commission could be created to properly examine and investigate, then we would be in a position to legislate sanely, justly, and fairly in the interest of our country and in the interest of our people. [Applause.]

Mr. WATKINS. And in the meantime would it not be a good idea to suspend all immigration?

Mr. SABATH. Yes; I am willing to do that. I think it would be much fairer to suspend all immigration than to protect some and say, "You can come," and to others, "You can not come; you are a blonde and you can come, and you are a brunette and you can not come." I think it would be better for this country, and I ask the gentleman from Oregon whether he has not introduced a bill in the House to suspend immigration?

In fact, I know he has. I have the bill right here in my possession, and though it provides for suspension it permits the entry of not only the near relatives of citizens but also those of noncitizens. So there may be no charge of misstatement, I will read the actual exemption provision of his suspension bill:

*Provided, however,* That the father, mother, brother, sister, and children of any foreign-born person already in the United States may be permitted to emigrate from a foreign port to the United States.

I say to the gentleman from Oregon that I am ready to vote for his bill to-day, or at any other time, in preference to the bill he is now advocating. His bill was restrictive, but it was not discriminatory and had some element of humaneness. But, unfortunately, what applies to others applies to him. When the clever restrictionist agencies reached him he was unable to resist them and he has fallen a victim to their intrigues and connivances. He is urging the passage of a bill which, I am satisfied, he never thought of supporting prior to his coming to Washington. I repeat, I am willing to vote for his bill to-day.

It is a fair bill. Restrictive? Yes; but it is not discriminatory. [Applause.]

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. ROBSION].

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I wish to express my very high appreciation of the labors of Mr. JOHNSON and other members of the committee in gathering information and in the preparation of this bill. I feel that their work has been earnest, fair, and thorough. In presenting this bill they have rendered a splendid service to the country.

I have no malice or prejudice for or against persons born in foreign countries. The suffering and distress in Europe and other countries of the world must excite feelings of deepest sympathy in the bosoms of all of us. I do not condemn them for their desire to leave tax-ridden, war-torn, and famine-stricken Europe. I deeply regret that every law-abiding, honest, industrious man, woman, and child of the earth can not enjoy the blessings of a wonderful country like our own.

I do not overlook the large contribution in the upbuilding of this country made by men and women who have come to us from foreign lands. In the three centuries past and gone millions of the highest type of men and women have come to our land. Thousands of them have distinguished themselves in science, art, and literature; many have won undying fame for themselves and their adopted country on the field of battle in the defense of this Nation, and thousands have given their lives as a sacrifice for their adopted country; statesmen have shed additional luster and glory to the pages of American history; some of the distinguished Members of both Houses of Congress now and in the years gone by were born in foreign lands; some of the best citizens of my own State were born across the seas or are the children of parents who came from foreign lands, and there are countless numbers scattered over our country leading orderly lives and are honest, law-abiding, patriotic American citizens. For all those who have come to us under the Constitution and laws of our country and are honest, law-abiding people I want to see them have the full protection of our laws, but I realize that with the good have come many of the undesirable.

Many large employers of labor, large groups of foreigners, and many foreign governments are opposing this bill with all their power. The Congress of the United States should not be swerved from its duty by the demands of selfish interests, foreign groups, and foreign governments. Holy Writ says:

He that provideth not for his own household hath denied the faith and is worse than an infidel.

My vote and support of this measure must be governed wholly and solely in the interest of the welfare of my country. I have no interest to serve but the people of our own household. The question that confronts both native born and adopted citizen is, What is the best for our own country? Is this measure necessary to safeguard our people and our country? Is it necessary for the prosperity of our citizens and the perpetuity of our institutions? If it is, we should not hesitate to support it. I conscientiously believe that it is, and I therefore give to it my fullest and most whole-hearted support.

#### WE SHOULD ACT NOW

Prior to the year of 1921 many efforts had been made by Congress to restrict in a substantial way foreign immigration. These measures were vetoed by the Presidents. The last veto was by President Wilson. The Republicans came into power March 4, 1921. President Harding called the Congress into extraordinary session. Soon thereafter Congress passed a restrictive immigration act. This was promptly signed by President Harding. This was the beginning of real restriction of foreign immigration. This measure was to continue in force for one year and until the problem could be more carefully considered. Before the end of the year Congress passed a resolution extending the provisions of this act to May, 1924, and this was promptly signed by President Harding. Our present immigration law will expire next month. We are advised that millions in various countries are making arrangements to come to this country. They are taking this step in the hope that Congress will not extend the time of the expiration of the present law, or will not pass any new law. Congress must act quickly. Our forefathers, our fathers, our brothers, and our sons have fought and died on land and sea. Billions in treasure have been spent to give to us this great, free, rich Republic. Its future policies, the prosperity of all our people, our institutions—religious, commercial, industrial, social, and political—in fact, the destiny and the very life of our Nation in a large measure depend upon our action. I consider the immigration question the most important with which I have had to deal during my five years or more of service in Congress.

## THREE TO FIVE YEARS EXCLUSION OF ALL

We now have approximately 14,000,000 foreign-born population, and 20,000,000 more one or both of whose parents are of foreign birth. About 7,000,000 of the nearly 14,000,000 have not been naturalized and they are not American citizens. There are to-day in the United States nearly 13,000,000 persons over 21 years of age that were born in foreign lands.

If these were naturalized, they would represent more than one-fourth the voting strength of the entire country. A majority of the persons over 21 years of age in several of the great States were born in foreign lands or they are the children of parents born in foreign lands. In many of the great cities, like Chicago and New York, the foreign-born whites outnumber the native-born whites about 50 per cent. There are about eleven hundred newspapers and other publications that are published regularly in this country in many foreign tongues, and these go to about 6,000,000 subscribers and are read by from 15,000,000 to 30,000,000 people. These startling facts disclose that we are not assimilating our foreign population.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. I can not yield; I have not the time.

Mr. SABATH. If the gentleman desires the correct figures, I can give them to him.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. I have the correct figures.

Mr. SABATH. I have the correct figures.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. I have the correct figures, and if the gentleman's figures do not agree with mine his are not correct.

Mr. SABATH. These are from statistical abstracts.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. I have my figures from the United States census.

I think it would be a good thing for our country if we would suspend immigration for the next three to five years and permit no one to come here to stay except the children and wives of those foreigners who have come here and have become naturalized and are American citizens. In the meantime an intensive campaign of Americanization should be put on foot to Americanize those foreigners who are now here and who will make good citizens, and to deport those who are unfit to become good citizens and are a menace to this country.

## I FAVOR 1890 CENSUS AS BASIS

The present law provides for a quota of 3 per cent based on the Federal census of 1910. This bill provides for a quota of 2 per cent based on the Federal census of 1890 plus 100 persons from each of the countries of Europe. Now, what is meant by 3 per cent and 2 per cent quota and 1890 and 1910 basis? For example, if the census of 1910 shows that there were 100,000 foreigners living in this country having come to us from Ireland, Ireland would be entitled to send 3,000 immigrants to this country every year. Under the present law about 360,000 foreigners can come into this country from Europe every year. This bill proposes to fix the output at 2 per cent and use the Federal census of 1890 as the basis plus 100 persons from each country. This means that if Switzerland, for instance, according to the Federal census of 1890 had 100,000 of her people in this country, under the present bill she could send 2,000 plus 100 each year. Under the present bill there would come in altogether each year 161,000 instead of 360,000 under the present law. Since it is impossible to get a bill through at this time to suspend foreign immigration entirely for some years, I favor the 1890 and 2 per cent proposition because it greatly reduces and restricts foreign immigration over the present law. I favor the 1890 census as a basis for another reason. Eighty-five per cent of the white people of this Nation, according to the census of 1920, belong to the races and stock of people that have come from northern and western Europe and 15 per cent of our population have originated in eastern and southern Europe. This bill does not discriminate in favor of the people of northern and western Europe and against the people of eastern and southern Europe, as some people have claimed. It permits immigrants to come to this country in proportion to those races and nations that are already represented here.

Of the 161,000 that may come in annually under this bill, less than 85 per cent will come from northern and western Europe and a little over 15 per cent will come from eastern and southern Europe. In other words, about 132,000 will come from northern and western Europe and about 29,000 from eastern and southern Europe. If the Federal census of 1910 is taken as a basis, the result would be very different. Although 85 per cent of our people are white people, who trace their ancestry from northern and western Europe, we would only receive about 56 per cent of our immigrants from that part of Europe, and although less than 15 per cent of our white people trace their

ancestry to eastern and southern Europe, that section of Europe could send 44 per cent of the immigrants. This comes about because our immigration prior to 1890 came from northern and western Europe almost exclusively, and the great tide of immigration from eastern and southern Europe set in after 1890, and for that reason the persons from southern and eastern Europe want us to use the Federal census of 1910 or 1920 as the basis for quotas. It is a remarkable fact that until the close of the Civil War there had come to this country from Italy only 924; Spain, 692; Russia, 183; Poland, 165; Portugal, 365; Greece, 5; and Turkey, 11, making a total of 2,767; that is to say, that from the beginning of our Republic until after the Civil War only 2,767 immigrants had come to us from the important countries of eastern and southern Europe, yet there was no restriction against them coming. We can readily see that nearly all of our people up to the close of the Civil War came to us from northern and western Europe. I refer to England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, France, Norway, Sweden, and Germany.

## SETTLED THE COUNTRY AND FOUGHT THE WARS

The people from northern and western Europe and their descendants settled the thirteen original Colonies, they fought the colonial wars, they fought the Revolution, the War of 1812, the Mexican War, the Indian wars, the Civil War, and for the most part the Spanish-American War. It was these same people who wrote the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, conquered the wilderness, carved out the 48 States and largely wrote the constitutions and laws of most of these States, laid the foundations and built the great cities, laid out and built most of the railroads, and put on foot our great industrial and commercial enterprises, laid the foundations and built to a large extent our religious, political, charitable, and social institutions. Our Constitution, our laws, and our institutions are the expression to a very large extent of the ideals of our ancestors and their descendants from northern and western Europe.

## FREEDOM AGAINST OPPRESSION

We have many wonderful people from eastern and southern Europe in our country. Thousands of those from southern and eastern Europe rendered heroic and patriotic service for this country during the World War, but we can not overlook the fact that the birthplace of our ideals of freedom and government was among the people of Switzerland, England, France, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales in northern and western Europe, from whence we have 85 per cent of our population. No one should be permitted to come to this country unless such person is mentally, morally, and physically fit to make an industrious, honest, law-abiding American citizen, and desires to become a citizen and will in due course take the necessary steps to become a citizen and assume the responsibilities which devolve upon a citizen of this Republic. The people coming to us from northern and western Europe readily assimilate and harmonize with our Government and our institutions. They have known freedom and enjoyed freedom for more than a century. On the other hand, the people coming to us from eastern and southern Europe until recently were under the despotic governments of Russia, Bulgaria, Turkey, Austria, Hungary, and so forth.

These people have been subjected to the iron heel of despots. They have been betrayed, beaten, kicked, and cuffed about by autocratic rulers and their minions. Most of them nursed hate from their mother's breast and were taught at their mother's knee to despise their oppressors and governments. This hate has been intensified through years of cruelty and oppression. Government to them has meant slavery and oppression. Out of this condition naturally grew anarchism, bolshevism, communism, syndicalism, and other monstrous conceptions of law and government. This was their only way of expressing themselves against intolerable conditions. Many of them, when they land in this country, join their kind in the great congested districts of America. Too often they become a great recruiting force to the dissatisfied and dangerous elements in our own country. They transfer their hate for government and those in authority from Europe to America. In the great tide of immigration from eastern and southern Europe since 1890, while we have had thousands of worthy comers, yet it is a painful fact that we have gathered thousands who are a menace to this country, and we have gathered these undesirables from all parts of Europe and from all parts of the world. I am trying to point out that there is no good reason why the newer immigration from southern and eastern Europe should have more than their proportionate part of this quota and discriminate against the older immigration to this country. If the Federal census of 1910 or 1920 is used, we will discriminate against northern and

western Europe. If we use the 1890 census, each section will receive its fair proportion.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Yes.

Mr. CELLER. The gentleman says we got the principles underlying the Declaration of Independence from the people coming from northern and western Europe. One of the doctrines of that instrument is "That all men are created equal," is it not?

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. That is what it says.

Mr. CELLER. Will the gentleman then say that we are treating equally the people from eastern and southern Europe?

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. The gentleman starts from the wrong premise. We must understand that this is America, and that nobody has a right to come here from foreign lands to live without our consent. No one has an inherent right to come to the United States except those whom we invite. The Chinaman, the Jap, the Fiji Islander, the cannibals of the South Seas, the anarchist of Russia, the criminals of France or England are persons. Would the gentleman contend, because of what Thomas Jefferson said in the Declaration of Independence, these persons are entitled to come and live in the United States?

Mr. SABATH. And no one maintains to the contrary.

Mr. COOPER of Ohio. Is it not a fact that the Declaration of Independence was written for Americans?

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. It was written by a very great American for America and Americans. Jefferson, with Washington, Hamilton, and others, sounded a note of warning against admitting foreigners to our shores who are not in sympathy with our institutions and who would not assimilate with our population.

Mr. PERLMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Yes.

Mr. PERLMAN. The gentleman will recall that during the last World War there were more northern and western European nationals in this country who favored Bolshevism than there were among those who have come from southern and eastern Europe. I refer to Debs and the Haywards and the like of that.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Oh! the gentleman names one or two. Debs and Hayward are in different classes. Hayward was an anarchist. He believed in the doctrines of Lenin and Trotsky, and when he got into trouble in this country he went to Russia and is still there. If the gentleman has read the story of this country, read the story of the policies and politics of the world, he must know that the birthplace of anarchy, Bolshevism, and communism is where oppression has been present in government for the last century.

Mr. JACOBSTEIN. I assume, of course, then, that the gentleman thinks that Carl Marx was born in southern or eastern Europe and that Proudlow was also born there.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. I do not think anything of the sort. I should like to ask the gentleman where Trotsky and Lenin were born?

Mr. JACOBSTEIN. But the gentleman said that socialism originated in those countries.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. I did not make that statement. I said the extreme radical socialism, the so-called "left wing," anarchy.

Mr. JACOBSTEIN. Was not Carl Marx a German?

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Certainly; but he did not favor such doctrine.

Mr. PERLMAN. Does not the gentleman know that under the bill now under discussion those who want to propagate Bolshevism in the United States can come in here as visitors, although they who want to come to escape from Bolshevism in Russia and live here permanently can not come here?

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. This is not the fact. We can handle visitors easily. Under this bill we can prevent any person coming here whose coming is a menace to this country. We are talking about those who are coming here to stay, and no one should be permitted to come here to stay unless he has the qualifications to make a good citizen and the desire to be an American citizen. [Applause.]

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. My time is very limited, and I can not yield any further.

Mr. SABATH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. I have but a few minutes of time remaining, and regret that I can not yield further. I know that my friend from Chicago [Mr. SABATH] appears now to be anxious to adopt the 1920 census as a basis, but two or three years ago, when we were trying to restrict immigration, the gentleman from Chicago resisted this action by Congress

with all of his power; and I feel sure that down in his heart he is opposed to any quota proposition, and that neither he, Mr. JACOBSTEIN, Mr. CELLER, or Mr. PERLMAN would be satisfied until most everyone came from southern and eastern Europe who desired to come.

Estimated immigration quotas based on census reports of 1890, 1900, 1910, and 1920—2 per cent plus 100 for each nationality

Country or region of birth	Estimated quotas based on 2 per cent of census plus 100			
	Census of 1890	Census of 1900	Census of 1910	Census of 1920
Albania.....	104	121	202	212
Armenia (Russian).....	117	141	252	419
Austria.....	1,090	1,891	4,994	11,510
Belgium.....	609	749	1,142	1,396
Bulgaria.....	100	100	302	311
Czechoslovakia.....	1,973	3,531	11,472	7,350
Danzig, Free City of.....	323	314	300	250
Denmark.....	2,882	3,298	3,846	3,844
Estonia.....	202	337	998	1,484
Finland.....	245	1,365	2,714	3,113
Fiume, Free State of <sup>1</sup> .....	110	117	148	210
France.....	3,978	3,734	3,920	3,177
Germany.....	45,229	43,081	40,172	28,705
Great Britain and North Ireland.....	41,772	37,282	34,508	29,152
Irish Free State.....	20,886	18,641	17,254	14,576
Greece.....	135	259	2,142	3,625
Hungary.....	588	1,232	3,932	8,047
Iceland.....	136	142	150	150
Italy.....	4,689	10,815	28,138	22,315
Latvia.....	217	371	1,126	1,681
Lithuania.....	402	655	1,852	2,801
Luxemburg.....	158	161	162	352
Netherlands.....	1,737	2,000	2,504	2,728
Norway.....	6,553	6,857	8,234	7,425
Poland.....	8,972	16,277	20,752	22,902
Portugal.....	574	1,016	1,744	1,616
Rumania.....	731	1,512	5,046	2,157
Russia.....	1,892	4,596	16,370	25,161
Spain (including Canary Islands).....	224	245	708	1,320
Sweden.....	9,661	11,772	13,462	12,649
Switzerland.....	2,181	2,414	2,602	2,477
Yugoslavia.....	835	1,504	4,384	3,500
San Marino.....	110	110	110	110
Andorra.....	100	100	100	100
Liechtenstein.....	100	100	100	100
Monaco.....	100	100	100	100
Palestine.....	101	104	138	164
Syria.....	112	167	688	1,142
Turkey.....	123	218	1,870	841
Hejaz.....	105	105	105	105
Persia.....	123	125	125	125
Egypt.....	106	108	112	117
Liberia.....	100	100	100	100
Abyssinia.....	100	100	100	100
Morocco.....	100	100	100	100
Union of South Africa.....	110	110	110	110
Australia.....	220	240	296	323
New Zealand and Pacific Islands.....	167	152	154	178
Total.....	161,184	178,769	239,930	240,401

<sup>1</sup> Fiume is to be added to Italy.

NOTE.—By reason of alteration of bases of computation, principally the elimination of "Other Europe," "Other Asia," and "black" Africa, certain quotas are materially changed. The German quotas are reduced by reason of the allocation of quotas to Czechoslovakia, Poland, etc. The Danish quota increases at the expense of the German quota by reason of the award of Schleswig to Denmark. The British quota increases by absorption of quotas from Cyprus, Gibraltar, and Malta (heretofore part of "Other Europe"), but is decreased by allocation of a quota to the Irish Free State. The Italian quota increases by reason of absorption of Rhodes, Dodecanese, and Castellorizzo. All estimates printed above, therefore, are subject to considerable revision. They can not be considered as final.

SELECTIVE AND RESTRICTIVE

Under the present laws we have little to say as to who will be sent to this country. We pass upon their fitness after they reach American ports. This has caused many hardships. This bill provides that no one can leave his home in Europe or secure passage to America until he submits to the American consul in his country such information as will satisfy the American consul that the proposed immigrant is a fit person mentally, morally, and physically to become a good American citizen. He can refuse any application for cause. You will observe that this measure is not only restrictive, but it is selective. We will say what character and type of person from which will be filled the quotas of the various countries of Europe. We do the picking instead of Europe.

WIVES, INFANT CHILDREN, AND AGED PARENTS

This bill provides that any foreigner who has become naturalized as an American citizen may bring to this country his infant children, his lawful wife, and his parents, if they are over 55 years of age, provided they are persons of the right kind of character and habits, and he is able to take care of them. I think this is a humane provision. This bill also provides that foreigners of good character and whose presence would not en-

danger this country may come to our country to attend our schools and universities and may visit here for a brief time.

"BOOTLEGGING" FOREIGNERS

Since we passed the restrictive immigration act of May, 1921, many foreigners have been "bootlegged" or smuggled into this country over the Mexican and Canadian borders and the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. We were called upon recently to increase the appropriation to stop the smuggling of liquor into the United States. I voted for that appropriation. "Rum running" should be stopped.

It is quite as great a menace to the welfare of this country to have hundreds of thousands of undesirable aliens smuggled into our country, and when we come to that part of the bill I intend to urge such amendments as to protect our country from this menace. It is claimed that there are more than 1,000,000 aliens in this country who got into the country unlawfully. Something must be done to correct this great and growing evil. Secretary of Labor Davis suggests we require all aliens to register—those who are here and those who may enter—and require them to report to some United States court or officer at stated intervals until they become naturalized citizens. If this should be done, every alien who is in this country illegally or unlawfully could be detected and be deported. If our country is to have selective and restrictive immigration, we should take such steps as are necessary to enforce our laws and protect our country. America should no longer be the "garbage can and dumping ground for the world."

THE BEST ACT FOR AMERICAN WORKMEN

Between the years 1902 and 1914 about 10,000,000 foreigners came to our shores. At the close of the World War millions of others were about to come. The immigration act of May, 1921, stopped this. Many employers of large groups of laborers, many foreign groups in this country, and many of the governments of Europe are strongly protesting against this bill. The big employers of labor have constantly urged Congress to repeal or modify our immigration law. They claim there is a shortage in labor caused by this restrictive immigration law. They urge Congress to open the gates and reduce wages thereby. The best way to reduce wages is to fill the shops, factories, mines, and other industries with foreign labor. This would bring down wages and the cost of living. We have more labor in this country than can be profitably employed. When we bring in 1,000,000 foreign laborers, they crowd a like number of Americans out of their jobs. Our first duty is to our own people. I prefer the policy of close the gates and keep wages up and maintain American standards.

There can be no greater danger to the Republic than unemployment, low wages, and poverty among our own people. There can be no real prosperity in the Nation unless our people are employed, and at good wages. High wages and plenty of work mean a happy, contented, and prosperous nation. Nothing could contribute more to this ideal situation than cutting out foreign immigration. Restricting immigration is the best law that Congress has passed for the working people of America since the founding of this Republic. Some say that we need foreigners to do the common labor. They say that Americans will not do the common labor. There is no such thing as common labor. All honest labor with a decent wage is honorable. Let those who are in our country now dig the coal, operate the trains, produce in shop, factory, and field.

PROTECT OUR INSTITUTIONS AND CONSERVE OUR RESOURCES

Some urge that we need a large foreign population to develop our resources. Why this maddening rush to consume our lands, our minerals, our timber in this or the next generation? Why fill this country up and have it crowded and congested as many sections of Europe are to-day? Why hasten to bring about the undesirable conditions in this country that make life unbearable in the countries across the sea? Let us save something for our posterity. Let us help those aliens in our country who have the desire and capacity to assimilate with our population to make good American citizens. Let us send out the slackers and the undesirables. Let us clean up America and keep America clean. We can help to do this by passing this measure. This is a real American question to be determined by real Americans. We should not hesitate to do that thing that will best serve our own people, perpetuate our Constitution and laws, and preserve the religious, industrial, educational, political, and social ideals of this the finest and best of all of the countries since the beginning of time. [Applause.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. JAMES].

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I am not opposed to restriction of immigration, but, on the contrary, I

favor it. I will vote to make the percentage 1 per cent or one-half of 1 per cent, or to restrict it entirely for a few years. I am opposed, however, to any law that says in effect that we have here in America men of "superior" blood, and that other Americans are men of "inferior" blood.

The best test of what is a real American is whether a man is willing to fight and, if need be, die for America.

Up in my home, where about everyone is either an immigrant or the son of an immigrant, we used to talk of ourselves as Irish, Italians, Scandinavians, French, Cornish, and so forth, but when the war broke out we found that we were mistaken—that we were not Germans, Scandinavians, British, Finnish, Jews, and so forth, but Americans—100 per cent Americans at that—and that our pro-Germans were nearly nil.

We found that the immigrant who recently landed—the poor "illiterate foreigner," the "scum," as some called them falsely—was as good an American and just as willing to fight and die as gladly as the men from other States who boasted that their forefathers came over in the *Mayflower*, or the descendants of the early settlers of Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas.

These immigrants were only doing what had been done in all wars. Together with many of my friends, I was a volunteer in 1898, and was a member of Company F, Thirty-fourth Michigan. We had men in our company that were not citizens. I remember one in particular, a Finn called Lillquist, who had only been in the United States for a short time, and never learned to talk our language, but when it came to fighting, he "was there."

I made a speech in favor of the selective draft on April 27, 1917, and in it I made mention of what had taken place in Ironwood, of my State, that had a population of 14,000, according to the 1910 census.

About April 10, 1917, Ironwood sent 65 volunteers and a little later 100. Others came from other parts of the county and made it 200, I was informed.

I stated at that time, in part:

The remarkable part of this is the fact that there had been no recruiting officer at Ironwood. All of these boys went to the post office and enlisted, and all joined the Regular Army.

Then I went on to state:

If there ever was any question as to whether or not the people and their sons who came here from Europe would be loyal, the name of the first 65 speak for themselves. They include Polish, British, French, Scandinavian, Finnish, Austrian, German, Irish, and Italian.

I give the names as published in the Ironwood Times and the Ironwood News-Record:

William Thompson, John Zvonsowski, Wandy Dudwi, William Leary, Howard Shelley, Andrew J. Sopko, Pito Falsi, Leslie Kacsir, Arvid C. Forsberg, Albert Kruchy, Herbert Smitham, Verne Anderson, Peter Grenfell, Angelo Zenella, John L. Nichols, Ernest J. Thomas, Fred W. Pickard, Jake Yonkoski, John Leonard Olson, Benhard Orhn, David Hedlund, John Kinsmanich, Isaac Turner, Henry Hayes, Thomas Natson, Adam Blazikowski, Lenkey Wick, John P. Shea, Roy Johnson, Frank Ramettu, Fred Kazvinsky, Nick Tregear, E. R. Staples, Isaac Chouinard, Ernest Nicholls, Edwin Carson, Edward Pstutka, Robert Johnson, William Johnson, Russell Mitchell, Clarence Halquist, William Pollari, Harvey Carlson, Edward J. Ossowski, Joseph D. Sobolewski, Harold Erickson, Sam Usitola, Louis Doroy, Joe M. Sniezecz, Eugene A. Halsy, John Goouf, Paul Kolson, John Holecheck, Leonard Welch, Edward Duffey, John Figull, Charles Bentzen, John Kachanski, Victor Kohkonen, Joseph Calligaro.

Who among you, my colleagues, will say that a single one of these volunteers is of "inferior" blood? Who is it that will say that any of these men were not Americans—yes, Americans of the purest of blood?

Among them were men that did not have first papers or second papers and some had to stop off and get their first papers.

Among them were Adam Blazikowski and John Kachanski, who had to get their first papers at Escanaba, Mich. These men, according to the records of the War Department, had the honor of capturing the first German prisoner of war.

FEBRUARY 12, 1920.

HON. W. FRANK JAMES,

House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. JAMES: Referring to your letter of February 2 relative to the desire of American Legion Post No. 5, Ironwood, Mich., to obtain official proof from the War Department that Adam Blazokowski and John Kohanski, of Ironwood, Mich., captured the first German prisoner for the American Army in the World War, I have the honor to inform you as follows:

On the night of October 27-28, 1917, Pvts. Adam Blazokowski and John Kohanski, both of Company C, Eighteenth Infantry, wounded and captured Pvt. Leonhard Hoffman, the first German prisoner captured in

the World War by the American Army. This prisoner was captured about 400 meters northwest of Bures in the Province of Meurthe et Moselle.

The prisoner belonged to the Third Heavy Machine Gun Company of the Seventh Regiment of the First Landwehr Division of the Third Bavarian Army Corps. He was the company mail carrier and was on his way back to his company after having gotten the mail when he was captured.

Very respectfully,

P. C. HARRIS,  
The Adjutant General.

(A. G. 055.9 first German prisoner)

APRIL 4, 1924.

HON. W. FRANK JAMES,  
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. JAMES: I am in receipt of your letter of March 31, 1924.

The records of this office show that Adam Blazkowski, 46326, and John Cochanski, 46397, made declaration of intention to become citizens of the United States on April 14, 1917, in the Circuit Court of Delta County, Mich., and enlisted on April 17, 1917, at Jefferson Barracks, Mo., giving as their residence Ironwood, Mich. They were assigned to Company C, Eighteenth Infantry, sailed for service overseas on June 14, 1917, and returned to the United States September 3, 1919, and were honorably discharged from the service as privates, first class, at Camp Grant, Ill.

The records further show that on October 27, 1917, a German soldier was captured by private soldiers of Company C, Eighteenth Infantry, in or near Bapaume Trench, France.

An unofficial published history of the Eighteenth Infantry states that the first battalion of this regiment, Company C being part of the battalion, entered the front-line trenches October 20, 1917, and that one week thereafter the first German prisoner taken by the Americans was captured by men of Company C.

Very respectfully,

ROBERT C. DAVIS,  
The Adjutant General.

Who among you, my colleagues, will say these two young Poles are men of "inferior" blood, and that their nationality ought to be discriminated against because "their blood will not mix with ours"?

Gen. E. H. Crowder, father of the draft law, provost marshal general, ought to be a good judge as to whether "America makes Americans" or not. Let us hear what he said:

Loyalty of aliens: \* \* \* Truly were we the melting pot of the world, and the cosmopolitan composition of our population was never more strikingly disclosed than by the recent events of the World War. Then the melting pot stood in the fierce fires of the national emergency, and its contents, heated in the flames, either fused into the compact mass or floated off as dross.

The great and inspiring revelation here has been that men of foreign and of native origin alike responded to the call to arms with a patriotic devotion that confounded the cynical plans of our arch enemy and surpassed our own highest expectations. No man can peruse the muster roll of one of our camps or the casualty list from a battle field in France without realizing that America has fulfilled one of its highest missions in breeding a spirit of common loyalty among all those who have shared the blessings of life on a free soil.

No talk there of some Americans being of "superior" blood or origin and others being of "inferior" blood or origin.

Then General Crowder goes on to say:

No need to speculate how it has come about; the great fact is demonstrated that America makes Americans. In the diary of a German officer, found on the battle field, the following sentence, penned by one of the enemy whom these men went out to fight, speaks volumes: "Only a few of the troops are of pure American origin; the majority are German, Dutch, and Italian parentage. But these semi-Americans—almost all of whom were born in America, and never have been in Europe—fully feel themselves to be true-born sons of their country."

Strange that a German enemy officer could see what some of our own Americans can not see, "fully feel themselves to be true-born sons of their country."

Even those of German stock fought the same as those of old American stock. General Crowder gives the following:

But 24 hours were given us to fill a call for six men to go—for preliminary training. The chief clerk set out in an automobile in search of six registrants who could leave on short notice. At one house his ring was answered by one of those comfortably stout matrons whom we always associate with splendid culinary talents. She absently greeted the clerk with "Guten morgen." He asked if

Fred X was at home, and was told that he was out for the day. He then stated his errand and the mother went on to tell him how four others of her sons were already in the war. Drafted? Oh, no. Two of them had enlisted in the Canadian Army, another was in the regulars, and only one had gone with a selective contingent. "Well, as long as your boy isn't here this morning, perhaps I had better hunt up some one else." "Ach, nein, nein, he vant to go. What time the train leave? I tell him. He been there already yet."

And he was.

Oh, yes, foreign blood will mix with ours all right.

On October 5, 1918, General Crowder states—

The Adjutant General of the Army called for reports from the different camps as to the number and names of aliens who desired discharge or were suitable for discharge. The reports thus far available cover only a single camp, but the proportions in the returns at hand are significant. Of the cobelligerent aliens, 1,006 in all, and composed almost entirely of British, Italians, and Russians, only 24 applied for discharge in all, or a little more than 2 per cent.

Shall we now tell these men that we do not want any more of their blood here because they are "scum" or of "inferior" blood?

It is impossible to compile exact percentage quota tables based on any census report, for the reasons that changes are made in the method of establishing the quotas for dependencies, self-governing dominions. However, some estimates are herewith presented, based on the best information obtainable, as follows:

Estimated immigration quotas based on census reports of 1890, 1900, 1910, and 1920—Two per cent plus 100 for each nationality

Country or region of birth	Estimated quotas based on 2 per cent of census plus 100			
	Census of 1890	Census of 1900	Census of 1910	Census of 1920
Albania.....	104	121	292	212
Armenia (Russian).....	117	141	252	419
Austria.....	1,090	1,891	4,994	11,510
Belgium.....	609	749	1,142	1,356
Bulgaria.....	100	100	302	311
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Switzerland.....	2,181	2,414	2,602	2,447
Yugoslavia.....	835	1,504	4,384	3,500
San Marino.....	110	110	110	110
Andorra.....	100	100	100	100
Liechtenstein.....	100	100	100	100
Monaco.....	100	100	100	100
Palestine.....	101	104	138	164
Syria.....	112	167	688	1,142
Turkey.....	123	218	1,870	841
Hejaz.....	105	105	105	105
Persia.....	125	125	125	125
Egypt.....	108	108	112	117
Liberia.....	100	100	100	100
Abyssinia.....	100	100	100	100
Morocco.....	100	100	100	100
Union of South Africa.....	110	110	110	110
Australia.....	220	240	296	323
New Zealand and Pacific Islands.....	167	152	154	178
Total.....	161,184	178,769	233,930	240,400

<sup>1</sup> Fiume is to be added to Italy.

NOTE.—By reason of alteration of bases of computation, principally the elimination of "Other Europe," "Other Asia," and "black" Africa, certain quotas are materially changed. The German quotas are reduced by reason of the allocation of quotas to Czechoslovakia, Poland, etc. The Danish quota increases at the expense of the German quota by reason of the award of Schleswig to Denmark. The British quota increases by absorption of quotas from Cyprus, Gibraltar, and Malta (heretofore part of "Other Europe"), but is decreased by allocation of a quota to the Irish Free State. The Italian quota increases by reason of absorption of Rhodes, Dodecanese, and Castellorizzo. All estimates printed above, therefore, are subject to considerable revision. They can not be considered as final.

The following from Hon. John Daprato, Iron Mountain, Mich., shows—

that the Italian people do not send all of their earnings to Europe.

As I promised you in my former letter that I would try and give you the number of families that own their own homes and other property in Iron Mountain, the following are the figures:

Families owning their own home.....	463
Amount of taxes paid on real estate.....	\$17,464.86
Amount of taxes paid on personal property.....	\$2,637.84

The above figures are taken correctly from the city's assessment books.

Mr. Daprato then well says:

Furthermore, the Italian people are economical, and as soon as the law permits them to become citizens they take out their papers and send for their families. The age that they generally emigrate is between 16 and 45 years of age, which gives to this country the best that is in them with a small cost to the United States.

Now, take the draft for the World War. A very large number of the young men here were subject to the military service in Italy, but they preferred to enlist in the United States Army, and many of them did not wait to be drafted, but instead they volunteered.

Mr. Daprato's own son, one of the college athletic stars of Michigan, was in our Army.

I want to call attention to the fact that all these young men of Italian birth knew when they were asked to go back to Italy and fight for Italy that they were rated as deserters and if they ever went back to Italy would be arrested as deserters. I have had several cases of young ex-service men going back and being arrested.

The following written me by Mr. Daprato, I am sure, applies equally as well to the Italians of the rest of my district:

Dickinson County appropriated to maintain the poor \$40,000 last year. In looking over the list I find that 18 Italian families, as nearly as I can make out, out of 96 were given help, and the amount of benefit received by them was only \$642. These families are principally those who have lost their fathers in the mines or other work. Taking these records of the Italian families, it does not appear that the Italians are so undesirable as the report on the Johnson bill would make out.

Now, another thing I want to call your attention to is that while these Italian people are all working for wages it is safe to say that 75 per cent own their own homes. Their children all go to school and their children are all good Americans, because they do not want to talk anything but the American language in their home, and this is good schooling for their parents.

Here is a telegram from a prominent business man of Ironwood of Italian birth.

IRONWOOD, MICH., March 27, 1924.

W. FRANK JAMES,

Congressman, Washington, D. C.

Approximate number of Italians not American citizens subject to draft in Gogebic County, 500. Only 2 per cent claimed exemption because not American citizens. Twenty per cent volunteered.

JOSEPH GENTILE.

The following is from a former member of the Michigan Legislature, and one of the most prominent men of my district. Mr. Daprato was born in Italy.

IRON MOUNTAIN, MICH.,  
Dickinson County, March 27, 1924.

HON. W. FRANK JAMES,

Washington, D. C.

Italian young men in the draft 229. Good many with first papers. Large number volunteered to serve in the American Army. Few claimed exemption. Letter follows.

JOHN DAPRATO.

Here is one from my home county, Houghton County, Mich., and is from the editor of the Italian Miner. I appointed his son to West Point and he graduates this year.

LAURIUM, MICH., March 28, 1924.

HON. W. FRANK JAMES,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

About 1,000 drafted. Three hundred and twenty-five served in United States Army. Only one so far as I know claimed exemption. Letter follows.

A. C. MARINELLI.

Here is a telegram from the postmaster at Crystal Falls, Iron County, Mich.:

CRYSTAL FALLS, MICH., March 27, 1924.

HON. W. FRANK JAMES,

Washington, D. C.:

Approximate Italian population of Iron County 7,000. Approximate number subject to draft 2,200. Less than 5 per cent claimed exemption on account of not being Americans. Will write.

JAMES R. FLOOD.

Here is one from an ex-service man, born in Italy:

IRONWOOD, MICH., March 27, 1924.

Italians subject to draft between 400 and 500. Exemption claimed because not American citizens about 3 per cent. About 15 per cent volunteered.

VICTOR BERTONE.

LAURIUM, MICH.

HON. W. FRANK JAMES,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Italians (Americans) drafted in county, 1,100. Served, about 350. Claimed exemption because not American, 1.

LOUIS TINETTI.

Mr. Tinetti is one of our very good citizens.

Here is extract of letter from Mr. A. C. Marinelli, Italian miner, Laurium, Mich.:

After an accurate inquiry and an examination of the books of the local Italian societies, I found that during the war about 1,000 were drafted for service in our county and that about 325 served in the United States Army. The balance were ready to go when the armistice was signed. Of the total number, only about one-half were American citizens. \* \* \* Only one Italian, so far as I know, refused to serve because he was not an American. \* \* \* To my personal knowledge, this condition existed all over the United States.

Here is an extract of letter from Mr. John A. Gries, postmaster, Laurium, Mich.:

Only one man claimed exemption on account of not being American. I remember well how the Italians were ready to go to the front for their adopted country, and I think they have a fine record, one of which they can be proud.

Here is extract of a letter from Mr. Matt Sojat, editor of the Hyrvatska, Calumet, Mich.:

I was in position to know that very few claimed exemption for the reason that they were not Americans. You are aware that all aliens who claimed exemption because they were not Americans could not obtain full naturalization papers before the expiration of five years. I happened to be in court when naturalization day was being held, and I found only three of the Yugoslavs who were rejected for this reason. Our nationality in Houghton County is a clean living, respectable set, as can be shown by the records of the county. I doubt if there was a Yugoslav lodge in Houghton County that did not purchase Liberty bonds and helped the boys along in every way.

Here is a telegram from one of the best known citizens of my county, and the editor of the Hyrvatska, a Croatian paper:

CALUMET, MICH., HOUGHTON COUNTY, March 27, 1924.

W. FRANK JAMES,

Washington, D. C.:

Approximately 5,000 Slovenian and Croatian residents in our county subject to draft at that time. Less than 1 per cent claimed exemption because they were not Americans. Letter follows.

MATT SOJAT.

I desire to call attention to the fact that Croatia and Slovenia were part of Austria-Hungary, and every one of these Croatians and Slovenians knew that in case he became a prisoner of war, he would be shot as a traitor.

How can anyone make a claim that men like these will not mix with our blood and are not as good Americans as any of us?

A few days ago I received a letter from Hon. Anthony Lucas, supreme counsellor of N. C. S., formerly of my county, and with whom I served in the Michigan Legislature:

I am writing you this letter with the hope that you will clear up any misunderstanding or misinformation that may exist among Members of Congress regarding Yugoslav immigrants in the United States. I am certain that you know more about them than any other Member of Congress. You have associated with them in business and politics, and know just what kind of residents and citizens they make.

I know the Croatians and Slovenes in my district, and I know that they are 100 per cent Americans in every way. I have also seen the Croatians and the Slovenes in the lands of their fathers, and found that they were the material from which good Americans can be made.

Some of the pioneers who helped to build up the mining district and the farming district of my district were Yugoslavs. These men and their descendants are among the leading business men, professional men, farmers, and skilled laborers of my district, and, as I have said, we have always found them to be 100 per cent Americans.

There were not over 10,000 Yugoslavs, I am informed, in the United States prior to 1890. Instead of 7,050 under the present

law, the proposed bill would only allow about 835. This is unfair to these people, who have helped build the United States and helped to defend it in the late war.

Mr. Lucas, the same as most of his friends, is not against the policy of restrictive immigration. They are opposed to being classed as inferior Americans, and I agree with them.

I am not opposed to restrictive immigration. I believe it is right that the people of this country should try and get the very best class of immigrants, because the immigrants of to-day will be the future citizens of to-morrow. But I am opposed to an immigration law which discriminates against the desirable immigrant of one country in favor of the immigrant of another country. Let Congress enact a law that will treat all countries alike and allow an equal proportion of desirable emigrants from every country.

In a communication from Mr. Matt Chop, supreme president, and Mr. Anton Geshel, supreme secretary, Slovenic Croatian Union, Calumet, Mich., they tell me that through their society and its subassemblies and other Yugo-Slav organizations, that "millions of dollars worth of Liberty bonds and war savings stamps" were purchased during the late war.

On April 21, 1918, I had the honor of talking to a mass meeting of Serbs, Croatians, and Slovenes at Detroit, Mich., and on the following Sunday I talked to another mass meeting of the Serbs, Croatians, and Slovenes of Pittsburgh, Pa. They were as enthusiastic meetings of patriotic Americans as I ever had the honor to address.

I thought at that time that we had heard for the last time of those entirely false words, "the scum of southwestern Europe."

I said in part:

By the way, we do not hear so much these days about the "scum" of southwestern Europe as they used to call the Italians, Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

This war has proved what I have always claimed, that the men who came here from southern Europe were as loyal to this land as the native-born American, and that when the time came they would offer up their blood on the battle fields for this country just as freely as any native born would do. Am I right? Is there a man in this hall who is not willing to fight for America? No; not one, as I thought.

The war is over and we won. These aliens fought side by side with our boys, and we were glad of it. Now, how unjust it is to talk about the "scum" of Europe and to say in effect that they are men who can not make good Americans because they are of inferior blood.

Other nationalities that are affected, though I do not believe there is any intention of discrimination against them, are the Danes, Finnish, Norwegians, and Swedes. I would go into length on the desirability of these people if I thought the committee intended to say that they are "scum." They are simply the victims of circumstances. Anyone who has lived among the Finnish, Swedish, and Norwegian people like we have in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan knows that they make ideal citizens in every respect. Under the proposed bill only 345 people can come from Finland instead of 2,814 under the present law.

In a speech at Arlington Cemetery on May 30, 1917, I said, in part:

We are fighting on the same side as sunny Italy, the land of art and song; the land that sent us Christopher Columbus; Italy the land of Garibaldi, Mazzinni, and Cavour.

We are fighting side by side with the heroic soldiers of little Belgium, "bleeding Belgium," that little land that preferred to die rather than lose her honor. We are proud to fight on the same side as the gallant men of little Serbia, the brave; the men of desolate Poland; the men of Gallant Greece; and the men of Montenegro and Portugal.

They were all our allies in the late war. If they won, we won; if they lost, we lost. To-day we say that the people of all of these countries are men of "inferior" blood and that we do not care to have them come here.

The real test of an American is not where were you born, but do you believe in America and its institutions? Are you willing to fight for America? Are you willing to die for America?

#### THE FOREIGN BORN

Who are the foreign born? Not those  
Whose pulses to Old Glory thrill,  
Who would protect it with their blows  
From insult of a tyrant's will.  
What though their bodies sprang from earth  
Upon a strange and distant strand;  
'Tis here their spirits found their birth,  
And they are natives in the land.

Who are the native born? Not those  
Who falter in the flag's defense  
Who would not die against its foes  
And count the joy a recompense.  
What though the ancestry they scorn  
Runs backward to the Pilgrim band?  
Their spirits have been elsewhere born,  
And they are allens in the land.

(McLanburgh Wilson.)

If the bill goes through with the 1890 census, we are practically saying to a large part of our population, "We allow you to live here, but we want you to understand that you are not as good as we are. We are men of 'superior blood'—you are men of 'inferior blood.' You are not really Americans but are foreigners that we permit to live here."

The next step may be to so amend the selective draft law that in case of war the first men to be drafted and shoved into the first-line trenches are these "foreigners," these men of "inferior blood" that we have allowed to live here. Others might want to go further and insist upon another amendment so that no one of Italian or Greek or Croatian or Polish blood or Jewish blood can hold a commission as an officer—commissioned or noncommissioned—because we can not allow men of "inferior blood" to hold commissions in our Army.

We might find others advocating that no man of "inferior blood" can be judge, or sit on a jury. They might give as a reason that a man is entitled "to a jury of his peers," and that no one of Italian, Jewish, Croatian, or Polish blood, or of any other "inferior blood," therefore, can sit on a jury and try a man of "superior blood."

There is just as much sense in these proposals as there is in saying that we base our immigrants on the 1890 census.

We may find some misguided individuals of "superior blood" advocating separate schools for Italian, Croatian, Polish, and other "inferior blood," so that they can not contaminate those of "superior blood."

Others may want to have separate coaches for those of "inferior blood" and those of "superior blood."

What do they want to make of this country, anyway? Do they prefer a "melting pot," or do they prefer the conditions of Macedonia, where they never mix, except to "mix and fight"? Why not let us live in peace and harmony the same as we have always lived, believing that "all men are created equal"?

I have seen these men of Italian, Greek, and other blood get their second papers and seen how happy they were to think that they were Americans and could vote and exercise all the privileges that the rest of us did. I know how they feel and how happy they are. I had a letter from a good Greek friend of mine, James P. Poulos, the other day, that illustrates what I mean:

Just a line to let you know that I was made a citizen of the grand and glorious country on March 15 at Virginia, Minn. Everything went off without a hitch. I sure am thankful, proud, and happy now. I wish to thank you for your letter and all the trouble I gave you in the matter.

If some of the chief advocates of the 1890 census lived among the Croatians, Poles, Italians, and others, as I have lived, they would feel differently about the races of southern Europe. Many of them do not know what a Croatian or an Italian or a Serb looks like.

Many of them know little or nothing about the nationalities that they consider of "inferior blood."

Part of the evidence before the Immigration Committee is good evidence of that. Here are some questions asked by one of the most competent and oldest members of the committee:

MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE. What do you mean by Bohemians?

Mr. HILL of Maryland. Czechs.

MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE. Czechs from what country?

The gentleman evidently thought a Bohemian was a sort of a check or draft on some bank.

Mr. HILL of Maryland. The Czechs are from what was formerly the Kingdom of Bohemia.

MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE. What are they? Bulgarians?

Mr. HILL of Maryland. No.

MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE. Do they come from Austria-Hungary?

Mr. HILL of Maryland. They are not Austrians, but formerly were governed by Austria.

Then a new member of the committee proceeded to show that he did not know anything about a Bohemian. This gentleman is also against men of "inferior blood" and strong for the 1890 census.

NEW MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE. They are from what country?

Mr. VINCENT of Michigan. They are from a Province of what used to be Austria-Hungary, of which Prague was the capital.

Mr. HILL of Maryland. Prague is the capital. Bohemia was one of the original bulwarks against the incursions of the Turks from the East.

OLD MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE. It could not have been Austria-Hungary, because none of those people came to the United States until after 1861.

Another member of the committee evidently did not know anything about the Finnish people, because he asked the following:

MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE. Do they (Finns) make good citizens?

Mr. GULNAC. Yes; they do.

MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE. Do they send their children to the American schools?

Mr. GULNAC. They do.

MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE. And encourage them to learn the American language?

Mr. GULNAC. They do.

This is very amusing to those of us who have lived among the Finnish people and know the desirable citizens in every way that they make.

In conclusion I want to say, as I said at the beginning, I am not opposed to the restriction of immigration. I voted for the present immigration law. I voted, however, against every bill that provided for a literacy test, as I did not think that the test was the best test of what would make a good American citizen.

I want to vote for this bill, but I do not believe in any legislation that attempts in any way to give the impression that there are two kinds of American blood, one "superior" and one "inferior." I still claim that the best test of an American is whether he believes in American institutions and whether he is willing to fight and die for America. I hope that we will be able to change the proposed bill to the present figures of 1910, so that there will be no discrimination against the nationality or country of any of our American citizens, especially those who fought so bravely for this country in the late war. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan asks unanimous consent to revise and extend his remarks. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WILSON].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Louisiana is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. WILSON of Louisiana. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, I make the same request.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. WILSON of Louisiana. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, it is somewhat disappointing to find that the motives of the majority of the Committee on Immigration favoring this bill are attacked from so many sources. The Members of the House who are not on the committee might reach the conclusion from what has been said that the actual merits of the immigration question were never considered, taking the remarks of my good friend from Chicago [Mr. SABATH] as the basis. One might suppose the whole measure was based on fear from California and ignorance from the South and bitter prejudice growing out in the State of Washington.

Mr. COOPER of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WILSON of Louisiana. Yes.

Mr. COOPER of Ohio. While the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH] was speaking he made the statement that the Committee on Immigration had acted without any knowledge of this question at all. I was wondering whether they had any knowledge.

Mr. WILSON of Louisiana. Yes; but that was a compliment compared with another statement to the effect that the report was based on prejudice.

Mr. WATKINS. Was not that a plea of guilty on the part of the gentleman making the statement?

Mr. WILSON of Louisiana. Well, gentlemen who have not a good cause usually resort to that practice, pleading ignorance, prejudice, and discrimination.

Mr. HILL of Maryland. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WILSON of Louisiana. I regret I can not yield.

Mr. HILL of Maryland. I was seeking information on the bill.

Mr. WILSON of Louisiana. Perhaps I may be able to give it. I was defending the members of the committee. The whole crux of the charge against this bill is that it is discriminatory, and deliberately so, and based on some sort of race propaganda and prejudice.

There is not any prejudice or any intention to discriminate, so far as I know, among the members of the committee. Take the gentleman from Washington [Mr. JOHNSON], the chairman of this committee. I can not understand how anyone could accuse him of a disposition to be unfair or to discriminate or to carry any prejudice against any race anywhere. I have seen him at Ellis Island. I have seen his big heart crumble, as it were, at a hard-luck story, and I have seen the tears come to his eyes. That is not a fault; that is a ground for admiration. And in face of all this he has the courage to stand up on this question strictly from the American standpoint.

If the preservation of our ideals and institutions and our Government in its essential features as established by the founders of our Republic may be considered of paramount importance, this bill is the most vital legislative measure of the present Congress.

In the preparation of H. R. 7995, known as the Johnson bill, the Committee on Immigration has heard and considered statements from those representing the viewpoint of practically every nation of the world and from those representing almost every important industry of our country as well as members of every kind of educational and civic organization. There are many points about which the committee as a whole could agree, particularly that conditions in Europe were such that there is a widely prevalent desire among the inhabitants of many countries to seek admission to the United States, and that in addition to this temper of the masses there is a general disposition on the part of the various Governments to encourage and assist this emigration regardless of the quality of the emigrants. In fact—and I think naturally so—the tendency is to land in the United States the more shiftless, the mentally and physically inferior.

There is now, as in the past, a feeling in Europe that for some reason it is the duty of the United States to take care of their surplus population. It may be that the propaganda to the effect that this country should be a world asylum and our past record are in a way responsible for this feeling. Your committee has often been confronted with the fact that European countries claim proprietary rights in America and expect that claim to be recognized by Congress. These nations resent a genuine effort to restrict immigration, and the worst of it is that this resentment is reflected and voiced by their nationals in the United States. We have actually reached the point where it is difficult to legislate on this question from a strictly American standpoint. While all nations theoretically admit our sovereign rights to control admission of their nationals to our shores, yet when a measure is proposed which puts that right into effect in accordance with our viewpoint and consonant with our interests these same nations, for one reason or another, enter a protest in which they are joined by alien groups in the United States. They say we are discriminating against their people. For example, some time ago it was proposed to arrange that 50 per cent of the immigrants from a certain country should come on American ships. It was thought in this way we might make up some of the accumulated deficit caused by our shipping operations. But protest was made immediately that such action would materially reduce the profits of the ships of the nation from which the immigrants were coming, the assumption being that it was the duty of the United States to accept immigrants up to the full capacity of their ships to transport them and to refrain from any steps that might interfere with their profits from such immigration.

The average American is unable to account for the general feeling in many countries of Europe that the United States owes them a vast and unsatisfied obligation. Since the close of the late war the contention has been that the United States should cancel all the debts due her, and according to those who have spent considerable time abroad there is much ill feeling over the fact that we have not done this. The criticism for a long while was confined chiefly to individuals, but has now become the subject of official comment, due perhaps to the fact

that we have insisted upon an adjustment of the obligations due us. While such feeling exists it is doubtful if we can secure any desirable immigrants from those countries.

Some time ago the vice president of the Belgian Senate, in an arraignment of the United States for her delinquencies, used this language:

It can not be denied that we fought for America and that we saved her; consequently we are entitled to expect effective help from her. Our Government ought to have the courage to tell this to the American people.

According to the press report this gentleman explained that we failed to bear our just share of the sacrifices entailed by the war, and he estimates that instead of Europe owing us \$12,000,000,000, we owe Europe \$88,000,000,000.

Referring to the same subject a leading Italian newspaper said that—

France can pay America by exports exclusively, while Italy can pay by exports and by sending immigrants to America who are capable of saving and sending their savings to the mother country.

The United States has no apologies to make for her part in the late war and will not by legislation admit the correctness of claims of this kind.

#### LABOR

The committee gave due consideration to the domestic phases of the problem, important among which is the labor situation. The representatives of manufacturing industries urged a more lenient immigration policy so as to admit aliens for the purpose of supplying additional labor, and their testimony in some instances indicated that a shortage of certain kinds of labor existed at the present time. On the other hand, the representatives of the American Federation of Labor and allied organizations contended that with proper wage adjustments there would be no need for the importation of aliens, and that the plea of these industries was for the purpose of depressing the wage scale in this country. Those who urged relaxation of the restrictive program could offer no remedy for conditions that would result from a period of unemployment such as we had a few years ago when 5,000,000 men were without work.

I stand for the doctrine that the workingman is entitled to a fair wage and a fair chance to establish and maintain himself and his family on a plane of living in keeping with our standards of life. This is best in the end for industry, and I can imagine no greater mistake than to admit cheap labor from Europe to constitute an army of unrest in every period of business depression. If properly handled we may have a continued period of prosperity, and would it not be much better to continue on a safe basis with good wages and a fair profit than to reach and pass the peak of production and soon find ourselves with idle men and plants? I do not undertake to speak for the committee, but in my judgment while there may be a deficit in inclination to work there is not a shortage of labor.

We should not forget that the average laboring man stands as one of the safeguards between communism and Bolshevism on the one hand and greed and monopoly on the other. We should not forget that he has stood firm against the efforts of alien radicals and internationalists to subvert the labor organizations in this country.

In respect to this phase of the situation your committee, after hearing and considering all the facts, reached the conclusion that a further restriction of immigration would subserve the interests of labor and industry.

#### AGRICULTURE

Pleas were made to the committee for the inclusion in the bill of flexible provisions for the admittance of farmers and farm laborers. Attention was called to the many assertions that the native-born American was leaving the farm and that in order to keep agriculture going it would be necessary to adjust the immigration law so that aliens might enter and take his place.

A propaganda to this effect seems to have reached every part of the country, but it should be sufficient reply to point to the fact that our farmers are now producing a surplus of practically every staple agricultural product. What the farmer needs is a wider market and a better price. An increase in production would only complicate the situation. From the farmers' viewpoint the best thing an alien could do would be to remain in his own country, take his part in the rehabilitation of its industries, the reestablishment of its government, and the readjustment of its currency on a sound basis, thereby becoming a substantial customer for our surplus production.

So the conclusion was reached that whatever immigration might be permitted, either of laborers in manufacturing industries or of farmers or farm laborers, should be within the quota established by the bill, which is 2 per cent based on the census of 1890.

#### WAR SERVICES

Many prominent citizens, formerly nationals of other countries but now naturalized, appeared before the committee in opposition to the pending bill and urged a more liberal policy toward European countries and their own in particular, giving as reasons for this attitude the services rendered by natives of various countries during the war. In some instances it was urged that the proposed policy of the committee would be unfair treatment of the countries from which these young men came and indicate a lack of appreciation of their loyalty to the United States.

I respectfully submit that to accede to this request would be highly dangerous for the Nation in which these former service men now live and a discrimination against those who created and have made America a desirable home. When the immigrant, whether naturalized or not, joined the ranks of the American fighting forces, he responded to the simple call of duty. He is entitled to all the praise and credit due any American soldier, and the very fact that he may now live here, surrounded and protected by the guaranties of our laws and with all the opportunities afforded by our institutions, is full and complete satisfaction for every sacrifice. I undertake to say that it gives the country from which he came no preferential rights in America and authorizes no claim that conflicts with American interests.

The Congress has made it possible for every alien who served in our forces with a good record, on that account alone to become an American citizen if he so desires, and we all stand for the doctrine that if he has become one in fact and in spirit he is entitled to all the privileges and protection of the native born. On account of this the country from which he came may owe something to America, and I suggest nothing better than for that country to hold its undesirables within its own borders, allowing America to remain a place where any man may be proud to live and for which it is an honor to make sacrifices in time of peace or war.

We are forced to the inevitable conclusion that the best interest of the former service man, of whatever nationality, and the best interest of the public, demands further restriction of immigration.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. WILSON of Louisiana. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. The American Legion unanimously indorsed restriction of immigration, did it not?

Mr. WILSON of Louisiana. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. And no organization in it or any one man opposed that unanimous action of the American Legion, did he?

Mr. WILSON of Louisiana. No. The American Legion in my State has indorsed this bill.

Mr. SABATH. That organization did not go on record for H. R. 1897 before this bill was drawn or reported.

#### DISCRIMINATION

Mr. WILSON of Louisiana. The principal objection offered to the pending measure is the charge that basing the quotas on the census of 1890 discriminates as between certain countries and certain sections of Europe. This claim grows out of the fact that in the early history of the country and up until about 30 years ago the tide of immigration to America came largely from northern and western Europe, and that during the past 30 years the greatest volume of immigration has come from southern and eastern Europe. It has been proven and is well known that of this latter immigration there is a large unassimilated mass in this country now. In many places these immigrants are segregated into communities where no Americanization program has been fully effective. On that account there is a large portion of the population, predominant in certain localities, that has little knowledge of the character of American institutions and life, and hence little sympathy in that direction. It will take years of untiring effort on the part of the Nation and the States to adjust this population on any kind of safe American basis.

Therefore it becomes desirable and necessary, if the percentage plan is continued at all, to change the date of the census on which the quota is based so as to check the incoming tide of immigration of that kind. The very fact that when we attempt to do this the cry of discrimination against certain countries and peoples is raised is sufficient evidence that our duty is plain. There is really no attempt to discriminate against any European country or the people thereof or therefrom, but there is an actual determination to legislate in

favor of America. It is high time we stopped the long-continued discrimination against the native-born American of the old stock, who constitutes 79 per cent of our total population.

It is not necessary in this connection to enter into a discussion of the superiority of races. According to recent arguments each race claims to have the advantage over the other. The trouble grows out of having a country composed of intermingled and mongrelized people. The stability of a country depends upon the homogeneity of its population—where ideals and aspirations go along the same lines; where the ideas in relation to government, in relation to social conditions, and as to guarantees of property and personal rights are in harmony.

It is true that, as a general proposition, those who came to America first, the pioneer races, those who fought the early battles of this country and worked out and established its institutions, founded our Government, framed its laws, and made this wonderful Nation possible, were from the northern part of Europe. It is also true that later many came from other sections of Europe, fleeing from religious persecution and governmental oppression, and were easily assimilated by the American life of that day; but the general character of the population was not changed. The situation is different now. Those who came then were of the best of Europe, regardless of the section from which they came, but if the records speak the truth there is a deliberate plan by certain European countries to unload their undesirables onto America.

Two things are certain: One is that America can not exist with a large percentage of mongrel communities with discordant views and aspirations; the other, that America can not exist with a large number of communities of segregated foreign population, where a foreign language is spoken and where foreign ideas prevail. The conglomerate community is the breeding ground of race prejudice and hatred. The pioneer American, with his fixed ideas of society and government as embodied in our customs and laws, is not going to submit to being undermined by foreign ideals imposed from abroad.

The segregated community is just as dangerous as the intermingled one, for the reason that it lives in ignorance of and prejudice against the American idea of government. We have a recent and striking example of this, according to a number of press reports of proceedings at a public meeting in what may be termed a segregated foreign community in Detroit, Mich. Here a judge of the Federal court had in his official capacity condemned the local liquor situation and violations of the Federal statutes. A mass meeting was held, the judge of the Federal court denounced, and Polish rule demanded. When a local justice of the peace, speaking in the English language, proceeded in defense of the Federal court he was notified to keep silent and that the Polish tongue only should be heard there. This incident has been the subject of wide and unfavorable comment by the press in all parts of the country, and, according to the New Orleans Times-Picayune, a representative of the Detroit Chamber of Commerce writes:

The fact that this community so violently resents the use of the American language is a real danger.

That is true, even if nothing else had occurred at this famous mass meeting. The danger signal is out, and this very locality should favor measures to prevent repetition there and duplications elsewhere.

This situation is not answered or improved by saying that Polish-Americans are true to the flag and loyal to the Nation. Generally that is admitted, but the fact remains that this was an attack upon a Federal court, not by an American community but by a foreign community in America.

The dissension and criticism was not voiced in our language, but in the language of a foreign country. It was an attempt to overthrow and destroy American law for foreign reasons by foreigners segregated in an American city. The American people will not be satisfied with speeches criticizing aliens and foreigners in a situation like this, but they are going to hold the Congress responsible.

It is true that we have lawlessness and many lawbreakers among native-born Americans, but that is no reason why we should add to the difficulties by the influx of foreign revolutionists. It will not suffice to criticize European nations for unloading their diseased and criminally inclined population on the United States. The proper criticism will be at the doors of the Congress if we fail to act.

#### THE BILL

Mr. Chairman, my own individual view is that, with few exceptions, all immigration ought to be suspended for at least five years or until we can assimilate and Americanize as much

as possible the alien population already here, or deport those who can not be brought into full sympathy with American institutions. It will take time to do this, and I here want to congratulate those forces and organizations in the various towns and cities throughout the United States on the comprehensive plan and activities in connection with the Americanization program. We find the American Legion, the public-school authorities, the Federal Government, civic organizations, industrial organizations, labor organizations, and many patriotic among the foreign born giving their best efforts to carry this work to completion. But in the face of the incoming tide they are unable to fully cope with the situation. The present measure, being a compromise between those who favor complete suspension and those who favor a restricted program, is the best we can hope to get at this time, and has my full and undivided support.

The contest for restricted immigration has been a long and intensive battle. In this act we preserved the basic immigration law of 1917. That act was the result of a contest extending over more than 20 years. There was never any great controversy about its general provisions, but an almost unending battle raged over the literacy test, that being its really restrictive provision, the one that placed a general limitation upon entry into the United States and which applied to all nations alike. The inclusion of the literacy test reduced the volume of immigration to the extent of some 300,000 per year. To-day no serious effort is made to change that provision. But conditions have so changed that, with only the act of 1917 in effect, the annual influx from foreign countries would be 2,000,000 or more if the steamship capacity could be found to transport them.

In order to meet this situation the present percentage law was enacted which, omitting the exceptions, permits annually 357,803 from all foreign countries from which immigrants are admissible. This act was opposed because it was more restrictive than the then existing law, in that it limited immigration to 3 per cent of the nationals of the various European countries as shown by the census of 1910. Its chief merit was that it cut down the volume and preserved all the existing regulations as to quality.

The present bill proposed to reduce immigration to 2 per cent based on the census of 1890 plus 100 from each country. That would make admissible each year, outside of the exceptions, 161,184. Its outstanding merit is that it is further restrictive and adjusts the quotas on a basis that will tend to protect and preserve the dominant strain of our population and at the same time afford a better opportunity to assimilate the great mass of aliens already here.

Another important feature of the bill is that it provides a method by which families may be united and thereby removes many of the hardships and heartaches caused by the former statute. In other words, an exception is made so that if otherwise admissible the fathers and mothers over 55 years of age, the husbands and wives and the unmarried children under 18 years of age of citizens of the United States may enter without respect to the quota. So that if an immigrant has come to the United States and becomes a citizen, he is given the privilege of bringing over the members of his immediate family, including his aged father and mother. To permit the immigrant to come here and upon his choice become a citizen and then for any reason forbid the uniting of his family, his wife and minor children or aged parents, would not be in keeping with the dignity, character, and spirit of the United States.

For the first time the committee has endeavored to effectively establish what is known as selective immigration. For some 25 years the subject of selective immigration—that is, the establishing of a system by which the quality, character, and admissibility of the proposed immigrant could be determined at the port of embarkation—has been discussed. After very careful consideration and study the committee has gone just as far as the legal situation will permit. No doubt some foreign countries will object to this and complain that we are establishing a system by which American officials may inspect and pass upon the character and admissibility of their nationals on their own shores. But to this the answer should be that unless such country desires to place itself within the scope of the act of Congress, it has the opportunity to choose not to send any immigrants at all. Foreign nations should learn as soon as possible that it is the province and business of the Congress of the United States to regulate immigration into this country and to prescribe all conditions therefor. The preliminary examination overseas is not final, as the authorities at the port of entry are vested with the right of rejection.

But many of the hardships experienced under the present system will be avoided. Passports will be issued only to the number of immigrants admissible from each country. All the facts relative to the character and life record of the person desiring to come to America may be known before he embarks for our shores.

The American public, native and naturalized, of whatever race or nationality must realize that under present world conditions this problem is vital and critical. We can not admit and assimilate the population of the Old World. We propose to exclude Asiatics, those ineligible to citizenship. After inserting humane provisions for uniting families, we propose to further restrict the number admissible and in so far as possible select those who may enter.

We have in this country now nearly 14,000,000 aliens, subjects of foreign nations who may never become American citizens and many of whom may never know the language of our country. We have now in this country more than 1,200 newspapers and other publications published in foreign languages and read by millions who do not seek to know the language of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. Thousands of children attend schools daily where this language is not taught or heard. The essential thing now is not an increase in numbers but a program for Americanization, one that will preserve in fact American standards, one that will bring every proposed American citizen into a knowledge of the English language and an understanding of American institutions. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Louisiana has expired.

Mr. VAILE. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee rise in order to permit the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WINSLOW] to present what I understand is a conference report. I make that motion.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and Mr. MADDEN, as Speaker pro tempore, having assumed the chair, Mr. CHINDBLOM, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee having under consideration the bill (H. R. 7995) to limit the immigration of aliens into the United States, and for other purposes, had come to no resolution thereon.

#### TEMPORARY INCREASE OF THE COAST GUARD

Mr. WINSLOW. Mr. Speaker, I call up from the Speaker's desk the bill H. R. 6815, with a Senate amendment.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the bill by title. It is not a conference report. It is a House bill with a Senate amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 6815) to authorize a temporary increase of the Coast Guard for law enforcement.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the Senate amendment.

The Senate amendment was read.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the Senate amendment.

The Senate amendment was agreed to.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. VAILE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members who have spoken or will speak on the pending bill, the immigration bill, may have five legislative days in which to extend their remarks after the conclusion of the debate.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Colorado asks unanimous consent that all gentlemen who have spoken on the immigration bill or will speak may have five legislative days in which to extend their remarks after the conclusion of the debate on the bill.

Mr. SABATH. To extend and revise.

Mr. CONNALLY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, a point of order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. CONNALLY of Texas. I understood the Chair to state that the committee rose to consider a conference report. It was not a conference report. The bill was called up in the House, and we agreed to a Senate amendment.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Yes. The gentleman is correct. The Chair corrected that.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Speaker, why not make that five days extend to all Members of the House who want to extend their remarks, instead of just those who have spoken? We do not all get a chance to speak.

Mr. VAILE. Then, Mr. Speaker, I will modify my request so that it will apply to all gentlemen.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Colorado modifies his request, and asks that all Members may have five

legislative days, after the conclusion of the debate, in which to extend their remarks. Is there objection?

Mr. SABATH. For the present I object.

Mr. VAILE. Then I present the original request.

Mr. MURPHY. I object.

#### CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. KUNZ. Mr. Speaker, a point of order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. KUNZ. I desire to make the point of order that there is not a quorum present. Every speaker who has taken the floor has called attention to the importance of this bill. Now, it seems to me if it is so important the Members ought to be here, because they can not decide a question if they do not hear it presented.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois makes the point of order that a quorum is not present. It is evident there is not a quorum present.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House. A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

Anderson	Eagan	Lazaro	Reed, Ark.
Anthony	Edmonds	Lilly	Reed, N. Y.
Bacharach	Elliott	Lindsay	Reed, W. Va.
Bankhead	Favrot	Linthicum	Reid, Ill.
Beers	Fish	Luce	Rosenbloom
Bell	Fleetwood	McClintic	Salmon
Black, N. Y.	Frear	McFadden	Sears, Fla.
Bowling	Fredericks	McKenzie	Sherwood
Boyce	Freeman	McLaughlin, Mich.	Sinclair
Brand, Ga.	Funk	McLaughlin, Nebr.	Snyder
Britten	Geran	McNulty	Sproul, Ill.
Brown, Wis.	Glatfelter	McSweeney	Stegall
Browning	Goldsborough	Mansfield	Strong, Pa.
Brumm	Graham, Ill.	Merritt	Sullivan
Buchanan	Graham, Pa.	Michaelson	Sweet
Bulwinkle	Green, Iowa	Milner, Ill.	Taber
Burdick	Greene, Mass.	Milligan	Taylor, Colo.
Butler	Griffin	Mills	Timberlake
Canfield	Hawes	Montague	Tincher
Carew	Hawley	Mooney	Tinkham
Christopherson	Hersey	Moore, Ill.	Treadway
Clark, Fla.	Hickey	Moore, Va.	Tucker
Cleary	Howard, Nebr.	Moore, Ind.	Tydings
Cole, Ohio	Howard, Okla.	Morin	Underhill
Connolly, Pa.	Hudson	Morris	Vare
Corning	Hudspeth	Mudd	Vinson, Ga.
Cramton	Hull, Iowa	Nelson, Me.	Voigt
Croll	Hull, Morton D.	Newton, Minn.	Ward, N. Y.
Crowther	Hull, Tenn.	Nolan	Wason
Cummings	Hull, William E.	O'Brien	Watres
Curry	Jeffers	O'Connor, La.	Watson
Davey	Johnson, S. Dak.	O'Sullivan	Weller
Davis, Minn.	Jost	Oliver, Ala.	Welsh
Deal	Kahn	Palge	Wertz
Dempsey	Kelly	Parker	Williams, Ill.
Denison	Kent	Peavey	Williams, Mich.
Dickinson, Iowa	Kerr	Phillips	Wood
Dominick	Kiess	Porter	Woodrum
Doyle	Kindred	Prall	Wyant
Drane	Knutson	Quayle	Yates
Drewry	Kopp	Rankin	Zihlman
Dyer	Kurtz	Ransley	
	Langley	Rathbone	

The SPEAKER. Two hundred and sixty-two Members have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I move to dispense with further proceedings under the call.

The motion was agreed to.

#### ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, if I may be permitted, is it the purpose of the gentleman from Washington [Mr. JOHNSON] to have the debate upon this bill further interrupted by business without giving any notice to this side?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I will say to the gentleman from Tennessee that, of course, it is not the purpose of the gentleman from Washington to permit the processes toward the passage of this bill to be interrupted by anything as far as I can avoid it.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Well, the gentleman moved that the committee rise so as to receive a conference report, which gave an opening for the roll call that has now been had. Is it the desire of the gentleman to limit debate upon this immigration matter?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. No. It is the desire, of course, to proceed under the rule and get along as fast as we can. As a matter of fact, I did not move that the committee rise; but a member of the committee did make that motion, which gave an opportunity to make a point of order of no quorum. I am sorry that happened, because I am anxious to go along a reasonable time, this being Saturday afternoon, and rise at a reasonable time.

Mr. BEGG. I will say to the gentleman from Tennessee that the point of order came from his own side.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. So I understand, but why was a motion to rise made without giving some little notice to this side?

Mr. BEGG. I will say to the gentleman that I was not on the floor at the time and could not state about that.

Mr. WINSLOW. Will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Yes.

Mr. WINSLOW. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, I think I should assume responsibility for this mix up. A bill passed the Senate which we had formerly passed and was amended by one word. There has been a great deal of pressure to get an agreement on the part of the House to the amendment made by the Senate in order that the departments interested might get to work on important matters.

I came here—and my own innocence of the method of procedure accounts for the failure to advise the minority—and asked permission of the gentleman representing the committee in charge of the immigration bill to have that matter considered. It was a very slight interruption, as the facts demonstrate, because not over 45 seconds were consumed. Of course, it did lead to a kind of fiasco, which we have all felt the strain of, but, so far as there is any apology to make and expression of regret, it is due that I make it, and I do so. I am sure the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. VAILE] had no intention whatever other than to be accommodating, and it was not my purpose to disturb the calm deliberations of the committee.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I think it should be understood now that an agreement has been reached under which general debate closes on the immigration bill at 11 o'clock Tuesday night, and that every interference in the meantime limits the hours of debate.

Mr. SNELL. I will say to the gentleman that there is no desire on the part of any gentleman to limit debate, and the only things to be taken up will be those necessary things on the Speaker's table.

Mr. KUNZ. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois is recognized, and, of course, all of this is under unanimous consent.

Mr. KUNZ. Mr. Speaker, I was the one who made the point of no quorum, and I did it for this reason: Every gentleman who has spoken on the immigration bill has called attention to its great importance and the interest that the people of this country have taken in the matter of restricting immigration. I felt, and I feel now, that if this bill is of such importance that the people of this country are interested, those men who represent the people certainly ought to be here to hear what is said.

Mr. VAILE. Mr. Speaker, I call for the regular order.

#### IMMIGRATION.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 7995.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 7995) to limit the immigration of aliens into the United States, and for other purposes, with Mr. SANDERS of Indiana in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 7995, which the Clerk will report by title.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill to limit the immigration of aliens into the United States, and for other purposes.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. McLEOD].

Mr. McLEOD. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee. I rise at this time to further urge that immigration be reduced to the greatest degree and yet be consistent, not discriminatory. I contend that we owe unstinted obligation to those already here who are our fellow citizens. We are under moral bonds to every man and woman we have so far welcomed. Let the expectant citizen look back with gratitude to the day of his arrival, upon the glory of Bartholdi's Statue of Liberty rather than upon the crowded pens of Ellis Island. It would be well for him; it would be well for us. Gentlemen, we are all aliens or of alien lineage. We occupy one common country, and you must agree that we can not safely draw a line between the early comers and the late. We stand to-day as the fairest Nation on the earth, and with strength and wisdom as our inherent power. Let us endeavor to continue to retain this place.

How much study have we given to the question of the advisability of specifying which foreigners shall come and which shall not come to this land of ours, made up entirely of the

descendants of these same foreigners whom to-day we are trying to exclude or restrict? Though it may be for the best interest of our country to restrict the number of arrivals each year and to limit the arrivals to the extent and number that we can assimilate, I still ask you in all fairness and patriotism, How are we going to arrive at this conclusion? It is well to bear in mind the words of the present Secretary of State when he said:

In approximately providing for a restriction of immigration, the importance of which I fully recognize, I hope that it will be possible to find some basis which can be proof against the charge of discrimination.

These are wise words, and we should ponder them.

While we are carefully considering this all-important question of restricting immigration bear this one thought in mind, that the natives of Belgium, Poland, Italy, and Czechoslovakia are just as desirous and anxious to adopt America as their future home as are the natives of Germany, France, and Sweden, and I dare say that if you will make a careful survey you will find that the immigrants that I have just mentioned, namely, those who come from Italy, Poland, Belgium, and Czechoslovakia, have probably assisted in the happy growth of this Nation as much as those now coming from the northern and western part of Europe. This includes all immigrants who have entered our gates during the last decade, and I sincerely believe that the hearings recently held on this legislation will bear me out in this statement.

There should be no objection to the restriction of immigration. Every true American should distinctly understand that it is the inherent right of our country to determine who shall and who shall not come to our shores. It is the right of the Government to determine how many may come and to determine who is desirable and who is not desirable. It is the right of Congress to allow only a limited number of immigrants each year, and it is further the right of Congress to close the doors entirely against all immigration if felt to be necessary industrially and economically. The only instance in which I feel that this bill goes beyond the purposes of this greatly desired relief, and which I protest, is when we, in trying to restrict, in reality discriminate. We are now in the age of international amity. We are on friendly terms with all the great powers of the world. Shall we maintain this relation, or shall we depart from our proud policy of fair play? The smoke of guns is hardly cleared away. The world still bleeds from the wounds of the World War, and we in Congress are preparing to deal a blow to our friends and allies during this terrible conflict waged so that the world might be safe for democracy. Clearly the policy proposed is not the policy of restriction equally applied to all nations.

According to the law now in force, immigration is restricted to 3 per cent of the total number of aliens actually residing in our country at the time of the compilation of the census of 1910. This law has been in operation since 1921. According to the bill introduced by the gentleman from Washington, this law would be superseded by a new law so framed as to allow annually into the country an initial quota of 200 persons from each country, then an additional 2 per cent from these countries based on the numbers of aliens residing here at the time of the compilation of the census of 1890. The great objection is the designated basic year. For instance, the change to this year (1890) makes it grossly discriminatory. This basis is unjust, it is unnecessary, and it would greatly embarrass the Government. Why change the basic year and give rise to all the criticism that already has arisen and has been directed against us by the citizens of the land, and by people outside of our country? Why look for trouble? Why go back 20 years and arbitrarily select a date when you know there were very few people from southern and southeastern Europe in this country, and in doing this leave this country and this Congress open to all the just criticism of the nations thus offended because they are stamped with the brand of inferiority?

If 3 per cent, based on the census of 1910, admits too many immigrants, then why not allow only 1 per cent or one-half of 1 per cent, based on the census of 1910. I would strongly favor this. In other words, just change the percentage and not the basic year. I have not as yet heard an argument for using the 1890 census as a basis for quota computations that offsets the fact that this discriminates against certain nations. Gentlemen, I am in favor of restriction, but I am opposed to the form of restriction advocated by the bill we are now considering. Bear in mind that this bill also carries a proviso for selective immigration, and it is not necessary to discriminate in order to obtain selective and restrictive immigration.

Now, gentlemen, I refer you to your table of statistics, and trust that you will have no difficulty in agreeing with me that

those nations, namely, Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Belgium, who have and are contributing so much to the development of this country and who were our brothers in arms fighting for the same principles for which we stood and with whom we were so closely allied, are unjustly treated in this matter. Let us take Italy, for example.

According to the present quota law, Italy has 42,057 immigrants each year. Under the proposed law Italy would be allowed only 4,089—a reduction of 90 per cent. On the other hand, Germany is allowed at the present time 122,171 immigrants, and her quota under the new law would be 50,329—a reduction of slightly over 60 per cent. So, also, England under the present law is allowed 139,786 immigrants, and under the new law her quota would be 62,658—a reduction of slightly over 56 per cent. From which you see that the reduction is not proportionate; there is discrimination in the practical working out of the law. I am not speaking in favor of one race against another, gentlemen, but merely citing these figures to call your attention to the discrimination this change in the basic year for the computation of the quota brings about. Does it seem right to cut the quota of one country 56 per cent and the quota of another to 90 per cent? This discrimination against the Italians, our friends and allies during the late war, is offensive to the large body of American citizens made up of those who come from Italy, or who are Americans of Italian parentage.

According to Government statistics, the number of Italian immigrants excluded and deported is the smallest, which shows the tendency toward physical and mental health. The Italian contributed only a minimum percentage of those affected by tuberculosis and insanity, as well as the lowest figure in the criminal record.

The Italian immigrants also give the highest figures for productive labor and the lowest figure for mendicancy, notable indications of creative and dignified strength. While the earlier immigrant stock is lagging behind in the movement toward agriculture, the Italian immigrant is taking first place in the proportion of increase of tillers of the soil, who are the most indispensable producers in the country. The British, Canadian, and Scandinavian farmers in America show, instead, a decrease of 37 per cent. In large New England areas the fields would be deserted if it were not for the Italian, who comes to renovate the fertility of its soil through labor and diligence.

We hear it remarked that the Nordic races are superior in physique to the southern European. Suppose that is true; I rise to remark that brawn is not all. Sparta relied on brawn for its race; and Sparta is gone. Review for one moment the history of the Italian. We find in the Italian the idealism of a highly civilized race, and we find in him the practical beginnings of the modern race, the exponent of the oldest civilization of which the world boasts to-day. We have in him the descendant of the dreamer who discovered this land; we have the descendant of him for whom this land was named; we have the descendant of Galileo, of Volta, of Dante, Michael Angelo, Raphael, Leonardo da Vinci, and of many other artists and architects. We have in him the descendant of the legislators and the sociologists. We have in him the lover of music, of the race of Palestrina, of Verdi, Bellini, and Rossini, not to mention scores of others; and of Caruso, Martinelli, and the immortal Eleonora Duse. We have in him the "heir of all the ages in the foremost files of time."

Evidently the framers of this bill do not come from sections where they meet up with our present type of immigrant. I represent a district which is fully 30 per cent foreign, and it is not at all uncommon to hear of marriages between these foreigners and the native Americans and with foreigners of other nationalities. It is not at all uncommon to see names changed so that they sound like what we consider American names, because these foreigners wish to be considered Americans and nothing else. This is particularly true of children of the Italians and the Poles. The first generation of Italians or Poles do not wish to be known as Italians or Poles. Ask one of the little urchins in the street or in the schools: "What are you?" and forthwith comes the answer, given with great pride, "I am an American."

And when you ask them, Are not you an Italian or a Pole? unhesitatingly they answer, "My father and my mother were, but I am an American." I cite these two nations particularly because these two are being discriminated against particularly, and I would not have them excluded from this country, because they have been and are valuable assets to our land. They have proven it in the past and they are giving evidence of it in the present. Gentlemen, these two groups of people led last year in the movement for citizenship. According to the figures given by the Commissioner of Labor there were naturalized 24,874 Italians, 22,621 Poles, 17,190 Russians, 16,953 British, this

being also the order in which they were classified. These first two named nations average 17 and 15 per cent, respectively, of the total number of naturalized citizens last year—32 per cent of the total naturalized. And, believe me, gentlemen, they are proud of their citizenship.

More than 300,000 Italians figure on the Army lists, and in defense of the inner lines as well as on the firing lines they proved their devotion to their adopted country. There was no shipyard, ammunition factory, airplane factory, steel mill, mine, lumber camp, or dock in which the Italians did not play a large part, and often the most prominent part in actual and efficient work. In some places, such as mines and docks, the Italians reached fully 30 per cent of the total of employees, working at all times with full and affectionate loyalty toward the Government of the United States. And still there are some who stand ready to stigmatize these people, these Americans of foreign birth, with the mark of discrimination, brand them with the badge of infamy, and hold them up before the world as inferior and therefore not desirable—a race that, though it numbers only 4 per cent of our population, gives us almost 5 per cent of our Army in time of war; a race that in a crisis rises to a man in defense of the land of her adoption. Gentlemen, what constitutes desirability in the minds of the proponents of this bill? If morality, obedience to law, citizenship, patriotism, assimilability do not mark for us a desirable element, then what does constitute a good citizen?

The Poles and the Czechs have an equally envious record, but I dare say that this is one of the best examples that can be brought out to show the loyalty of foreign-born citizens to the land of their adoption. The law as proposed is unjust; it is a travesty on gratitude. We would be less Americans than we are to-day if such a measure were allowed to pass.

Before closing let me call your attention to the following tables:

Based on the 3 per cent quota of the census of 1910

Great Britain, North Ireland, and Irish Free State	77,342
Germany	68,059
Sweden	20,042
Austria	7,451
Belgium	1,563
Czechoslovakia	14,282
Greece	3,294
Hungary	5,638
Italy	42,057
Netherlands	3,807
Poland	25,827
Rumania	7,419
Russia	34,284
Yugoslavia	6,426

Based on the 2 per cent quota of the census of 1890

Great Britain, North Ireland, and Irish Free State	62,658
Germany	50,329
Sweden	9,761
Austria	1,190
Belgium	709
Czechoslovakia	2,073
Greece	235
Hungary	688
Lithuania	502
Italy	4,089
Netherlands	1,837
Poland	9,072
Rumania	831
Russia	1,992
Yugoslavia	935

Aliens, civilian and military, admitted to citizenship during fiscal year ending June 30, 1923, arranged by nationalities

Country	Number	Per cent
Italy	24,874	17.14
Poland	22,621	15.59
Russia	17,190	11.85
Great Britain (except Canada)	16,953	11.08
Germany	12,064	8.31
Canada	6,546	4.51
Czechoslovakia	6,334	4.37
Austria	6,211	4.28
Hungary	5,859	4.03
Sweden	4,068	2.80
Serbs, Croats, Slovenes	3,032	2.09
Greece	2,920	2.01
Turkey	2,515	1.75
Rumania	2,367	1.63
Norway	2,346	1.62
Miscellaneous	2,020	1.40
Denmark	1,650	1.14
Holland	1,381	.95
France	1,010	.70
Finland	825	.57
Belgium	811	.56
Switzerland	762	.53
Portugal	386	.27
Spain	212	.15
Luxemburg	126	.09
Total	145,084	100.00

Citizenship granted during January, 1924

Country	Number	Per cent
Italy	2,465	18.46
Poland	2,227	16.62
Russia	1,370	10.23
Germany	913	6.81
Czechoslovakia	713	5.33
Hungary	421	3.13
Greece	391	2.29
Austria	284	2.27
Yugoslavia	243	2.56
Sweden	208	2.31
Turkey	256	1.91
Rumania	235	1.90
Norway	166	1.24
Denmark	133	1.02
Holland	105	.78
France	97	.71
Finland	70	.59
Switzerland	75	.55
Belgium	64	.47
Portugal	39	.29
Spain	29	.22
Bulgaria	17	.13
Central and South America	17	.13
Mexico	12	.09
Luxemburg	4	.03
Montenegro	2	.01
Reinstated Americans	219	1.57
Different nationality	146	1.09
Total	13,399	100.00

Let me say again that I protest the use of the census of 1890 as a basis for quota computations, for the reason that it is highly discriminatory against certain nations of the world and acknowledging that we must have greater restrictions than that provided for in the present law; let us cut the percentage or, better still, institute a complete nonimmigration program.

May the light of tomorrow dawn on us after this measure has been discussed, and may it shine on a Nation, glorious and just and splendid, that would not sacrifice on the shrine of prejudice the great principles of Americanism. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. WATKINS].

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oregon? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I want to submit four reasons justifying the passage of the Johnson bill.

First, this bill has one new constructive feature in it and no more. We have imbedded in this bill the process of selective immigration, the same to be exercised on foreign shores, and in this we have gone as far as the Congress of the United States can go without abrogating its sovereignty in any particular. In this bill we make provision whereby we can say to prospective immigrants, "You can proceed to America," and to others, "You can not." If we go any further than this bill provides we would have to do it through the avenue of the treaty-making power of this country, and the Congress has not the right to delegate the sovereignty of this country to that extent; but even if it had the right, the American people would not want it done, and in that view I heartily concur.

The constructive feature of this bill, namely, the selecting and culling, as it were, the people who want to come to America, even if you disagree with every other provision in it, would alone justify every Member of Congress in voting for the bill, because it establishes once and forever the right to select our immigrants over on the other side. The very humanity of it should appeal to those who might otherwise object to the bill, because we say to the inadmissible people, "You can not get into America, consequently there is no need for you to go." For this reason every man in this House ought to vote for the bill.

The second proposition refers to the burden of proof. We say to the immigrant, "You are asking and demanding the right to enter into this country; upon you is the affirmative and therefore the burden of proof." He has all the evidence within his possession. He knows whether he is entitled to enter. He is asserting and claiming the right, and on him ought to be and is the burden of proof. This is the second reason why this bill ought to pass.

The third reason is that it excludes Japanese and their kind—all races ineligible for citizenship in this country. The sooner this Congress lays down the proposition of not admitting the people of those nations who can not assimilate, who can not become a part of our blood, our tongue, our life, and our ways, the sooner will we begin to mirror the sentiments and the wishes of the great body of Americans who want America for Americans. [Applause.]

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WATKINS. I have not the time, and I can not yield; I am sorry.

Mr. MADDEN. I just wanted to ask the gentleman, if he will pardon me, about the peons of Mexico and whether they ought to be excluded?

Mr. WATKINS. They ought to be excluded, and if I had my way they would be; and if the gentlemen on the Appropriations Committee will give the Immigration Service enough money, which they do not, that competent and capable service would keep many of them out. [Applause.]

The next and fourth reason, gentlemen of the Congress, is that it places the quota upon the basis of the census of 1890. Some of you may ask why we go back to 1890, why we do not go back to 1880, or why we do not go back to 1820.

Mr. LINEBERGER. Or 1790.

Mr. WATKINS. So far as I am concerned, it would be all right to go back there and begin anew and let nobody in this country except those who have Anglo-Saxon or Nordic blood throbbing in their veins; but these people are here now. We have a condition, and we must face the facts and meet the issue. Why do we go back to 1890? For the reason that 1890 is the first census wherein the respective nationals were classified and enumerated. You can not ascertain the respective number that ought to come in on the basis of 1890 or any other census, because they were not so enumerated. They were taken as the sum total of foreign born and enumerated in the census without regard to country of birth.

Now, I want to tell this Congress why this bill providing 1890 as the basis is not a discriminatory measure, but is based upon equity, fair play, and for the United States a square deal. The 1910 laws discriminates against Germany and England and favors certain nations in southern Europe, and the trouble with many of the Members in this House is that they want that discrimination continued, because they and their kind are profiting by that discrimination, and more of their kind are being permitted to come into this country than is warranted. [Applause.]

I now refer you to the following table:

TABLE 1.—Total European-born population in United States, 1910, 11,791,841—Present law quota, 357,803

Country	Population by census of 1910	Percentage of total European-born population	Number entitled to admission on percentage basis	Quota, present law
Belgium	49,400	0.4	1,431	1,563
United Kingdom	2,573,534	21.9	78,559	77,342
Sweden	665,207	5.6	20,036	20,042
Germany	2,311,237	19.6	70,129	67,607
France	117,418	1.0	3,573	5,729
Denmark	181,649	1.5	3,367	5,619
Norway	403,377	3.4	12,165	12,202
Italy	1,343,125	11.4	40,789	42,057
Bulgaria	11,498	.1	357	302
Rumania	65,923	.6	2,144	7,419
Greece	101,282	.8	2,862	3,294

In 1910 the census of all European born in the United States totaled 11,791,841. Belgium, the first in column 1 of the above chart, had 49,400 of the 11,791,841, or four-tenths of 1 per cent. All of these European nations should participate in the 1910 quota of 357,803 in proportion to their percentages. In other words, Belgium's percentage was four-tenths of 1 per cent. The number that should come in under 1910, in so far as Belgium is concerned, would have been 1,431. The fact of the matter is that Belgium's quota under the present law is 1,563.

The United Kingdom is second. She had 2,573,534, which was 21.9 per cent of the total European-born population in the United States in 1910. That country would be entitled to 21.9 per cent of the 357,803, which would amount to 78,559. But no; the American people discriminated against England and permitted only 77,342 to come into the country. And so all the way down the line. Germany was discriminated against to the tune of nearly 3,000, whereas the contrary is true of Italy.

They claim that Italy is mistreated, and I hope every man and woman within the sound of my voice will realize that I have

no prejudice against the Italian people; none whatever. I have some of the finest people in Portland, Oreg., of the Italian race; I have some of the finest people in Oregon of every race, and some of my best friends are from those respective nationalities. The charge has been made that I, as a member of the Immigration Committee, have seen fit to discriminate against the southern part of Europe. I deny the charge.

Now, the census of 1910 discloses that Italy has 1,343,125 of the total European population in the United States in 1910; in other words, there was a total of 11,791,841; 1,343,125 was 11.4 per cent of the 11,791,841. In other words, Italy should have had 11.4 per cent of 357,803, or 40,789 persons, come into the United States, whereas the record shows that we discriminated in favor of Italy at the expense of the northwest and gave Italy 42,057. The same is true of Rumania. Rumania had 65,923 in 1910. That would be six-tenths of 1 per cent of the total European-born population. In other words, Rumania would have six-tenths of 1 per cent of the quota of all European countries. The fact remains that we discriminated in favor of Rumania, giving to her 7,419 people instead of 2,144. The same is true in many instances in using 1910 as the basis.

I now direct your attention to the next table:

TABLE 2.—Total European-born population in United States, 1890, 8,020,608—Proposed quota, 165,083

Country	Population by census of 1890	Percentage of total European-born population	Number entitled to admission on percentage basis	Quota allowed under proposed law
Belgium	22,639	0.3	495	609
United Kingdom	3,122,911	38.9	64,217	62,658
Sweden	478,041	5.9	9,839	9,661
Germany	2,784,894	34.7	57,283	50,129
Norway	322,665	4.0	6,603	6,553
Denmark	132,543	1.6	2,641	2,882
France	113,174	1.4	2,311	3,973
Italy	182,580	2.2	3,631	3,989
Greece	1,887	( <sup>1</sup> )	165	135

<sup>1</sup> Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

Those of you who had the pleasure and privilege of hearing the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. VAILE] must have been convinced that basing the quota on the census of 1890 was just and in no way discriminated against any nation. Certainly his facts appealed to your intellect unless your reason is warped by prejudice due to the fact that your district is overwhelmingly foreign born, which influence is perhaps all-controlling in too many instances.

Now, the foregoing table discloses that in 1890 in the United States Belgium born totaled 22,639 people. There were 8,020,608 European born in the United States in 1890. Belgium's proportion was three-tenths of 1 per cent, or 495. The bill gives her 609.

Italy had 182,580 in 1890. Her percentage of the 8,020,608 was 2.2 per cent; she is entitled to 2.2 per cent of the 165,083, the proposed quota. Two and two-tenths per cent of 165,083 is 3,631. What does the proposed quota give her? Three thousand nine hundred and eighty-nine. And yet some of you Congressmen howl and bellow discrimination. And so all down the line. I challenge these gentlemen who represent the congressional districts overwhelmingly alien not only in name but sentiment and whose very soul is un-American and hostile to the institutions of this country to show wherein there is discrimination. [Applause.]

Gentlemen, there is no discrimination, and these figures show that; but suppose there is discrimination, suppose we do discriminate against those countries, suppose we discriminate against southeastern Europe, I claim there is justification for it. I claim the American people have the right to discriminate against those nations who have not used the hospitality of this country as invited guests ought to use it. This country is like a large household. I can tell a Chinaman or an Italian or a Greek or a Japanese in Portland, Oreg., "You can not come into my home; I am not inviting you there." If I want to invite my friend from Ohio Mr. BURTON to come in, it is my business and nobody else's. That is the way with America—we can invite Englishmen or whom we please. We can invite none but Germans if we want to. We can invite none but Italians if we desire. But we are trying to lay down the rule of treating all nations alike, and this, I maintain, we have done.

But suppose, for the sake of argument, we admit discrimination. The facts justify us in so doing. I now ask you to consider the next table, which deals with naturalization. It is as follows:

TABLE 3.—Naturalization record, 1920

	Per cent
Denmark	69.2
France	56.7
Germany	72.8
United Kingdom	64.4
Luxemburg	72.5
Netherlands	56.0
Norway	67.3
Pacific Isles	50.1
Sweden	69.0
Switzerland	64.9
Albania	7.4
Armenia	28.9
Australia	49.5
Austria	37.7
Belgium	49.0
Bulgaria	12.1
Czechoslovakia	45.8
Finland	41.3
Greece	16.8
Hungary	29.1
Italy	28.1
Lithuania	25.6
Palestine	37.5
Poland	28.0
Portugal	16.4
Rumania	41.1
Russia	40.2
Spain	9.9
Syria	28.9
Turkey (Asia)	25.1
Turkey (Europe)	20.2
Yugoslavia	25.2

Naturalization of all foreign born, 47.2 per cent (U. S. census, 1920, Vol. II, p. 805).

Let us look at it to see how the boys from Italy, from Bulgaria, from Germany, and all of the other countries have treated the hospitality of this country. Observe the countries and opposite each one the percentage of the people here in 1920 which has become naturalized. It starts off with Denmark, where we find that 69.2 per cent from that country have been naturalized. That is, 69 out of every 100 who came from Denmark have become American citizens. France shows a percentage of 56.7; Germany a percentage of 72.8; Great Britain, including Ireland, a percentage of 64.4; Luxemburg a percentage of 72.5; the Netherlands a percentage of 56; Norway a percentage of 67.3; the Pacific Islands a percentage of 50.1; Sweden a percentage of 69; and Switzerland a percentage of 64.9. What is the fact when we come to these countries in southern Europe? Not a single one of them reaches 50 per cent. Albania shows a percentage of 7.4; Armenia of 28.9; Australia of 49.5; Austria of 37.7; Belgium, 49; Bulgaria, 12.1; Czechoslovakia, 45.8; Finland, 41.3; Greece, 16.8; Hungary, 29.1; Italy, 28.1. That is, only 28 out of every 100 Italians have become American citizens. Lithuania, 25.6; Poland, 28; Portugal, 16.4; Rumania, 41.1; Russia, 40.2; Spain, 9.9; Syria, 28.9; Turkey in Asia, 25.1; Turkey in Europe, 20.2; Yugoslavia, 25.2. Ponder over these figures and no longer will you wonder why the American people want to cut down the immigration from southern Europe.

What is the fact with reference to crimes? They tell us that the boys from southern Europe were not here long enough and that they could not become naturalized. What is the fact with reference to crime? Professor Laughlin has prepared a table (Table 4) which is submitted for your consideration.

Serbia, we find, has fourteen times more criminals than she ought to have, Spain six, Mexico five, Bulgaria three, Greece nearly three, Turkey two and one-half, Italy more than two, Portugal nearly two, Rumania one and one-half, southern and eastern Europe the same, whereas we find Switzerland, Ireland, Germany, Scandinavia, northwestern Europe, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Canada, all with a low criminal proportion.

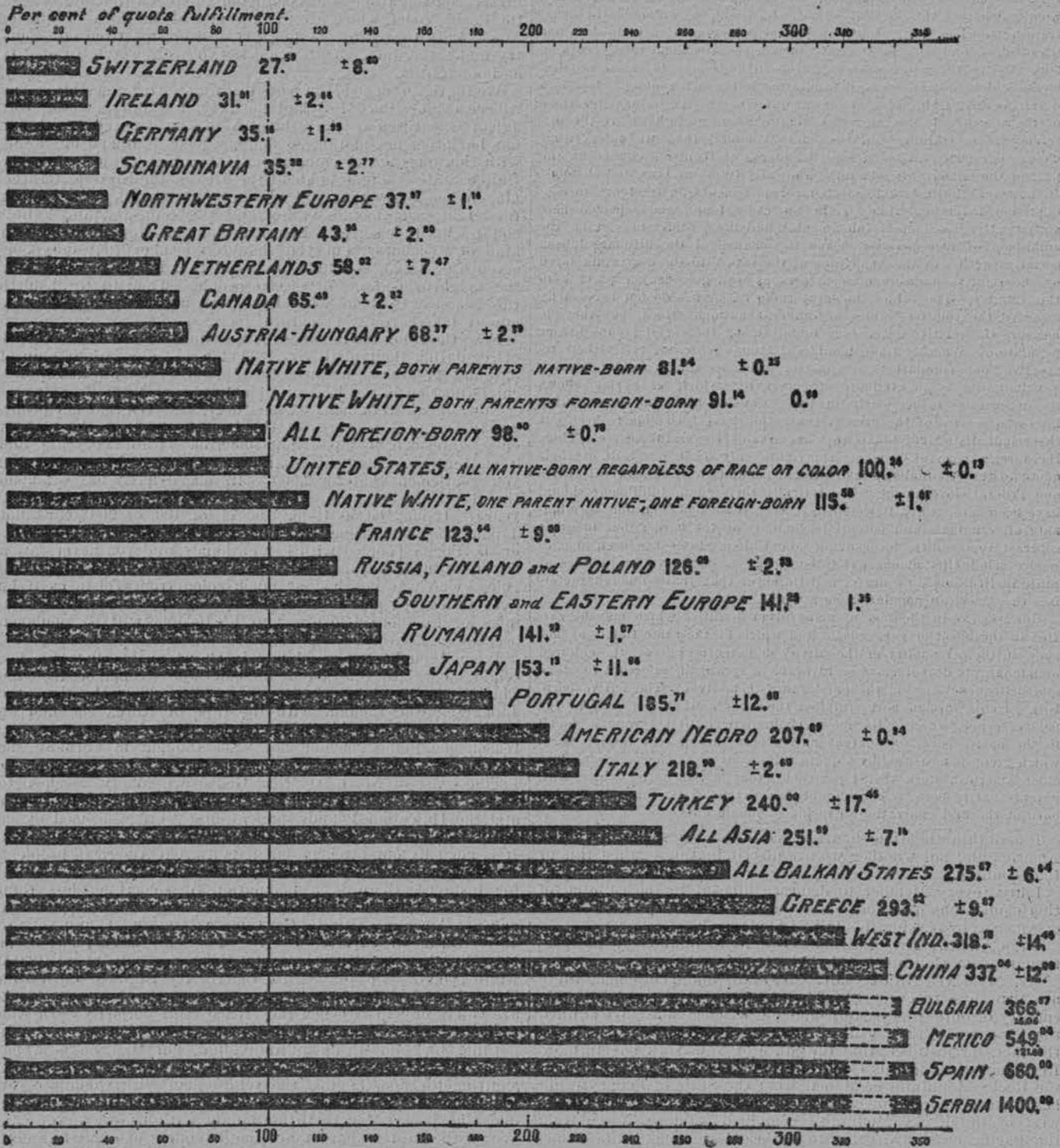
These are just some of the things that convict these people of their utter unfitness to come in here on an equal basis, and yet out of the charity of the American heart we place them all on the same basis regardless of whether they are treating us right and regardless of their fitness for citizenship.

At this point I shall take the liberty of inserting what Doctor Laughlin said on this table:

Doctor LAUGHLIN. The countries which run lowest in crime are those which have contributed most of the elementary foundation of the population of the United States—such as Great Britain, Scandinavia, Ireland, Germany, and the Netherlands. Northwestern Europe, as a whole, fulfilled her quota only 83.85 per cent; Great Britain only 37.97 per cent; Canada, a kindred country, 65.49 per cent. Those immigrant groups that run high in crime are from the countries of southern and eastern Europe. This part of Europe, as a whole, fulfilled her quota by 141.25 per cent; Italy shows 218.49 per cent; Spain 660 per cent. In fact, the so-called old immigration, or foundation stocks, runs relatively low in crime, whereas the new immigration from southern and

TABLE 4

*Based upon an analysis of the population of 155 state and Federal custodial institutions.*



EXPLANATION

1. Institutional quota is determined by apportioning numbers constituting the whole institutional population, found by special institutional survey, among the several nativity groups and alien races according to their relative numbers found in the whole population of the United States by the census of 1910.

2. The ratio or quota fulfillment for each nativity group or race is found by dividing the actual number of institutional inmates of the particular group or race by the quota allotted to the particular group or race.

3. Thus if the per cent or quota fulfillment is greater than 100, the particular group or race has exceeded its quota in supplying social inadequates in State and Federal institutions in the United States. If it is less than 100, the particular quota lacks fulfillment by such proportion as the particular per cent is less than 100.

4. The last figure in each line preceded by plus and minus signs indicates probable error in percentages.

eastern Europe runs relatively high in this type of social defect, as we find it in custodial institutions of the United States.

These studies in relation to crime covered the most degenerate and antisocial types of conduct. Because of the higher incidence of criminalistic conduct in this country, shown by the "new immigration," compared to that shown by the present-day immigrants from the nations which supplied our foundation stocks, it makes one wonder whether this lack of adjustment is due to difference in social training and ideals—the southern European having been trained to one set of ideals and finds in America a new basis of conduct to govern him, while the northern and western European finds here the same requirements which he has been used to meeting in his own country. Is this a difference in training or a biological difference in the natural reactions of the stocks? Is one more law-abiding than the other? If the difference is in training and customary conduct, then we must either change our own ideals and legal standards or require a change on the part of the immigrants who differ radically from our laws and customs. If, however, the failure to meet our requirements, in reference to conduct, not involving crime, is, in the cases found and reported here statistically, based upon fundamental hereditary differences, then the admission of such persons means the change of the ultimate inborn social capacities of the Americans of the future to the degree measured by the relative numbers of such persons who may become parents in this country. The values shown by these researches do not necessarily measure the relative values of different national stock, but they do measure the relative degeneracy found among the racial groups in our population. Whether these immigrant groups represent fairly their respective home populations is a matter which we shall consider later.

Criminality is an attribute of personality which, as a rule, shows its degeneracy rather early in life. Consequently, the immigration laws and service of the present generation have been able to keep out the criminalistic individuals to a remarkably successful degree. Thus, the foreign born as a whole contribute only 98.50 per cent of their quota to the criminalistic institutional population of the several States and Federal Government. Theoretically their quota fulfillment should have been zero, which it would have been if we had been able to eliminate all criminals and potential criminals at the border, but in great contrast to insanity, for example, the United States has been able to reduce criminality among our foreign born, as measured by inmates of State institutions, to a degree a little lower than that which characterizes the American population as a whole.

However, as in the case of many other qualities which may be carried in the blood or germ plasma and which at the same time may not show in the personality of the carrier or potential parent, the children of immigrants do not make so favorable a record, in reference to crime and delinquency, as do the immigrants themselves. The native born, both parents foreign born, fulfilled their quota 91.14 per cent in the field of crime, whereas the most criminalistic nativity group is found in the native born, one parent native born, one parent foreign born, which group is measured by a quota fulfillment of 115.58 per cent. The older American stock (81.84 per cent), that is, the native white, both parents native born, is considerably less criminalistic than the foreign born or the first generation offspring of immigrants.

I maintain the time has arrived when we should think of America and not whether we are discriminating against this or that country.

I urge every Member to dedicate himself to the solution of this momentous question and to stand foursquare to the cause of America by passing this bill. [Applause.]

Mr. CABLE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. MACLAFFERTY].

Mr. MACLAFFERTY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, there are two sides to every board, and there are two sides of this country of ours—the eastern and the western side. We toward the West suffer from a disadvantage. I call your attention to the fact, for instance, that the State of New York has 16 more Representatives in this Congress than all of the States west of the Rocky Mountains combined; that the State of Pennsylvania has 6 more Representatives in this body than all of the States west of the Rocky Mountains combined; and so, if we from the Pacific coast are going to be heard we must make somewhat of a noise.

This afternoon gentlemen have had their thoughts focused on the eastern seaboard of the United States, and great as the problem may be on our east coast in regard to immigration, I say to you as a man from the Pacific coast that we have a greater problem regarding immigration in this bill applying to the west coast than you have upon the east coast. Coming from the west of us is a nation whose desire is, by peaceful penetration, to possess the Pacific coast of North America. Let us have no misunderstanding in regard to that. I refer to the Japanese people. I am an admirer of the Japanese people. I know the Japanese people in their own country, and I would to God that our young manhood and young womanhood were growing up with the knowledge and habit of work and industry

that the Japanese young women and young men possess. I said that I am an admirer of the Japanese; but above all and beyond all, I admire them most in Japan and not on the Pacific coast of North America. [Applause.] I mention to you the fact that the Pacific coast is sparsely represented in this House—and I am on my feet at this time for the purpose of asking you gentlemen in the consideration of this bill not to forget the interests of the Pacific coast, which are the interests of the United States of America, in regard to the question of exclusion from our country under the quota of all peoples who are not able to qualify as immigrants.

We have to depend on you for that. Our question is an American question. If I had the time, I could show you why Japan is entitled to the sympathy of our country, for Japan has her problems, and one of her problems is linked up closely with this question of emigration of Japanese subjects into the United States. Japan is about the area of the State of California. When I say that you who know California will think of the great Sacramento Valley and the San Joaquin Valley, empires in themselves. You may imagine Japan to be that kind of a country, but you should remember that only one-seventh of Japan is arable land, and that her population is in the neighborhood of 70,000,000 people. Their natural birth rate increase is about 800,000 per year, and Japan's problem is how to take care of her natural increase.

Now, the thing the Japanese people think of last is the matter of regulating their birth rate. That is not along their plan of national greatness, because the Japanese woman knows her chief function is the bearing of children.

Now, Japan in figuring on her future believes that her people are to occupy the shores of the Pacific. That is the plan of elder statesmen of Japan that sometime within 200 years, and it matters not when, this shall come to pass. Let me remind you, gentlemen, that for 2,500 years one dynasty has sat upon the throne in Japan in unbroken succession, so what is 200 years? It may be 50, it may be 75, or 100, or 200 years, but Japan believes the time is coming when she will have the shores of the Pacific peopled with her nationals, and you never saw a Japanese in this country—I realize there are exceptions to all rules—who was not just as much ruled from Tokyo as if he lived in Tokyo; and if he does not obey the mandate and dictates of his home Government, his people will be punished because he does not.

Japan thought she could find in China an overflow for her coolie labor. In this she found she was wrong, because the Chinese coolie works cheaper and more efficiently than the Japanese. She thought with the rape of Korea she had an opportunity for her overflow of population, but for the same reason she found she had not. She thought in Formosa she had found relief, but for the same reason she had not. So the Pacific coast of North America, God's own country, seemed to be her only way, and they began to come to the Pacific coast and the Hawaiian Islands, and at first were welcomed by us until to-day they present our great, serious, economic problem. It is not only our problem, but it is a great American problem. And for another reason. Do you know in the Hawaiian Islands, for instance, there is a population of something less than 150,000 Japanese? Do you know some 50,000 were born there and are American citizens the same as you and I, and yet are also citizens of Japan? Do you know in the population of Hawaii, of about 250,000 people, there are only about 12,000 white people? Do you realize that in the State of California alone there are about 100,000 Japanese people and about 40,000 are voters or will be when they reach their majority? Do you realize that the Japanese is not an individualist; that he cares nothing for himself as an individual, but that he is a nationalist? If we can not do something now in reference to shutting the door against the yellow man with whom we can not assimilate and with whom we do not care to assimilate, and who does not care to assimilate with us, we never can. We on the western border are the defenders of our white civilization. Are we to fall before the onslaught of peaceful invasion and look forward to the time that will surely come when the Japanese on the Pacific coast will hold the balance of power? Gentlemen, we are all God's children. I take it that the soul of the Japanese is as dear to his Maker as the soul of any white man, but for some reason or another we were created as parts of different groups. God placed a sort of natural antipathy as between these groups. He did that perhaps that we might go ahead and work out in the great scheme of things those things for which we are each peculiarly fitted.

And on the Pacific Ocean, which is to be the scene of the world's great development in the next century, we may look for our greatest problems. We must appeal to you, gentlemen. This is your question as well as ours, and we ask you to con-

sider our mutual interests. Let no man say the California Congressman or the Pacific coast Congressman hates the Japanese. He does not; he admires him. But go into the State of California to-day and I will show you whole sections given over to the Japanese. I will show you Japanese there in all lines of business endeavor, patient, thrifty, and hard working; and little by little the California man is moving farther and farther away. Some of the choicest sections of the State are given over to the Japanese. Some good people say you must not hurt the feelings of Japan. We do not want to hurt their feelings.

But, gentlemen, the American Congress should pass upon matters of immigration, and those matters should not be handled by our treaty-making power, the State Department. Since 1911 we have been working under what is called a "gentleman's agreement." No one really knows, outside of the State Department, what the "gentleman's agreement" means. I am not here to charge that it has been violated, but I say to you that the facts and figures show that the Japanese population has greatly increased on the Pacific coast since the "gentleman's agreement" went into effect. It is true that they have stopped picture brides coming into California, but they have not stopped them from going into Hawaii. A young man can return to Japan from the continental United States, and the Government allows him to come back to America if he takes a bride while in Japan. I have seen in a Japanese paper pictures of two Japanese boys born under the Stars and Stripes, citizens of the United States, who would not go back to Japan to serve in the army, and because they would not there was a statement giving the place where their relatives lived in Japan, and their relatives were to be held up to contempt and scorn until these boys, American born, returned and served in the Japanese Army.

Every Japanese believes that he is a child of the sun goddess, that the world belongs to Japan, and that Japan can possess any part of the world rightly by any means she may see fit to take. That is their belief. From little childhood it is taught them. And so I say that the American Congress must help us in protecting the Pacific coast; must help us who are so willing to come here and help on other problems not so closely our own. When you come to consider this bill I say you must protect us and so protect America. [Applause.]

Mr. KUNZ. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MacLAFFERTY. I yield.

Mr. KUNZ. If the law should be amended so as to apply to those from Japan or any other nation, if they were permitted to come here, their quota would be under the naturalized citizenship. Would not that help California?

Mr. MacLAFFERTY. If I correctly understand the gentleman's question, I think that has been carefully considered by the committee, but we do not desire to put Japan on the quota.

Mr. KUNZ. But that would exclude the treaty.

Mr. MacLAFFERTY. Yes; but there is that great nation of China, our traditional friend, where they love America. I have been in China and I know that undoubtedly they do love America. Then that great nation which will be born in the next 25 years of travail and anguish can say to us, "Why do you discriminate against us in favor of Japan?"

Mr. KUNZ. There would not be any discrimination. The question would then devolve upon all nations, whether Japan, Great Britain, Poland, Czechoslovakia, or any other nation.

Mr. FREE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MacLAFFERTY. Yes.

Mr. FREE. The only treaty we have with Japan concerns merchants. We are acting together with Japan on an agreement that has no sanction under the law or under the Constitution of this country. The State Department went out of its way to do something that the law does not permit, and the only treaty we have with Japan is a treaty of commerce as to merchants coming into the United States.

Mr. KUNZ. If we had no treaty this question would be covered fully by the aliens being naturalized. That would exclude all the rest of them.

Mr. MacLAFFERTY. But the gentleman realizes that the Japanese, under the law of the land, is now ineligible to citizenship? Why put him on a quota when he is ineligible?

Mr. KUNZ. If he is ineligible that would certainly keep him out.

Mr. LINEBERGER. If we allow parents, who are ineligible, to come here and bear children who are eligible we upset the whole proposition and permit the Japanization of the whole Pacific coast.

Mr. KUNZ. I understand they do not have children.

Mr. LINEBERGER. If the gentleman thinks they do not, let him come out to California and see.

Mr. MacLAFFERTY. Their families average five children.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MacLAFFERTY. Yes.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I am in sympathy with the gentleman's argument, but does the gentleman contend that, because of the statement he has made, that is a good reason why we should adopt a quota for southern and eastern Europe?

Mr. MacLAFFERTY. I was confining myself only to the Japanese situation. I feel sure that there are men enough here to discuss other phases of the question.

Mr. MILLER of Washington. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MacLAFFERTY. Yes.

Mr. MILLER of Washington. Is it not a fact that Japanese come to this country in early manhood, 20 to 25 years of age, and go to the public schools and sit alongside of children 6 and 7 and 8 years of age?

Mr. MacLAFFERTY. Yes; and I will say to the gentleman that, while the Pacific coast loved Theodore Roosevelt, his demand that we admit the Japanese men to our schools and allow them to sit besides our little American girls came near costing him our friendship.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MacLAFFERTY. Yes.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Is it not true that the agricultural development and the successful industrial development of the gentleman's great State is due to the industry and frugality of the interests that we are seeking to bar?

Mr. MacLAFFERTY. That is beside my point. I want to say of the Japanese that they are wonderful truck farmers. It will interest you perhaps to know that the Japanese control the potato market of California, and that the Japanese control the strawberry market; and if it comes to that point, if it is going to go on that way, we are going to shut that door if we can. [Applause.]

Mr. CARTER. Have you not land laws under which decisions have been rendered by the courts which prevent their leasing land?

Mr. MacLAFFERTY. Yes.

Mr. SABATH. I may say that all the committee are in favor of exclusion of the Japanese.

Mr. RAKER. After the splendid statement of my friend from Illinois [Mr. SABATH] I will not ask the gentleman to yield or take any of the gentleman's time.

Mr. MacLAFFERTY. Mr. Chairman, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Chairman, I yield half a minute to the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. McSWAIN].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from South Carolina is recognized.

Mr. McSWAIN. Mr. Chairman, I believe that in giving support to the committee I represent the sentiment of fully 99 per cent of the people of my district. I ask permission to revise and extend my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from South Carolina asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the Record. Is there objection?

Mr. MURPHY. I object.

The CHAIRMAN. Objection is heard.

Mr. MacLAFFERTY. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all Members be permitted, within the next five legislative days, to extend their remarks in the Record on the immigration bill.

Mr. SNELL. That can not be done in committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH] yield time to any gentleman?

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. ANDREW].

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry. There are a number of gentlemen on this side who desire to be heard and they ought to be heard, but there is no chance to give them any time. Can we not arrange, when we yield gentlemen a half minute or so, to permit them to extend their remarks in the Record, so as to expedite matters?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Some time when we are in the House I will make that request.

Mr. SABATH. We can agree to that later on.

Mr. RAKER. That will be satisfactory.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. ANDREW] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. ANDREW. I want to speak very briefly upon a single aspect of this bill, and one altogether different from that which has been so eloquently discussed by my friend from California. So far as my information goes, there is no American to-day who advocates unrestricted immigration. We all agree that

we ought to have selective restrictions, that we ought to exclude, either by new legislation or by enforcing existing laws, those who are unfitted physically, mentally, or morally to become good American citizens. Nearly all of us also agree, and I, most certainly, that in addition to such selective tests we ought to have numerical limitation, that we must check the flood of immigrants who, because of the post-war poverty of the Old World, would seek to better themselves by coming over here. We must maintain barriers to keep out the flood in order to protect our better American standard of living, and in order to preserve our American traditions and institutions and principles.

We all agree, I presume, that in establishing those barriers we must think of America first, last, and always, and that we need pay little or no attention to the protests of any other government, be it Rumanian, Italian, or Japanese, which is thinking of its own advantage first, last, and always. It is for the American Government to decide—not for any other government—whom we are to admit to our shores and with whom we are to share the advantages of life and business in our country.

The one great question upon which we divide is as to the basis of this numerical restriction, the question of the quota.

For the past four years we have limited immigrants on a percentage based upon the nationality of the foreign born in this country, as shown by the census of 1910, the last census of a normal period before the cataclysm of the World War.

Several alternatives have been proposed. The commissioner of immigration, I understand, has suggested that the quota should be based upon the percentage, not of nationality of birth but of American naturalization among the foreign born, on the ground that we want to keep America for Americans and are only interested in admitting immigrants who want to cast in their lot with ours and become Americans. I should have been glad to see a bill establishing quotas upon this basis submitted for discussion on this floor.

Our committee, however, has recommended continuing quotas based upon country of birth, as at present, but have taken another census, that of 34 years ago, as the basis of computation. Many have frankly told us that this is intended to discriminate in favor of certain races and against certain other races. This attitude of mind, I believe, is indefensible, arbitrary, and un-American.

Mr. RAKER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDREW. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. While that statement has been made, has it not been demonstrated that the census of 1890 is not, in fact, discriminatory?

Mr. ANDREW. I do not think it has been shown that there was any more reason for taking the census of 1890 than the census of 1850 or that of 1820 or that of 1790. It seems to me that the choice of an earlier census is arbitrary.

Mr. RAKER. Is not this the situation? Wholly irrespective of what point you take, if you do take a point, that can be easily adjusted and if everyone is treated fairly, is not that all they ought to ask?

Mr. ANDREW. Yes; but the very fact that you propose now to change the census year indicates an intention to extend greater favor to some and less to others than we have been extending. If we keep the census of 1910, I think we can do something that will be fair.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Or the census of 1920.

Mr. ANDREW. Last autumn I visited all of the cemeteries in France and Belgium where American soldiers are buried—there are some 30,000 still over there—and one thing impressed me poignantly in all of them. It was the names on the wooden crosses of the American boys who had given their lives for our country. If anyone here or elsewhere still cherishes the notion that we in America have any special blood relation or racial affiliation with any particular people on the earth let him visit the graves of those who fought and died for our country in the late war. There he will see a Polish name next to one of Italian or Greek origin, a Swedish name alongside of names that were originally French or German or Irish. Perhaps one in every four or five, not more, is a name of British origin. No matter where they came from or whether they reached American shores at Plymouth Rock in 1620 or at Ellis Island in 1910 they are all American names now, sealed and attested by the sacrifice of all that life held.

What the cemeteries show so strikingly is that we are in process of building a new race on this continent—a fusion not of two or three but of virtually all European stocks. This new race, the American people, is not north European or south European, is not English or Irish or Italian or Russian. It is a race

apart, or our own—a blend, if you will, of many European races, but as distinct in origin and blood from any one of them as it is in character, purposes, and points of view.

Mr. Chairman, if we are arbitrarily to select another census date so as to meet the prejudices or predilections of any particular ancestral lineage, we might just as well choose 1790 as 1890, or any intervening census, for that matter.

I am opposed to the change in the census date proposed in this bill, because it seems to me to be based on prejudice rather than reason. I might favor a quota law which took account of the percentages of naturalization, such as I understand Commissioner Husband indorses. I might favor such a proposal as I have understood that Secretary Davis proposed, a change of a 2 per cent quota on the basis of the 1910 census. I might favor some other quota basis founded upon broad general lines. But as an American, every one of whose ancestors settled in this country more than 200 years ago, yet who came here from several different European countries, I am opposed to any measure which tends to divide the American people as better or worse, as desirable or undesirable, because of the particular part of the Old World from which their ancestors happened to come. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. SANDERS of Indiana). The gentleman yields back two minutes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Will the gentleman from Washington withhold that motion for a moment?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Yes.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, may I ask how much time has been used?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state to the gentleman from Tennessee that the gentleman from Washington has used 50 minutes, the gentleman from California [Mr. RAKER] has used 40 minutes, and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH] has used 53½ minutes.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. What does that amount to in hours?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Washington has used one hour and a half including the gentleman from California [Mr. RAKER], and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH] has used 53 minutes, seven minutes less than an hour.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. That represents about three hours?

The CHAIRMAN. About two hours and a half.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Let me suggest to the gentleman from Washington that there are eight hours of general debate under the rule and then three hours outside the rule by agreement. If there are gentlemen here who are ready to proceed, when you meet again Tuesday you see you will have to exhaust about six hours.

Mr. SNELL. We are willing to wait if anybody desires to speak.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw my motion that the committee do now rise.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CONNERY].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. CONNERY. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts asks unanimous consent to revise and extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. CONNERY. Mr. Chairman, I wish to state that unless this bill which is confessedly discriminatory in its operations, and which, to my mind, is prejudiced and un-American in its provisions, is radically changed so as to do full and complete justice to all immigrants coming to the shores of this great Republic, I will most assuredly vote against its passage.

It is my belief that immigrants who are mentally, morally, and physically unfit—those who are likely to become a public charge—anarchists and others opposed to organized government and who hold doctrines subversive to law and good order should not be admitted to this country. But this bill goes much further. Its avowed reason for changing the basis of calculation to the census beginning 34 years ago rather than the adoption of the normal basis of the census of 1920, or of continuing the basis of 1910, is to admit a minimum of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe and a maximum from northern and western Europe.

It is the intention of this bill to ram down our throats a belief in the supposed superiority of the Nordic races as against an imaginary great inferiority of the southern races. Gentlemen, I can just picture the flicker of a smile upon the visage of the great Christopher Columbus if he is gazing down from the great unknown and is observing this brilliant legislation which seeks to bar his people from the continent he discovered. [Applause.]

This bill has been termed by its proponents on the floor of this House as a "great American bill." "America for Americans" seems to be the slogan. What is an American? Many definitions of the term have been given. The New Universities Dictionary gives as definition: "American: Belonging to, or characteristic of, America." Each of my colleagues undoubtedly has his own definition of what he thinks is the meaning of the word American. My definition is typified in this little tribute which was written during the war and is entitled "Yanks":

#### YANKS

Now, O'Leary from Chicago, and a first-class fighting man, Born in county Clare or Kerry, where the gentle art began— Sergeant Michael James O'Leary, from somewhere in Archey Road, Dodging shells and smelling powder while the battle ebbed and flowed.

And, the captain said, "O'Leary, from your fighting company, Pick a dozen fighting Yankees and come raiding now with me. Pick a dozen fighting devils, and I know it's you who can." And O'Leary he saluted like a first-class fighting man.

O'Leary's eye was piercing and O'Leary's voice was clear. "Dimitri Popopoulos," and Dimitri answered "here." Then "Vladimir Slaminsky step three paces to the front For we're wanting you to join us in a little German hunt."

"Garibaldi Ravioli!" Garibaldi was to share; And "Ole Axel Kettleton and Thomas Scalp-the-Bear!" Who was Choctaw by inheritance, bred in the blood and bones, But set down in Army records by the name of Thomas Jones.

"Van Winkle Schuyler Stuyvesant!" Van Winkle was a bud From the ancient tree of Stuyvesant, and he had it in his blood. "Don Miguel de Colombo!" Don Miguel's next kin Were across the Rio Grande when Don Miguel went in.

"Ulysses Grant O'Sheridan!" Ulysses sire you see Had been at Appomattox 'neath the famous apple tree. "Patrick Michael Casey!" Patrick Michael you can tell Was a fighting man by nature with three fighting names as well.

"Joseph Wheeler Lee!" And Joseph had a pair of fighting eyes And his granddad was a Johnnie, as perhaps you might surmise. Then "Robert Bruce MacPherson!" and the Yankee squad was done With "Isaac Able Cohen!" once a lightweight champion.

Then O'Leary paced them forward, and said he, "You Yanks fall in." And he marched them to the captain. "Let the raidin' now begin." Said he, "The Yanks are comin' and you beat them if you can." And he saluted like a soldier and a first-class fighting man.

[Applause.]

Gentlemen, those men were Americans. And when it came time to go "over the top" you did not restrict the southern races to a 2 per cent quota of the 1890 census and rely entirely upon the Nordic races to do the fighting. You were mighty glad to have the sons of immigrants of southern Europe do their duty. And they did it.

Now, gentlemen, I heartily indorse those provisions of the pending bill which seek to eliminate the severe, harsh, inhuman, and unworkable provisions of the present law, but I hold firmly to the opinion that unless we can arrive at a more equitable per cent of quota, based not on the census of 1890 but upon the census of 1910 or 1920, we are doing an immeasurable injustice, not only to the immigrants who would thus be admitted but to our country as well. [Applause.]

Mr. McSWAIN. Mr. Chairman, the people of America are interested and united as never before on the restriction of immigration to this country. I can well remember when all agitation for restriction was considered as cranky and selfish and un-American narrowness. People seemed to be proud of the millions of foreigners coming to our shores. We boasted of the "melting pot" and of our ability to assimilate all races and colors and tongues and tribes. When the war broke in Europe in 1914, it became manifest that we had not really assimilated these alien additions to our population in any appreciable degree. Though millions had been naturalized and had renounced legal relations with their native kings and countries, yet this formal court proceeding had not cut the ties of affection that gathered round their hearts. Their native home countries were still dear to them.

#### THE VOICE OF ONE CRYING IN THE WILDERNESS

Twenty years ago those who opposed immigration were confined largely to certain groups of industrial workers in America, and it was generally believed that their opposition was of a purely selfish and economic character. It was thought that they had no motive other than the elimination of this additional competition in the wage market. But these American laborers based their opposition upon broad and high grounds. They contended that too often these immigrants to America were emigrants from their native lands for various and noncommendable reasons, oftentimes fugitives from justice, social degenerates, or economic failures. Sometimes they were self-confessed and publicly professed anarchists. American opponents to immigration found a voice of protest in the Junior Order of United American Mechanics, that had its origin in the city of Philadelphia about 70 years ago.

This order took for its great patriotic mission the duty of impressing its members with the sacredness of the American Constitution. It taught privately and publicly the magnificent and unrivaled heritage of free American institutions. It held high the ideal of public education for all the people of high and low economic degree. They took as a fundamental maxim that undisputed proposition of American constitutional life—the uncompromising separation between church and state. This order had "hard sledding" with certain groups for many decades. But it continued to stand and to grow, and its membership must rejoice to-day to realize how many millions of recruits they have to their cause.

#### LEADING THINKERS AND WRITERS NOW OPPOSE IMMIGRATION

Many historians and publicists and public lecturers have in the last few years been calling to the attention of the reading and thinking public of this country the fundamental dangers that lie wrapped up in an indiscriminate and unlimited immigration policy. One of the strongest books that has issued from the press, taking for its theme the general thought of American duty to the future to preserve her racial integrity, is by Clinton Stoddard Burr, entitled "America's Race Heritage," published by the National Historical Society in 1922. I shall have frequent occasion to quote from the brilliant and comprehensive utterances contained in this book.

#### SOUND, PHILOSOPHIC REASONS AGAINST INDISCRIMINATE IMMIGRATION

Beginning on page 3, I extract the following:

All thinking people are awakened to the realization that we must choose our future entrants to this country from such as show assimilable qualities of mind as well as favorable physical attributes. The callous exploiters of cheap labor and the incurable sentimentalists stand alone in their misplaced loyalty to our fatuous boast in the past that America was the haven of the down and out, the dependent, the oppressed, the pauper, the foreign agitator, the unassimilable, and what not.

It seems almost providential that the year 1920 ushers in the Pilgrim's tercentenary at Plymouth; for with the dogmas of Bolshevism and ultraradicalism, not to mention hyphenism, attempting to demoralize the American spirit, the country-wide Pilgrim celebrations combated these insidious dangers by bringing home to Americans, somewhat cynical as the result of the greatest war and an unsettled reconstruction period, the true significance of the sterling virtues, the character, self-denial, stability, perseverance, and faith of our ancestors.

#### AMERICAN REVOLUTION DEFENDED ANGLO-SAXON LIBERTY

Resuming on page 4 we find this reminder of our national inheritance and of our manifest destiny:

It must not be forgotten that English thought, laws, and Government permeated the land from the arrival of the *Mayflower* up to the present day. Anglo-Saxon civilization actually gained a new stimulus by the defiance of a weak and unscrupulous monarch in 1776, and today the Englishman and the American are approaching the goal of perfect mutual and reciprocal relations, tending to the welfare not alone of Anglo-Saxon communities but also of the whole world. The present frontiers of the American people lie in the expansion of our influence in world affairs for the betterment of all mankind.

#### AN ENGLISH VIEW OF AMERICA'S RACE HERITAGE

Sir Auckland Geddes, in an address delivered on August 25, 1920, before the American Bar Association, at St. Louis, uttered this striking and impressive thought:

We have, in fact, to maintain the heritage of freedom against assault from within and without, the priceless heritage of a great idea conceived by the Nordic people and slowly and painfully brought into practice in workable form in England, then brought here and developed and strengthened, then passed to British Dominions, then transplanted into countries that never understood it. It is now in danger from its popularity. Even its enemies try to conceal their actions behind its phrases.

## NATIONAL SAFETY IMPERILED

The dangers to the established and settled peoples of America from contact with variegated hordes of immigrants are well stated in the following paragraphs from Doctor Burr:

When one member of a household contracts a terrible disease are not the other members of the household held to be liable to contagion? Then why do we still allow the dregs of southern and eastern European nations to swarm into our community by the thousands every day when we know that there are hundreds of active or potential Bolsheviks among them who may not be discovered under our hurried and superficial mental and literacy tests.

However, all this is merely the outward menace of a situation of deep biological significance. The situation threatens not alone ourselves but in an insidious racial degree menaces the blood and character of our descendants to infinite generations, and thus imminently threatens the stability, genius, and promise of achievement of the American Commonwealth.

Then shall we indifferently countenance the doctrine, "After us the deluge," or shall we assert the rights of a great majority of Americans and protect future generations?

Many a warped brain that menaces world politics in our modern day may be attributed to the mongrel blood of the individual.

It is noteworthy that the year 1920 marked the culmination of a century of recorded immigration. We are at the threshold of a new era which must be regarded as the most critical in the entire history of the immigrant tide. In other words, it is coming to be recognized that the services of unassimilable people are not a recompense for the necessity of incorporating them in our social framework. The United States is facing one of the great emergencies, if not the greatest, of its history. The family skeleton, which we tried so hard to hide from ourselves in our aggrandizement, is at last come to light.

## OUR DUTY TO KEEP AMERICA AMERICAN

The puzzling question is: Why do we let them come? Do the American people control the United States or are they subject to the weird alliance of great employers of cheap labor, alienism, catering to hyphenated communities and internationalism at variance with the national spirit which attempts to undermine the patriotism of our lawmakers in Congress? Are we under obligation to the nations of southern and eastern Europe, that we must allow them to dump their poorest quality of manhood on our shores? Are we compelled to allow steamship companies to profit thereby? (Burr.)

## CHEAP LABOR AT A DANGEROUSLY HIGH PRICE

The true American of whatever race recognizes the fact that cheap labor is not cheap, but that it will eventually ruin American industry and undermine our heritage; that foreign communities in America that wish to swell their own population are merely sowing the discords of the Old World in what should be a unified Republic; and that from the cheap alien laborers of to-day are recruited the radicals of the future.

## IMAGINARY ASSET SHOWN TO BE LIABILITY

[Extract from page 189, from "America's Race Heritage," by Clinton Stoddard Burr]

The millions of the new immigrant stock in our population are already a greater menace than we had suspected in the past, if only because of the propaganda of certain radicals among them, small in numbers, but exercising a tremendous sway among an ignorant and easily dominated alien population. American initiative and fair play has been lost through the agency of these "world-pack" organizations. How fortunate that the American workingman, guided by the American Federation of Labor, at last sees that his salvation lies in restricting the sort of immigration that lowers his standards of living.

## WHO BLAMES THE AMERICAN LABORER?

[Extract from page 190]

American labor can not and will not compete with the foreigner, particularly when it loses social caste by doing so; but, endowed with a full measure of respectability, the native worker will generally meet the demand for labor, as he still tills the fields by the sweat of his brow. The reason why Americans refuse to do such tasks as railway building, street laying, or sewer building is not because the work in itself is menial or below the standard. Certainly such tasks are no more disagreeable than the mining of precious metals, in which many of native stock are engaged. It is because southern and eastern European immigrants have allowed exploiters to insist upon an inadequate wage scale and to characterize such labor as "dirty work." In consequence the somewhat self-respecting American refuses to lose caste by working beside the low-grade foreigner, preferring to take lower wages to secure a position that is not frowned upon by superficial conventions. Analogously, the nouveaux rich have, with their superior attitude, driven the native American house girl from wholesome home surroundings to a make-free environment in the factories.

[Extract from page 191]

If the speculative activities of steamship companies and monopolies had been controlled, the American people would not be dependent to-day. It is for the farmers and laborers, particularly, to resist the efforts of the sentimentalists and exploiters, for the native workers must realize, as many already do, that men of Nordic race can not survive the disastrous competition of races economically and socially of a lower standard. Only when selective immigration has become a fact will the American people be willing and, indeed, glad to do the necessary tasks, at the same time eliminating much of the "nonessential" variety of jobs.

## THE HIGH COST OF CHEAP LABOR

[Extract from page 195]

The most objectionable classes of the "new" immigration are rapidly breaking down American institutions and honorable business methods. The New York law courts are jammed with foreign litigants. It is a matter of debate whether the business trickery of these lower-class elements is the cause or the result of centuries of class or religious persecution. But the fact is that this trait has become so ingrained that one may doubt whether it could be eradicated for generations. Many are, or always have been, devoid of any sense of obligation to the community that shelters them. In many cases the second generation, if not the first generation itself, openly flaunts the doctrine of "easy money" in a country of lenient bankruptcy laws.

## SELECT IN EUROPE THEN NO NEED REJECT IN AMERICA

[Extract from p. 199]

The writer believes with others, however, that a limited system of indentured immigration would come nearest to solving the problem of cheap labor, at least until that time arrives when machinery will be called upon to do the work now done by the immigrant. Each immigrant would be catalogued, photographed, fingerprinted, and placed under the supervision of the Government precisely as with our soldiers in the Army.

## CHEAP LABOR PRODUCES ONLY RAW MATERIAL

[Extract from p. 201]

Undoubtedly the great corporations and industrial concerns as well as the milling and mining combines have driven away American, British, Irish, and other northwest European labor, and can now, therefore, employ more Slavs, Magyars, and Latins than they are able to get. But remember that most of these concerns are devoting their energies to the production of raw material, much of which must be shipped out of the country. Yet the less raw material leaving the country the better, and as unskilled labor is used for that purpose the less we have of the latter the better for the Nation.

## CONTINUE PAYING FAIR WAGE TO AMERICAN LABORERS

[Extract from p. 202]

If our lawmakers are unaware of the undercurrent of unrest in this country to-day, it is time for them to wake up before the very institutions of our forefathers are threatened. The time is passed for evasions. The workingman insists, and rightly, on livable wages. The plutocratic set must forego its mad orgy of waste and luxury before the poor man is deprived of the necessities of life. The American workingman is unwilling to be ground by high rents while the wealthy and profiteers benefit through his untoward conditions. Even the alien of the "new" immigration is becoming insistent in his demands for better living conditions and the "square deal." Equally, however, should the labor unions be held strictly accountable for their actions as the great corporations, particularly as regards incendiarism and other forms of property destruction and the infringement of the right of the open shop.

## THE TREK TO AMERICA

[Extract from page 203]

Emigration since the war from the great European emigration centers presents all the evils of the pre-war immigration plus several brand-new evils. \* \* \* It will be vouched for by newspaper men, by consuls, by military attachés, by representatives of the United States Government sent to Europe for purposes of observation, by the employees of steamship lines, by United States public health officials, by the representatives of purely American relief organizations, by business men who are not racially affiliated with the undesirable immigrants, and by legations and embassies of the United States. \* \* \*

## THE OPINION OF THOSE WHO KNOW

[Extract from page 204]

American consuls, American diplomatic officers, Government observers, and American newspaper men are in Europe for the purpose of obtaining accurate and unbiased information for the guidance of the American Government and the American people. They are trained to gather facts and to draw deductions, and they are selected for their ability to do so. These people are universally and wholeheartedly agreed that immigration as it exists to-day is a

menace to the well-being of America, that an emergency of a serious nature confronts and will continue to confront the Nation until immigration is intelligently and energetically restricted and selected, and that the persons in America who wish and permit it to continue are, to put it crudely and bluntly, either pitifully uninformed as to conditions or are suffering from warped judgment and severely twisted Americanism, or are just plain crazy. If in their agreement they are wrong, they are the largest body of trained observers which was ever mistaken on any subject whatever. \* \* \*

We are not obligated to take in these people any more than we are obligated to dig half of the unexploded shells out of the battle fields of Europe and bury them in our own farm lands for our own plowshares and harrows to explode. It would, of course, be a nice thing to do; but only a madman would suggest it. Yet the continuance of the present immigration is a far more evil thing for America than the planting of a few million unexploded shells would ever be.

#### THE VIEWS OF A PATRIOT AND SCHOLAR

Upon the occasion of the opening of the extension courses on racial relations at Columbia University, Dr. Jacob Gould Schurman said:

The public has awakened from the delusion created by the shibboleth of the "melting pot." It is disquieted and disturbed by the spectacle of immense alien communities \* \* \* more or less self-contained speaking many foreign languages, containing an influential foreign-language press, with their own banks, markets, and insurance companies and sometimes with separate schools—unleavened lumps of many European nationalities, unchanged masses of foreigners entrenched in America, yet not of it, owing in many cases foreign allegiance, and, in general, tied to foreign countries by their language, their sympathies, their culture, their interests, and their aspirations.

I think I am not mistaken when I say that the American people have made up their minds that the doors to our national house can no longer remain open; that there must be a sifting and selection of those who enter, and that the numbers must be considerably reduced. The flow of immigration into the United States should \* \* \* be controlled \* \* \* above everything else by our capacity to assimilate the newcomers into the homogeneous texture of American life.

Either we can never become a homogeneous American people or we must set limits to the tide of immigration.

#### THE DUTY AND DESTINY OF ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES

The future of the Nordic race, and thus of the human race, depends upon the English-speaking peoples standing together. That is not to say that the people of Germany, France, and Scandinavia are not linked in the future of the Nordic race, for indeed they have traditions and a future very closely linked with Anglo-Saxon affairs. To-day the United States and the British Empire, in resources and fighting power, would make a more powerful combination than most of it, if not all the other nations of the world. Thus it is obvious that the continuance of amicable relations between America and England is the one great assurance of world peace, and any propaganda that seeks to disrupt this concord must be looked upon as the arch traitor's machinations against the security of the entire Nordic race. For whether in an internecine conflict or in a greater war, the losses of the Nordic would hasten the fall of that already menaced race.

Can the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon stock retain their mutual trust in one another in the years to come? Yes; without question, provided that the Anglo-Saxon strain in one or both of the two nations is not diluted beyond all recognition. The United States must, however, draw a lesson to herself in discovering the secret of Canada's loyalty to Britain and her refusal to entertain at this day any form of annexation with her great neighbor to the south. The secret is best epitomized in the words of a certain Canuck, "Canada has no desire to become a part of the 'world's melting pot'; she is too jealous of her Anglo-Saxon birthright." Yet it is significant that whereas a lingual barrier separates the French and English Canadians in eastern Canada and the Rocky Mountains bisect the people of western Canada, on the other hand there are no lingual or geographical barriers between the French Canadians of Quebec and New England, nor between the English-speaking people of western Canada and the United States. (Burr.)

#### WE NEED 100 PER CENT AMERICANS

The historic trend is toward racial unity rather than centrifugal disintegration. Nations in antagonism can not exist if the Nordic species is to survive. The time has arrived for Americans to forget the anachronisms of hyphenism, of whatever design. By that is not meant that the fostering of friendship with England, Ireland, Germany, or any other foreign government should not be encouraged. As a matter of fact, the hope of Nordic unity lies in the influence of the United States in the Nordic world. Upon our country devolves the sacred duty to heal the breach between the British Isles, Germany, and France. Since white Americans are most sprung from ancestors originating in these three nations, our interests must forever be interlocked with theirs, whatever may be our own national policies.

#### AMERICANS ON GUARD FOR AMERICA

Meanwhile the American people must be on the alert to guard against a repetition of the old methods of seduction by which the anti-restrictionists have been so successful in the past. We are still going to hear reproachful oratory in defense of the "strong-hearted and ambitious characters who have torn themselves up by the roots, leaving home, family, and friends, to travel to the uncertainty of a new life in a new land," when, as a matter of fact, from the testimony of all our unprejudiced representatives on the other side of the Atlantic, the emigrants who are now coming from eastern and southern Europe are for the most part the weakest and poorest material in Europe, usually traveling on money they have begged from relatives and friends or organizations in America.

#### UNGUARDED GATES

[From the Atlantic Monthly, April, 1892]

Wide open and unguarded stand our gates,  
Portals that lead to an enchanted land.  
Of such a land have men in dungeons dreamed,  
And with the vision brightening in their eyes  
Gone smiling to the *lacet* and the sword.

Wide open and unguarded stand our gates,  
And through them presses a wild, a motley throng—  
Men from the Volga and the Tartar steppes,  
Flying the Old World's poverty and scorn.  
These bringing with them unknown gods and rites,  
Those tiger passions, here to stretch their claws.  
In street and alley what strange tongues are these;  
Accents of menace, alien to our air,  
Voices that once the Tower of Babel knew!

O Liberty, White Goddess! is it well  
To leave the gates unguarded?  
Stay those who to thy sacred portals come  
To waste the gifts of freedom.

THOMAS BAILEY ALDRICH.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON].

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, if I had my way about this bill I would exclude all foreigners for at least five years until we have had a chance to assimilate those already here; and I believe if it were left to a vote of the real sentiment of this House at least 65 per cent of the membership would vote for that kind of a bill. Why it can not be brought in from the committee or why we can not write that kind of a bill here on the floor, I do not understand. When at least 65 per cent of the sentiment of this House, in my judgment, is in favor of the exclusion of all foreigners for five years, why do we not put that into law? Has Brother SABATH such a tremendous influence over us that he holds us down on this proposition?

Mr. SABATH. There may be something to that.

Mr. BLANTON. I was invited up to New York City to see the foreign element parade there on a certain day during the war. I stood there at the juncture of Fifth Avenue and Broadway, where they had built stands for us to have seats, until I got a seat, and then I sat there from 9 o'clock in the morning until 6.30 that evening watching that continuous mass of foreigners marching along that street.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Where was that?

Mr. BLANTON. In New York. I watched that all-day parade go by. They were about 30 abreast at least, a solid mass of people, marching, marching, marching—all foreigners. I did not think there were half that many foreigners in existence in the whole world. [Laughter.] And yet that was just a small part of New York City.

Mr. OLIVER of New York. Were they parading in honor of America?

Mr. BLANTON. Oh, anybody will parade when you call on him to parade.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. In a moment. I have only five minutes, so please do not take up all my time, because I want to give you my views. I think we ought to stop all immigration for five years and assimilate the foreigners who are now here. I think we ought to stop taking more in until we teach those we already have what American institutions stand for. I was greatly impressed by a remark that my distinguished colleague made on the floor the other day, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. HUDSPETH], when he was speaking of the cowmen of our home country. He said he had never yet seen a cowman who was a Bolshevik, and that is true.

Mr. CARTER. How about the F Street cowboys?

Mr. BLANTON. The F Street cowboys? They do not know what a real cowboy is up here in Washington. A cowboy in

my country stands for the very best of everything that Americans stand for. They are not warts.

Mr. RAKER. These fellows around here are lounge lizards, are they not?

Mr. BLANTON. You could not find anywhere a real cowboy who would insult a woman to save your soul, and he would kill a man quicker for insulting a woman than for anything else on earth, and yet they call these Washington lounge lizards down here on Ninth Street and F Street and other places cowboys. [Laughter.]

I want to say further that I agree with every word that was said by my distinguished friend from California [Mr. MACLAFERTY]. [Applause.] That is not a Californian question; that is an American question. It affects me just as much down in Texas as it does the California men on the Pacific coast. It vitally affects you men in New York. It materially affects you men in Ohio and Pennsylvania and North Carolina just as much. It is our American problem and we ought to definitely solve it. We have partly solved it in this bill. We have gone further than most bills have gone, but we ought not to permit the State Department or any other department to continue any encroachment whatever upon the law, and we ought to keep on restricting until we get the law strong enough so that we can keep them out. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Texas has expired.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. DICKSTEIN].

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, up to this time I have not heard a Member of this House justify the 1890 census as a basic quota. The gentleman from Oregon [Mr. WATKINS], my colleague on the committee, has presented a chart to you. I am going to present you half a dozen charts next week that will show just the reverse. These charts are easy to prepare, but you can not get the drift of the argument from them. Why not take the report of the Labor Department and let us base our arguments upon statistics and proper figures?

I am reading from the report made by the Commissioner of Naturalization, and it proves very conclusively the percentage of naturalization for the year 1923. Italy was 17.64 per cent; Russia, 11.85 per cent; Germany, our favorite son in the Johnson bill, has a percentage of 8.31; Great Britain, sister to our favorite son in this bill, has a percentage of 11.68. Can you deny those figures?

Mr. VAILE. Is it not fair in regard to Germany to suggest that during the World War many of them took out their first papers and in many cases it lapsed?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. True, but the war has been over 5 years or more. Does not the gentleman think they had sufficient time to present themselves?

Mr. VAILE. Not in the 1923 figures, because many had to begin their applications over again.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. My friend is a little in error. I am not going to take up the time of this committee to go through this record. I hope you will find the time to read from the report of the Commissioner of Naturalization for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1923, page 9, and you will be convinced beyond question or doubt that the argument presented by our colleague that the southern and eastern part of Europe does not assimilate is not fair. It is not given the proper statistics.

We have here our friend from Oregon [Mr. WATKINS]. He is a fine gentleman, and I have had the extreme pleasure of sitting with him in the committee for two months. I know, and everybody knows, that if I have a principle I am going to stick to that principle. My principle is, after careful analysis and study, that I am prepared to meet any argument upon any American platform that the 1890 census discriminates and is not American justice. My friend, the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. WATKINS], during the debate, said that we ought to close the doors of the United States to immigration. Why does he not stick to that proposition? I would commend him for his stand, but when he comes before this committee and seeks to justify the 1890 census he forgets about his little bill in the committee, which demands the closing of the doors. I say, the gentleman is not following his principle advocated by him in the committee and that as advocated by him on the floor of this House.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Yes.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Would the gentleman close the doors, believing it is less objectionable than basing it on the census of 1890?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Absolutely. That was the point made by the best opponents before the committee, and men like Mr. Marshall, the best lawyer I think we have in this country,

made a wonderful argument against the discrimination contained in the Johnson bill; but was there anything said in the majority report about his position? Was there any man that came before the majority committee opposing the discriminatory features quoted in the majority report? No; you will find nothing about the opposition to the bill. You will find nothing in the report that will show where the bill is discriminatory, but you will find what they call a justification, a justification for adopting the 1890 census, going back 34 years, because we made a mistake in our census, which we fixed in 1921. We should have given northern Europe what we have given southern Europe, and for that reason we will now take it back by adopting the Johnson bill and fixing it at the 1890 census.

Mr. VAILE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Yes.

Mr. VAILE. I want to ask the gentleman if he would support an amendment that would close immigration?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Of course; but they would not accept that.

Mr. VAILE. Is the gentleman sure of that?

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Chairman, I am one from New York who will.

Mr. FAIRCHILD. And I am another from New York who will.

Mr. PERKINS. I am one from New Jersey who will.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Oh, just a moment. Let me get to my point.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. In all fairness, was not the same strenuous argument made against fixing the quota of 1910 that is being made here now?

Mr. SABATH. Oh, the gentleman was not here then, and he does not know.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. In the first place, I was not a Member of this distinguished body at that time, I am sorry to say. I do not believe in quota selections at all, but if you are going to have a quota, if you must have a quota, let us have something that is fair and equal to all people, as we would expect that equality which we demand from other nations in the United States, and not put a stamp of approval on one race as against another.

Why does not my friend from Oregon [Mr. WATKINS], if his policy is restriction, get up here and tell the Members of the House that he is against the Johnson bill and prove his contention? But they seem to evade that proposition, and justify something that they do not believe in. The point I am bringing to the House is that some Members are not sincere in the position they take in the committee and the position they take on the floor of this great body.

Some gentlemen here referred to Mr. Quinn, from the American Legion. If I had the time, I could tell you some little stories of the men who fought this war who came from southern and eastern Europe, but the time does not permit. I could prove to you conclusively that they were practically some of the first men in the city of New York to volunteer in the war, and that the percentage of those killed in action is greater among them than is the percentage among any other nationals. The figures from the War Department will bear me out.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. And these same gentlemen did not think so much about Mr. Quinn when he was urging the bonus.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. No. Mr. Chairman, my own brother was killed in the Argonne. My father came from southern Europe. Many more members of my family were killed in this war. When they were called to duty they were not asked whether they or their father or forefathers came from southern Europe; but because we were Americans we went, and I was ready to go myself if it were not for the armistice. As an advisory counsel to some of the boys I had occasion to meet these foreigners from southern and eastern Europe, and not one made a complaint about his having to join the ranks of America. Mr. Chairman, it is a wrong policy that we are pursuing. If you came in here with a law fixing the basis at 2 per cent or 3 per cent of 1910, and extended the law for one year, a law for all and not a law that will benefit a certain class of people and destroy and discriminate against another class of people who are among our residents and citizens in the United States, it would be a different thing. I can picture very quickly some man coming along with a chip on his shoulder and saying, "Why, you people can not come to this country, because the Congress of the United States has written into the law that those coming from southern and eastern Europe must be limited, whereas my people, my Nordic race, may come." I might add, in talking about the Nordic race, that they must be tall, must have blonde hair, must have a square nose, and,

gentlemen, this can all be found in the hearings before the committee, and if you have the opportunity, I ask you to read it. If you had been a member of that committee you could not help but understand that they did not want anybody else in this country except the Nordics. In that connection I ask you to be good enough to read an article written by Prof. Johan J. Smertenko in remarks that I extended on March 20. This article appears in the Current History Magazine, and that magazine is entitled to the credit, which magazine is published by the New York Times Co. It goes into the so-called Nordic races, and which convinces me that they have no such claim for superiority.

Mr. LINEBERGER. Is the professor a Nordic?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I think he is on the border line. Coming back to my friend Quinn, representing the American Legion, to which reference has been made by my friend, Mr. WATKINS, with his map and his big board and the noise that we had here, I could bring you maps, and with a bigger pencil I could draw a bigger line up and down. I could bring a map here to convince you that the Nordics are no good; but that is not the point. The point is, what proof have we from investigation made by a proper census, from the Department of Naturalization or the Department of Labor? And these are the figures that I am giving to you now.

Now, coming back to Mr. Quinn, where he said the American Legion is for a closed door; the American Legion has not said anything of the kind. I have had an opportunity to question Mr. Quinn, and I call your attention, gentlemen, who want to be convinced, you gentlemen who now want to get the facts before you in order to decide this great question of immigration, I want you to look at pages 976 and 981 along this line, and I tell you you will be convinced that Mr. Quinn never asked the committee to stop immigration. He simply urged restriction to a limited extent, that the members of the veterans have opportunity to bring their wives and children in. Mr. Quinn did, however, discuss and offer a resolution that was passed in September at their convention.

Mr. LINEBERGER. The American Legion convention.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. They voted for restricting immigration. But, gentlemen, at that time he admits in the record that Congress was not in session and that the American Legion did not have before it the proposed Johnson bill.

Mr. TAGUE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Yes.

Mr. TAGUE. Did the legions in the gentleman's district ask him to vote for this bill?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Absolutely opposed it, and I have met one legion after another not only in the Veterans of Foreign Wars but the American Legions in my community and in the communities of other parts of the country. I tell you, gentlemen, if the American Legion knew that it was going to discriminate against southern and eastern Europe, and, as Mr. Quinn well testified before the committee, the American Legion is composed of all creeds and nationalities, many coming from southern and eastern Europe—

Mr. LINEBERGER. I think the gentleman misquoted. I would like to have it correct and if it is correct I want it to go in the RECORD.

A MEMBER. This is the vote of one post.

Mr. LINEBERGER. You could expect in some posts even 100 per cent where—

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I wish I had time to refer these gentlemen to the questions propounded by me and the answers given by Mr. Quinn, among which are the following, and which may be found in the committee hearings, serial 2-a, pages 976 and 981:

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Did this convention of the American Legion have bill H. R. 101 before them?

Mr. QUINN. I am not able to say.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Your convention was held when?

Mr. QUINN. October 15 to 19.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. In other words, you did not have H. R. 101 before the convention at that time?

Mr. QUINN. No, sir; because Congress was not then in session.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Your organization, which I have high regard to because I have been more or less through this whole situation since the starting of the war, does not want to be understood by the country the starting of the war, does not want to be understood by the country as opposed to any bill that will permit certain classes in for five if we can work out a plan whereby we can get our immigrants in on a proper investigation based on a proper census, the legion has no objection?

Mr. QUINN. Gentlemen, our resolution is this: You are here for a purpose. The Congress is elected by the people of the United States for a definite purpose. You are a committee of that Congress. We have confidence in your judgment if you have the facts before you.

We merely offer these recommendations. In this convention were represented Japanese, Negroes, Italians, Poles, Irish, every race and every color and every creed. They were every one there. If there was a member of that convention or committee that thought for a moment that his race or creed was being discriminated against by the resolution, be sure that he would raise up on that.

But, gentlemen, if they knew that this proposed bill which they read in September, 1923, at their convention closed the door and gates of America—if they knew of the discriminatory features of that bill—I do not think they would have taken such action.

Mr. RAKER. Will the gentleman yield? Does the gentleman remember this committee reported out a bill before the last adjournment of Congress fixing it at 1890 and 2 per cent, and that is what the American Legion had before them, just exactly what is in the bill now?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. If the gentleman will pardon me, my time is very short, but I refer you and answer the question very quickly and suggest that you look on pages 976 and 981, about which I spoke:

Mr. DICKSTEIN. In other words, you did not have H. R. 101 before the convention at that time?

Mr. QUINN. No, sir; because Congress was not then in session.

Now, you will find the hearings and you can read for yourself. He did not know anything about that. The American Legion did not know anything about this discriminatory bill introduced in this Congress. Every time we prepared a minority report you changed your bill. We prepared three or four minority reports because you changed your bill so often. Originally you started out with bill 101, did you not? And I say bill 101 was a humane bill, a more humane bill than the present bill, notwithstanding the minority opposed that bill, not because it was inhumane but because the census was fixed as of 1890, that is the reason.

Mr. SABATH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Yes.

Mr. SABATH. Could not the gentleman from the examination to which he subjected Mr. Quinn come to the conclusion that neither he nor the Legion had any real information of what the bill contained?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Absolutely.

Mr. SABATH. And what they took a vote on?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Yes. And if my colleague will just read Mr. Quinn's testimony, beginning on page 973 and on down, he will agree with me that the American Legion, through its officers, did not know of the pending legislation at the time.

Now, gentlemen, again I say with all the emphasis at my command that, as a member of the House Immigration Committee, I can not lend my support or approval to this bill.

There are many objectionable features in the bill, and particularly is there grave objection to the 1890 census as a quota basis, which, as I see it, is due to the fact that a volume of immigration arrived from northern and western Europe to this country before 1890 and a great volume of immigration arrived from southern and eastern Europe in this country after 1890; and hence the quota immigration percentage law based on the number of each racial group in the country according to the census of 1890 will necessarily result in a wide, unjust, and un-American discrimination.

Very little argument is required to sustain the point I make, namely, that the bill is discriminatory, unjust, and unfair to those coming from southern and eastern Europe after the year 1890.

There were only 180,580 foreign born from Italy who arrived in this country in 1890, as compared with 1,343,125 in 1910. There were 182,644 foreign born from Russia in this country in 1890, as compared with 1,184,412 in 1910. On the other hand, the foreign born from Ireland decreased 519,258 in number between 1890 and 1910, and the foreign born from Germany decreased 473,657 between 1890 and 1910.

These figures simply illustrate the fact that by comparing the quota basis we are going back to the time where there were the maximum number of immigrants from northern and western Europe—the so-called Nordic race—and the minimum number of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, and the proponents of the bill fear that because there was a decrease of immigration from northern and western Europe since 1890 and an increase from southern and eastern Europe since 1890 to 1910 that it would result in the detriment of the United States and, upon that ground, that the immigrants from northern and western Europe—the so-called Nordics, who are tall, blond haired, have blue eyes, straight noses—and because they come from that particular part of Europe, should be given preference over all other races in the proposed bill as to the quota, and to hold down the quota as against other good men and women who

would make good citizens and who would be a credit to the United States but who could not enter because the quota allotted to their country is too small as compared with the others.

In other words, it places a premium upon the immigrant who seeks to come into this country from northern and western Europe and a label of disapproval against certain other immigrants, no matter what their qualifications may be, who may come from southern and eastern Europe—that is, if the census of 1890 is permitted to stand, and to prove the figures, we will find that the census of 1890 of 2 per cent under the proposed bill, under section 10a, the total immigration from 48 nationals would be 161,184, out of which northern and western Europe, including only Great Britain, North Ireland, the Irish Free State, and Germany, would receive a total of 107,887 against 45 other nationals aggregating the balance, being only a total of 53,297.

The Committee on Immigration can not be justified in recommending a law permitting one kind of people as coming from one part of Europe and barring another kind of people because they come from southern and eastern Europe after 1890 and those who come from northern and western Europe before 1890 are more desirable, thereby creating a feeling of hatred, a feeling of discontentment, and which are the very things and the very principles our forefathers taught us not to follow.

My interest as a Member of this House and as a member of the committee which had before it the consideration of the proposed law is such that, as an American, I am to do American justice and not pass laws that will be beneficial to one class as against another and not to put a stamp of approval upon one particular class of immigrant. True, there are people who are better than others individually, but not as a class; so far as business is concerned, so far as many other things are concerned, nevertheless, we may find just as good men, with the same qualifications and material, from the stock of those discriminated. And can we say to those born in southern Europe, not by his will, not by his consent, but by circumstances, that he who seeks to enter the United States, he who is able to lend a helping hand toward further development of the United States, that he can not enter because the quota from southern Europe is small and that that quota has been filled long ago? Is it reasonable to insert in the law such discrimination, apparent on its face, which, in my opinion, will not benefit the United States?

It must be borne in mind that the act of 1917 keeps away from our doors the undesirable and only permits, after proper inspection and proper tests, their admission, if they are otherwise qualified to be admitted. We must, therefore, assume that only those who will inure to the benefit of America are allowed to enter and those who are undesirable and can not pass the tests are not admitted. That is what I call safeguarding and protecting our shores from undesirables, but when we place a stamp of approval upon one race as against another, because one was born in one part of Europe and the other in a different part of Europe, no matter how qualified he may be, and tell these people from southern Europe and eastern Europe, "Yes, you are qualified, you are a good man (or a good woman), you would make a good citizen, you also have every requirement that this country wants, but you can not enter these shores because we gave you only a small quota." It does not require much further argument than to say that to vote for the proposed bill with the present quota is contrary to the principles of this country, contrary to our treaties with the foreign nations in spite of the fact that the House Immigration Committee attempted to amend its bill to keep within the borderline of violation.

The committee in considering this important measure has almost entirely disregarded the opponents to the bill in spite of the fact that the evidence presented before the committee warranted some relief in the measure with regard to labor in many industries in the United States, and, as an example, we will take the cotton industry to-day, which is crippled as a result of labor. There should be sufficient labor to produce an amount of American cotton equal to the world requirements at a price which would give the grower a fair return, at the same time being low enough to prevent the stimulation of cotton growing in other countries and to prevent the hampering of a free movement of the commodity in this country.

In 1923, the statistics clearly show that cotton growing on 40,000,000 acres produce only 10,000,000 bales where 10,000,000 bales would have been produced on 10,000,000 acres. This is a 300 per cent loss in capital investment, seed, and seed labor, and this is a yearly occurrence because there is a shortage of labor. Not only does this apply to the cotton situation but to many other industries in the United States, evidence of which we have had before the committee hearings.

The only humane feature of the proposed Johnson bill is the nonquota-relative provision, which permits a citizen of the United States to bring in his father and mother over 55 years of age, his wife, and minor children under 18 years of age. Of the rest of the bill there is not much that can be spoken of favorably. All we find is much duplication of work and it would require legal advice by the American citizen who is attempting to bring some of his relatives into the United States. What has the committee done to unite families of the declarant, who has lawfully been admitted into this country, who has a wife and minor children abroad and who is seeking to make this his permanent home? Should not the committee have given that subject some consideration? Instead of uniting families they are being separated. Why not let them in under the exemption of the quota and place them in the environment of this country, so that they may adapt themselves to our American institutions? Nevertheless, they are placed in the 2 per cent of 1890 census and if they should happen to come from southern and eastern Europe their families' chances to come here are very limited.

It seems to me that the whole problem of immigration and the provisions contained in the proposed bill that is now being considered is more or less speculative without scientific study of the immigration question.

I beg to call the attention of the House to Report No. 350, which accompanies bill No. 7995, by the majority, and on the front page thereof we find that this proposed bill will, amongst other things, preserve the basic immigration law of 1917. I do not object to that, nor does anyone else who came before the committee. On the contrary, I supported that proposition, as it is a good law. The committee then also contends that it retains the principles of the act of May, 1921. I make no objection to that, nor does anyone else. It should be allowed to remain there. Then the majority also tells us that it counts certificates and not persons. There is no objection to that except to say that under the proposed bill you must get both a certificate and a visé, which is nonsensical, burdensome, and should have been eliminated. If one has obtained his certificate, why must he again apply for a visé? Unless he is qualified he can not obtain a certificate. The principle laid down by the majority committee by placing the burden of proof on the alien is something new that has been indulged in by the committee under our basic law, and I do not agree with that proposition, and I challenge the proponents of the Johnson bill who say that in the proposed measure the provisions thereof would lessen hardships of immigrants. The majority talks about preliminary examinations overseas. There is no provision for that in the bill and the same examinations that were made before will now be made.

To sum up the whole situation, if this bill is allowed to pass in its present state I contend that it would be un-American and the fault does not lie with our forefathers, the founders of this country, but lies with us.

Mr. RAKER. Is it not a matter of fact that the House committee reported out a substitute to the Senate bill in the last Congress which is almost in identical terms with H. R. 101 of the present Congress, and the American Legion met and went on record as favoring that bill?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend and revise my remarks in the RECORD. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the gentleman's request?

There was no objection.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks on this bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Mr. Chairman, I objected once to these separate extensions. If we can have assurance that when we get into the House a general request will be made, I will not object.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. SANDERS of Indiana, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee having had under consideration the bill (H. R. 7995) to limit the immigration of aliens into the United States, and for other purposes, had come to no resolution thereon.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. SALMON (at the request of Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee), on account of important business.

To Mr. CANFIELD, on account of the death of his father.

LEAVE TO PRINT

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have five legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the bill under consideration after the conclusion of the debate.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Washington asks unanimous consent that all Members may have five legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the immigration bill after the conclusion of the debate. Is there objection?

Mr. SABATH. Reserving the right to object, I want to know what is meant by "extending remarks." Is it their own remarks?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Yes.

The SPEAKER. That is understood; their own remarks.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Five days after the passage of the bill; all Members.

Mr. BLANTON. We who have spoken to-day are included?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Yes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

IMMIGRATION

Mr. GARBER. Mr. Speaker, ours is not a democracy but a representative form of self-government. It is the most powerful and yet the most conservative in the world. Under it the most precious institutions of civil liberty have been established and maintained. The humblest citizen in all the land may enjoy a greater degree of freedom, opportunity, and protection of person and property than the most exalted citizen of any other nation. More important than any other responsibility is our duty to maintain it for ourselves and as an example for the world. The strength of these institutions and of the Government does not lie in the area of our territory, our material resources, the number of our population, or our standing Army. It lies in the quality of our citizenship; in the voluntary self-restraint and moral power of the individual man. Orderly, enduring self-government is the most satisfactory test of progress. It was the goal of the Anglo-Saxon, who, fighting his way to freedom, wrested the Magna Charter, the Bill of Rights, and the Petition of Rights, great charters composing the bible of the English constitution, from tyrannical hands and contributed them to the western world.

Here they were enlarged and merged into our Declaration of Independence and Constitution, the charters of our liberty. Here we fashioned and constructed our representative form of self-government with its intricate machinery and delicate adjustment; with its checks and balances; with political parties as its functioning power; to operate and apply for the citizen throughout the entire field and scope of his mental, moral, religious, and physical activities, in all the affairs of his everyday life.

And this we call the due processes of the law. It has not been the work of a day but of centuries. It was not made to order but evolved out of the experience of mankind developing with the citizenship operating it through political parties.

In his book, *The Price of Freedom*, President Coolidge says:

We have come to our present high estate through toil and suffering and sacrifice. That which was required to produce the present standards of society will ever be required for their maintenance. Unless there is an eternal readiness to respond with the same faith, the same courage, and the same devotion in the defense of our institutions which were exhibited in their establishment, we shall be dispossessed and others of a sterner fiber will seize on our inheritance.

THE CITIZEN MUST QUALIFY HIMSELF

For the strength, maintenance, and preservation of this Government we must then look to the qualities of the individual citizen. To begin with, he must reside in an election precinct to function with his fellows with an intelligent understanding and judgment for the public welfare to his school district, his road district, his county commissioners' district, his county government, his legislative district, his judicial district, and to his State and Nation. To meet the exactions of self-government the citizen must be willing to contribute something of his time and individual interests for the larger interests of the various political subdivisions through which he acts. He must educate and qualify himself for the responsibility. Knowledge of our history and traditions, familiarity with our customs and practices are all indispensable. He must be public spirited and patriotic, and above all things love his home and country. His lack of qualifications is reflected in the deficiencies of the Government which in turn must be endured and paid for by all. Raise the quality of citizenship and you raise the quality of government. Lower the quality of citizenship and you decrease the quality of government.

Since 1820, 35,000,000 aliens have entered our country.

Population of the United States

The population of continental United States (census of 1920) was 105,710,620, divided as follows:

Census year, sex, age, and color or race	Total	Native	Number of foreign-born				
			Total	Naturalized	Having first papers	Alien	Citizenship not reported
1920							
Both sexes, all ages	105,710,620	91,789,928	13,920,692	6,493,088	1,223,490	5,398,605	805,509
White	94,820,915	81,108,181	13,712,754	6,479,159	1,219,057	5,223,715	790,823
Negro	10,463,131	10,389,328	73,803	10,724	3,496	48,930	10,653
Indian	244,437	238,138	6,299	665	59	4,945	629
Chinese	61,639	18,532	43,107	1,834	430	39,436	1,407
Japanese	111,010	29,672	81,338	572	270	78,740	1,756
All other	9,488	6,097	3,391	134	178	2,833	241

In studying the population, another division is made, as follows:

Native white parentage	58,421,900
Foreign born <sup>1</sup>	13,920,692
Foreign born and mixed parentage	22,478,308
Negroes	10,463,131
Oriental, Indians, and all other	426,699
<b>Total</b>	<b>105,710,620</b>

<sup>1</sup> The Population Bulletin of the Census Bureau (1922) shows 13,712,754 foreign-born white, and the following in regard to the foreign-born white population of 12,498,720 who were 21 years and over by the 1920 census:

Males 21 and over	6,928,452
Naturalized, 21 and over	3,314,910
Having first papers	1,116,744
Alien	2,138,237
Unknown	358,561
Females 21 and over	5,570,268
Naturalized, 21 and over	2,893,787
Having first papers	77,532
Alien	2,226,672
Unknown	372,277
<b>Total</b>	<b>12,498,720</b>

From the above it will be observed that we now have approximately 14,000,000 foreign-born population and 20,000,000 children of foreign-born parentage, and 4,364,909 aliens in the United States. Six million persons have been added to our population who will perpetuate their kind for many generations to come, and who could not possibly pass the intelligence tests to which our soldiers in the Great War were subjected.

EARLY IMMIGRANTS BECAME SUBSTANTIAL CITIZENS

Until recently the arrival of the immigrants was distributed through the years. They scattered out over the vast spaces of our frontier territory. Their numbers were too few to form racial groups and classes. They came in daily contact with our citizens and our institutions of local self-government. They attended our schools, public meetings, read our papers, and attained the use of our language. They formed the habit of working for self-government and gradually qualified themselves for it. With their thrift, economy, and industry they became successful farmers and business men, and furnished their proportionate share of leaders for the public affairs of the Nation.

in time of peace, and soldiers in time of war. They were substantial, loyal, and patriotic citizens. They contributed their full share to our unparalleled development and our greatness as a Nation. Their economic maxim was, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread," and their political maxim, "Support the Government and obey the law."

**INTERESTS BRING IN UNDESIRABLE IMMIGRANTS FOR CHEAP LABOR**

Rapidly our most valuable lands passed into ownership and our population increased. Mining, manufacturing, and railroad interests demanded cheap labor. Emigration from southern and eastern Europe was encouraged by interests here and the governments there. Prior to this, 80 per cent of our immigrants were of the Nordic stock—English, Welsh, Scotch, Irish, German, and Scandinavian—sturdy, thrifty, substantial, industrious and assimilable. But now the sinister interests of the Nation must have its contract labor to crush and destroy the growing independence of the American workingmen and to produce dividends for themselves and their stockholders. Their representatives were sent abroad to induce immigrants to come from southern and eastern Europe. They had no regard for the qualifications of the immigrants for citizenship.

What did they care about the intricate machinery of self-government, its delicate adjustment, its checks and balances? Absolutely nothing. They were perfectly willing to sacrifice the safety and security of the citizen and the stability of his Government for profits to themselves and the companies they represented. Just so the immigrant could labor is all they required. In fact, the more stupid and ignorant, the better. He would not be so apt to complain of working conditions or wages, or demand shorter hours, or join the union.

These so-called captains of industry, by the promise of steady employment, induced millions of immigrants to come to this country for the jobs they offered them, immigrants who were totally lacking not only in all the essential qualifications for citizenship but even in the capacity to develop such responsibilities. With what consistency can they denounce labor for infractions of the law when they themselves have been the procuring and primary cause?

**THEY HAVE LOWERED OUR STANDARDS**

As a consequence we now have congested alien settlements in all the large cities of the United States, speaking only their own languages, reading their own foreign press, wholly ignorant of self-government and its obligations, voting according to their appetites and their prejudices, unyielding in their opposition to prohibitory laws, bold and defiant in violation of the eighteenth amendment and the enforcement act, watchful, jealous, and revengeful against those who oppose. Where they are not in the majority in many places they are in sufficient numbers to wield the balance of power. They nominate and elect only those whom they know will represent their ideas and interests—public servants who will wink the other eye and look the other way when they violate the law, who will appoint them to public positions, give them public contracts, and necessary protection in case of exposure.

**CONGESTION IN OUR CITIES**

Seventy-five per cent of those who come from other countries to the United States live in our large cities. The 1920 census discloses that the following cities have more foreign-born whites than native whites of native parentage, the number being as follows:

City	Native white of native parentage	Foreign-born white
New York City	1,164,534	1,991,547
Boston	151,811	238,919
Chicago	642,871	805,482
Cleveland	212,247	239,638
Providence, R. I.	63,728	68,951
Fall River, Mass.	19,168	42,331
Lawrence, Mass.	12,825	39,063
New Britain, Conn.	11,161	21,230
Passaic, N. J.	8,816	26,365
Paterson, N. J.	31,824	45,145

**FOREIGN-BORN CONTROL CENTER NATION'S INDUSTRY**

In the April number of the *World's Work* a noted author, in an article entitled "THE IMMIGRATION PERIL," states:

The 13 States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa cover an area of territory constituting something less than one-sixth of the area of continental United States, excluding Alaska; upon that area there are 54,365,217 of the 105,710,620 people constituting the total population of the United States in 1920; of those 54,365,217 inhabitants of those 13 States 28,840,239 are

foreign born or of foreign parentage. That is, more than a quarter of our entire population is foreign born or of foreign parentage; it is settled in an area comprising less than one-sixth of our continental territory and constitutes more than one-half of the total population of the 13 States "which are the center of the Nation's industry."

Upon those millions operate forces which history, science, our national experience, and plain common sense demonstrate tend to perpetuate the underlying instinctive differences, racial and cultural, which those millions of foreign born and foreign minded can not drop, even if they would, either at Ellis Island or on the bench of the naturalization courts. And those forces are, furthermore, stimulated, encouraged, aided, and exploited by numberless artificial means, honest and dishonest, within our borders and from outside our borders, by ways we know, through channels we surmise, by methods we begin to suspect, and by still unsuspected means which may turn out to be spiritual treason to the Republic.

**CLOSE THE GATES**

What is the remedy for existing conditions? Loafing, drifting, dawdling along? No! In plain, flat-footed English the remedy is: Close the gates! Close the gates for not less than five years, except to immediate relatives of foreign-born citizens here. Give us time to educate, assimilate, and Americanize. Let us require an immediate registration of all aliens. Let us begin the work of sorting out the fit and the unfit. Let us teach them the first lesson in citizenship, obedience, and loyalty to Uncle Sam; the second lesson, the use of the English language; the third, for every citizen, black or white, rich or poor, high or low, native or foreign born, there is but one flag in this country, the Stars and Stripes, and no other will be tolerated.

**ACT OF FEBRUARY 5, 1917, REMAINS**

The act of February 5, 1917, remains as our basic immigration law. It lists the types of individuals who, because of inferior personal qualities, may not now be admitted as immigrants. According to section 3 of the act, which remains in force, these classes are: (1) Idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded persons; (2) epileptics; (3) insane persons, persons who have had one or more attacks of insanity at any time previously, persons of constitutional psychopathic inferiority; (4) persons with chronic alcoholism; (5) paupers, professional beggars, and vagrants; (6) persons afflicted with tuberculosis in any form or with a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease; (7) persons not comprehended within any of the foregoing excluded classes who are found to be and are certified by the examining surgeon as being mentally or physically defective, such physical defect being of a nature which may affect the ability of such alien to earn a living; (8) persons who have been convicted of or admit having committed a felony or other crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude; (9) persons likely to become a public charge; and (10) persons who have been deported under any of the provisions of this act and who may again seek admission within one year from the date of such deportation, unless prior to their reembarkation at a foreign port or their attempt to be admitted from foreign contiguous territory the Secretary of Labor shall have consented to their reapplying for admission.

Besides these specifically listed types of socially inadequate individuals, this same section prohibits the admission of (1) polygamists; (2) anarchists; (3) prostitutes; (4) persons engaged in the so-called "white-slave trade"; (5) contract laborers; (6) persons whose tickets or passage are paid for by corporations or governments contrary to law; (7) stowaways; (8) children under 16 years of age unaccompanied by parents; (9) natives of certain Asiatic islands definitely delimited by latitude and longitude; and (10) aliens over 16 years of age physically capable of reading who can not read some language or dialect. These latter 10 classes do not come under the purview of this particular investigation unless members of them are included also within one or more of the 10 classes first listed.

**SUBSEQUENT ACTS LIMITED TO 3 PER CENT, CENSUS OF 1910**

In December, 1920, the House and Senate adopted the further restriction of immigration by the system of designating the number from each country, but the Executive approval of the bill was withheld by President Wilson. At the special session of Congress called by President Harding the act of May 19, 1921, embodying the quota provision of further restriction was passed. This was reenacted by the act of May 11, 1922, which will expire June 30, 1924. The restrictions of the basic act of 1917 were not disturbed and will not be by the proposed measure. The acts subsequent to 1917 simply added the additional restrictions as to number, 3 per cent of their nationality in this country according to the census of 1910.

**PROVISIONS OF PROPOSED LAW AND EFFECT**

The Johnson bill now under consideration would further reduce the number of immigrants to 2 per cent plus 100 of their nationality in this country according to the census of 1890. The

result in numbers would be a reduction of quota immigrants from 522,919 under the existing law to about 185,000. The following table shows the reduction and increase caused by the change of quota from 1910 to 1890:

Quota admissible under present law and under proposed law

	Present quota, 3 per cent, 1910	2 per cent, 1890
Albania.....	288	4
Armenia.....	230	13
Austria.....	7,451	1,103
Belgium.....	1,563	510
Bulgaria.....	302	61
Czechoslovakia.....	14,557	2,031
Danzig.....	301	225
Denmark.....	5,619	2,785
Finland.....	3,921	472
Fiume.....	71	11
France.....	5,729	3,914
Germany.....	67,607	51,227
Greece.....	3,294	47
Hungary.....	5,638	474
Iceland.....	75	37
Italy.....	42,057	3,912
Luxemburg.....	92	58
Memel.....	150	114
Netherlands.....	3,607	1,637
Norway.....	12,202	6,454
Poland.....	21,076	5,156
Eastern Galicia.....	5,786	870
Pinsk.....	4,284	395
Portugal.....	2,465	474
Rumania.....	7,419	638
Bessarabian region.....	2,792	258
Russia.....	21,613	1,992
Esthonian region.....	1,348	124
Latvian region.....	1,540	142
Lithuanian region.....	2,310	313
Spain.....	912	91
Sweden.....	20,042	9,561
Switzerland.....	3,752	2,082
United Kingdom.....	77,342	62,458
Yugoslavia.....	6,426	851
Other Europe.....	86	5
Palestine.....	57	1
Syria.....	928	13
Turkey.....	2,388	129
Other Asia.....	81	45
Africa.....	122	44
Atlantic Islands.....	121	41
Australia.....	279	120
New Zealand and Pacific Islands.....	80	42
Total.....	357,803	168,837

It will be noted that the quotas from England and Germany would be practically unaffected, but reductions of a most marked character would affect:

- Austria, reduced from 7,451 to 1,103.
- Czechoslovakia, reduced from 14,557 to 2,031.
- Denmark, reduced from 5,619 to 2,785.
- France, reduced from 5,729 to 3,914.
- Greece, reduced from 3,294 to 47.
- Hungary, reduced from 5,638 to 474.
- Italy, reduced from 42,057 to 3,912.
- Poland, reduced from 21,076 to 5,156.
- Eastern Galicia, reduced from 5,786 to 870.
- Portugal, reduced from 2,465 to 474.
- Rumania, reduced from 7,419 to 638.
- Russia, reduced from 21,613 to 1,992.
- Latvia, reduced from 1,540 to 142.
- Lithuania, reduced from 2,310 to 313.
- Spain, reduced from 912 to 91.
- Sweden, reduced from 20,042 to 9,561.
- Yugoslavia, reduced from 6,426 to 851.
- Palestine, reduced from 57 to 1.
- Syria, reduced from 928 to 13.
- Turkey, reduced from 2,388 to 129.

THE QUOTA IMMIGRANT

The bill creates two classes of immigrants, the quota and the nonquota. The quota immigrant is defined by section 10:

When used in this act the term "quota," when used in reference to any nationality, means 100, and in addition thereto 2 per cent of the number of foreign-born individuals of such nationality resident in the United States as determined by the United States census for 1890.

THE NONQUOTA IMMIGRANT

SEC. 4. (a) An immigrant who is the unmarried child under 18 years of age, father or mother over 55 years of age, husband or wife of a citizen of the United States who resides therein at the time of the filing of a petition for a certificate.

This section does not include the grandmothers, grandfathers, brothers, sisters, cousins, aunts, nephews, or nieces. If they come it must be under the quota immigrant limitation of numbers.

From this subdivision it will be observed that the harsh provisions of the present law are changed so as to permit of union of families—husband and wife, father and mother and children.

(b) An immigrant previously lawfully admitted to the United States who is returning from a temporary visit abroad.

(c) An immigrant who has resided continuously for at least 10 years immediately preceding the time of his application for admission to the United States in the Dominion of Canada, Newfoundland, the Republic of Mexico, the Republic of Cuba, the Republic of Haiti, the Dominican Republic, the Canal Zone, islands adjacent to the American Continents, countries of Central or South America, or colonies or dependencies of European countries in Central or South America, and his wife, and his unmarried children under 18 years of age, if accompanying or following to join him.

(d) An immigrant who continuously for at least two years immediately preceding the time of his application for admission to the United States has been, and who seeks to enter the United States solely for the purpose of, carrying on the vocation of minister of any religious denomination, or professor of a college, academy, seminary, or university.

(e) An immigrant who is a skilled laborer, if labor of like kind unemployed can not be found in this country, and the question of the necessity of importing such skilled labor in any particular instance shall be determined by the Secretary upon the written application of any person interested, such application to be made before the issuance of the immigration certificate, and such determination by the Secretary to be reached after a full hearing and an investigation into the facts of the case.

This section exempts skilled laborers in the language of the act of 1917, except that the word "may" is changed to "shall," making it mandatory upon the Secretary of Labor to determine the necessity of importing individual skilled laborers in any particular instance. The clause does not apply to the ordinary run of skilled laborers, who must come, if at all, within quotas.

(f) The wife, or the unmarried child under 18 years of age, of an immigrant admissible under subdivision (d) or (e), if accompanying or following to join him.

(g) An immigrant who is a bona fide student over 18 years of age and who seeks to enter the United States solely for the purpose of study at an accredited college, academy, seminary, or university, particularly designated by him and approved by the Secretary.

REQUIREMENTS OF APPLICATION FOR CERTIFICATE

Both the nonquota immigrant and the quota immigrant are required to file their written application under oath in duplicate before the United States consul in their country for an immigration certificate. In this application the immigrant is required to state his full and true name, age, sex, race, date and place of birth, places of residence for the five years immediately preceding; whether married or single; the names and place of residence of wife or husband and minor children; his calling or occupation; ability to speak, read, and write; name and addresses of parents; port of entry in the United States and final destination; whether coming to join a relative or friend, and if so, the name and address of such; the purpose for which he comes to the United States; the length of time he intends to remain there; whether or not he intends to abide there permanently; whether ever in prison or almshouse; whether he or either of his parents has ever been in an institution or hospital for the care and treatment of the insane.

Should he claim to be a nonquota immigrant he must state the facts. And his certificate is issuable only after his case has received consideration in the Bureau of Immigration upon petition filed by his relatives whom he proposed to join in the United States. Such petition must set forth the status of the petitioner, and must be supported by sworn statements submitted by two or more responsible citizens of the United States. If found deserving, the Secretary of State authorizes our consul abroad to issue a nonquota immigrant certificate to the intending immigrant. The application shall be signed by the immigrant in the presence of the consular officer verifying the oath of the immigrant before him, one copy of which shall be attached to the immigration certificate at the time of issuance, and the other copy shall be disposed of as prescribed by regulations.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR ENTRANCE DETERMINED ABROAD

The law further provides that not more than 10 per cent of the total number of certificates allotted to each country may be issued in any one month, and a certificate is void two months after the date of its issuance. The counting of these certificates is made abroad, in the countries where they are taken by the consuls, so as to prevent undue hardship, uncertainty, and

unnecessary expense to those coming here to be denied admission at the port of entry. Their qualifications as to capacity for assimilation are determined there. In other words, we make the selection there, going into their past records, their family history, their mental, moral, and physical qualifications fully. This process will enable us to weed out in advance the weaklings, the diseased, and the morons. A satisfactory examination there will procure an immigrant certificate for admission here, where the final inspection and medical examination will be made at the ports of entry.

#### PERMIT NECESSARY TO REENTER NATIVE COUNTRY

If a resident alien wishes to visit his native land for a temporary visit he may, before leaving, obtain a permit from the commissioner general to reenter the country, and in such case he is not counted within the quota upon his return. At present such aliens are often prohibited by their own country from returning until the quota of his country is filled, as otherwise he would be charged in the quota.

#### DETERMINATION OF NATIONALITY

Nationality is determined by place of birth. The nationality of a minor is that of his accompanying parent. If the nationality of the wife is different from that of her husband, and if the quota for her country is filled, she shall be counted as of the husband's, but without increasing the quota for his nation. This prevents the separation of families because of diverse nationality and quotas under the law.

#### CONGRESS ALONE SHOULD CONTROL IMMIGRATION

Under a decision of the United States Supreme Court it has been held that a Japanese, being a member of the yellow race, is not eligible to citizenship. Should we then admit those who by law can not become naturalized? Certainly not. When the coast was being flooded with Japanese laborers a "gentlemen's agreement" was entered into, consisting of diplomatic correspondence, whereby Japan agreed to issue no passports to its nationals who were laborers seeking to come to the United States. The agreement was enlarged so as to include merchants and their families. The question, however, does not present a serious problem. If given their 2 per cent quota their number would only amount to 246 admissions. But now is the time to determine our policy—whether we shall be governed by treaty immigration or congressional enactment. The latter is more responsive to the judgment of the people and should prevail. The people themselves through their representatives should determine so grave a question affecting their material welfare and the quality of their self-government. We have advanced beyond gentlemen's agreements and secret treaties.

#### ENTRANCE WITHOUT PASSPORT SHOULD BE PROHIBITED

In my judgment the proposed measure should be amended so as to include Canada, Mexico, and Central America within its provisions. We should exercise our right of selection from those countries. As it now stands we close our front door and leave our back door wide open, through which a constant stream of foreign-born aliens are illegally entering the United States, estimated to be as many as 1,000 per day from Europe alone. Until we prohibit all entrance without a passport from all countries and require registration here there will be constant streams of illegal immigrants entering this country to be swallowed up in the congested districts of our great cities.

#### PROTESTS FROM ABROAD

As an example of a foreign protest the Rumanian Government, through its chargé d'affaires in a letter to our State Department, complains in the following language:

Further, it should be considered that the adoption of the census of 1890 would not only deeply wound the pride of the Rumanian people but also strongly affect their material interest, inasmuch as Rumanian immigrants by their savings increase the amount of stable currencies available for commercial and financial purposes in Rumania. This in itself would not fail to have a detrimental effect on the chances of Rumania to speedily attain its goal—economic recuperation—an aim which can not be indifferent to any government interested in assisting the world to recover from the consequences of the World War.

From the above it will be seen that they would subordinate our interests to their economic recuperation. We should not legislate for America but for Rumania, inasmuch as Rumanian immigrants by their savings increase the amount of stable currencies available for the commercial and financial purposes in Rumania. We loaned to foreign countries without authority of law many billions of dollars of the people's money, wrong from them by appeals made in the name of country, but when or where we ever assumed the obligation of their financial rehabilitation has yet to be shown.

#### PROTESTS AT HOME

An example of a protest from a racial group here I quote from a protest sent to the Hon. ALBERT JOHNSON, chairman of the Committee on Immigration:

SIR: The Order of Sons of Italy in America, the greatest fraternal organization in the United States of America of Italian origin or descent, respectfully but firmly protests against the enactment into law of the immigration bill restricting further and almost eliminating immigrants from certain countries of Europe. The proposed act is unfair, unjust, and un-American. \* \* \* The passage of this bill while directly affecting the peoples of southern Europe can not fail to engender a deep feeling of resentment and discontent among our own citizens. The near exclusion of a once welcome class of immigrants must necessarily precipitate and excite a racial feeling among the various elements of our citizens which will ultimately form itself into racial blocs. \* \* \* It is detrimental to the economic progress and prosperity of the country.

The claim of unjust discrimination and un-Americanism is wholly unfounded. It shows a total lack of appreciation of our liberal policies in the past. So long as the immigrant came here for the purpose of establishing a home for himself and his family, or in good faith of becoming a permanent resident and citizen, and followed this purpose up by working to qualify himself for citizenship, we made no complaint. In fact, we said, "Welcome stranger." Distributing themselves over the country, making their own selection of settlement and occupation, mixing with our people, familiarizing themselves with our language and our laws, they made good citizens, and are classed as such to-day. You will find them among our best farmers in the agricultural States and best business men in the cities and towns of the growing West. They are not complaining or protesting against this legislation. They are loyal to the interests of their Government here. They have long since severed all their connections abroad.

#### INCREASE FROM SOUTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Our complaint is against the quality of the immigrant of recent years who has been coming here under contract and gravitating into groups and racial blocs in our large cities. This recently increased immigration from southern and eastern Europe is shown by the following figures:

In 1890 there were 7,165,646 immigrants of foreign birth from northern and western Europe. From southern and eastern Europe in 1890 there were 842,383. In 1910 from northern and western Europe there were only 6,548,458, and from southern and eastern Europe there were 5,239,420. In 1920 the number from northern and western Europe had been further reduced to 5,514,978, and the number from southern and eastern Europe had increased to 6,363,013. The percentages calculated for 1910 and 1920 were as follows: In 1910 northern and western Europe, 56 per cent; southern and eastern Europe, 44 per cent. In 1920 the percentages were as follows: Northern and western Europe, 47 per cent; southern and eastern Europe, 53 per cent.

#### MILLIONS WAITING TO COME

Under the existing law the Italian quota is 42,000 persons a year. It is reliably stated that there are now 600,000 Italians registered for immigration to this country under our quota law. During the last several years on account of changing conditions in Europe—high taxes, nonemployment, strikes, and bread lines—this country would have been overwhelmed with the influx of immigration from all sections had there been no restrictive law to protect us. In the present fiscal year the British quota was exhausted in the first five months, which is as rapidly as the law will permit it to be used, 20 per cent only of any nation's quota per month being admitted. During the first five months of the present year the quotas of nearly all the European nations have been used up. Out of the total quota of this year of 357,000, 354,000 have arrived, leaving only 3,000 for the remaining three months of the fiscal year. It is reliably estimated that there are 10,000,000 intending immigrants but waiting in their foreign countries for the first opportunity to enter here.

The enactment of this legislation is imperative for the protection of our own laboring people, of the American farmer, and of the restoration of self-government in all its ramifications from the inimical, alien, racial bloc influence.

#### CORPORATE DIVIDENDS VERSUS AMERICANISM

James E. Emery, immigration counsel for the National Association of Manufacturers, composed of many of the important lines of industry in this country, appeared before the committee in opposition, claiming existing conditions demanded additional foreign labor. Judge Gary, president of the United States Steel Corporation, has repeatedly made the same re-

quest. They would willingly lower the high standard of American labor by the procurement of foreign labor to compete with our own. These so-called captains of industry care nothing about keeping the native stock strong and less about the quality of citizenship high. Such questions are of minor importance compared with the dividends to themselves and their stockholders. Such men are the real, genuine, pioneer Bolsheviks of this country. They are more censurable than the racial groups and blocs complained of. They are more guilty of practices inimical to the interests of self-government than the ignorant aliens whom they induce to come here by the promise of employment. We do not criticize the latter because they are lacking in capacity for responsibility. But the others are not. They are knowingly opposing the best interests of our country for material considerations to themselves. The issue is dividends versus Americanism. We believe the latter will prevail.

#### OUR FIRST DUTY TO PROTECT OURSELVES

In the exercise of our inherent powers of sovereignty we have the undoubted right to prohibit the entrance of any or all immigrants or prescribe the conditions under which they may enter. We also have the undoubted inherent right to expel and deport those who are found undesirable. Self-preservation is the first law of nature. Charity begins at home. We must first set our own household in order. We must protect our own racial stock, keep the American blood line strong, protect American labor, protect the American farmer from overproduction, maintain our high standard of living, educate and Americanize until we shall have established the English as our basic language, the United States as our native land, dissolving racial groups and blocs of all countries by the influences of education and self-government, developing and amalgamating them into a citizenship qualified for our representative form, under which we must all live and to which we must all contribute each his share to maintain.

In support of the proposed legislation I conclude with the recommendation of President Harding in his message to the Sixty-seventh Congress, and that of President Coolidge in his message to the Sixty-eighth Congress. They are both courageous demands for a higher quality of citizenship, ringing declarations appealing to the Americanism of every true lover of his country.

President Harding said:

Before enlarging the immigration quotas we had better provide registration for aliens, those now here or continually pressing for admission, and establish our examination boards abroad, to make sure of desirables only. By the examination abroad we could end the pathos at our ports when men and women find our doors closed, after long voyages and wasted savings, because they are unfit for admission. It would be kinder and safer to tell them before they embark.

The words of President Coolidge were as follows:

American institutions rest solely on good citizenship. They were created by people who had a background of self-government. New arrivals should be limited to our capacity to absorb them into the ranks of good citizenship. America must be kept American. For this purpose it is necessary to continue a policy of restricted immigration. It would be well to make such immigration of a selective nature, with some inspection at the source and based either on a prior census or upon the record of naturalization. Either method would insure the admission of those with the largest capacity and best intention of becoming citizens. I am convinced that our present economic and social conditions warrant a limitation of those to be admitted. We should find additional safety in a law requiring the immediate registration of all aliens. Those who do not want to be partakers of the American spirit ought not to settle in America.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Speaker, "the last and noblest effort of Divine Providence in behalf of the human race" is what Ralph Waldo Emerson calls the United States of America. Granting that this is true and that the people who comprise and go to make up this great Nation have received special privileges and wisdom from the hand of Providence and developed into the highest degree of civilization of any country on the face of the earth, ought not then the people who comprise this Government use their choicest minds and noblest energy to keep it pure and obedient according to the laws that be?

If God does his work in this world through man, as indeed he ever does, he needs men collectively as well as individually for the accomplishment of his purpose. If human governments and nations are, as indeed they are, a necessity in the world, they are a necessity to God as well as to men.

The American people have never failed to render patriotic response to any crucial call for action. It seems to have been their custom in most instances to wait until the "zero hour" arrived which made defense compulsory.

The last few years have witnessed a very noticeable change in the prevailing sentiment of the American people on the subject of immigration. It has recently been demonstrated to the public that it is suffering from an attack of acute indigestion. Immigrants have been pouring in upon us more rapidly than they can be assimilated.

In many sections where the foreign element is so congestive English is not spoken and Americanism is an unknown quantity. The situation is alarming, and the case has resolved itself into this: "Shall the American people lay themselves open to pollution by undesirable immigrants, and shall the Nation open its fold for the entrance of elements that can not be amalgamated and that make heterogeneity of population?" Certainly not. Only immigrants desirable in kind and numbers should be given admission. None should be permitted to enter who do not intend to become citizens and are capable of equipment and preparation for citizenship.

For 100 years or more America has been a haven for the halt, the maimed, and blind, for the broken in mind, body, fortune, and soul, to come over here where nature has spread her bounteous gifts, where life is easy, health is good, and conditions ideal. But the time has come when the millions who have broken in the Old World and who have led their countries to despoliation should not be admitted to our country.

The public sentiment against admitting stubborn and unassimilated material into American life is growing stronger. Radicalism is said to be provoked by the situation resulting from admitting masses of indigestible foreigners. These aliens, not knowing American ways and having no interest in becoming citizens, remaining here only for pillage and mischief, in many instances have proved only too often their dangerous character. This is the class that takes wages from Americans, and in some cases there have been serious clashes because of this economic struggle.

The primary reason for the restriction of the alien stream, however, is the necessity for purifying and keeping pure the blood of America. The danger line has been reached, if not passed. The percentage of illiterates here is too large, and the percentage of unassimilable aliens is also excessive. The Secretary of Labor sounds a plain warning to our countrymen, and reminds us that millions of the wrong sort of aliens are already here. If they can not be absorbed, why should others be admitted to increase the danger? The nature of American institutions should not be changed, even for the sake of relieving a labor shortage. Prosperity is desirable if it is the right sort, but it is too costly if purchased by debasing the level of American manhood and womanhood.

That our part of America is still the land of promise and opportunity for many thousands of aliens is clear from the preparations being made by those making applications who are anxious to arrive on or about the 1st of July of this year. To close our gates and turn thousands of immigrants back to the countries from whence they came, where starvation, distress, and perhaps death may await many of them is a very perplexing problem for this Congress, yea, for this Nation to decide. Whatever the decision may be, we have that very difficult question right now—How can we make legislation and enforce legislation that shall do justice to all and inflict no needless suffering?

In dealing with the admission of aliens we should assume that immigration is not a right, but a privilege; that we are not under any obligations whatever to extend it to all peoples, even of the white race.

Every American who is ambitious to see his country a truly great Nation should be guided in his attitude toward immigration neither by consideration of wealth to be derived from imported cheap labor nor by a sentimental desire to make this country an asylum for the oppressed of other lands, but by the ideal of an America peopled by strong, healthy, and intelligent men and women having the normal and wholesome instinct that make for sound character and harmonious social life.

It is no charity to extend the opportunities of living here to the failures of the Old World. It is to our descendants we owe our first obligations. No misguided sympathy for the unfortunate inhabitants of other countries should ever permit us to jeopardize the welfare of our future population.

The policy here advocated may be characterized as selfishness, heathenish from a humanitarian standpoint, from the fact that our forefathers were driven from the shores of the Old World and sought freedom and peace, and that others should not be barred.

Suppose we should view the matter entirely from the standpoint how can we best serve the great masses of mankind living in countries other than our own. I should say without hesitation that our wisest course would be to solve our own problems

In such a way as to become a healthy, intelligent, and prosperous people. And should we succeed in doing this, we will perform the greatest possible service to the whole world.

I regard the regulation of immigration as one of the most perplexing and important questions confronting the American people to-day. There are few questions that deserve the attention of this Government more than the immigration problem.

The United States has realized the fact that it is not a Nation of true Americans but a mixture of nationalities. There are 14,000,000 foreign born in the United States, of whom 7,000,000 have never taken out naturalization papers and who can neither speak nor read our language. We have aliens living in America who have never been naturalized and who never expect to become citizens editing newspapers and magazines and endeavoring to dictate to the American citizens the policies of this Government.

Unless we safeguard ourselves against further influx of undesirables there will no longer be an America for Americans. An Italian journal, published in New York City, not long ago said editorially:

We not only need organization but also rapid increase in births among Italians here.

A Jersey City Polish newspaper exclaims:

We pride ourselves on having a Polish judge here and there.

I am afraid that we fail to realize how stupendous, though noiseless, is the pressure of this immigration avalanche.

Immigrants have been pouring into the United States at an enormous rate. Statistics show that during the period from 1903 to 1914—11 years—10,000,000 lodged in this country.

America is saturated with aliens, and some of our great States will soon be populated entirely by aliens unless a law is enacted restricting immigration to the United States for a period of years. There are to-day 13 States with a majority of the population of alien origin. Thirteen other States have more than 35 per cent of their population foreign born. Some of our large cities have a greater per cent of aliens than those States.

Our Government departments have acquired sufficient information to guide this country aright if it were assembled, analyzed, and made available to the public.

America is largely governed by public opinion, and the sources of that opinion concerning the problems of immigration are of vital importance. To deal with so complex a national situation and so profound an international situation requires the public to be intelligently informed before we can have a united public opinion.

When we view this ominous inundation, invited and maintained by some of our number for the profit to be had of the few laborers it contains, it behooves us to contemplate its grave consequences. These grow out of the following circumstances: Two privileges are pressed into the hand of the immigrant when he touches American soil—the right, be he moron or competent, for or against our institutions, to a voice in our affairs equal to that of any who has expended a life's labor in making our Nation great; and the right, whatever his breed, to mix his blood, be it wholesome or foul, with that of our children.

Therefore, if we are to insure the predominance of our race, the sanctity of the American home, the survival of Christian thought, and the preservation of our political institutions, immigration from central, eastern, and southern Europe must be brought to an end.

We all owe a duty to America to render this patriotic service just as much as we are under obligation to civilization to uphold it in this reconstruction period of international revolt and danger. Shall we severally and collectively appoint ourselves to the task of reviving that spirit of devotion which astounded the world and sealed the destiny of formidable foes? Shall we respond to the call which the fateful conditions now confronting us demand?

Immigration must be narrowed to a close margin in order to preserve our institutions and our native culture; we find that the new immigration is composed of that class of people who are without traditions of free government, who cultivate socialism and communism, who are economically undesirable, who are dangerous to the morals of our youth, and who jeopardize the safety of our Nation.

According to the Department of Justice—

Says the Saturday Evening Post—

90 per cent of all the agitation in the United States is due to aliens. From the Haymarket riot in Chicago down through the horrible massacre at Herrin you find the impress of the undesirable foreigner. He is the prize fomentor of trouble \* \* \*. Self-preservation demands a minimum of immigration.

A democracy can not endure unless it is composed of able citizens; therefore it must in self-defense withstand the free introduction of degenerate stock.

The law should be stringent for at least 10 years, allowing no one to enter except very close dependent relatives of those who are already here and seeking citizenship.

Our country is still new and not fully fashioned by a long way, and the glory of America may yet rest in history that, through its own political, social, and industrial philosophy and practice, America achieved utter defeat of poverty and destitution and charted the course for the great world to follow in building, high and secure, the general level of human happiness. We can not retain this level, we can not enjoy the full extent of human happiness unless we close the gates against the untrained minds and impure hearts.

Mr. LILLY. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, again we approach the problem of immigration legislation. The country to-day recognizes more than ever the need of a more stringent immigration law. The people of America are now realizing as they never realized before that the American principles as blazed out, promulgated, fought for, and defended by our fathers were for the purpose of making America the greatest nation on earth and to insure the enjoyment of its benefits to future generations of Americans.

There are some who will call America selfish in the passage of a more stringent immigration law, but this is not just criticism. America has been more liberal than it should have been along this line. We realize it when we see the great increase of immigrants or foreigners trying to get into the United States. Of course, many of these people want to come here because they are in sympathy with our Government and in all probability would be good citizens, but a large percentage of the immigrants who are now trying to enter are those who would exploit and disgrace our Government and citizenship if they could. If you will scan the court records, you will find that more than 50 per cent of the persons convicted of high crimes and misdemeanors are of foreign birth. Many nations have deportation laws, or a system at least, by which the undesirables, if they will leave the country, are immune from further prosecutions for offenses against their country. A great many of this class try to enter this country, and some have entered. Others come on account of the conditions of their own country due to the World War, and only come here to enjoy the benefit of our land, which, to them, seems almost to flow with milk and honey, until such time as their own country is financially rehabilitated. They come here, many of them, and take the places of our American laborers who have been born and reared here. Their standard of living is much lower than that of the American, hence they can work for less wages. They thereby get the jobs of our American men and women; our own people are turned out often when they have families dependent upon them. The step that we are about to take now should have been taken many years sooner. There has already been a great deal of damage done; a great deal of hardship worked on the American by the laxity of the immigration law.

This bill may not be just the kind of a bill that many of us would like to have passed, yet we have to admit that it is a step in the right direction and that the necessity actually exists that we, as representatives of all classes of the people of this country, are required to pass an immigration bill immediately.

America has proven herself generous when calamities and misfortunes have befallen other nations. When they appeal to us we respond with charitable contributions; but there is a limit. We can contribute to people who are in dire need of our financial aid, but we can not conveniently give up to those people our homes and the homes that we and our forefathers have built for the future generations of this country, and we should not be expected to.

The argument that by the passage of this bill some nations will be hostile toward us is not a sound, logical argument. Well-thinking people of all nations would never expect us to keep a wide-open door as we have in the past and to allow immigrants to enter in large quotas and with few restrictions, to such an extent that this country would soon be overpopulated. For the sake of and in memory of our forefathers and the principles they so nobly stood and fought for, and for the safety of the present generation, and with fond anticipations of the enjoyment and prosperity of our rising generations, let us pass this bill.

Mr. SCHALL. Mr. Speaker, assimilation can not any longer keep pace with immigration. Slower than of old, because the stocks are not so near of kin, because they do not mix as for-

merly with the land but maintain their own race groups in cities. Highly illiterate, unskilled in labor, they are not the asset they used to be. The haven of refuge has been so crowded that it is ceasing to be a refuge for anyone. New problems are created by the immigrant. Troubles existing here are increased. Political power in the hands of these untrained people, not understanding or sympathizing with American ideals, is dangerous power.

We are finding out that instead of the foreigner becoming Americanized America is being swamped, submerged. Certain localities have lost their original characteristics and are developing those of their predominant foreign nationality.

Our duty as Americans, as guardians for posterity, is to maintain strict watchfulness over the strains which will compose our future citizens. We are too prone, some of us, to consider the assumed rights of outsiders. Because Europe's war-beggared millions are crying "Sanctuary!" some feel that this claim gives them a paramount right as against those who look upon America as their own land. They would let down the bars through a sentimental but unwise impulse as dangerous to our well-being nationally as is indiscriminate charity. It may make the person who indulges in this gratuitous display of world love feel high and inspired as the carelessly given coin brings a self-righteous glow. Why give away that precious thing, American citizenship, to those who neither appreciate it nor will help to keep up its high standards, who have respect neither for law nor government, whose moral standards are not our standards.

Our own people do not seem to realize that it is for us to give or to withhold the precious privilege of coming into this our land. There would not long be any America if we, the people's representatives, lost the courage to say, "Be worthy or you can not come in." The true American is aghast at the eating from within that has so changed a large part of our countrymen that they consider it some kind of cardinal sin to be patriotic, to look out for our own. They think it betrays a narrowness to love the old ideals and long to keep them, to preserve our hard-won individuality. What the foreigner wants, that is the concern to them, not what Americans want. A would-be leader of thought in attacking the Monroe doctrine glibly cites as an argument against it that it is not what the Spanish-blooded people want. To get so far out of your orbit as to be unable to consider things from the viewpoint of the well-being of the United States is to cease to be an American. We are not a conquered nation, to be overrun, despoiled of our treasure of nationality.

We have made progress toward greatness as a nation. We are working toward a distinct American type, with well-made bodies, fine features, quick intelligence. If we take in more heterogeneous material than we can assimilate, and assimilation is a slow matter, we shall lose all we have gained and be reduced to unlike masses and hopeless disunion. The honest, wholesome, frugal, decent American deserves that we should guard against his being supplanted with a mass of undesirable neighbors. He and his children have earned a right to consideration.

We have set ourselves an ideal in government. If we attain it, we fulfill our mission. If we so load and fetter ourselves that we are incapable of attaining these ideals, if we clog our streams of national life with those who can not or will not come up to the standards, if we make of ourselves a harbor for the failures and outcasts, the diseased, and criminal offenders of other countries, we are neither helping these others nor serving our purpose in the plan. Real patriotism, real humanity, real world mindedness consists in keeping this land of ours true to its ideals, clean, vigorous, healthy, and united.

We are subjecting American labor to unfair competition.

The foreign invader is not most dangerous when he comes as a hostile army, but when he comes into the field as an army of labor. So have all the nations of the past gone down. Let us profit by their misfortune.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, during the past three months I have received numerous petitions concerning immigration signed by many residents of the tenth Ohio congressional district, which district I have the honor to represent. These petitions generally ask me to support the Johnson immigration bill, now under consideration. I have assured them that I would support this bill.

I bear no ill feeling toward those who have come to America from foreign lands. Perhaps our American Indian is the only real American who is neither an immigrant nor a descendant of an immigrant. It is not so material as to how long one's ancestors may have resided in America, but it is essential that we as Americans are true and loyal citizens. I believe that the present Secretary of Labor, Hon. James J. Davis, is as

good an American citizen as we have to-day, yet he as a boy was an immigrant from Wales. In 1636 one of my ancestors, John Foster, landed on the shores of Massachusetts. He was of Welsh-Scotch-Irish extraction. There were five generations of Fosters born and reared in that Commonwealth. Among them was Lieut. Ebenzer Foster, born at Salem, Mass., in 1733. He was one of the minute men who sprang to arms at the Lexington alarm in April, 1775.

The next five generations lived in Ohio. My great grandmother, Sally Porter Foster, became in 1819 a charter member of the First Presbyterian Society of Athens, Ohio, and efficiently taught the first select school in Athens, which has been the home of the last five generations. Yet the 10 generations of the Foster family since they came to America should be judged on the same basis as the first generation of the James J. Davis family. The test is not what country did we come from nor how long have we been here. Rather the test is are we loyal Americans, devoted to the best interests of the American people. John Foster landed in Massachusetts 140 years before the signing of the Declaration of Independence. During the first 100 years after the signing of the Declaration of Independence no attention whatever was paid to the question of immigration. Indeed, only within the last 40 years has any serious consideration been given to the physical and mental and moral condition of those entering the United States.

With a population of 105,000,000, the United States entered the World War. We soon found that we had 13,000,000 foreign born in our country. We were shocked to find that more than 6,000,000 of these foreign-born persons had not been naturalized nor had they made any application for naturalization. We are told that since 1890 immigrants had been landing at the average rate of 1,000,000 per year. Following the armistice, the best judgment of the American people suggested an immediate emergency immigration law. Europe was war stricken; industry was paralyzed; millions were unemployed, and they at once began looking toward America. We are reliably informed that there are now 600,000 persons in Russia who have made application for passports to America; that there are 70,000 now in Warsaw alone seeking transportation to our shores. Our Secretary of Labor during a trip to Europe only last summer says

frankly told by high officials of a European Republic that his country looked upon immigration to the United States solely as a means of disposing of its old men and rubbish.

It is now time to supplant our temporary immigration legislation by the adoption of a permanent policy. Such a policy is set forth in this Johnson immigration bill. It is based on that fundamental principle of "America for Americans." It is properly called a selective bill. It gives to America the right to select her immigrants. We have a right to admit only those who are physically and mentally fit. The weakling should be weeded out and not permitted to enter. We now have the problem on hand of assimilating more than 6,000,000 aliens who have refused to take an oath of allegiance to the American flag. This problem in itself calls for serious consideration. Until this is solved, surely no American should favor the opening of our gates to unrestricted immigration.

There are hundreds of foreign-born residents in the tenth congressional district of Ohio. They come from many European countries. We find among them some of our best citizens. This can not be said of all of them. Some 20,000 coal miners reside in that district. During the past year they have not been able to secure work one-third of the time. They refuse admission to their organization to any alien who will not apply for American citizenship. With this condition of unemployment now existing in our mines and elsewhere, I submit that it would be manifestly unfair to admit, without proper restriction, these hordes from Europe. Their wholesale arrival would further complicate our economic conditions. Our labor conditions would soon be back where they were at the close of the World War, when more than 5,000,000 American workmen were without employment and suffering privations.

This is a good general law. Defects as they develop, can be remedied. For one, I resent the attitude taken by those European countries which seek to tell us what we should do by way of admitting their citizens to our land. No foreign government has the right to tell the United States whom we shall or shall not admit. In selecting immigrants it is natural that preference should be given to husbands, wives, and minor children of alien residents who have declared their intention to become American citizens; to immigrants who served in the military or naval service of the United States during the World War and such other classes as may properly qualify under our quota restrictions.

The passage of this bill is prompted by neither malice nor hatred toward the nationals of any foreign country. It is only an American effort to protect the rights of our American citizens. It does not discriminate in favor of the American whose ancestors have been here 300 years as against the American who is himself such immigrant. Neither does it discriminate against any nationality. However, it does safeguard our institutions against indiscriminate immigration, pending the assimilation of the 13,000,000 aliens now within our borders. This law not only protects our American ideals, it also protects American labor. I believe with Secretary of Labor Davis when he says:

Unemployment means discontent, and discontent means hatred for the Government. This I have learned from personal experience, for I have seen the unemployed sleeping in the parks, in our jails, in box cars, and almost every other kind of shelter. I know what is in the hearts of those thus situated. I have been one of them. The way to keep America happy is to keep her people at work. To admit those from other lands when our own people are unemployed is an injustice to the newcomer as well as those already here.

I know of no issue before the American people to-day more important than this. I trust this bill will be speedily passed by the Congress. It makes for a better America. Our children's children will profit as a result of the enactment of this wholesome legislation. America for Americans!

Mr. LEA of California. Mr. Speaker, the excess of immigrants over our power to assimilate them is generally recognized. The situation causes general apprehension and a demand for a remedy. The pending bill, if made a law, will restrict immigration more than any other measure adopted in the history of Congress. I shall support this bill, with a firm conviction that it is for the best interests of my country. If a broader reason were required, I would say that in giving this greater protection to our citizenship our country can better discharge its duties to other nations of the earth.

Some reasons have been advanced in debate in support of this bill in which I do not concur. I desire to place on record a general conception of the reasons why I will support this bill.

To us the word "immigrant" should not be offensive. We are a Nation of immigrants and the descendants of immigrants. The original stock, the American Indian, yielded to the white man's civilization and long since became only a negligible factor in our civilization. Our country has been the great haven of immigrants. Stocked by the blood of many lands, receiving the blood of yet many other lands, America has evolved her own type, everywhere recognized among the people of the earth. Development of that type, of this Nation, of its institutions and ideals, has been a process of amalgamation, assimilation, and development.

In the main, the immigrant still comes to America as our ancestors came. They come because to them America is the land of opportunity—the opportunity to escape unsatisfactory conditions there, the opportunity to work out a more favorable destiny here. A desire of self-betterment is the underlying desire that promotes the progress of the human race. Who shall say that this desire of the immigrant is not commendable? I would not defeat his aspiration in hate. I would not deny his hope without regret. I would base our refusal on no self-conceited and offensive claim that we "are not as other men."

I would not debate the right of our Nation to exclude immigration. That is the inherent right of every nation, even the weakest on this globe. Our country is the land of our homes. We have the right to say who shall be admitted and who shall be adopted. In deciding that question we may well give heed to the humane considerations, everywhere recognized by enlightened men and nations. But the problem and the responsibility is ours.

I would base this further restriction of our immigration upon the ground that our present population, with its mingled blood of many races, has developed a cosmopolitan type, but a distinct type, a Nation, a distinct Government, a people with their own standard of living, their own social, political, and economic life. To protect that people—their ideals and institutions, and preserve this Nation, as our America, is our duty and our opportunity.

#### ASSIMILATION

In this land we have established a Government, institutions, ideals, and a standard of living to which we are much attached. We hold its unimpaired preservation to be the highest duty of every American. We can not expect the preservation and progress of our country to be accomplished except by our own people, or by those who can readily become the American type as we know it to-day. What is that assimilation that we demand of a naturalized citizen? Assimilation requires adapta-

bility, a compatibility to our Government, its institutions, and its customs; an assumption of the duties and an acceptance of the rights of an American citizen; a merger of alienism into Americanism. True assimilation requires racial harmony and compatibility. It requires people that can meet and respect each other, with no impassable barrier to social recognition and equality. It is not sufficient that here and there social equality, harmony, and recognition prevail. There must be a probability that such equality and recognition shall become the rule and not merely an exceptional condition. Assimilation requires an understanding mind and a loyal heart. Republics, to be successful, must have intelligent citizens as well as loyal citizens. For many decades our Nation has admitted immigrants, with little or no regard as to whether they were assimilable into our citizenship. We may now regret that mistake. We should not permit it to continue for the future.

The acceptance and adoption of our language is essential to assimilation. Language is the vehicle of thought, communication, and understanding. The lack of a common language is a barrier against the unity and solidarity of a people. Adherence to alien languages to the exclusion of our own is a gulf that tends to divide the citizenship of the country into racial groups. It promotes distrust, irritation, and nonassimilation. It emphasizes known differences and creates suspicion of others that may not exist.

Our Nation is dedicated to the ideal of equal rights before the law. That is a very great ideal and one difficult of attainment. We may greatly increase the difficulty of its attainment and the unhappy consequences that follow the failure to maintain that ideal by permitting nonassimilable immigration. Closely related to the question of equal rights is the question of equal opportunities. I do not mean the mere abstract equal opportunity that the law promises. I mean the equal opportunity that should belong to the citizens of this Nation in practice. I do not mean an equality of virtues, because that can never be attained. I mean that equal opportunity that should belong to all men, except as it may be denied them by reason of their own lack of merit or moral worth.

#### RACIAL COMPATIBILITY

True assimilation requires racial compatibility. Nature's God has given the world a brown man, a yellow man, and a black man. Whether given to us by the wisdom of a Divine Ruler or by our own prejudices or wisdom we have a deep-seated aversion against racial amalgamation or general social equality with these races. Members of these races may have all the moral and intellectual qualities that adorn a man of the white race.

Many individuals of any race may be superior, by every just standard of measurement, to many individuals of the white race. Yet there is an irreconcilable resistance to amalgamation and social equality that can not be ignored. The fact is it forms an enduring barrier against complete assimilation. The brown man, the yellow man, or the black man who is an American citizen seeks the opportunities of this country with a handicap. It may be humiliating or unjust to him. You may contend it is not creditable to us, but it does exist. It causes irritation, racial prejudice, and animosities. It detracts from the harmony, unity, and solidarity of our citizenship.

No one would suggest that we should attempt to undo what has been done in reference to the admission of people of these races into our citizenship. They are our fellow citizens. It is to the credit of us and to the advantage of our Nation that we should seek to live with them humanely, justly, and assure to them every right to which they are entitled under this beneficent Government. To do this challenges the wisdom and the worth of a great, liberal-minded people.

But to avoid further racial antipathies and incompatibility is the duty and opportunity of this Congress. The first great rule of exclusion should prohibit those nonassimilable. Our own interests, as well as the ultimate welfare of those we admit, justify us in prescribing a strict rule as to whom shall be assimilable. We should require physical, moral, and mental qualities, capable of contributing to the welfare and advancement of our citizenship. Without these qualities it would be better for America that they should not come.

#### ALIEN INDIGESTION

We can not expect immediate assimilation. Time is a material factor in assimilation. At best it must be a process of years. We may receive 150,000 aliens per year, but their Americanization is not completed for many years after their arrival. Therefore there is an ever-accumulating number of unassimilated aliens until assimilation equals immigration. That point can be reached only by restriction. Numbers, too, are even a

greater factor in the process of assimilation. "A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump." As America must furnish the leaven, we must restrict the lump. We can accept alienism that in due course blends into Americanism. We can not afford to accept alienism that, either because of its qualities or numbers, threatens or seeks to supplant Americanism. We can afford to receive only those, and in such numbers, as can be readily absorbed into our citizenship and become part of the warp and woof of America.

We have already seen many symptoms of alien indigestion in this country. We have seen alien sympathies flaunted when our country was engaged in a Great War. Every now and then we have seen offensive concert of action among alien groups, as to both alien and domestic affairs. With humiliation we have seen pandering to alienism in American public life. We have seen segregated alien groups with alien languages predominating. We have seen the subordination of American fealty to alien allegiances. The sheer number of immigrants has become so great as to destroy the normal process of assimilation which in past decades has enabled us to absorb millions of aliens into our citizenship without impairing our American characteristics or institutions.

#### EXCLUSION NOT A REFLECTION

The exclusion of aliens is not a reflection upon them. Fancy, if you will, a superior alien people coming to our shores, peacefully penetrating this Republic and finally supplanting our institutions and our civilization by their own. Concede that new government and institutions to be superior. Concede we knew in advance that the admission of such aliens would result in the supplanting of our civilization by a better civilization, would that justify us in failing to resist it? This is our land, our Nation, and our Government. Whether or not it be the best of all governments is not the question. It is our duty and our opportunity to protect, defend, and promote its welfare. It is "ours," and that calls us to its service and defense. No others will answer that call.

Granite blocks of perfect texture and color were offered to a master builder, but he rejected them because they did not harmonize with the design of the great structure he was building. That did not mean that granite was not one of the finest of building materials and suitable for the noblest of structures. There were other structures to which the granite blocks belonged, where they would give strength, utility, beauty, and harmony. Their injection into an inappropriate structure would have weakened its strength, lessened its utility, marred its beauty, and destroyed its harmony. We are building a great structure of government. We seek to make its foundations enduring. We design it to have the strength to stand against the severest storm. Above all things, it is designed to be useful, to protect our own people, to make them comfortable and happy, united and harmonious. We want that structure to be attractively beautiful. Many kinds of building materials are offered, but we must select those that conform to the design of our structure. The rejected material may serve in a structure equally useful and noble elsewhere. There it may give strength, utility, and beauty, while here it would be only the jarring inharmony of missetected material.

#### JAPANESE EXCLUSION

This bill proposes to exclude aliens ineligible to citizenship. That has particular application to the Japanese. In that respect it places Japanese on a par with other oriental people. I favor this provision. I do not favor it on the theory that the Japanese are an inferior people. The progress and qualities of the Japanese people entitle them to be ranked among the great nations of the world. The Japanese desire for expansion of his territory and the increase of his population, wealth, and prestige is natural and legitimate.

But, as for America, the Japanese are a nonassimilable people. They belong to a different race that makes them physically not assimilable by the American people. They are different from our people. To say that they are different is not to condemn them or to say that they are inferior. The Japanese people are alert, able, frugal, proud, and unchangeable in their devotion to their own country. These qualities are all commendable, but they help to create results that make American assimilation impossible or at least impracticable.

They have an economic standard of life that increases the difficulty of assimilation. In competition on equal terms in industry they supplant their American competitor. Economic and social prejudice would alike conspire against them if received in large numbers into our citizenship. Their proud, progressive, and alert qualities do not qualify them for a long-continued inferior social or economic status in this country. They lack the docile, subservient qualities that are essential

to such a rôle, even if such a rôle were desirable in immigrants received in this country.

Now, as heretofore, it is suggested by the Secretary of State that the question of Japanese immigration be left to adjustment by treaty, or that the Japanese be placed on a quota basis in common with European countries. I am sure this suggestion is not the advice of wisdom. It is rather the policy of expediency, of temporary convenience, and not one that will lead to a final or happy solution of the Japanese problem. The suggestion, if followed, would postpone the settlement of the problem. The question of Japanese immigration would remain an open subject for irritation and controversy and international distrust and ill feeling. Let Congress definitely and finally determine the policy of the Nation by writing it into the law of the land, and, in my judgment, we will have discharged a splendid service to the future of our country and the good relations between ourselves and Japan. Temporarily, Japan may feel aggrieved, as China felt aggrieved after Chinese exclusion. The Chinese exclusion act was shortly followed by the most happy and harmonious relations that ever existed in our relations with that nation. She has long since been one of our best friends among the nations. I predict the same will be true in our relations to Japan. Definitely settle the question beyond controversy and Japan will soon learn that we have not written our laws in hate, but in obedience to what we believe to be a duty to our own country. Do this and we will contribute to the permanent harmony and betterment of these two nations. The east is east, the west is west. Each has a destiny of its own.

#### OUR RELATION TO THE FOREIGN BORN

Our relation to the foreign born involves not only the question of immigration, the source of our alien supply, but also the resident alien and the naturalized citizen. Fundamentally the remedy for the situation seems simple and plain. We should exclude nonassimilable aliens and select and restrict the immigration of assimilable aliens. We must restrict immigration to numbers and to persons that can be conveniently absorbed into our citizenship without undue burden and consistently with the preservation of an unimpaired Americanism.

Then, what shall be our attitude toward the resident alien and naturalized citizen? They are here; they and their children are going to remain and be a part of our population so long as the country endures. Shall we win them to Americanism, or shall we attempt to drive them to Americanism? There is but one way that useful and loyal citizens can be made. That is, by winning them. We must help to educate them. An intelligent understanding and appreciation of this Government, its duties, its obligations, and its opportunities is essential to useful citizenship. More than that, we must have the appreciation, the heart loyalty of our naturalized citizens, or the attempt to assimilate them is a failure.

What shall be our attitude toward these naturalized citizens? Shall it be that of assumed superiority? Shall we fail to afford them the equal protection of our law? Shall we deny them the rights to which their intellectual and moral qualities entitle them? Shall we encourage or promote efforts and organizations to create and promote religious and racial hatreds? The inevitable fact is that we and our children are going to live with these naturalized citizens and their children for generations to come. Shall we live in peace or in conflict? Hate, prejudice, and discrimination create hate, prejudice, and discrimination.

The hate of racial, social, and religious bitterness deeply wounds mankind. Minority groups are especially sensitive to these wounds.

We have those who are fanatically engaged in sowing the seeds of prejudice, of racial and religious hatreds. Those who sow hate will reap hate, not for themselves alone but for our country and the future children of America.

So far as our naturalized citizens may be deficient in Americanism, the remedy for them and their deficiency is not hate, not social ostracism, not political ostracism. These remedies nurture the disease. Instead of implanting and encouraging hate, we must inspire appreciation of our country—a sense of its justice to them. Instead of compelling them to respond to the hate of America, lead them to respond to the friendship of America. We must grant them that recognition to which their moral qualities entitle them.

If duty calls the American citizen to devote himself to a better Americanization of our naturalized citizens, it calls him to promote their education, to promote friendship and understanding, to promote higher aspirations. The true call of duty to the American citizen will never summons him to light or keep burning the fires of racial hatreds or religious prejudice.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Speaker, the pending measure is one of the most important and far-reaching that has ever been considered by Congress. It is designed to thwart an alien invasion and to foster and encourage a broader and higher understanding of American citizenship. It makes a human and economic appeal paramount to any international differences that have arisen in a generation or has engaged the serious attention of the Congress.

Our institutions and society are not only involved but the stability of our unexcelled form of government itself will be impaired, if not eventually destroyed, if immigration should not be restricted.

The very existence of the United States, the foremost Nation in the world, may be obliterated under the trampling feet of foreign hordes if preventive measures are not adopted to safeguard our high ideals and established customs, and our country protected against such a menacing contingency.

Many years ago Kipling, then a young man, sojourning in California, no doubt was so impressed with the laxity of our immigration laws and the easy manner and indifference displayed in safeguarding the country against alien invasion that he wrote these prophetic lines, describing the American finally awakening to his plight:

His easy, unswept hearth he lends,  
From Labrador to Guadeloupe,  
Till, elbowed out by sloven friends  
He camps, at sufferance, on the stoop.

Supporting my unwavering advocacy of the enactment of this needful legislation, it will be my purpose to refer to some of the views of well-known authors and economists based on their observations of the dreadful results of unrestricted immigration, as well as to statistics in support of these contentions which are incontrovertible.

Revelations brought to light by the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, of which the gentleman from Washington [Mr. JOHNSON] is chairman, are but an echo of the true conditions, deplorable in the extreme, that were assuming disturbing proportions when arrested by the enactment of the present law. This act, however, expires June 30 of this year. Failure to pass the pending bill would result in a retrograde movement, not only dangerous but alive with evil consequences, and create a sinister and obnoxious situation which would be troublesome in the proper adjustment and progress of our civilization.

The effect of the proposed law would be to reduce the permissible quotas from 357,803 to 169,083. The illegal entry of aliens, however, into the country, as computed by reliable authorities, may swell the total to nearly a half million entering the United States each year.

#### MANY OF THE ALIEN COLONIES ARE UN-AMERICAN

Alien colonies in the United States speaking foreign tongues, maintaining foreign community interests, reading only newspapers printed in their own language, are un-American and a menace to the Republic, and the fewer "foreignized aliens" we have in America the better. It is unfortunate that such a large proportion of these people decline or neglect to become truly Americanized.

The opponents of this measure argue that America has remarkable assimilative power, but we have ample proof that many of these great hordes of foreign nationals are not in a true sense assimilable, even after many years of residence in this country. Mere residence within the confines of the United States will not make true Americans out of uncultured aliens. They must be imbued with the ambition and desire to become truly American. Large proportions of the foreign born do not even learn to speak or apparently care to learn the English language. They are concerned only in acquiring wealth. In their eyes all other considerations sink into insignificance.

#### VIEWS OF THE COMMITTEE MINORITY

In the minority report of the committee, containing the views of Mr. SABATH and Mr. DICKSTEIN, it is argued that this measure is discriminatory, in that it applies the principles of exclusion to certain races. This is a question of self-preservation rather than discrimination. As far as possible, it is our national policy to maintain the United States for our native-born and naturalized citizens and their descendants to the end that in so doing we are serving our own best interests. I am in favor of a further tightening of restrictive provisions looking to the exclusion of aliens from certain countries of southern Europe and the Orient.

The committee minority state that it is not fair to expect aliens to renounce their allegiance to the countries of their nativity, while this same demand could not be very well ex-

pected of Americans living abroad to renounce their American citizenship to become subjects of a foreign country.

This is not a fair comparison, nor is it in the remotest sense a parallel case. Americans do not go abroad to seek employment as do the aliens who, in large number, flock to the United States. Nor do American citizens go abroad for the purpose of entering into competition with foreign labor, trade, and commerce.

The minority further states that the act of February 5, 1917, known as the basic immigration law, is in itself essentially a selective immigration statute. It eliminates those who are mentally, morally, and physically unfit; those who are likely to become a public charge, anarchists and other opposed to organized government, and who hold doctrines subversive to law and good order.

A proper administration and enforcement of that statute would admit such immigrants only as are desirable according to the meaning of that word and in the sense in which the term is used in the majority report.

Since, therefore, under the act of 1917 the immigration law is distinctly selective and admits only such immigrants as meet the strict and intelligent test of that legislation any measure which imposes arbitrary tests destroys the underlying spirit of our national policy.

Under another heading these views will be combated with facts and figures of such authentic nature as to completely destroy any effect this statement may have on the uninformed.

It is further stated by the committee minority that conditions following the war are responsible for the large immigration to America. This may be true in a measure; but let us review briefly the situation before the war as concerns but one race of people from southern Europe.

As far back as 1910 Greeks had 36 restaurants in Atlanta, Ga., and it is said that they practically controlled the business at that time. In Birmingham, Ala., they had 12 hotels and 14 restaurants; St. Louis, 26 restaurants; Pittsburgh, 25 restaurants. In these eating places the army of waiters, cooks, and dishwashers were Greeks. This large proportion was to be found in every city of the United States. This was the condition in 1910, 14 years ago. It is only one line of business, in which they have since gained a monopoly in nearly every city of the country.

The committee minority present no new or convincing arguments in support of a return to the deplorable conditions which prevailed under immigration restriction prior to the enactment of the existing law.

#### VIEWS OF THE COMMITTEE MAJORITY

Under the pending bill, H. R. 6540, the number of "quota immigrants" is limited to a minimum of 200 plus 2 per cent of the number of foreign-born individuals of a particular nationality residing in the United States as determined by the United States census of 1890.

The 1921 quota law was enacted to meet an emergency, and in the opinion of the committee a greater emergency exists now. The measure meets that emergency and offers a constructive policy for the permanent regulation and restriction of immigration.

Some opposition has manifested itself to this reduction, but this basis was reached by the committee after long and careful consideration of every element of the entire immigration problem.

An impelling reason for the change is that it is desired to curtail the class of immigrants which are not easily assimilated.

Naturalization does not necessarily mean assimilation. The naturalization process can not work well with the continued arrival in large numbers of the so-called new immigration. The new type crowds into large cities. It is exploited. It gains but little knowledge of America and American institutions. It has grown to be a great undigested mass of alien thought, alien sympathy, and alien purpose. It is a menace to the social, political, and economic life of the country. It creates alarm and apprehension. It breeds racial hatreds which should not exist in the United States, and which need not exist when the balance shall have been restricted.

The most troublesome administrative difficulty encountered since the enactment of the 3 per cent law has been the enforcement of the numerical limitation. The actual physical count of human beings arriving by ship and train has been a task of magnitude.

Mistakes have been made. Steamships have raced to port in efforts to land passengers within the time limit. Delays and disappointments have brought hardships. Distressing appeals for relief in individual cases have assailed the officers charged with enforcement of the law.

All of these troublesome obstacles are confidently expected to be eliminated in the event of the enactment of this measure.

The bill contains provision for enforcement of the numerical limitation, not by counting immigrants upon their arrival, but by counting "immigration certificates" issuable at American consulates overseas.

The plan briefly is to issue for each nationality a number of immigration certificates to be placed in the hands of intending immigrants as they obtain American visés upon their passports.

Sufficient time is given the immigrant in which to take ship. Therefore, the intending immigrant, having obtained his passport, his immigration certificate, and his visé, is at liberty to proceed to the United States in the full knowledge that he will not be debarred by a quota limitation. He must, however, undergo further examination at the port of entry and be able to pass under the provisions of the act of 1917.

It is expected that the number of those who can not pass will be greatly reduced by reason of the preliminary investigation. There should be no arrival of "excess quota" cases, and there should be no racing of steamships.

If the proposed law reduces to the minimum the number of arriving aliens that must be turned back, it will have accomplished one of its important purposes.

#### THE JAPANESE PERIL

We are still confronted with menacing conditions on the Pacific coast, due to the unsatisfactory Japanese situation. In many respects and essentials the Chinaman is more preferable.

At the time the "gentlemen's agreement" was entered into in 1907 by which the Japanese Government agreed to restrict their laborers from coming to this country, there were about 30,000 Japs in the United States. To-day there are 117,000. It does not seem that the "gentlemen's agreement" is at all binding—on the part of the Japanese Government.

The "gentlemen's agreement" has not been published. It is an exchange of letters. The provisions of this measure will end in a satisfactory manner this troublesome problem. Clearly there should not come to the United States persons who can not become citizens and who must continue while in the United States to owe allegiance to a foreign country.

I should like to see an amendment added to this bill applying the principles of the Chinese exclusion act to Japanese laborers. The gentleman from California [Mr. FREE] is so thoroughly familiar with the Japanese peril that his observations must carry positive conviction of their reliability.

On page 15 of A. M. Pooley's *Japan's Foreign Policy* will be found this very significant reference:

A glance at the land policies of other countries shows conclusively that the protection of land resources is the primary object of every country. Japan recognizes this principle of restricting land ownership by aliens. No foreigner can own land in Japan; and it has been repeatedly and responsibly stated, both in the Diet and out of it, that foreign ownership would be a "pollution of Japanese soil."

#### THE CHINESE SITUATION

The Chinese exclusion act of 1882 was the result of many years of agitation and hammering at the doors of Congress.

The congressional delegations of the Pacific Coast States seemed powerless to convince the misinformed Representatives from New England that the unrestricted immigration of Chinese coolies was a real yellow peril to the western civilization of this country.

In the face of tremendous odds, backed by the propaganda of a well organized and highly paid lobby, the small stalwart band of champions of Chinese exclusion forged ahead under most trying difficulties.

To break down the well-nigh insurmountable barriers of opposition by the presentation of facts and conditions as they really existed was a stupendous task.

Unable to stem the tide of an increasing flow of coolie labor to the Pacific coast, not quite as menacing as is the situation of to-day in the cities and States of the East by reason of southern European alien invasion, there was resort to physical measures to safeguard and protect the vanishing welfare of the white people of our far Western States. After years of debate and dilatory tactics the Chinese exclusion act became a reality.

Now, after more than 40 years of exclusion no one can truthfully deny the wisdom and efficacy of that act. It has been a boon to the far West in its application. The Eastern States have escaped what might have been a peril far-reaching in its consequence which would have had such detrimental effect in the realm of the wage earners as to cause serious economic upheavals and put out of commission the orderly and smoothly running system of governmental machinery by the application

of coolie labor in competition with that of prosperous American breadwinners.

Mary Roberts Coolidge, formerly of Stanford University, makes this very significant statement in her book, "Japanese Immigration," page 441:

It was assumed for many years that the Chinese were unassimilable, and their clannishness, the slowness with which they adopted American dress and an English language lent color to the assumption. But a comparison of the Chinese with other aliens, particularly with the Italians, Mexicans, and Greeks in San Francisco, discloses the fact that they are being Americanized quite as rapidly, and in some respects make better citizens because of their superior intellectual capacity.

Mr. Speaker, if this be true, and there is no convincing proof to the contrary, it is high time that this measure, providing as it does for immigrant selections, should be speedily passed.

#### SOUTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION

Immigration from southern and eastern Europe is conspicuous by its absence from the rural centers of western and northwestern activities. This element finds haven in congested urban life, where colonization is important to their well-being.

In 1914 there were 1,218,000 immigrants landed in the United States; in 1921, 805,000; this year, 357,000; while under this measure there would be less than 200,000 persons annually admitted into the United States. Even with this law in force it is predicted by eminent authorities making a thorough study of the subject that at least half a million aliens will find entrance into this country.

If the present law had not been in force, it is estimated that in the past two years at least 4,000,000 aliens would have entered the United States.

If the present law is permitted to expire on the 30th of June of this year, and no other legislation is enacted, there will be the largest immigration to our shores in the history of the world. That influx will begin on July 1, 1924. The exclusion clause of the act of February 5, 1917, will be powerless to stem the tide.

Doctor Fairchild, the eminent economic author, in his interesting work, *Greek Immigration to the United States*, says:

Coming from agricultural regions and pursuits, the Greek does not follow that line of occupation in his adopted home. He finds it to his advantage to devote himself to commercial rather than agricultural activities, with the result that he succeeds in building up a much greater fortune in his new home than he could hope to acquire in his fatherland.

Successful Greek merchants are to be found in cities all over the world. Greece has always been a splendid place to go away from to make a fortune. The Greek emigrant always looks forward to eventually returning to his homeland, where he might settle down in peace and quiet and spend the declining years of his life in the restful enjoyment of his acquired wealth. The Greeks share many characteristics with other southern European races.

Groups of aliens from southern Europe on the eve of their departure for America celebrate the occasion by all manner of festivities. Their one favorite song, which portrays their inmost feeling for their fatherland, runs something like this:

By fate men wander far, some east, some west,  
The eyes see other places new and strange;  
In some new tree the doves rebuild their nest,  
The heart alone, of all things, knows no change.

It is disclosed by those who have studied the situation that the universality of the habit of lying is something which impresses almost every traveler in the south of Europe. They lie in preference to telling the truth, even when there is no question of advantage. The American youth is trained from infancy to the belief that, whatever happens, the truth must be told. South-of-Europe people feel that if any important matter is at stake, such as his own personal being or the name of the race, the truth is subsidiary and must be sacrificed to greater ends. One can not place too much confidence in the statements or promises of these people where there is the slightest chance of any personal interest being at stake.

While these people display great enterprise in business ventures their highest ambition is to acquire sufficient means so that they can return and spend the last years of their lives sitting idle discussing trivial things that they can find to occupy their minds.

#### THE NEW IMMIGRATION

Within the last 15 years there has sprung up a new immigration—immigration to America—which is no longer a greater withdrawal on account of finding elbowroom in the old country, not a natural departure of the more adventurous and enter-

prising to seek more fertile fields of fortune. It is a radical exodus of all the strong young men which has already devastated whole villages and threatens to leave entire kingdoms depleted of their natural working force.

It is within this period that these people have been coming to America in such increased numbers as to make the movement a social phenomenon. The only answer you can hope to get is that their country is poor and America is rich. They come here because they can get more money. Just how much a part of this movement has been played by emigration agents, legal and illegal, it would be impossible to say.

In matters of this kind these people are deep and crafty, and it is impossible to get anything from them that would incriminate emigration agents.

A traveler landing in Piræus is amazed at the immense number of American flags flying from office buildings all along the water front and the neighboring streets. Their significance is somewhat perplexing until he learns that they are steamship offices or emigration agencies—for there is no great distinction between the two. They are found in many cities and villages in the interior. There is no doubt but what they have exercised a tremendous influence in exciting and perpetuating the movement to America.

There are villages in south Europe where a boy grows up with as much expectation of going to the United States as an American boy has of remaining here.

Investigation has disclosed the fact that letters constitute the most extensive method of advertising that can be imagined. Almost innumerable "endless chains" are thus daily being forged, link by link.

A letter is written to his brother, father, or other relative by an alien who after a few months' employment here has been able to save \$150 or \$200—a small fortune in the eyes of the Italian or Hungarian peasant—picturing in glowing terms the opportunities of this country for money making.

That letter is read by or to every inhabitant of the village, or perhaps even passed on to other neighboring hamlets. Others are thus induced to migrate. They come, find employment at what seems to them fabulous wages, write letters home, and so the process goes on and on until some of the rural districts of such countries as Italy and Hungary are almost depopulated.

The great majority of aliens have some relative or close friends here. They know just what place they want to go to in the United States. They have a very definite idea of what work they are going to do when they get here. They are very chary about admitting the truth of the last statement, however, especially if they have the least suspicion that their questioner has any connection with the United States Government.

The letter of the law is violated wholesale by immigrants. It is very easy for people with the craft and cleverness of these aliens to cover up any illegality in a case of this sort.

The people of southern Europe are decidedly gregarious and clannish, and have a tendency to herd together. This fact, in connection with their occupations, leads them into city life.

#### THE INIQUITOUS PADRONE SYSTEM

A form of practical slavery has been largely developed by the Italians and takes its name from the Italian word "padrone," or master. It is decidedly characteristic of the Greek nation. Slavery under the padrone system is going on to-day in this country. Doctor Fairchild, of Yale University, made a careful study of the iniquitous padrone system, and his observations are worthy of perusal by the membership of this House who are opposing the enactment of this measure.

Mr. Speaker, I feel confident that a knowledge of the workings of this system of peonage, un-American in its every essential, would change materially the attitude of those sentimentalists now so outspoken in their opposition to the passage of this bill. I wish to beg the indulgence of the House while I illustrate briefly the secret inside workings of this infamous system.

A foreigner who has been in this country a few years and has some command of the language and knowledge of the customs of the country establishes himself in some business in which he needs the assistance of a number of boys who may have no special ability or training. From his home country he secures these boys under agreement to work for him for a specified length of time at a fixed remuneration. These boys are all kept together in rooms hired by the padrone. He furnishes everything except their clothes and shoes. He acts as agent for the boys in every transaction which they have with the outside world. The boys are required to work long hours. They are kept in ignorance of the customs, wages, or living conditions of the country and work on year after year in ignorance of the injustice which they are actually suffering.

Like the candy and other stores, these shoe-shining parlors are of a uniform type all over the country. They are usually small storerooms in good locations fitted up with from a dozen to 20 chairs, electric fans, hat cleaners, etc. Very frequently tobacco is sold, and sometimes there is a barber shop or pool room in conjunction.

These boys in their native land earn from \$10 to \$20 a year and in return must work from 6 in the morning till 12 at night, or even later, 365 days in the year. Their food is bread, cheese, and olives or sardines, with cooked meat once or twice a week. They are brutally treated by their employers in many cases. These boys, unfamiliar with the labor and living conditions in this country, and being ignorant of the language, have no means of informing themselves. They are kept closely confined to their place of business and sleeping quarters and are prevented from coming in contact with the American world in which they are placed.

They are practically at the mercy of their boss, and their treatment depends on his personal will and pleasure. The boss is seldom inclined to use his power leniently, and the conditions resulting from this state of affairs have been so bad as to lead the United States Government to devote a good deal of attention to investigating the bootblacking trade in this country. The official interest in the matter is increased by the fact that the majority of these boys are in the country in violation of the contract labor law. The boss will go back to his country, and being a person of considerable importance can easily manage to stand godfather to a number of boys. Later on he is able to make use of this relationship in bringing over boys whom he needs in his business. Very often the padrone pays a fixed sum to the father for the use of his boy for a stated term of years. These contracts are almost always verbal in order to evade the contract labor law. As soon as he arrives in this country he is taken to the rooms of the padrone, which from this time on is to be his "home," and is at once put to work in the shops. Thus begins a period of practical slavery. The hours of work are very long, usually from 6 or 7 in the morning until 10, 11, or even longer at night. The sleeping quarters are usually sadly overcrowded. They sleep as many as five in a bed. The rooms are kept in a filthy condition. There is no ventilation, so that the air becomes vile.

The boys are prevented from coming in touch with American life and learn American ways of doing things. They are never paid to exceed \$175 a year. The tips are turned over to the padrone, or, rather, are taken by him. In some padrone houses the boys are searched when they come back from work and any money they may have in their clothes is taken from them. So the generous-hearted patron who thinks that his extra nickel or dime is helping along the industrious boy who has shined his shoes so well in the majority of cases is merely contributing to the already large profits of the padrone and enabling him to extend his questionable business. The total amount of tips is large. Boys receive from 40 cents a day in small places to \$2 in the large cities. The padrones are said to derive a clear profit of from \$300 to \$500 per year on each boy. The tip system combined with the abundant supply of cheap labor is the keynote of the success of the bootblacking business in this country as conducted by these aliens from southern Europe.

The padrones intimidate these boys by telling them they are violators of the law, and that if they say anything "officials" will get them and put them in prison or send them back home. When a boy does get command of the language and familiar with the ways of the land instead of turning traitor to the padrone system he simply goes into the business on his own account and puts the years of his past experience into profit. Nine out of every 10 of these boys are in this country in violation of law. In evading the law these aliens display their characteristic cunning and craftiness. Agreements between parents and padrones are almost always verbal. The boys are thoroughly coached before landing, and testify positively that they have no promises of work of any kind, but will take the first honest job they can find.

The law is evaded usually in two ways—by claiming relationship or by false affidavit of age. Both are extremely difficult to detect. A crowd starting from some interior village can easily arrange a scheme of relationship which will baffle the inspectors and answer every requirement. A boy will state that he is going to join a father, uncle, or brother in some city of the United States giving full name and address. Correspondence sent to the address given is promptly answered and the statements of the boy are substantiated in full. The padrone system has long been a standing reproach to the southern European population of the United States and a menace to the labor principles of our country.

## MASTERS OF DECEPTION

These people show themselves to be masters of every trick and artifice. False affidavits, assumed names, and plain lying are all used with the greatest effect. There is a little book published and distributed throughout southern Europe which contains full instructions as to the proper answers to make to the immigration authorities in order to best secure admission. A very significant paragraph of this book warns the immigrant to destroy the book before reaching the shores of America.

It is believed that an average of \$50 per capita is sent by these people from southern Europe to their fatherland. It can readily be seen that the amount of money sent out of this country annually is stupendous.

They have no fundamental rules of hygiene, and they do not know how or do not care to keep their rooms in decent condition. There is very little ventilation by day or by night. The food is often meager and lacking in nourishment. As a result of these conditions, there is a great deal of disease, particularly tuberculosis, among these people. They carry the germs of this dread disease in their clothes, and people ignorant of the conditions under which these aliens live are laying themselves liable to the contraction of the same form of disease in coming into close proximity to them.

Less than one-fourth of the aliens coming to this country become citizens. The very general intention of eventually returning to their native land after acquiring a fortune probably has much to do with this. Those of southern Europe are proud of their allegiance to their rulers and are loath to give it up.

## BUSINESS MONOPOLY

The extent to which the Greeks, for instance, have gotten control of the candy kitchens, confectionary stores, ice-cream parlors, fruit stores, fruit stands, push carts, florist shops, boot-blacking establishments, restaurants, lunch rooms, and hotels would be most amazing if it were not so familiar to even the casual observer. It would be tiresome to attempt to give a list or even an enumeration of the establishments of this kind operated by Greeks all over the country. This is no new invasion of these aliens of business. As far back as 1909 the number engaged is startling in the extreme. Year by year, not only in the large cities but in the smaller towns and even villages, Greeks are fast approaching a monopoly of these lines of business.

Fruit and candy are often combined in one store, as are also candy and ice cream. Flowers are sometimes included in the stock of a candy store, but more usually sold separately. In the flower business, especially in the large cities, boys and men are extensively used in street selling. The trade in fruit, candy, and flowers is one which can be started with small capital and little experience, but can be expanded greatly and quickly, until it reaches very profitable proportions. Let a number of Greeks establish themselves in a certain kind of paying business and those coming to the country later will follow their lead like a flock of sheep.

If there is not a very stringent restriction on Greek immigration to the United States, it is predicted by well-known authorities that in five years the Greeks will have complete monopoly of many lines of profitable business with which people of other nationalities can not successfully compete.

## NOTIONS OF THE SENTIMENTALISTS

A well-known writer who spent much time investigating conditions in southern Europe has this to say:

If only the American people could see things from a foreign angle they would be more careful about letting in these people. But our folks simply do not understand the state of the Old World and how real the existing menace to civilization is. Therefore they let the sentimentalists and special interests follow a course that saps the very foundation of our country.

The sentimentalist, who seldom sees farther than his nose, hears of the needs of the suffering people of earth, and of their desire to emigrate to the land of plenty and he says: "Oh, let them come to America. We have abundance here, so open wide the gates and bid them welcome. Congress must let down the bars in order to admit these poor, persecuted, hungry, homeless creatures." To do such a thing the distinctive character and ability of America would disappear. The characteristic qualities which make America American would be submerged by a flood of baser traits. Gone would be the light of idealism and altruism which has made America the world's missionary and almoner nation. An immediate few millions would be succored at the expense of all civilization. The very worst that could befall the human race at the present time would be for the unique and providential American type of character to be merged into the Old World's made maelstrom of misery. Societies that promote

emigration to the States can not be expected to look at the subject from the American viewpoint; their interest is quite otherwise.

\* \* \* I learned more than a little here on the banks of the Bosphorus of schemes of smuggling into America, and of the social vices that spread from this focus to all the world; but these disturbed me not at all compared with the evidence that from this central spot by a variety of methods and concerted motives a stream of unassimilable life, utterly alien to all American ideals, is being directed toward the United States.

Anyone who toils in New York or any other community where there are considerable numbers of Armenians, Greeks, Turks, Syrians, or Rumanians can say of his own knowledge whether these people merge their prior identity into true Americanism, or whether they persist in the type and characteristics of their homeland to the second and third generation.

It might fairly be submitted that the hour has come to consider the rights of the American Nation. It is high time to preserve America from the perils that enter her gates in the form of unfitted and very numerous immigrants.

The lavishness with which American relief funds have been distributed among these peoples has given them the conviction that America is an El Dorado, where money is to be had without work and where the people are so gullible that they may easily be imposed upon in any of the ways wherein the ancient east is so experienced. To all these cognate perils the one answer is an intelligent resolution to keep America American.

## A WORD OF WARNING

Hon. James J. Davis, Secretary of Labor, in the Congressional Digest for July-August, 1923, under the title of "America and her immigrants," presents some very interesting facts that should carry great weight in the enactment of this measure. In part he says:

The tide from northern Europe has halted, and the bulk of arrivals are from those nations of southeastern Europe and the Mediterranean shores which, with few exceptions, have for centuries been the scene of much of the world's discord and strife and bloodshed. They come not to face the dangers of a new and untried country, but to gain the ease and plenty afforded by the greatest Nation of modern times, the greatest civilization this world has ever known.

\* \* \* Part of our present immigration problem arises largely through the so-called "bootlegging" of aliens. Estimates place the number of aliens who enter the United States surreptitiously as high as 1,000 a day. At this figure the aliens who enter the United States in violation of law would exceed the number admitted legally under the "quota law."

\* \* \* One group in America to-day proposes to let down the bars against foreigners coming here from abroad. We all know that behind a great deal of this clamor is the desire on the part of certain employers not to fill a labor shortage, but to get cheap labor for their own use.

They trust to a general influx of aliens to glut the labor market and enable them to beat down wages; to fix its pay in the light of a hungry crowd at the factory gates. Even if the flood of immigration would bring them this cheap labor, I say to those employers that they would be cutting their own throats. They are endangering the whole prosperity of America in an effort to make a temporary profit. They are gambling that they can hold their labor cheap, while all other labor maintains an American standard of living. I maintain that it can not be done.

When you begin to cut down the wages of the American workman by putting him in competition with a cheap labor from other lands, housed in a hovel and living on a crust, you are striking at the very foundation of American industrial prosperity.

\* \* \* Surely there can be no objection to the enrollment of the alien who comes to us to help him acquire the qualifications to be an American. If after a period of years the record of the individual showed plainly that he was unfitted for American citizenship I would provide for his deportation.

F. C. Howe, former Commissioner of Immigration, port of New York, in *The Westward Trend of Immigration*, makes this somewhat astonishing statement:

In 1914 the total immigration amounted to 1,200,000. Of these only 1½ per cent were rejected. The great bulk of these were sent back because they were likely to become a public charge. \* \* \* America has apparently come to a decision on the question of immigration. Congress has decreed that the invasion by other peoples must stop. Public opinion supports Congress in this decision. \* \* \*

## A DANGEROUS PROVISION

The provision of this bill which enables an alien residing continuously for at least 10 years preceding the time of his application for admission to the United States in the Dominion of Canada, Newfoundland, the Republic of Mexico, the Republic

of Cuba, countries of Central and South America, or adjacent islands, and his wife and unmarried children under 18 years of age accompanying or following him is, in my opinion, a rather dangerous provision. It is calculated to foster fraud and the organization of conspiracies to defeat the purposes and strict letter of this act. It should be further safeguarded by a strong amendment.

There was published in the Evening Star of this city of the issue of February 27, 1924, a cablegram from Buenos Aires which I think should command the attention of the House in shaping this measure for final passage. It is as follows:

**SALE OF PASSPORT AFFIDAVITS PROBED—UNITED STATES CONSUL GENERAL IN ARGENTINA EXAMINES IN PERSON EVERY APPLICATION**

[By Claude O. Pike]

[By cable to the Star and Chicago Daily News. Copyright, 1924]

BUENOS AIRES, February 27.—Consul General Morgan has taken personal charge of the passport department of the American consulate here in an effort to stamp out the apparent wholesale trafficking in the necessary affidavits of five years' residence in Argentina for emigrants desirous of entering the United States.

The American consulate refuses to admit that there is anything wrong, but the consul general sits at a clerk's desk daily examining and investigating each application for a visé.

It is learned that a number of emigrants' passports have been held up for a fortnight, pending further investigations of the truth of affidavits that the applicants have resided for five years in Argentina. This action is causing uneasiness among shipping agents and others active in the traffic.

**SALE OF AFFIDAVITS**

Although transferred to Buenos Aires from Brussels only last December, Consul General Morgan became suspicious a month ago and shifted the vice consuls in the local office, thus bringing out surface indications of abuses probably existing for the past 18 months, whereby the restrictive immigration laws of the United States were evaded by sale of false affidavits to European immigrants arriving in Argentina, with great profit to an organized gang in Buenos Aires.

Mr. Morgan, accompanied by Vice Consul Farrand, boarded the last two ships for the United States—the Munson liner *Western World* and the Lamport & Holt liner *Van Dyke*—personally inspecting the passports of third-class passengers.

Questioned concerning this unusual procedure, Mr. Morgan replied that he was watching out for forged passports.

**SCUM OF EUROPE**

The European emigrants who are flocking to the United States from Buenos Aires are the scum of Russia, Italy, Greece, and the Balkans, and surely would be weeded out if they attempted to enter under the quotas of those countries. The present course apparently furnishes guaranteed entrance upon the payment of \$200 to the Buenos Aires gang.

It is an open secret that United States Secret Service operatives are traveling on Shipping Board steamers plying between New York and Rio de Janeiro, Montevideo, and Buenos Aires, as enlisted members of the crew, in an attempt to stamp out efforts to smuggle emigrants to the United States as members of the crew and as stowaways.

To the end that we may carry out a system of registration of all aliens to ascertain their status as regards their residence in this country, I am heartily in favor of a complete suspension of immigration for a period of from one to two years. I am in hearty accord with President Coolidge's recommendation that "we should find additional safety in a law requiring the immediate registration of all aliens. Those who do not want to be partakers of the American spirit ought not to settle in America."

The issue of the Evening Star of this city of March 6 contained this cablegram from its special correspondent at Buenos Aires concerning a new disguise which the gangs of smugglers are adopting:

**SMUGGLING ALIENS TAKES NEW DISGUISE—ARGENTINE RING, EXPOSED IN FAKE DOCUMENTS SALE, OFFERS UNITED STATES ENTRY WITHOUT VISÉ**

[By Claude O. Pike]

[By cable to the Star and Chicago Daily News. Copyright, 1924]

BUENOS AIRES, March 6.—Exposure of the operations of the Buenos Aires organization which was slipping emigrants into the United States through the sale of false documents apparently is discouraging the usual procedure.

Investigations show that there is little activity now at the offices of shipping agents. It is reported that the latter are refusing to guarantee American consular visés now that Consul General Morgan is working daily in the alien visé department and is personally passing on applicants.

Close questioning of emigrants and breaking down of stock answers, requiring correction of documents, apparently has brought the practice to a stop. It is intimated that the gang is trying a different course, offering for 1,400 pesos (\$425) to put the emigrants into the United States without consular visé. The method is kept secret, and the emigrants are merely told to be ready to board ship on short notice.

The difficulty of breaking up the system is partly due to the fact that emigrants invariably deal with shipping agents, refusing to transact business with the regular shipping lines. As a result the emigrants are greatly overcharged, but they still stick to the shipping agents. The transactions are carried on in cheap rooming houses and in the back rooms of saloons. Therefore it is practically impossible to witness the exchange of money and documents.

Naturally the emigrants refuse to talk because they are participants in the scheme. They are also fearful of their lives. The gang has powerful influences behind it.

Another article appearing in The Star of March 11 gives a pathetic recital of the cruelties practiced in the "bootlegging" of immigrants into the United States. It seems to me that this story should stir this body to adopt a provision having for its purpose the rounding up of these gangs of smuggling conspirators and sending them to prison.

**GIRL'S STORY BARES BIG SMUGGLING PLOT—ALIENS BROUGHT TO MEXICO AND CUBA UNDER FALSE PLEDGE OF ENTRY TO UNITED STATES**

[By Robert T. Small]

[Special dispatch to The Star]

NEW YORK, March 11.—Cruelties practiced in the "bootlegging" of immigrants into the United States have stirred the immigration authorities here into an appeal to Washington to make a thorough investigation into the subject.

The plight of a young Italian girl, Marlo Matalizio, who is about to be deported because she arrived here after the Italian quota had been closed until next July 1, has pointed the necessity of the new inquiry which may be extended to European countries where the bootlegging plots are formed.

It is not alone the violation of United States laws which has aroused the ire of the officials, but the hardships of the innocent victims of the plots.

**LEFT TO SHIFT FOR SELVES**

Virtually all of the immigrants from Europe who find their way into the United States over the Mexican and Canadian borders pay for what they believe will be direct passage into New York City. After their money has been taken by the schemers they are herded together in all manner of unfit vessels and dumped mostly in Cuba or in Mexico and left in a majority of cases to find their own way as best they can to the hoped-for promised land.

Both in Mexico and in Cuba they are frequently arrested for violation of the immigrant laws in those countries or for the petty thefts they are compelled to commit to eke out a miserable existence.

Mario's story has bared an immense immigration swindle. It has been known for a long time that "bootlegging" was in effect, but the villainy of the system has been lost to sight in the consideration of technical violation of the Federal laws committed by each and every one of the ignorant sufferers who have tolled their way into America after having been dumped onto an unfriendly coast.

**SMUGGLING OF ORIENTALS**

Now, an attempt will be made by an appeal to foreign countries to stop the fraud on the other side of the water. Orientals long have been smuggled into the country, at so much per head. In their cases the American authorities have wasted no sympathy, for the immigrants were party to the fraud. With the European immigrants there is a difference.

More than six months ago Maria's brother, Giacomo, who lives in Detroit, sent for her to come from their old home in Italy. He sent her plenty of money to pay for accommodations in the steerage and on the trains. He also sent for her in plenty of time to come within the Italian restriction quota.

Maria was happy when she received the invitation to go out to America and the money for her passage. Her joy was such that she told all the village. Immediately there were volunteers to tell her what to do. Her brother had given her instructions, but the new friends insisted he was out of date. They would look after her. She fell into the hands of schemers and gave them her money.

**KEPT AT ST. NAZAIRE**

Maria was sent to St. Nazaire, France. That was where the first American soldiers landed in France. In St. Nazaire the girl met several score of her fellow countrymen, all waiting for passage to America on the "big huer" which had been promised them. They were kept waiting there until after Christmas. By that time the Italian quota in America had dwindled to the vanishing point.

The emigrants were housed in squalid quarters and fed barely enough to keep them alive. At last, after many protestations from them, they were bundled together and placed on board an old freighter, a tramp steamship, and, instead of setting out for New York, as they supposed, they landed in Vera Cruz. The girl told pitifully of how all the miserable hundred gathered on deck at sight of land and looked in vain for the Statue of Liberty, which all had been told was to be the beacon of their new life.

Shoed ashore in Vera Cruz and left to their own resources, some of the immigrants were deported by the Mexican authorities. Others escaped, among them Marla, and got as far as Monterey, where they were arrested. From Monterey Maria got word to her brother in Detroit. He arranged for her release and she was shipped to New York.

There is room for no more Italians this fiscal year, however, and Maria, tearful, is waiting to be sent away. She has a brother in Cuba and will go there until the laws permit her once more to enter America to stay.

#### THE PERIL OF DIVERSE RACES

Doctor Davie, of Yale University, an eminent economist, in his work "A Constructive Immigration Policy," has this to say about diverse races:

Our own history, as well as the history of other countries, offers many examples of the serious difficulties that arise when members of very diverse races come into intimate contact. We can not assimilate the yellow, brown, and black races. Experience shows that they are unassimilable, and we should only be inviting trouble and adding to our already large and serious race problems by admitting members of such races. Their exclusion is indispensable to the welfare of the United States, and its range should be extended rather than curtailed.

With a Negro population in excess of 10,000,000, was it an unfair and detrimental discrimination to place a limit on the large and increasing influx of Africans and West Indian blacks? While the minority reports state that last year 476,000 workers were drawn from the South into the manufacturing centers of the North, no mention is made of the very large percentage of this migratory element that return to the South. This does not, in my opinion, offer a serious condition as the minority has expressed it. The Negro is essentially a tropical individual, unused to northern latitudes, and with the first rigors of winter scurry back to the South in large numbers.

There must be homogeneity of its people if this country is to endure. The future depends upon the education of all who are here. For their welfare restriction of immigration is necessary.

#### WILL ENGLISH BECOME A DEAD LANGUAGE

There are in the coal and iron regions of Pennsylvania and other sections of the country colonies of aliens where the English language is never spoken. In the districts of Hazleton, Wilkes-Barre, Mauch Chunk, Pottsville, and Pittsburgh there are large groups of aliens who can never become identified with our civilization. They are not assimilable.

There are cities of New England of more than 100,000 population, of which only about 50 per cent are English speaking. In many industrial cities there are more people of foreign extraction than persons of native stock. In Cleveland, Ohio, for example, only 25 per cent of the population are native born of native parents, and this includes about 30,000 negroes. And Cleveland is not by any means our most foreign city. This ratio is encroaching upon other cities of the Middle East, South, and Middle West. Does this condition afford no just cause for alarm? Are we to continue an attitude of lethargy in face of these facts?

There are thousands of immigrants admitted every year who are far below the physical standard that should be required to entitle them to admission. The remedy for this situation is the requirement of complete physical examination, with the rejection of those who fall below a certain standard.

Doctor Davie, in his A Constructive Immigration Policy, says:

It has been asserted by some that examination of immigrants abroad is impracticable. The case against the proposal, however, has never been proved. On the other hand, the plan has much to recommend it. Such a plan of checking immigration cases before the voyage is made instead of here would benefit ourselves and be of incalculable value to the prospective immigrants. \* \* \* If inspection of immigrants is carried on abroad, it ought to result in much better selection. The examiners will not be as hurried; nor will they have so many to inspect at any one place as they do now when examina-

tions are made on this side and the majority of the immigrants arriving at one port. The activities of steamship companies in soliciting immigration could be more effectively curtailed through the presence abroad of more immigration officials.

Surgeons of the United States Public Health Service who have made examinations at our ports of entry declare that the best class of immigrants, from the medical point of view, come from northwest Europe, the poorer from the Mediterranean coast and west Asia, and that pronounced deterioration in the general physique of the immigrants has taken place in recent years. If that is so, then the requirements of a physical examination will bear more heavily upon the southern and eastern Europeans.

#### A POSITIVE IMMIGRATION POLICY

Doctor Davie says:

Greater efficiency would be obtained if we adopt a positive immigration policy—place the burden of proof with respect to admissibility upon the immigrant himself instead of upon our immigration officials.

The literacy test has not contributed anything toward a constructive immigration policy. The most effective system is restriction obtained through selection that is stringent. This will make our type of immigrant which will mean, since the immigrant becomes a part of our society, a safeguard against national deterioration or degradation from that source.

It was declared that the literacy test would accomplish, among other things, a material reduction in the total number of immigrants admitted. In the 10 years preceding the adoption of the test in 1917 there were admitted to the United States over 1,500,000 immigrants from 14 years of age, who by their own admission could neither read or write in any language.

In giving to this measure my hearty support, I do so with the feeling that the quota is too high and that some of the provisions of the bill are not stringent enough to prevent the illegal entry of aliens into this country.

#### THE CRIMINAL ELEMENT

The committee on law enforcement of the American Bar Association in a recent report reveals the astounding fact that while the population of the country increased 14.9 per cent from 1910 to 1922, the criminal population increased 16.6 per cent during the same period. If for no other reason, this in itself should be a potential factor in the enactment of this legislation, as a large proportion of criminals are aliens.

Many employers seem to be interested solely in cheap labor. But cheap labor is dearly bought when it results in the cheapening of citizenship. While the economic phases of the subject are important, the social, political, and biological aspects are of greater significance. From such a standpoint the fundamental questions are whether immigration unduly increases our social problems; whether the huge influx of persons alien to such a degree and in so many respects injurious endangers, diminishes, and threatens the community of the Nation, unity of the Nation, and whether what we know as Americans—the things which give this country its special character—shall be lost through the inability of its inhabitants to think and act together. Certainly restrictive immigration would tend to postpone such an event.

#### DENSITY OF POPULATION

Before closing my argument for restriction of immigration there is one other important point to consider. It has often been argued by those who are opposed to restriction that we have not reached the "saturation point" in respect to the density of population and that consequently there is no need to restrict the number of immigrants. This argument appears to be the trump card of all who are opposed to restriction, whether they be selectionists or those in favor of free immigration. These writers and speakers draw our attention to the fact that there are only about 35 persons to the square mile in the United States, whereas in many European countries the density of population amounts to as high as five or six hundred. The density of population of Europe as a whole is probably 125. Why, then, they say, should we be afraid of being overrun with immigrants? We could take care of many millions before our density of population would be raised to that of Europe. Here we are enjoying many advantages owing to the fact that the United States is underpopulated, while in Europe are large numbers struggling desperately in overpopulated countries.

To answer this argument here presented, and to point out the fallacy it contains, we must consider a few of the basic principles involved in the relation of population to land.

Doctor Davie, the eminent economist, says:

The widest and most controlling condition of the status of any group of people is the ratio of their numbers on a given stage of the arts, of life, to the land at their disposal. If the population is low in proportion to the amount of land on a given stage of the arts, life is easy and the competition of man with man is weak.

When more people are trying to live on a square mile than it can support on the existing stage of the arts, life is hard and the competition of man with man is intense. In the former case the average condition will be one of fortune and the population will all be near the average, while in the latter case the average condition will not be one of fortune but the population will cover wide extremes of fortune and misery.

There is evidence that that is taking place in the United States. We still have many advantages over European nations, however, and it is most certainly to our interest to maintain those advantages.

It is true that we can support many additional millions before we shall be as densely populated as Europe; but why should we throw away our heritage? Why should we want to permit this country to be as densely populated as Europe and to suffer all the ills that overpopulation entails? To approach the saturation point of population is clearly undesirable.

Every person who immigrates from Europe to America affects the comparative status of the two continents. It lessens the pressure in the country he leaves and increases it in the country to which he goes.

#### AN UNSATISFACTORY RESULT

It was stated by the Commissioner General of Immigration in 1920:

About the highest results that have been found possible have consisted of the admission to the country of 97 per cent of the aliens applying, and to the exclusion of only about 3 per cent, a ridiculously small proportion in the light of what we know about the character of the immigration that is coming to us.

The law of 1907 lengthened the period of deportation for aliens and made the provisions more strict. The law of 1917 was still more stringent in this respect. From the time the first-mentioned law went into effect until June 30, 1922, we have deported an annual average of about 2,800, which is but a very small proportion of the annual admission.

Prof. Alonzo G. Grace, of the University of Minnesota, in his *Immigration and Community Americanization*, published in 1921, says of the new immigration movement to the United States, that:

It is characterized by the fact that these people go directly to the large cities; they remain there in racial solidarities showing slight voluntary tendency to become American citizens. They do not come in family groups, but the majority consists of single men. This newer immigration is Slavonic and Finnic, for the most part, while the older immigration is Teutonic and Celtic.

The effects of immigration seem to have to a degree awakened the American people to the fact that a serious condition does exist in America. A public opinion has been formed. The sentiment for restriction is confined to those who thoroughly understand the problem—labor unions, penal institutions, relief agencies, associated charities, based upon the following conditions:

1. That the immigrant does not assimilate.
2. That he is not a desirable type.
3. Distribution is poor.
4. Low wages mean a low standard of living.
5. Overpopulation in America.

It is proposed that there be a probationary period for the immigrant so that if within a given time he failed to assimilate he shall be liable to deportation.

#### AMERICA A DUMPING GROUND

There was a time not many years ago when America was regarded as the dumping ground for European undesirables. Paupers, imbeciles, degenerates, criminals were landed on our shores with perfect impunity. A desire for increased population in the development of our wonderful resources blinded us to the true type of people being permitted entry. At last we became concerned and then alarmed and we enacted immigration laws which enabled us to checkmate to a very large extent this constant flow of undesirable aliens. It is unthinkable that we should again return to such conditions by failure to enact this preventive measure. But not until the enactment of the existing law of which the distinguished gentleman from Washington [Mr. JOHNSON] is the author, has the improvement been so marked as to call for expressions of wonderment that such a wholesome and beneficial law had not been put in operation years ago.

If the opponents to this measure have not already done so, I would advise them to read the very instructive work of Dr.

Henry P. Fairchild, of Yale University, entitled "Greek Immigration to the United States." It was written in 1910, long before the World War, and therefore gives a very clear perspective of the conditions existing at that time surrounding the immigration of aliens from southern and eastern Europe. It answers so clearly the arguments offered in opposition to this measure, that the great exodus from these sectors of Europe was due to war conditions, that I am quoting freely from his work in refutation of that iterated and reiterated statement.

#### OUR PROSPERITY AT STAKE

The prosperity of the United States does not depend upon additional unskilled laborers coming to this country. Our industries have survived to the slackened immigration caused by the European war. The United States has had one era of great unemployment during the past 10 years. Our gain in population through natural sources is large—10,000,000 in the period 1910-1920. Some thought must be given to the welfare of the coming generation.

Grace Abbott, director of the Immigrants' Protective League, Chicago, Ill., in her book, *Immigrant and the Community*, says:

At the present time (1917) there is general insistence that the evidence against the immigrant has been strengthened since the new immigration from southern and eastern Europe has so greatly increased. It is urged (1) that the greatly increased numbers that have been coming during the past 20 years have made assimilation impossible, and (2) that the immigrants from southern and eastern Europe are racially less desirable than those from northern and western Europe.

In the Outlook for October 24, 1923, it is stated:

Despite restrictive limitations placed on immigration the figures for the fiscal year 1922-23 show how strongly the law of supply and demand continues to govern the flow of aliens into America. The total immigrant movement was 673,406, of which 522,919 were in the "immigrant alien" classification, while the total outward flow was only 200,586, making the net increase in alien population 422,820. There were twice as many unskilled workers admitted in 1923 than in 1922, the figures being 106,213 and 51,588, respectively. Every week finds the public growing in favor of some form of examination of prospective immigrants in their home countries.

William T. Ellis in the Saturday Evening Post of August 25, 1923, is an article entitled "Americans on Guard," states:

American citizens in Constantinople have watched streams of undesirable immigrants pouring into the United States from the center of Asiatic unrest. They observe thousands of Russians, many of them unquestionably criminals, brought down from Odessa and maintained in Constantinople until sailing day arrives, assisted through passport formalities, and then started for New York.

When various elements in the American community of Constantinople began to get their heads together on the question they had to face practical difficulties. There is no huge fund available for the protection of America against undesirable immigrants, whereas assorted groups that desire to nullify, or evade, or escape the immigration laws have organization, money, and experience.

It is worthy of remark that in a protected investigation of conditions in the Near East I have not met a single American who does not strongly feel that the United States should greatly restrict immigration. Commonly the idea is expressed that 20 years ago the country should have shut her gates. Amazement is shown by these patriots who see the tide of pollution at one of its sources that the Nation is not aroused over the menace to her institutions.

If testimony has any weight with Congress in deciding the immigration question, the evidence of the Americans who know the aliens on their native heath should be conclusive.

To denationalize America, as our existing policy has been doing, is to do the greatest possible disservice to the whole human race.

#### ASYLUM OF THE OPPRESSED

Mr. French Strother, in an article, "The Immigration Peril," which appeared in *World's Work* for October 23, 1923, in part says:

We have chattered about the "asylum of the oppressed" and are waking up to find we live in Bedlam. We have prattled about the "melting pot" and have wakened to find the stomach of the body politic filled to bursting with peoples swallowed whole whom our digestive juices do not digest.

Wise doctors have compounded a prescription called "Americanism" which we are assiduously pouring down our throat in the hope that it will disintegrate these knots that give us such pain and allow us to absorb the meal we have gorged ourselves with.

We hold numerous consultations to determine what "Americanism" is doing to these alien bodies. But what are the aliens doing to America?

In the opinion of many observers—and the World's Work shares that opinion—while the present 3 per cent law is a step in the right direction, it must be radically altered to achieve its purpose more effectively.

1. The number of immigrants allotted to Italy, Poland, Russia, and the Balkan States is still much too high.

2. The percentage of immigrants allowed to countries of Nordic stock is still too low.

According to the census of 1920 there are more than 13,000,000 foreign-born people living in the United States, of which 3,500,000 can not read or write English, and 1,500,000 that can not speak the language.

#### CONCLUSION

This is a type of citizenship to which the West gives greeting. There are opportunities for such a class of people.

Mr. Speaker, I represent a district in Idaho comprising 25 counties, with a population of 300,000 people, engaged in the industries of farming, stock raising, and mining. They are men and women of the highest type of citizenship. They are producers for the common welfare of humanity. You do not find in these great fields of useful endeavor "slackers" of the type to be found in the cities of the East.

We have ample room, but no space for such parasites.

The sturdy, courageous pioneers, who in the face of many obstacles and discouragements founded that territory, have nearly all passed to the great beyond. But they left as a heritage to their sons and daughters, grand and great-grand children the work of development, which has steadily progressed with each succeeding decade until to-day Idaho ranks among the first States in the column of percentages of increased population.

Traveling over my district I am deeply impressed with the comparison of the broad-chested, vigorous men, the buxom women and children, with the ruddy glow of health in their cheeks, to the anemic, underfed, dull-eyed aliens that are rapidly populating the congested cities of the East and usurping the functions of labor, trade, and commerce once under the control of Americans. We do not have to leave the environs of the National Capital to observe these deplorable conditions. There are evidences all about us of this usurpation.

Throughout the section of the great Northwest we prefer quality to quantity in the type of our settlers. Undesirables will find no haven of contentment in our midst.

Southeastern Idaho, one of the richest farming sections in the State, was settled largely by sturdy people from Wales and other countries of northern Europe. From long residence among these people and association with them, I can not pay too high a tribute to their thrift, patriotism, and honesty. They have converted barren wastes of land into fertile, verdant fields; they have builded with undiminished faith in the future of their adopted State; towns and cities have sprung into existence where once roamed at will tribes of savage Indians. As if by magic the whole scene has been changed in 50 years from an arid country of alkali stretches of sage brush and greasewood to a panorama of beautiful landscape and substantial homes.

In other sections of the State there are people of Nordic origin who are easily and quickly assimilated. We offer a hearty welcome to the Scandinavian, English, Irish, and other northern European immigrants. It has been our experience to note that they adapt themselves to our customs, and are frugal, thrifty, intelligent, and successful tillers of the soil; experts in the extraction of precious metals from the earth; experienced horticulturists, and expert stock raisers.

This is a type of citizenship which the West desires. There are opportunities for such a class of people. That they will enter into an earnest desire to develop our resources, not from selfish mercenary motives but from patriotic inspiration and love of country is a conclusion that can not be successfully denied.

They, in conjunction with our native American population, enter into our progress with a spirit of patriotic regard for our civilization and a wholesome desire to uphold our institutions.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud that I represent such a constituency, and am extremely happy in the thought that in supporting this meritorious measure I am voicing their sentiment and fulfilling in the fullest possible measure their hopes and ambitions.

#### DEFERRING OF PAYMENTS ON RECLAMATION PROJECTS

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, I present a privileged report, for printing under the rule, from the Committee on Rules.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

A resolution (H. Res. 223) for the consideration of the bill (S. 1631, entitled "An act to authorize the deferring of payments of reclamation charges."

#### AMENDING THE CLASSIFICATION ACT OF 1923

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, I present from the Committee on Rules another privileged report for printing under the rule.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

A resolution (H. Res. 250) for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 6896) to amend an act entitled "The classification act of 1923," approved March 4, 1923.

#### ENCROACHMENTS OF DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE UPON THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Mr. DICKINSON of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing an analysis of the differences between the Winslow bill and the Ketcham bill.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks on the subject indicated. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. DICKINSON of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me I insert the following statement:

The Department of Agriculture has a great organization of 1,957 in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics working on every phase of agricultural production and the marketing of agricultural products. This organization is directed by 113 experts proficient in each commodity or phase of agricultural production and marketing. These experts are assisted by more than 900 specialists in these various lines. The organization disseminates directly or indirectly to the seven and a half million farmers of this country nearly a million statements yearly affecting the marketing of their products and guiding them in adjusting their production to meet world conditions. About one-third of these statements require accurate information from foreign countries to make them of practical value to the farmer and those handling his products.

The information obtained by the Department of Agriculture from foreign countries is received from the following sources:

	Per cent
(a) Attaché service of the Department of Commerce.....	9
(b) Consular Service of the Department of State.....	21
(c) International Institute of Agriculture, at Rome.....	30
(d) Department of Agriculture experts abroad.....	30
(e) Direct from foreign ministries of agriculture and other agencies.....	10

About 90 per cent of the 9 per cent of information originating with the commercial attachés of the Department of Commerce is of no use to the Department of Agriculture, because it has already been obtained from other sources and is stale by the time it reaches the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

The Department of Commerce now seeks to force the Department of Agriculture out of the foreign field and to make itself supreme, as set forth in the following evidence:

[From hearings on Winslow bill (H. R. 4517), p. 108]

Mr. SHALLENBARGER. I would like to ask Doctor Klein if this section here does not convey to your department supreme authority over the State Department and the Agricultural Department?

Doctor KLEIN. And every other department, so far as economic and commercial investigations and reporting, and the trade promotion and commercial intelligence activities of all officers or employees of the United States are concerned.

Just the extent to which the Department of Commerce would go in its supremacy is indicated by Dr. Alfred P. Dennis, special representative in Europe of the foodstuffs division of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, in his testimony before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee in the hearings on the Winslow bill (H. R. 4517), page 38:

Doctor DENNIS. This man from the Department of Agriculture ought to have been instructed by his chief in Washington that when he got to Berlin he should report to the commercial attaché \* \* \* to find out where he stood.

The spirit of this statement by Doctor Dennis is the old and familiar spirit of those commercially minded toward agriculture. Secretary Wallace calls the attention of the Hon. Walter F. Brown to this same peculiar point of view when Secretary Hoover stated:

The Department of Agriculture should tell the farmer how he can best produce \* \* \*; the Department of Commerce should tell him how he can best dispose of it.

Secretary Wallace said:

The same thought was expressed more crudely on a certain historic occasion when the farmers of North Dakota, who were seeking reform of certain marketing abuses, were told to "go home and slop your hogs." They went home and organized the Nonpartisan League.

This state of affairs is the culmination of a series of encroachments by the Department of Commerce upon the field of the Department of Agriculture beginning May 7, 1921. At this time the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce asked for \$250,000 for the establishment of industrial divisions. This amount was made available by the second deficiency appropriation act under the title "Export industries." At the hearings on this deficiency bill, when Secretary Hoover was asked if these agencies will have to do solely with manufactured products, he replied, "Yes; and products of agriculture." The chairman called his attention to the fact that there was already an agricultural appropriation for that purpose and asked, "It is not intended to duplicate any of the duties performed under that?" Secretary Hoover answered, "No."

For more than 18 years Congress had been watchful to segregate and to keep segregated the functions of the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Commerce. Because, as stated on the floor of the House by Mr. Mann on January 15, 1903, at the time the Department of Commerce was brought into being, this department was created to serve "the enormous interests of our country not engaged in agriculture." A few days later Senator Nelson strengthened this statement by saying upon the floor of the Senate on January 22, 1903, "The Secretary of Commerce will have nothing to do with agriculture."

On August 15, 1921, a foodstuffs division was organized in the Department of Commerce, and E. G. Montgomery, head of the foreign work of the Bureau of Markets of the Department of Agriculture, was taken over by the Department of Commerce and put in charge of the foodstuffs work. Another division that was established about this time was the textile division, which Mr. Hoover himself stated "goes directly into the agricultural field." At this time various phases of these lines of work were being conducted by the Department of Agriculture. Work in cotton and wool had been conducted for more than 10 years and the department's work with the raw materials of foodstuffs, meats, cereals, and other commodities was of still longer duration.

Just two months after the establishment of the foodstuffs division in the Department of Commerce—to be exact, on October 20, 1921—Secretary Hoover made his position clear as to what he proposed to do in the field of agriculture. In a memorandum to the Hon. Walter F. Brown, chairman of the reorganization committee, Secretary Hoover wrote:

Broadly speaking, the functions of the Department of Agriculture relating to soil production should end when the grain, fruit, or animal moves from the farm and the tree moves from the forest, and the Department of Commerce should take up its activities when manufacture, transportation, and distribution begin.

This statement was made on the strength of the act of Congress approved February 14, 1903, creating the Department of Commerce and Labor, which contains this provision:

It shall be the province and duty of said department to foster, promote, and develop the foreign and domestic commerce, the mining, manufacturing, shipping, and fishery industries, the labor interests, and the transportation facilities of the United States.

This statement was made in spite of the fact that Congress, in order to safeguard the interests of the farmer and to keep those interests from being merged into the combines of big business, of industry, and commerce, had by special act (U. S. Stat. L., vol. 19, p. 241) struck the word "Agriculture" out of the act under which the Bureau of Statistics was operating before it was merged into the Department of Commerce and Labor in 1903.

Since 1914, with the establishment of the Bureau of Markets, the will of Congress has been that the great industry of agriculture, occupying about a third of the population of these United States, should be served not only with regard to statistical information, but more than that, with regard to its marketing and economic problems, by its own organ, the Department of Agriculture, and that all other industries not engaged in agriculture should be served by the Department of Commerce. In spite of this attitude of Congress, Secretary Hoover, in his memorandum of October 20, charged the Department of Agriculture with duplicating the work of the Department of Commerce, and suggested excluding the Department of Agriculture from the field of agricultural marketing and market reporting. His statement was:

\* \* \* duplication is admitted, and it is recognized that it should be obviated by imposing the performance of the duties mentioned upon one department to the exclusion of the other.

Just three months after this statement by the Secretary of Commerce—to be exact, on January 25, 1922—the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce came before the Subcommittee on Appropriations for the Departments of Commerce and Labor and asked for the addition of 17 new divisions and 119 new men under this same appropriation, entitled "Export industries."

I, myself, sat on that committee under the chairmanship of Mr. SHREVE. The committee saw the danger of the expansion of the commodity divisions and the possibility of encroaching upon the functions of the Department of Agriculture.

In order to satisfy us that no such encroachment was intended the chairman made the following statement to Doctor Klein, who was appearing before the committee for the Department of Commerce:

The last agricultural act provides:

"For collecting, compiling, abstracting, analyzing, summarizing, interpreting, and publishing data relating to agriculture, including crop and livestock estimates, acreage, yield, gross stocks, and value of farm crops, and numbers, grades, and value of livestock and livestock products on farms in cooperation with the States Relations Service and other Federal, State, and local agencies, \$300,000: *Provided*, That not less than \$50,000 shall be used for collecting and disseminating to American producers, importers, exporters, and other interested persons information relative to the world supply of and need for American agricultural products, marketing methods, conditions, prices, and other factors, a knowledge of which is necessary to the advantageous disposition of such products in foreign countries independently and in cooperation with other branches of the Government, State agencies, purchasing and consuming organizations, and persons engaged in the transportation, marketing, and distribution of farm and food products, including the purchase of such books and periodicals as may be necessary in connection with this work."

Mr. SHREVE then asked:

Is that not a conflict with the work of your division?

Doctor Klein replied:

On the surface it might seem a conflict.

It has been recognized, I think, that the exportation of such commodities as those enumerated here to foreign markets involves a study of general commercial practices, involves a familiarity with the trading abroad, and a study of such topics as tariff, transportation methods, merchandising methods in general, which places functions of that description distinctly within the field of the Department of Commerce.

The question of duplication came up, and Doctor Klein assured us that there was "None whatever." (Page 186, hearings, Departments of Commerce and Labor appropriations bill, 1923.)

Five months later, June 30, 1922, the closest cooperation existed between the two departments, according to Doctor Klein's own report:

It is desirable for the division to keep in close contact with the Department of Agriculture, whose officials have organized machinery for collecting official reports as to world crops.

Five and a half months later, November 14, 1922, Doctor Klein appeared before the Subcommittee on Appropriations for the Departments of Commerce and Labor and stated that although the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce was working in the field of agriculture, the work they were doing did not in any way conflict with that being done by the Department of Agriculture. His statement was:

The survey which was made by our staff on the wheat situation in Europe came out in the papers yesterday, I think, and is very comprehensive. It did not in any way duplicate reports made by the Department of Agriculture. We undertake to analyze the subject as a commercial proposition—its bearing on our trade in foodstuffs, agricultural implements, etc.

Up to this time whenever the Department of Commerce came before the Congress and asked for appropriations to expand their work involving agricultural questions, the claim was made that their proposed expansion would not infringe upon the functions of the Department of Agriculture.

#### THE CRUDE RUBBER APPROPRIATION

The agricultural work of the Department of Commerce was but feebly established by the end of 1922. The great expansion of agricultural activities was accomplished with a large part of the moneys appropriated by Congress for an investigation of crude rubber in 1923.

On the 15th of February, 1923, the President of the United States transmitted to the Committee on Appropriations an estimate of an appropriation for the Department of Commerce, including the following item—"Investigating sources of crude rubber, \$500,000":

The detailed objects of expenditures and explanations:

"Investigating sources of crude rubber: To enable the Department of Commerce, through the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, to investigate and report upon the possibilities of developing the rubber plantation industry in the Philippine Islands, South and Central America, Mexico, and other near-by territories, and related problems in the development of trade of the United States with Latin America, including personal services in the District of Columbia and elsewhere; and all other necessary expenses in connection therewith, \$500,000, to remain available until June 30, 1924: *Provided*, That such amount as the President may in his discretion direct, not exceeding \$100,000, shall be made available to the Department of Agriculture for experimentations with the cultivation of rubber trees in the Philippine Islands and elsewhere (submitted), \$500,000."

At the hearings before the deficiency appropriation committee, third deficiency bill, 1923, page 489 and following, statements were made by the Hon. Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce; Mr. Claudius H. Houston, Assistant Secretary; Dr. Julius Klein, Director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Department of Commerce; Hon. Henry C. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture; Dr. O. F. Cook, Department of Agriculture; and Lieut. B. R. Morton, United States Army.

The following is the testimony pertaining to the wording and purpose of the appropriation as given in the public hearing before the Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations in charge of deficiency appropriations on February 17, 1923.

Secretary Hoover called attention to price combinations in rubber and the related problems in the development of the foreign trade of the United States in nitrates, sisal, coconut oil, and cocoa, and he suggested that the phrasing be broadened a little so that "we could make an investigation into several of these combinations":

Secretary HOOVER. We are faced not only with combinations in rubber, but we are faced with combinations in nitrates. We are faced with a combination in sisal for farmers. We are faced with a combination, or various tendencies toward a combination to grow, in coconut oil and attempts to consolidate the cocoa industry. I had in mind that perhaps a single word here might enable this appropriation to be broadened out to where we could make an investigation into several of those combinations, because the time has come when we must prepare for some sort of national defense as against this price control. (P. 496, hearings before Subcommittee of House Committee on Appropriations, third deficiency bill, 1923.)

The phrasing was "broadened a little," and the words "related problems in agriculture" occur. When Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee made his speech upon the floor of the House explaining the purpose of the act his only reference to agriculture was the influence of price combinations in nitrates.

Mr. Chairman, the analogy between British control and monopoly of rubber and nitrates is most striking. \* \* \* It must be conceded that of the two nitrates are vastly more important because they are essential in agriculture and are necessary in food production. (Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, February 24, 1923, vol. 64, pt. 5, 67th Cong., 4th sess., p. 4521.)

And now the Department of Commerce admits that the money appropriated to investigate sources of crude rubber was employed to build up a skeleton organization in the Department of Commerce to make an exhaustive investigation of agriculture.

When Congress gave us that money last March we immediately proceeded to spend it, not for extravagant trips by experts to this and that and the other corner of the globe; we simply installed a number of men here who knew this trade, like Mr. Hemmett, who had been in the Kansas department of agriculture for a number of years, and a number of others of that sort; and they collected this material.

In the case of farm products, we have at least a dozen of them (agricultural commodity experts) in the department right now. We want more, by all means. (Dr. Julius Klein, hearings, H. R. 4517, pp. 64-65, 1924.)

The wording of the crude rubber law is:

Investigating sources of crude rubber: To enable the Department of Commerce to investigate and report upon the possibilities of developing the rubber-plantation industry in the Philippine Islands and Latin America; to investigate the conditions of production and marketing of other essential raw materials for American industries, including nitrates

and sisal; and to investigate related problems in the development of the foreign trade of the United States in agricultural and manufactured products, including personal services in the District of Columbia and elsewhere; and all other necessary expenses in connection therewith, \$500,000, to remain available until June 30, 1924: *Provided*, That of this sum such amount as the President may in his discretion direct, not exceeding \$100,000, shall be made available to the Department of Agriculture for such exploration of rubber-producing plants in the United States, the Philippine Islands, and elsewhere as may be found advisable. \* \* \* (Urgent deficiency appropriation act, approved March 4, 1923, H. R. 14408; Public, No. 543, ch. 292, U. S. Stat. L., p. 1536.)

In view of this wording the Department of Commerce claims that it is authorized to undertake the complete direction of agricultural surveys throughout the world and that the Department of Agriculture should obtain the consent of the Department of Commerce before undertaking investigations of agriculture in foreign countries.

If the Department of Agriculture has the desire to send somebody to Germany and feels that it is not getting from the Department of Commerce—and I would rather emphasize the necessity of their consulting the department first to find out what is already available on the subject before sending anyone out—but if they still feel that the information is not available in Washington that then their representatives should be instructed to report to the Department of Commerce representative, the commercial attaché, who will endeavor to coordinate his work with the work of any other representative. (Dr. Julius Klein, Hearings H. R. 4517, p. 40, 1924.)

The Department of Commerce now attempts to make itself "supreme" over the Department of Agriculture in foreign countries, and Mr. WINSLOW has introduced a bill into Congress, according to which—

The officers of the foreign commerce service shall—

(a) ——— (b) investigate and report upon ——— economic ——— aspects of agriculture ——— forestry, etc., (c) ———, (d) direct ——— the economic ——— investigations and reporting of all other officers and employees of the United States. (H. R. 7034, 68th Cong., 1st sess., February 20, 1924.)

In a broad sense the organic law bringing the department into existence delegates the investigation of economic conditions of agriculture to the Department of Agriculture, according to the following—

to acquire and diffuse among the people of the United States useful information on subjects connected with agriculture in the most general and comprehensive sense of the word.

In a specific sense many appropriation acts beginning with 1883 have authorized the Department of Agriculture to conduct the economic investigations in agriculture in foreign countries relative to world supply and need for American agricultural products.

In 1924 the Department of Commerce asked for another crude-rubber appropriation in order, I believe, that it may make permanent the agricultural reporting work that it began under the rubber appropriation last year. The text of this item was—

#### INVESTIGATING SOURCES OF CRUDE RUBBER

To enable the Department of Commerce to investigate and report upon the possibilities of developing the rubber-plantation industry in the Philippine Islands and Latin America; to investigate the condition of production and marketing of other essential raw materials for American industries, including nitrate and sisal; and to investigate related problems in the development of foreign trade of the United States in agricultural and manufactured products, including personal services in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, traveling and subsistence expenses of officers and employees, purchase of necessary furniture and equipment, stationery, and supplies, typewriting, adding and computing machines, accessories and repairs, medical supplies and first-aid outfits, books of reference, periodicals, reports, documents, plans, specifications, manuscripts, and all other publications, rent outside of the District of Columbia, and all other incidental expenses not included in the foregoing (act Mar. 4, 1923, vol. 2, p. 1536, sec. 1) (submitted), \$125,000. (From "The Budget, 1925," p. 276.)

The appropriation subcommittee on commerce, as soon as they realized that the Department of Commerce was engaged in agricultural work under the wording contained in this act, struck out the words "in agricultural and manufactured products," because they considered that the interpretation of this wording by the Department of Commerce was not proper and because the work they were doing was throwing two great departments of this Government into conflict. The fact that the Bureau of the Budget passed favorably on this item of \$125,000 has made it impossible for the Department of Agriculture to get adequate funds for carrying on its own rubber investigation.

## EXPORT INDUSTRIES

The greatest obstructions to the proper development of the foreign agricultural work of the Department of Agriculture are the division of foodstuffs, the textile division—which, as Secretary Hoover states, “goes right into the field of agriculture”—and the agricultural division, which was originated with money obtained last year for the crude-rubber investigation, and is to be perpetuated this year under the above estimate or with funds to be made available through another appropriation entitled, “Export industries, Department of Commerce,” for which an increase of \$180,000 is asked.

## EXPORT INDUSTRIES, DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

[The Budget, 1925, p. 271]

To enable the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce to investigate and report on domestic as well as foreign problems relating to the production, distribution, and marketing in so far as they relate to the important export industries of the United States:

Total amount to be appropriated under each head of appropriation	\$680,000
Amount appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1924	550,000

I do not wish to appear to take the attitude of belittling the legitimate work of the Department of Commerce. There is a vast amount of good work being done. But I can not help the feeling that Secretary Hoover is not unselfishly considering the welfare of the agricultural interests of this country when he asks Congress to appropriate money to enable him to develop his personal hobbies. Secretary Hoover knows a great deal about foodstuffs. He is deeply interested in foodstuffs. But, aside from the fact that a foodstuffs specialist is at the head of the department, what logical reason is there for developing a foodstuffs division or an agricultural division in the Department of Commerce that was created to serve the great interests of this country not engaged in agriculture. There is more than enough in the fields of these great interests to keep Secretary Hoover and his entire department busy. Several of these fields are being left undeveloped because such a large force in the Department of Commerce is engaged in duplicating work that is being done in the Department of Agriculture.

In order to crystallize this steady series of encroachments of the past three years into organic law the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce has reported out favorably the Winslow bill, H. R. 4517. The author of H. R. 4517 quite naturally took as a basis for this bill the original act creating the Department of Commerce and Labor, which provides—

It shall be the province and duty of said department to foster, promote, and develop the foreign and domestic commerce, the mining, manufacturing, shipping, and fishery industries, the labor interests, and the transportation facilities of the United States.

According to this act the Department of Commerce shall foster mining, manufacturing, shipping, labor, and transportation.

To these legitimate functions of the Department of Commerce the authors of the bill have added agriculture and forestry as well as finance and legislation, as appears in paragraph (b), section 2, of H. R. 4517, as follows:

The officers of the foreign commerce service shall—

(b) Investigate and report upon economic, commercial, and industrial conditions and activities in foreign countries and economic and commercial aspects of agriculture, manufacturing, mining, forestry, shipping, transportation, finance, labor, and legislation, and of all other activities in foreign countries which may be of economic, commercial, or industrial interest to the United States.

## KNOWLEDGE SPELLS CONTROL

Those having accurate information of the world situation in agriculture control the destinies of American agriculture. The question is: Shall the agricultural interests of America pass the control of their industry to the Department of Commerce?

I am of the opinion that the attitude taken by the Department of Commerce is indefensible and not in the best interests of American agriculture. The time has come to limit the encroachments of the department into the field of agriculture, and put a stop to the building up in the Department of Commerce an organization to do agricultural work that is already being done or can be done efficiently by the Department of Agriculture.

In this opinion I am supported by every farm organization of national repute, save one.

To Members of Congress:

We realize that representatives of the Department of Commerce and representatives of the Department of State can be of great service in cooperating with the representatives of the Department of Agri-

culture in gathering agricultural information. We believe there should be full cooperation between these three departments.

For reasons set forth we urge the amendment of the Winslow bill (H. R. 4517) as follows:

That paragraph (b), section 2, be amended by eliminating the word “agriculture” in line 8 and the word “forestry” in line 9.

Signed by:

L. J. Taber, master National Grange; T. C. Atkeson, Washington representative of the Grange; C. S. Barrett, president Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America; F. J. Haganbarth, president National Wool Growers' Association, by S. W. McClure; A. M. Loomis, secretary American Dairy Federation and secretary National Dairy Union; Geo. C. Jewett, general manager American Wheat Growers' Association; Chas. W. Holman, secretary National Cooperative Milk Producers' Federation, and secretary National Board of Farm Organizations; Chester Davis, commissioner of agriculture, State of Montana; Western Tariff Association, by S. W. McClure, manager; Pendleton Commercial Association, by S. R. Thompson, chairman agricultural committee, also president of Oregon Export League; Chas. E. Hearst, president Iowa State Farm Bureau, Des Moines; George E. Duis, North Dakota Wheat Growers' Association, Grand Forks, N. Dak.; W. L. Stockton, Clarkston, Mont., president Montana State Farm Bureau; Carl Gunderson, South Dakota Wheat Growers' Association, Mitchell, S. Dak.; G. P. Mix, Moscow, Idaho; T. C. Winn, Nephi, Utah; A. R. Shumay, Milton, Oreg., Oregon Wheat Growers' Association; Hubert Egbert, president Farmers' Union, The Dalles, Oreg.; A. Sykes, president Corn Belt Meat Producers' Association.

## ADJOURNMENT

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned, in accordance with the order previously made, until to-morrow, Sunday, April 6, 1924, at 11 o'clock a. m.

## EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

427. Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a reply to House Resolution 51, which states the most favorable terms and conditions on which the Government of the United States can secure title to the land set aside in the plan for a civic center adopted by the city of Kenosha, Wis., as a site for a new Federal building in that city, was taken from the Speaker's table and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

## REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. FULLER: Committee on Invalid Pensions. S. 5. A bill granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil and Mexican Wars and to certain widows, former widows, minor children, and helpless children of said soldiers and sailors, and to widows of the War of 1812, and to certain Indian war veterans and widows, and to certain Spanish War soldiers, and certain maimed soldiers, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 463). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. ZIEHLMAN: Committee on the District of Columbia. H. R. 3220. A bill to amend section 196 of the Code of Law for the District of Columbia; without amendment (Rept. No. 464). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. SNELL: Committee on Rules. H. Res. 223. Providing for the consideration of S. 1631, to defer payments of reclamation charges; without amendment (Rept. No. 465). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. SNELL: Committee on Rules. H. Res. 250. Providing for the consideration of House bill 6896, amending the classification act of 1923; without amendment (Rept. No. 466). Referred to the House Calendar.

## CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Under clause 2 of Rule XXII, the Committee on Pensions was discharged from the consideration of the bill (H. R. 6102) granting a pension to Fanny M. Hubbard, and the same was referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

## PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BLACK of Texas: A bill (H. R. 8457) to increase limit of cost of the public building at Paris, Tex., and to authorize an enlargement of the building, so as to provide for the United States courts and other Government offices; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8458) for the erection of a public building at Atlanta, Tex., and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8459) providing for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Cooper, Tex.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. REED of West Virginia: A bill (H. R. 8460) to enable the Rock Creek and Potomac Parkway Commission to improve the parkway entrances; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. WURZBACH: A bill (H. R. 8461) for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Kenedy, State of Texas; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. SUTHERLAND: A bill (H. R. 8462) for the care of certain insane persons in the Territory of Alaska; to the Committee on the Territories.

By Mr. CRISP: A bill (H. R. 8463) to amend the tariff act of 1922 by placing ammonium sulphate on the free list; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. REED of West Virginia: A bill (H. R. 8464) to establish a board of public welfare in and for the District of Columbia, to determine its functions, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. LANGLEY: A bill (H. R. 8465) to authorize an appropriation to enable the Director of the United States Veterans' Bureau to provide additional hospital facilities; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. KOPP: A bill (H. R. 8466) to provide for the erection of a public building on ground already acquired at Fairfield, Iowa; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8467) for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Mount Pleasant, Iowa; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. CARTER: Resolution (H. Res. 249) authorizing the Committee on Indian Affairs of the House, or a subcommittee thereof, to investigate the administration of Indian affairs in the State of Oklahoma; to the Committee on Rules.

## PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ABERNETHY: A bill (H. R. 8468) providing for the examination and survey of North River, N. C.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8469) providing for the examination and survey of Newport River, N. C.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. BECK: A bill (H. R. 8470) granting an increase of pension to Mary D. Brown; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BROWNE of New Jersey: A bill (H. R. 8471) for the relief of Bertha Newton Rich; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CULLEN: A bill (H. R. 8472) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth V. Conklin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FULBRIGHT: A bill (H. R. 8473) granting a pension to Pollie Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GIBSON: A bill (H. R. 8474) granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Waitman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8475) granting an increase of pension to Lizzie E. Streeter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HAWLEY: A bill (H. R. 8476) granting a pension to Caroline Good; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. KOPP: A bill (H. R. 8477) for the relief of Mattie S. Wheeler; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. McKEOWN: A bill (H. R. 8478) for the relief of A. W. Holland; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan: A bill (H. R. 8479) for the relief of the Ann Arbor Railroad Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. PERLMAN: A bill (H. R. 8480) granting a pension to Joseph J. Newton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SUTHERLAND: A bill (H. R. 8481) for the relief of certain Indian policemen in the Territory of Alaska; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee: A bill (H. R. 8482) granting a pension to Thomas E. Duncan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8483) granting an increase of pension to Katie Thompson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. TINCHER: A bill (H. R. 8484) granting an increase of pension to Matilda Tedlock; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. TINKHAM: A bill (H. R. 8485) for the relief of Joseph Rale; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. VESTAL: A bill (H. R. 8486) granting a pension to Lillie M. Hamilton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

## PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

2197. By the SPEAKER (by request): Petition of members of the National Woman's Party, protesting against the discrimination against women in the adjusted compensation act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

2198. By Mr. ANDREW: Petitions of the De Valera Association of Massachusetts, protesting against the confinement of Eamon de Valera and Austin Stack by the English Government and urging that the President of the United States represent to English officials that in justice this Nation seeks the speedy release of said prisoners; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

2199. By Mr. GALLIVAN: Petition of representative business and professional men of Boston and vicinity, Willard de Lue, secretary, adopted at a meeting held at the Boston City Club, March 17, 1924, concerning the imprisonment in Ireland of Hon. Eamon de Valera; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

2200. Also, petition of the De Valera Associates of Massachusetts, Miss Mary T. Keohane, 20 Tuttle Street, Dorchester, Mass., secretary, adopted at a recent meeting concerning the imprisonment in Ireland of Hon. Eamon de Valera; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

2201. By Mr. GARNER of Texas: Petition of North Dakota Wheat Growers' Association, favoring the passage of the McNary-Haugen export corporation bill; to the Committee on Agriculture.

2202. By Mr. HUDSON: Petition of the Detroit Methodist Ministers' Association, of Detroit, Mich., favoring the just increase of salaries for postal employees; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

2203. Also, petition of the citizens of Flint, Mich., favoring the stronger enforcement of all immigration laws of the United States; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

2204. Also, petition of the citizens of Flint, Mich., urging a more drastic restriction of immigration legislation and that the quota of 1890 be used as a basis for determining the number of aliens to be admitted from each country; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

2205. By Mr. KING: Petition of citizens of Cuba, Ill., and vicinity, in favor of establishing free shooting grounds and game refuges; to the Committee on Agriculture.

2206. By Mr. LINDSAY: Petition of Dan A. Dooley, asking that Congress give favorable consideration to "a forgotten debt," as shown on the records of the War Department, that the governor general at Manila was ordered to give to the men who served beyond their enlistment period full travel pay to place of enlistment, as provided for by law, and, in addition, to give them free transportation to San Francisco, Calif.; that President McKinley later told returning soldiers the money was due them, and that it would be paid, this being in 1899; that it has never been paid; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

2207. By Mr. MacGREGOR: Petition of citizens of Buffalo, N. Y., favoring the McNary-Clarke reforestation bill; to the Committee on Agriculture.

2208. Also, petition of citizens of Buffalo, N. Y., favoring drastic immigration laws; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

2209. By Mr. MEAD: Petition of National Restaurant Association, re tariff on sugar; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

2210. By Mr. MORROW: Petition of citizens of Hatch, N. Mex., favoring drastic restriction of immigration; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

2211. By Mr. NEWTON of Minnesota: Petition of Central Bearcat Post, No. 475, American Legion, of Minneapolis, favoring an immediate and open review of all cases of service men now serving in prisons of the United States growing out of convictions during the late war, and that representatives of leading

service men's organizations be afforded the privilege of being present at such hearings; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

2212. By Mr. SCHALL: Petition of Pittsburgh Teachers' Association, Pittsburgh, Pa., sent by Ralph Elliott Blakesless, president, indorsing liberty calendar bill; to the Committee on the Library.

2213. By Mr. TINKHAM: Petitions of citizens of Boston, Maritime Association of the Boston Chamber of Commerce, Military Order of the World War, and the De Valera Associates, of Massachusetts, favoring the release of Eamon de Valera; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

2214. By Mr. WILSON of Indiana: Petition of 114 names of voters of the first district of Indiana, demanding that the quota of 1890 be used as a basis for determining the number of aliens to be admitted from each country to the United States; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SUNDAY, April 6, 1924

The House met at 11 o'clock a. m. and was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore, Mr. COLLIER.

The following prayer was offered by the Rev. Doctor William B. Waller:

O Thou in whom we live and move and have our being, we thank Thee for life with all its privileges and opportunities and for the measure of health and strength Thou hast given us.

May we use these blessings for the good of our fellowmen and for the advancement of Thy Kingdom.

May we profit from the lives of those we remember this day. Bless those that mourn. Fulfill to them Thy promise: "Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted."

We invoke Thy blessing and guidance upon our President, upon Congress, and all in authority.

Enable us all so to live and serve in this life that in the world to come we may have life everlasting; through Jesus Christ, our Friend and our Redeemer. Amen.

### MEMORIAL ADDRESSES ON THE LATE HON. B. G. HUMPHREYS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. To-day has been set apart by special order for addresses on the life and character of the Hon. B. G. HUMPHREYS, late a Representative from the State of Mississippi. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. QUIN] will take the chair.

Mr. QUIN took the chair as Speaker pro tempore.

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolutions, and ask for their immediate consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

#### House Resolution 248

*Resolved*, That the business of the House be now suspended, that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. BENJAMIN GRUBB HUMPHREYS, late a Member of this House from the State of Mississippi.

*Resolved*, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of his distinguished public career, the House, at the conclusion of these exercises, shall stand adjourned.

*Resolved*, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

*Resolved*, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased.

The resolutions were agreed to.

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, death has been busy in the ranks of those elected to the Sixty-eighth Congress. When we met last December we mourned the loss of many here in the House of Representatives and in the Senate of the United States.

To-day we pay a tribute of love and respect to the memory of our late colleague, Hon. BENJAMIN GRUBB HUMPHREYS, of Mississippi. It was my good fortune to have been intimately acquainted with BEN HUMPHREYS. I first met him at the University of Mississippi where we were fellow students. The acquaintance commencing in those early days ripened into a sincere and lasting friendship.

Aside from the magnetic personality which Mr. HUMPHREYS possessed in a remarkable degree, there were many reasons why I should have been attracted toward him even before our acquaintance began. I had so often heard my father speak of his father, who was the commander first of the regiment and afterwards of the brigade in which my father served during the entire period of the Civil War, that I was anxious to meet and to know the son of one for whom my father entertained so much admiration and respect.

We served together in this House for over 14 years, part of the time sharing the same apartment and living at the same hotel.

BENJAMIN G. HUMPHREYS was born in Claiborne County, Miss., on August 17, 1865. His father, Benjamin G. Humphreys, was colonel of the Twenty-first Mississippi Regiment in Barksdale's brigade, and took command of the brigade at Gettysburg after General Barksdale was killed. He was elected Governor of Mississippi October 2, 1865, and exercised the duties of that office until June 15, 1868, when, during the reconstruction period, he was succeeded by Adelbert Ames, of Massachusetts.

BEN HUMPHREYS's mother was Mildred Hickman Maury, of Tennessee. He married Miss Louise Yerger, of Greenville, Miss., on October 9, 1890. He had two children, a daughter, Mrs. Ralph McGee, and a son, WILLIAM YERGER HUMPHREYS, who is now a distinguished Member of this House.

BEN HUMPHREYS had a varied experience in different business occupations. He first engaged in mercantile pursuits, clerking in a store. He then became a commercial traveler.

He was superintendent of education for Le Flore County for four years. Though several years had elapsed since he had been a student at the University of Mississippi, he returned to that institution in order to take up the study of law. He was a presidential elector in 1892 and was selected messenger to bring Mississippi's vote for Cleveland to Washington.

In 1895 he was elected district attorney for the Fourth Circuit Court District of Mississippi for a term of four years, and was reelected without opposition in 1899. During the period of Mr. HUMPHREYS's incumbency of the office of district attorney he took part in several of the most noted criminal prosecutions in the history of Mississippi and soon gained, as a just and fearless representative of the State, an enviable reputation.

When war was declared against Spain in 1898 Mr. HUMPHREYS at once raised a company at Greenwood and offered to resign the office of district attorney, but Gov. A. J. McLaurin refused to accept his resignation, and gave him leave of absence instead.

He served in the Second Mississippi Volunteer Infantry under Gen. Fitzhugh Lee during the entire period of the war, and was mustered out with his regiment at Columbia, Tenn., in December, 1898.

Upon the reorganization of the Mississippi National Guard after the Spanish-American War in 1899 he was commissioned major in the First Mississippi Regiment.

In 1902 he was elected to Congress and was reelected 10 times. He had the distinction of serving in this House for a longer period of time than any other Representative from the State of Mississippi.

Mr. HUMPHREYS came to the House of Representatives rich in the experience of many different vocations in life. In each he had been successful, and the knowledge gained in these various vocations contributed much to his usefulness as a Member of this House.

Mr. HUMPHREYS was a legislator of distinguished ability. Early specializing on all matters connected with river and harbor legislation he soon became an acknowledged authority on such legislation. He was the author of a book on the subject of the "Floods and Levees of the Mississippi River," which is a valuable contribution to the history of Mississippi River legislation.

His tireless efforts in behalf of levee construction and reclamation work were crowned with the most complete success and the completion of the long line of levees controlling the greatest river in the world is a lasting monument to the genius and perseverance of BEN HUMPHREYS.

While Mr. HUMPHREYS's fame as a statesman rests primarily upon the splendid services he rendered to those living in the lower Mississippi Valley, his knowledge of all matters pertaining to general legislation was profound. He was a man of strong convictions and the courageous manner in which he gave utterance to those convictions was superb. No Representative ever tried more to represent the wishes of his constituents. He sought their advice and their counsel at all times, but unmoved alike by public clamor or impulsive appeals, in his quiet, unassuming way he made up his mind and arrived at his conclusion, which once reached, conscious of the wisdom and the rectitude of that conclusion, no consideration of interest, no fear of consequences could move.

When the Committee on Flood Control was created, BEN HUMPHREYS was appointed chairman. During the time he presided over that committee the most important and far-reaching river legislation ever enacted by an American Congress was adopted. Giving full credit to all whom credit is due, I do not believe it can be successfully denied that the