

# THE SURVEY

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## THE SURVEY

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RESOLUTIONS of the International Labor Congress will be published in full in a special supplement with the issue of the SURVEY for December 20.

## THE H. C. OF L. AND THE I. W. W.

ONE of the latest evidences of the far reaching consequences of the well known high cost of living, comes from a strange source. The I. W. W. has lately doubled its membership dues. In an elaborate argument the rise in commodity prices is discussed with an almost bourgeois solicitude. In this respect at least the H. C. L. seems to make the whole world akin!

## THE Y. M. C. A. IN EXPANSIVE MOOD

BOTH at home and abroad, the work of the Y. M. C. A. will considerably expand in the coming year if plans adopted at the recent fortieth international convention of the organization at Detroit can be put into effect. At home, it is intended to raise the total membership to a million, particularly by the establishment of new branches in over seven hundred cities with a population of between five and fifty thousand. In addition, an effort will be made to raise the number of industrial associations to 750 and to reach some 350,000 railroad men not yet enrolled in the organization. To make possible such large extension, it was pointed out that a more democratic control of the state associations was necessary, and a more complete cooperation between local and state associations. Extension work abroad will result chiefly from requests made to the convention by the delegates of eighteen foreign countries for the permanent establishment of Y. M. C. A. activities. These countries include France, Italy, Greece, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Turkey, Armenia, Hadjez, Peru, and a number of French, Italian and Greek colonies on the Mediterranean coast.

## AN IMMIGRATION PROGRAM

TO hold a conference on as controversial a subject as immigration, following a world war, in the midst of industrial and social unrest, and in a community wherein a strike is being waged, was a courageous undertaking, and yet Sidney L. Gulick of the National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation was successful in planning and holding such a conference in the City of Pittsburgh, November 12-14, in connection with the World Christian Citizenship Conference of the National Reform Association.

In the conference papers and in the discussions the whole gamut of varied opinion was run from the statement of Francis Tyson of the University of Pittsburgh, that immigration was entirely an economic matter and that the tariff could be made the vehicle of higher standards of living for the workmen of America and thus indirectly for the immigrant; to that of the Rev.

of God, not cattle, and not to be fitted in as parts of an industrial machine.

The conference showed especial interest in the paper of Matthew Woll of the American Federation of Labor. The federation, he asserted, had always and would always be favorable to America as an asylum for religious and political refugees. It had no objection to a proper volume of immigration, following a real demand for labor; but it did object to immigration continuing after the deficit in Labor had been met. He charged that the large volume of immigration had been due to stimulation by selfish interests, and that the failure in the Americanization of the immigrant was due to the corporate interests who feared that, if Americanized, the immigrant would be won over to organized labor.

Two opposite views—that the serious menace of an undigested alien group calls for a complete stoppage of immigration, and that the attempt of labor to secure a dominant position should be met with unrestricted immigration—were in evidence, throughout the sessions. The same psychological differences which marked the failure of the President's first industrial conference in Washington were present in this immigration conference; it was saved, however, by the constructive report of the commission appointed by the National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation and the National Reform Association.

The American section of the report stated that legislation dealing with the immigrant should be based on justice and good will as well as economic and political considerations; that immigration should be restricted to the number that can be steadily employed, and "wholesomely" Americanized; that the American standards of living should be protected from dangerous economic competition; and that better machinery should be devised for distribution, naturalization and care and protection of immigrants.

An immigration commission to consist of the secretary of labor, the secretary of commerce, the United States commissioner (or secretary) of education, a representative nominated by organized labor, another by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and a sixth person—the last three to be appointed by the President—was recommended.

The report recognized the right of all immigrants who qualify to become citizens regardless of race, but advocated regulation of the volume of immigration upon a percentage basis of those of each race who have already become "Americanized."

In the international section the commission recommended an international bureau of migrations, to be organized by the League of Nations, by a private foundation, or by an international conference to be called by the President of the United States.

At the Americanization luncheon, held in connection with the conference, sentiment was strong in favor of a day to be set apart for the admission into citizenship, not only of the foreign born, but of the native born, both men and women. It was further suggested that the part of the judiciary in granting the papers should be lessened and the part of the school be increased; the granting by the school of a diploma for citizenship, to be a part of the formality. The federal judge, and not other officials, should grant the admission.

The conference passed a resolution to the effect that the National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation and the National Reform Association with the indorsement of as many civic organizations as possible, should draw up a memorial to be presented to the League of Nations, requesting the constitution and

## NEW VARIETIES OF CENSORSHIP

THE suppression of the Seattle Union Record, the arrest of its editors and directors on charges based on the espionage law, and the arrest of the editor of the Business Chronicle, an extreme anti-union

*Extract from editorial in the Business Chronicle of the Pacific Northwest, printed as a full page advertisement in the Seattle Post-Intelligencer of November 18.*

WE must smash every un-American and anti-American organization in the land. We must put to death the leaders of this gigantic conspiracy of murder, pillage and revolution. We must imprison for life all its aiders and abettors of native birth. We must deport all aliens.

The Non-Partisan League, the so-called Triple Alliance in the State of Washington, the pro-German Socialists, the closed shop unions, the agitators, malcontents, anarchists, syndicalists, revolutionists, traitors, the whole motley crew of Bolshevists and near-Bolshevists must be outlawed by public opinion and hunted down and hounded until driven beyond the horizon of civic decency.

The administration at Washington has made a mess alike of the affairs of the world and the affairs of the American people. It is simple truth to state that the Federal government in the hands of the present administration is responsible in greater degree than any other single agency for the present chaotic and menacing condition.

*Resolutions adopted on November 18 by employees of the unionized mechanical departments of the Seattle Post-Intelligencer.*

AS members of the several trades unions employed in the production of your newspaper, the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, we make the following representations:

We have been patient under misrepresentation, faithful in the face of slander, long suffering under insult; we have upheld our agreements and produced your paper, even though in so doing we were braiding the rope with which you propose to hang us; day after day we have put in type, stereotyped, printed and mailed calumny after calumny, lie after lie, insult after insult.

Little by little, as our patience seemed to be unbounded, your editorial and business policy has encroached upon and further and further overstepped the bounds, not only of fairness and truth, but decency and Americanism itself. We have even meekly witnessed your unfair and reprehensible campaign of falsehood and ruin result in the suppression of the last medium of honest expression for our cause in Seattle, not only denying our brothers the means of livelihood, but denying us a far greater boon—the American right of a free press.

So long as these things appeared to be a part of your unfair fight against organization—our organizations and others—we have been able to endure them in the hope that at last truth must prevail.

But there must be a limit to all things.

In the page advertisement in the Post-Intelligencer of November 18, 1919, purporting to have been written and paid for by one Selvin, but which had as well have occupied the position in your paper usually taken up by your editorial page, your utter depravity as a newspaper, your shameless disregard of the laws of the land, your hatred of opposition, your reckless policy of appeal to the passions of citizenry, reached depths of malice and malignancy hitherto unbelievable. It is nothing less than excitation to violence, stark and naked invitation to anarchy.

Therefore, Be it

Resolved, By the whole committee of your organized employees in meeting assembled, that if your business management cannot demonstrate its capacity and sagacity, if your editorial directing heads must remain blind to the thing they are bringing us to; if together you cannot see the abyss to which you are leading us—all of us; if you have no more love for our common country than is manifested in your efforts to plunge it into anarchy, then as loyal American citizens—many of us ex-service men who very clearly proved our faith in America and its institutions—we must, not because we are unionists but because we are Americans, find means to protect ourselves from the stigma of having aided and abetted your campaign of destruction.

(Signed) J. W. HERSHEY, chairman,  
John J. Wenner, E. A. Graber, M. Olney,

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN  
23 West 26th Street, New York 10, N. Y.

Enclosed find \$.....for which send the  
literature checked below.

Enclosed find \$.....as a contribution  
to help carry on your work.

Name.....

Address.....

City, Zone, State.....

	Quantity	Amount
HOW TO BECOME AN AMERICAN CITIZEN. Includes a series of questions and answers for applicants who wish to prepare themselves to meet the educational requirements for naturalization. (Single copy: 15¢; 10 for \$1.25.	_____	_____
AN ATTACK ON ORGANIZED LABOR. Folder on labor leaders who are being held for deportation. (Single copy: free; 100 for \$3.00; 200 for \$5.00; 500 for \$10.00)	_____	_____
AN ATTACK ON ALL MINORITIES IN THE UNITED STATES: Folder on leaders of minority groups who are being held for deportation. (Single copy: free. 100 for \$3.00; 200 for \$5.00; 500 for \$10.00)	_____	_____
FIVE MEN ON A HUNGER STRIKE. A folder explaining the reasons for the hunger strike and the results. (Single copy: free; 100 for \$3.00; 200 for \$5.00; 500 for \$10)	_____	_____
STEP-CHILDREN OF A NATION. Pamphlet on the status of Mexican-Americans, report by Isabel Gonzales, Executive Secretary of the Committee to Organize the Mexican People, given at the National Conference for Protection of Foreign Born, held in Cleveland, on October 25 and 26, 1947.	_____	_____
THE SUPREME COURT ON THE BRIDGES CASE. Opinion of Justice Frank Murphy in the Bridges Case. (Single copy 5¢; 500 for \$18.00)	_____	_____
THE SCHNEIDERMAN CASE. Opinion of the United States Supreme Court in the case of William Schneiderman. (Single copy: 10¢. 500 for \$40.00)	_____	_____
LI'L ABNER. A leaflet on discrimination against foreign born. (Single copy: free; 100 for \$3.00; 500 for \$12; 1000 for \$20)	_____	_____
THE LAMP. Monthly newsletter. Subscription: \$1 a year	_____	_____

TOTAL

## "Making Americans"

### A Preliminary and Tentative List of Books

By JOHN FOSTER CARR

Director, Immigrant Publication Society.

There has been a distinct advance during the last two years in the practical character and appeal of the new books published for library and school use in work with the foreign born. But still covers and titles and claims are sometimes deceiving and it is important to observe caution in selection. Many books, advertised as intended for teaching English, civics, and the necessary steps of naturalization, are been prepared without adequate knowledge of the daily life, practical needs, prejudices, psychology of the simple working folk who form the great mass of our foreign born. Often they are neither interesting nor practical. Often, too, they have the handicap of being "preachy"; and sometimes poorly disguise a certain distrust and dislike of the immigrant.

But in spite of the growing list of books, specially prepared and admirably suited for the work, their number is still relatively small and we are obliged to use many easy, informing, interesting books, which, tho not written with the immigrant in mind, may still very well serve his need. Some children's books are capital. But others that are often found on our library shelves, in the foreign department, are too childish to be of any but the most occasional use. Great care should be taken to suit the reader in this respect. It is the frequent experience of a librarian that giving childish books to some of her foreign born readers may mean the entire sacrifice of their interest in library and in books—an interest which may have been captured only with great effort. A few of our immigrant friends, it is true, to find absorbing interest in very childish books. But more often a librarian will be surprised at the pleasure and profit that an unlikely reader will derive from a book that might appear too difficult for him. But it must be really interesting and well illustrated. Most librarians find, I think, that it is better, following the approved custom, to duplicate upon their shelves those books that have proved to be popular and of use—"always out"—than to multiply titles, if

there is a doubt as to their general suitability.

There is an increasing dislike of the word "Americanization." More and more, librarians are beginning to use on their shelves of books for the foreign born the more descriptive and attractive labels "Books About America," "Books on Learning English," Books on Citizenship."

The basis of the following list is, for the most part, thoroly tested library use. I have had the privilege of drawing upon the experience and the lists of the New York Public Library. I have also had the help of the excellent lists issued by the Los Angeles Library School, and of the St. Louis, Detroit, Springfield and Duluth Public Libraries.

The greatest difficulty in preparing such a list is finding books that can be used as second or third books in English. I have included fifteen titles of the best of such books that are available. The choice made of them, and the order in which they should be read to be helpfully progressive in difficulty, will depend upon the intelligence and previous education of the reader, as well as upon his knowledge of English.

Perhaps a warning is in place here against grammars and manuals for learning English thru the medium of a foreign language. Many of them have promising titles. But the greater part of them are poorly prepared and expensive; and even the best are apt to be exceedingly discouraging and of little practical use to the majority of those for whom they are intended; for they require a previous education and a familiarity with the uses of grammars, a patience and a resolution that very few possess. When the purchase of such books is necessary for the few, extreme care should be used in choosing them. But generally speaking, for libraries, as for schools, books using the direct method, simple and well illustrated books in English thruout, are best. It is amazing how popular and successful such books are. A child or a fellow workman can often give all the necessary help over the hard places.

The division of the list into books about the

5607  
24 W. 39<sup>th</sup> St. New York City  
A. H. A.

foreign born, and books for the foreign born has in one respect been arbitrary. Riis's "The Making of an American" is usually more inspiring and helpful to the new comer than Mary Antin's "Promised Land," Rhilbany's "A Far Journey," or Ravage's "An American in the Making" which are especially illuminating to the American interested in knowing about our immigrants: tho Ravage, too, will often appeal to the foreign born reader.

Owing to increased costs of manufacture, the prices quoted are subject to change, so that they cannot in all cases be depended upon.

#### BOOKS ABOUT THE FOREIGN BORN.

##### ABOUT IMMIGRATION AND ITS RESULTING PROBLEMS.

##### ABOUT LIBRARY AND SOCIAL WORK WITH THE FOREIGN BORN.

Abbott, Grace. *The Immigrant and the Community*. Century Co. 1917. \$1.50.

Largely concerned with problems of help. No other book treats so fully or so well the problems of the woman immigrant.

Americanization Conference, Held at Washington, May 12-15, 1919, Proceedings. Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.

A series of addresses on Americanization, including some of importance by practical and successful workers in this field, but none, unfortunately, representing intimately and practically the immigrant's point of view.

Antin, Mary. *The Promised Land*. Houghton Mifflin. 1912. \$1.75.

Extremely interesting and inspiring autobiography of a Jewish girl immigrant. Illuminating for its account of the possibilities of American education. Excellent description of Jewish life in the Russian Pale.

Carr, John Foster. *Immigrant and Library. Italian Helps*. Immigrant Publication Society. 1914. \$.35.

Some five hundred titles of Italian books, fully annotated. Includes list of books about America and American life, and stresses simple useful books on the trades, sciences, etc.

Carr, John Foster, editor. *Library Work with the Foreign Born*. Immigrant Publication Society. 1916-1919. Five booklets, each \$.15.

Some of the People We Work For, By John Foster Carr. A summary survey of library work with the foreign born.

Bridging the Gulf, by Ernestine Rose. Russian Jews and other newcomers.

Winning Friends and Citizens for America, by Eleanor E. Ledbetter. Poles, Bohemians and others.

War's End: The Italian Immigrant Speaks of the Future, By John Foster Carr.

Exploring a Neighborhood: Our Jewish People from Europe and the Orient, by Mary Frank.

Commissioner General of Immigration. *Annual Report*, Year ending June 30, 1919. Superintendent of Documents. Washington, D. C.

Very useful for reference. Contains excellent graphic charts, illustrating important phases of the movement of immigration since 1820.

Commons, John R. *Races and Immigrants in America*. Macmillan. 1917. \$1.50. Out of print, but new edition in preparation for immediate publication.

Popular study, with scientific basis, of problem of immigration. Deals with races and nationalities, their blending in American life, their contributions, their part in our national life. Very useful handbook. Contains large amount of important information.

Crawford, Ruth. *The Immigrant in St. Louis*. School of Social Economy, St. Louis. 1916. \$.50.

Useful and enlightening as a model of what a brief and practical survey should include.

Foreign Book Lists. American Library Association. 1907-1913. \$.25 each.

Lists of recommended books—some with annotations—in German, Hungarian, French, Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish.

Jenks, Jeremiah W. and Lauck, W. Jett. *The Immigration Problem*. Funk & Wagnalls. 1917. \$1.75.

Summary of the voluminous report of the U. S. Immigration Commission: A treasury of information on the subject of the immigration problem. Be sure to get latest edition.

Ravage, Marcus E. *An American in the Making*. Harper. 1917. \$1.40.

A vivid account of the process of becoming an American. Up through the sweat shops of New York's East Side. The story of the author's struggle for an education and his experiences in an American college of the middle west.

Reid, Marguerite, and Moulton, J. G. *Aids in Library Work with Foreigners*. American Library Association. 1912. \$.15.

Very helpful, suggestive, sympathetic. Based upon the experiences of long and successful work.

Rhilbany, Abraham M. *A Far Journey*. Houghton Mifflin. 1914. \$1.75.

Autobiography of a Syrian immigrant. A frank and inspiring story of the possibilities of American life for the newcomer with an ideal purpose. First chapters deal graphically with Syrian life.

#### BOOKS FOR THE USE OF THE FOREIGN BORN AND THEIR TEACHERS.

Bachman, Frank P. *Great Inventors and their Inventions*. American Book Co. 1918 \$.80.

The story of the steam engine, steamboat, locomotive, dynamo, spinning machine, cotton gin, sewing machine, reaper, printing press, telegraph, telephone, aeroplane, submarine, wireless, and of the inventions of Edison. Well and simply told; filled with suggestive ideas.



Baldwin, James. *The story of Liberty*. American Book Co. 1919. \$.80.

A very simple account of the origin and growth of political liberty among English-speaking peoples. Emphasizes the ties of kinship and common interests existing between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Bassett, John Spencer. *The Plain Story of American History*. Macmillan. 1916. \$1.00. Simple, interesting, stressing "human actions."

Beshgeturian, Azniv. *Foreigners' Guide to English*. Immigrant Publication Society. 1914. \$.92 postpaid.

Simple first book in English, prepared by a practical and successful teacher, a former immigrant who understands the difficulties of English for the non-English speaking foreign born, and who from personal experience has learned how to surmount them.

Carpenter, Frank G. *North America*. American Book Co. 1915. \$.72.

Travels through North America with children. Simple and conversational. Farm and city life. The industries of the country.

Carr, John Foster. *Guide to the United States for the Immigrant*. Immigrant Publication Society. 1912-1916. \$.30 each.

Tells him simply in his own language the important facts he needs to know about our country—its life, government, laws, citizenship, the opportunities of America, particularly in agriculture. Yiddish, with separate English translation. The English version contains all the general information common to the book in all languages, and serves as a guide to the needs of the immigrant of all nationalities. New editions for 1920 in Italian and Polish in preparation.

Chamberlain, James Franklin. *How We Are Clothed*. Macmillan. 1904. \$.40.

Simple and entertaining stories, telling of the clothes worn in different parts of the world, and of the sources of materials, etc.

Chamberlain, James Franklin. *How We Are Fed*. Macmillan. 1903. \$.40.

Simple and entertaining stories of the origin of our food and of its manufacture, dealing chiefly with the U. S.

Chase, A. and Clow, E. *Stories of Industry*. Education Publishing Co. 2 vols. 1915 and 1916. \$.70 each.

Short chapters, well and simply written, describe the basic industries of modern civilization: Coal, petroleum, the metals, lumber, marble and stone, brick, glass, pottery, paper and printing, cotton and wool, silk, leather, ship-building, fisheries, agriculture.

Dana, Emma Lilian. *Makers of America; Franklin, Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln*. Immigrant Publication Society. 1915. \$.75 postpaid.

Simply and stirringly written. For use as a second or third book in English.

Dow, Harriet P. *Twenty Lessons in English for*

*Non-English Speaking Women*. N. Y. State Dept. of Education. 1919.

For the use of the teacher of illiterate women. Practical. Follows the object lesson method.

Eggleston, Edward. *History of the United States and its People*. Appleton. 1914. \$4.00.

Of all the one volume histories of the United States perhaps the most popular with our foreign born.

Field, W. Stanwood and Coveney, Mary E. *English for New Americans*. Silver, Burdett & Co. 1911. \$.96.

Simple first book in English. Contains vocabularies in Armenian, Arabic, Italian, Spanish, Greek, Swedish, Polish, Lithuanian, Russian and Yiddish. Is appreciated by many who have a certain education in those languages.

Fowler, Nathaniel C., Jr. *How to Obtain Citizenship*. Sully & Kleinteich. 1914. \$1.00. Separate editions, \$1.50 each, English-Italian, English-Yiddish, English-German, English-French.

Contains copies of all needed legal forms, with Constitution and Declaration of Independence. Contains also variety of information useful to the new citizen.

Goldberger, Henry H. *A Course of Study and Syllabus for Teaching English to Non-English Speaking Adults*. Scribner. 1919. \$.30.

Good instruction manual for teachers. Can be used without class text books. Applies Gourn method effectively.

Goldberger, Henry H. *English for Coming Citizens*. Scribner. 1920. \$.80.

Excellent first book in English, based upon the experience of practical teachers. Notably practical introduction. Attractively illustrated.

Golwasser, I. E. and Jabolonower, Joseph. *Yiddish-English Lessons*. D. C. Heath & Co. 1916. \$.72.

Perhaps the only book teaching English through the medium of a foreign language that is successful and popular with our foreign born.

Hagedorn, Herman. *Boy's Life of Theodore Roosevelt*. Harper. 1918. \$1.25.

Found thrillingly interesting by many adult foreign born who have made some progress in English.

Hill, Mabel and Davis, Philip. *Civics for New Americans*. Houghton Mifflin. 1915. \$.92.

Readable and informing. Admirable as a second or third book in English. Appendix contains chapters on naturalization.

Lapp, John A. *Our America: The Elements of Civics*. Bobbs-Merrill. 1916. \$1.50.

Simple, clear, for study, not for entertainment. Emphasizes the services of the government. Excellent chapter: "Lending a Helping Hand."

Leighton, Etta V. Making Americans. F. A. Owen Publishing Co. 1920. \$.28.

An excellent collection of brief, live quotations from great Americans—many from Theodore Roosevelt. Gives constructive concepts of Americanism. Based on ten years' experience in social work with adults of all nationalities.

McMurray, Chas A. Pioneers of the Mississippi Valley. Macmillan. 1919. \$.60.

Thrilling simple stories of the explorations, and heroic adventures of Joliet, Marquette, La Salle, Hennepin, Boone, Robertson, Sevier, George Rogers Clark, and others.

McMurray, Chas. A. Pioneers of the Rocky Mountains and the West. Macmillan. 1919. \$.60.

Like the preceding in plan and character. Stories of Lewis and Clark, Fremont, Powel and Parkman. Includes as well as the stories of Drake's visit to California, of Coronado and of the discovery of gold.

Matthews, J. Brander. Poems of American Patriotism. Scribner. 1914. \$.50.

History told in poetry, chronologically arranged. Mostly the simpler poems of story and action. Mostly old favorites.

Monroe, Paul, and Miller, Irving E. The American Spirit. World Book Co. 1918. \$1.00.

Appealing patriotic selections illustrating the developing characteristics of America. Admirably chosen. Not hackneyed. Stresses immigrant contribution to our life, the world war and resulting national duties.

O'Brien, Sara R. English for Foreigners. Houghton Mifflin. 1912. Book I and Book II. Respectively, \$.56 and \$.76.

Practical vocabularies. Interesting. Prepared by a practical teacher. Widely and successfully used.

Parkman, Mary R. Heroes of Today. Century Co. 1918. \$1.50.

Brief, crisply written, exceedingly interesting stories of John Muir, John Burroughs, Dr. Grenfell, Robt. F. Scott, Jacob A. Riis, Herbert Hoover, Samuel P. Langley, Rupert Brooke, Gen. Goethals, and others.

Parsons, Geoffrey. The Land of Fair Play. Scribner. 1919. \$1.25.

"Every American is as good as his brains and character and manners, and no better." Direct, easily understood. Builds on spirit of fair play and sportmanship. Addressed to American youth, but is also inspiring to adult foreign born.

Plass, Anna A. Civics for Americans in the Making. D. C. Heath & Co. 1912. \$.84.

City, state and national government. U. S. history Voting. Vocabulary in Italian, German, Swedish, French, Polish, Greek and Yiddish. Very simple; successfully and widely used. Too elemental for educated foreign born.

Riis, Jacob. The Making of an American. Macmillan. 1913. \$.50.

Life story of a Danish immigrant, simply and very appealingly told, of particular appeal to the foreign

born worker because it tells how the difficulties of American life were surmounted, and how the writer rose from being a manual laborer to become a famous journalist.

Roosevelt, Theodore. Stories of the Great West. Century Co. 1909. \$.60.

Has proved very popular in the libraries.

Southworth, Gertrude V. and Kramer, Stephen E. Great Cities of the United States. Iroquois Publishing Co. 1916. \$.70.

Fairly simple and entertaining. Historical, descriptive, industrial. Account of thirteen important cities of the U. S.

Stevens, Ruth D. and Stevens, D. H. American Patriotic Prose and Verse. McClurg. 1917. \$1.25.

Including flag poems, poems for patriotic holidays, and poems on the heroes and incidents of United States history.

Street, Julian. Abroad at Home. Century Co. 1914. \$2.50.

A brightly written traveller's story of a tour of the United States. Gives atmosphere of places and the characteristics of the people. Conversational and very readable.

Tappan, Eva March. Elementary History of our Country. Houghton Mifflin. 1916. \$.65.

Extremely simple and entertaining narrative. Librarians find this very popular with beginners in English.

Tappan, Eva March. Little Book of the Flag. Houghton Mifflin. 1917. \$.40.

Simply and pleasantly written. History of the flag and of flag anniversaries. Poems and prose quotations about the flag. How to behave toward the flag.

Tufts, James H. Our Democracy: Its Origins and Tasks. Holt. 1917. \$1.50.

Not about the machinery of government, but about the principles and ideas of liberty and democracy, which the machinery is meant to serve. Strong and inspiring book. Simple, but not for beginners.

Washington, Booker T. Up from Slavery. Houghton Mifflin. 1917. \$.60.

Very useful explaining an important phase of American life, strange to the foreign born.

Wilson, C. Naturalization Laws of the United States. C. Wilson, 840 Wilcox Building, Los Angeles, Calif. 7th edition. 1917. \$.25.

A careful reprinting of the laws, without comment or explanation. Very useful for reference.

## REPRINTS

Reprints of this list may be obtained at the office of the Library Journal at cost price: namely 5c. each; 50c. per dozen, post paid. Orders ought to reach this office not later than March 15th, as the type will not be held after that date.

will give him a means of establishing whether the frame of the government for which Congress is responsible, or its operation for which he is responsible, is at fault for extravagance and inefficiency. The New York plan includes power of appointment and the budget, and thus provides a real chance to make the governor truly responsible or to allow him to show why he should not be so held and wherein the legislature is at fault.

Social workers, especially in New York and particularly those interested in settlements and the teachers of government in the high schools, have an opportunity to do constructive and educational work at the same time in dissecting and discussing this concrete proposal with their club members and pupils. Too often settlement and school instruction in civics lacks definiteness and fails in its educational purpose, because the members of the class do not comprehend the importance of good government to them or to the practical value of their work as bearing on their own votes. There is here laid before the people for their approval or rejection a carefully worked out plan of administration—not a theoretical scheme, but a working model of a machine meant to function, to bear specific loads in specific parts, constructed with relation to the existing machine, and to real political and economic conditions. It is, furthermore, a model on which the men and women of the state must, as voters, finally pass judgment;

so not only does the plan present interesting teaching material, but it represents live issues on which the older members of settlement clubs must vote and which they will hear much discussed from the standpoint of the politician. If they can be armed for discussion not with generalities but with concrete arguments why, not only the plan as a whole but particular parts of it will save money and get better results for the people than the present system—or, if the plan be wrong in conception or in detail, why it is wrong—a real contribution will have been made to the political knowledge of the public and incidentally to the case of better state government.

Lectures and reading, while necessary to bring information to the people, are only a preliminary, and if they are to bear full fruit, must be followed up with a sort of laboratory dissection of the plan by the students which really makes it part of the mental store of each individual. Settlement clubs of young men and young women voters constitute an important means of bringing effective understanding of such plans as this to the people, not as vague projects of reform "to down the bosses," or "to drive out the tax eaters," but as a real effort to save money and to secure for the people more efficient service from the state health department, more miles of smooth road, fairer prices for milk and other foods.

# The Strength of America

## V. The Menace of Americanization<sup>1</sup>

*By Simon J. Lubin and Christina Krysto*

**T**O discuss the menace of Americanization, it will be well, perhaps, to establish in our minds a working definition of the term Americanization itself.

We proudly maintain that ours is the best of all lands in which to live. And yet we do not base our claim upon America's natural resources or upon its wealth; we would hesitate to make the boast because of its great population or its economic and industrial progress. All these factors enter, to be sure, into the basis for our contention, but they fall far short of forming the whole of it. For we would maintain that that which is fine and that of which we are proud goes far beyond these concrete things which can be listed offhand; it is that quality which sometimes, roughly, we designate as freedom or justice or democracy, but which is even greater than any one of these—the soul of our nation, the spirit of America.

To be an American is to possess this spirit, to feel that one's own life is in accord with it, and to know that one's own aspirations are in accord with the best interests of the nation.

In turn, Americanism is the sum total of those doctrines which give content to this spirit of America, and keep our nation to its course—the sum total, in other words, of the policies which underlie the nation's customs, its laws, its international dealings, its political, economic and industrial progress, policies, in short, through which the spirit shows itself to this nation's citizens and to the world.

Americanization, then, should be the propaganda that, on the one hand, puts forth before all the people this Americanism and, on the other, gives to all the people the vision

and the opportunity to do their share in improving its doctrines, thus accomplishing the double purpose of making them more worthy of the nation within which they live and of making the nation itself better because of them. It should lift the inhabitants of America, foreign born and native born alike, to a plane which is worthy of the best nation, and in turn make that nation worthy of being the home of the best developed people. Playing within its fullest scope, Americanization should go far beyond the confines of the United States and reach out to all the peoples of the earth.

This is no mean mission, and there can be no time limit to its ultimate accomplishment. Nor can it be said that it has failed to enlist its supporters. Americanization has taken the country by storm. Every social organization, every religious society, every large industry, every woman's club has been busy for months mapping out its own particular program. The study of Americanization has been used to stimulate interest in organizations which were dying a natural death; Americanization has been used as a pretext for sudden improvements in industrial management when the attitude of labor has made sudden improvements imperative; Americanization has been used to give employment to social workers out of jobs. Lack of interest has not been the fault in connection with carrying on the undertaking. But a fault, and a grave fault, there has been.

Every political party has its hangers-on who, consciously or unconsciously, discredit the fine principles of that party by their erroneous expounding of these. Every new phase in industrial progress has its profiteers—men who capitalize the advanced ideas of their field for their own interests, regard-

<sup>1</sup> See the SURVEY for December 20, 1919, January 3, January 24 and February 7.



will probably so remain until a rational plan of true prison reform based on an examination of individuals by trained psychiatrists, followed by segregation of different classes, is adopted. Until this is done it must be recognized that the problem of dealing with the inmates of our penal institutions is not one for experts in mental hygiene or charitable work. The discipline of a penitentiary and that of a home for the feeble-minded cannot be confused to the advantage of either. For the present, then, the separation of correctional and mental hygiene departments is fully justified.

There are special reasons why education and farms and markets should be left under the control of boards elected by the legislature. It is recognized everywhere that education must be kept out of politics and free from all partisan influence; so the existing system which vests the appointment of the head of the school system, the commissioner of education, in a board elected by the legislature, whose members go out of office successively, is an insurance against these dangers and a guarantee of continuity of policy, though it does put out of the direct influence of the administration one of the greatest and most expensive of the departments of the state. The interests of the farmers in the department of foods and markets are likewise guarded against gubernatorial interference by vesting in the hands of a similar board the control of the department and the appointment of its administrative officials. A preponderant voice in the affairs of these two departments is assured to the voters outside the city of New York, by the provision that the members of the boards should be chosen from the several judicial districts in the state. That there are three members at large of the board controlling education does not change this majority.

In both of these departments, and in the department of labor—which is left in control of a board, in this case, however, appointed by the governor—quasi-judicial and extensive legislative or rule-making powers warrant the variation from the general rule that the head of a department should be a single commissioner. To exercise like powers subordinate boards are created or continued in other departments as, for example, the board of equalization of taxes in the finance department. This important board is composed of the director of taxation, the attorney-general and the comptroller. It may well be questioned whether its important judicial functions do not entitle it to a membership which will not be open to the objection made in the report itself: "Ex officio boards are almost never effective."

#### Social Workers' Opportunity

CONSTRUCTIVE criticism of the plan will be best applied to such questions as these and to the arrangement of the functions within the departments; its broad lines will scarcely be questioned. In these matters of detail, social workers will find the greatest opportunity for the application of their experience. For example, it is very doubtful if the proposed bureau of extension in the department of education will function to the best advantage of component parts. Among other activities it includes the state library and the division of Americanization. A good librarian interested in building up a library and in pushing its normal uses, and the head of an active Americanization bureau, which is mainly a teaching process using the school buildings and teachers, will not be good bureau mates. If the chief of the bureau is the librarian, Americanization work is apt to be slighted; if he is an Americanization enthusiast, the library will inevitably suffer. Americanization would seem to fit in better with the bureau of elementary and secondary education; and the state library and museum, a specialized organization, should be an independent bureau of the department of education.

Similarly, it may be questioned whether in the department of labor there should not be two divisions under officials of equal authority, one to include administration of workmen's compensation, the insurance fund and other social insurance as it develops, and the other to administer the labor law.

One strong point in the plan is the civil service appointment of the heads of all bureaus. Under its general scheme of organization, practically all subordinate officers in the state will be assured an opportunity to reach responsible positions which it is hoped will be fairly paid, so that the incentive to make public service a profession which comes from the prospect of advancement to important posts, will be strengthened. Furthermore, the operation of the system will, like the British civil service, tend to create an experienced body of public servants, who can be trusted to keep the machine going steadily in spite of the changes in policy at the top which respond to the change in popular will shown by the elections.

#### The Check-Up

THE governor and his administration might be helpless against this powerful civil service organization were it not for the investigating force put in his office to enable him to check up inefficiency and to prevent duplication and for his power and responsibility as the proposer of the budget to the legislature. These two functions must work together if either is to succeed. The governor must for his own reputation as an economical officer cut estimates as low as he can. He must not, however, so reduce them as to cripple important government functions. With his other responsibilities, however, he cannot know where and how to cut without the aid of his investigating and budget-making staffs. It would probably be better organization to unite the divisions of the budget and of reports and special investigations provided for in the executive office. The budget, if it is to represent the governor's view and to be an intelligent critical analysis of the estimates of the bureaus and departments, must depend on the work of the division of investigation; and the work of the division of investigation will be far more effective and far less objectionable to the departments if it is carried out for the purpose of enabling the governor to prepare the budget and if the investigators have behind them the authority which comes from the fact that their reports must be the basis of the estimates approved by the governor for each department. There is no odium in the investigation of a department or bureau by the budget officers, who are equally investigating other departments, while there would be great resentment in a department which is singled out for special investigation. Special investigations could, of course, be carried out by a budget staff whenever special need was shown. Furthermore, only one investigating force would be needed, and it would be coordinated under the chief of the budget division, with a definite and steady, not a desultory function.

The proposed power of appointment, alone, will not fix responsibility of the governor in the eyes of the people. The President of the United States has an even wider power of appointment of the heads of the executive departments, but when has the inefficiency of the administrative machine ever been a commanding issue at an election? In fact, it would be very hard to hold him so responsible for an organization whose frame is largely constructed by Congress and over whose estimates for appropriation he has no control. The national budget which seems in a fair way to be instituted at the next session of Congress, will put the control over the estimates in his hands; and the budget staff, similar to the budget division and the division of special reports in the New York plan,

less of the harm which they bring to the whole by their methods. Every scientific discovery has its charlatans who mix enough of the truth with their lies to undermine the whole truth when their lies become known. Every religion has its false messiahs, and many a man has been made an unbeliever because he has followed these too easily and been disappointed too grievously. In relation to the truth these are all perverts, and the best that can be said concerning the group as a whole is that some of them are themselves misled and have absolute faith in the pernicious doctrines which they teach.

Looking critically at this great wave of Americanization which has swept and is sweeping over our land, we observe that it too has its perverts, perverts most varied because the doctrine itself is endless in its intricacies, perverts most rabid because the doctrine itself touches the deepest emotions, perverts most harmful in the destructive tendencies because the constructive working out of the doctrine itself is vital to the very life of our nation. And herein lies the menace of Americanization.

In a mission such as this there are several possible difficulties. The work itself, though headed in the right direction under a well constructed plan, may yet go very slowly, very haltingly, for want of a clear understanding, for want of skilled hands, for want of proper means. And about this type of difficulty there is nothing alarming; it only conforms to the fortunes of any new social movement and in any new social movement impatience can have no place.

When the work is not headed in the right direction, however, and there is no well-constructed plan of action, then there is cause for concern. And the ill fortune which then befalls the work is not the ill fortune of a progress which is too slow or too uncertain, but of a good idea gone wrong, of failure which is more than the absence of success, because it not only fails to build, but wrecks all that has been already established.

Into this last pitfall Americanization is falling more and more deeply. And, in general, the cause underlying the menace and the resulting perversions with which we have to deal is the assumption that Americanization consists of doing "something" to the foreign born, that "something" designed to make him exactly like the native born who, by common consent, seems to be held worthy of any nation. Few realize that in the program of real Americanization the immigrant is but an incident. He must have special attention at times because of the special handicaps imposed upon him by the strangeness of his environment, but this special attention, these special helps, are for the purpose of bringing him into the main line of march. The major work of Americanization begins when he enters that line beside the native born and that work deals with the line as a whole. To strive to bring the foreign born only up to the level of the native born is to drop the work of improving the nation as soon as that foreign born stands ready to contribute his share to that improving.

#### Industrial Perversion

FAILURE to accept this is largely responsible for much of the purposeless work now being carried on. And, given no definite purpose big enough to merit the highest efforts of the best minds, the undertaking itself falls into the hands of the false messiahs, some working with eyes wide open, others with unseeing eyes, but all doing whatever is in their power to retard and hinder the work without which the future of our nation is dark indeed.

"Americanization?" cry the employers of labor. "That

is all very simple. Teach the men to stay on their jobs—that's Americanization! Teach them that being good citizens means sticking to their work and not jeopardizing the country's output! The country needed them to help win the war, now the country needs them to help put the world on its feet again. To be worthy of the name of Americans, be they from Portugal, Spain, or Holland, let them keep on the job!" How often does this fine-sounding plea merely cloak a determination to keep men—especially the more handicapped foreign born—at their work under wretched working conditions, to the private profit of the employer and the admiration of a certain type of "100 per cent American." And could not this mode of procedure be rightly called an industrial perversion of Americanization?

#### Patriotic Perversion

HARD upon this comes a second type of perversion. "Americanization is the preservation of the status quo! Criticism may be all right in thought. But since nothing is holier than this status quo, any criticism which tends to overthrow it is disloyalty! Therefore, anyone who desires to express his thought must take his cue from those in authority. And those who have had their training in other lands in the art of being silent for fear of punishment, let them remember the lesson they have learned!" In the light of the early history of this country, which began with a protest, forceful both in language and in action, against oppression; in the light of our guarantees of freedom of speech and of press, it is perhaps not too strong a term to designate this practice as a patriotic perversion.

Close upon its heels we find something just a bit more harmful. "Americanization is the acquiring of American citizenship! We should take a census of all the people of the United States, and drive into the ocean all those who had not declared their intention of becoming citizens!" Somehow there seems to be scarcely anything which could be less desirable. Leaving out of the question for the moment the attitude of the foreign born toward such a decree—their sense of injury at being met with force at the outset—leaving out of the question the violation of the comity of nations, can we look upon American citizenship as upon a thing so cheap that it is to be thrust upon unwilling newcomers, rather than made a thing of such value that these newcomers would work joyfully for the privilege? It is only the political perverts of Americanization who would force citizenship upon anyone.

"Americanization is teaching English to foreigners!" We have heard these six words ad nauseam and we hear them oftener and oftener as the months go by. "They've got to know English!" In a certain city of the United States a well-intentioned lot of men and women recently prepared an elaborate banquet for a group of immigrants. "Showing them we respect them and are interested in them and their nation," so they explained it. Beautifully engraved invitations were sent to members of that foreign born group as well as to a number of prominent citizens who were to act as hosts. At the appointed time the hosts, properly arrayed, took their places. But none of the foreign born guests appeared. Investigation brought forth a simple explanation—the invitations were printed in English and none of the immigrants could read them. The originators of the banquet had not thought of extending the "respect and interest" sufficiently to include the newcomers' language. Perhaps they dismissed the incident with the thought that, anyway, "these foreigners" should have known English; what did they come to America for? Yet they were exposing one of the greatest

of all perversions of Americanization—the educational perversion: “To make good Americans of ‘em teach ‘em English!”

“We need the immigrant to maintain production. But the sooner he forgets his habits and traditions, the better for him and for us! With the change in costume let him assume our customs and beliefs. For his are all wrong and ours are all right! Immediate assimilation to our mode of thought and action is his only salvation!” This is at once a psychologic and a national perversion of Americanization. Psychologic because it presupposes mental and spiritual gymnastics that are absurd and impossible; national because it would throw out all national traits that are of value to the stranger, that make him in fact what he is, ignoring, furthermore, all good which the stranger who exhibits his national characteristics may bring to America.

#### Racial Perversion

THERE is a somewhat similar attitude which goes further still. “This land is destined to be the home of the square-eyed and green-haired race. The earth’s most favored spot should be preserved to the superior people. Inter-marriage with the round-eyed and the blue-haired who come from alien lands will lead to a lowering of the American standard! Therefore let us persecute and drive out all but those originally favored!” May we not call this a racial perversion?

Several years ago, before a California audience gathered to discuss the effect of the opening of the Panama Canal upon that state, the principal speaker used substantially these words:

Soon there will flow into our midst certain turbid streams from across the ocean. Pope-ridden Italians, steeped in ignorance, will come to our shores. Dirty Jews, still suffering for the sins of their ancestors, will knock at our gates. Illiterate Russians will creep out of their thatched villages and flood our land. Bigoted peoples from all the countries across the sea will come out of medieval darkness and storm our wonderful United States. Brothers, the task is great, but the procedure simple. As they enter, we must approach them in the spirit of the Master, and, with open arms, bring them to our Jesus and our ways.

Could it be contended, with any degree of logic, that this is not a religious perversion?

Though the list seems over-long already, the greatest perversion is still to be named, and with that perversion the majority of Americanization enthusiasts could be safely charged. On every hand we run into people who are tremendously energetic about doing something for “those poor immigrants.” Of what that something should be they have not the slightest conception. Their desire, to quote the head of immigrant education in a large California city, is “to grab a poor unsuspecting immigrant, carry him bodily to a far corner, and proceed to ‘Americanize’ him.” Their attitude can best be expressed in the words spiritual slumming. We have long ago drifted away from the more obvious slumming habits of some of the earlier social workers. But the vast tide of Americanization has brought the spiritual slumming habits, which have been more difficult to cope with. When this emotional perversion will have died a natural death, then the true Americanization will have an easier time of it.

The pity of the existing conditions is not alone that those pseudo-Americanization efforts fall short of their mark. It is not even that they accomplish actual harm by discouraging their own champions with their ultimate futility, and by bewildering the foreign born upon whom they are directed. The pity of it goes further.

To most of the leaders indicated above we must attribute the virtue of energy. And it is energy misdirected, expended in wrong channels, energy wasting itself in repeated organization and suborganization and super-organization which we

observe all around us and which has crept even into the sacred precincts of federal activity. And when we measure the results of the above-mentioned Americanization prophets we must measure them not only by their failure to advance the cause they have championed, nor even by the actual harm they have done to that cause, but, over and above both of these, we must take into account the good which might have been accomplished had all this vast energy, wrongly expended, been wisely directed into proper channels and wisely guided toward a definite goal. It is here, in the difference between the potential positive accomplishment and the actual negative result, that the real work of the Americanization perverts shows itself. It is this wide discrepancy which points, from a new angle, to the need of direction by the entire Americanization movement, direction which would encompass the many who are now working hard along paths which lead nowhere and who would be glad to choose the better path did they but know how.

Necessarily this better path, the real Americanization, must presuppose an attitude of mind which makes development, not repression, the guiding principle of all its procedure, and which encourages every talent, every thought, every creative impulse that can help to make American life fuller and better. This conception of Americanization presupposes the existence of true freedom, the freedom which is more than the right to cast one’s vote and to express one’s opinion; for it must include the opportunity to develop one’s creative forces to the fullest capacity and to apply such forces consciously and continuously to the task of building a better nation.

#### The Solution

THIS process of nation building is an organic growth, achieved through the giving of proper direction, proper encouragement and proper aid to national cultural elements whether their origin is here or abroad. America is unique in these two advantages—first, it is not yet so bound by convention that the fluency of its thought is impaired; second, it has the best means conceivable for utilizing the cultural elements of all the other lands, which come to it in a form best adapted for satisfactory development, brought here, as they are, by human beings. And in a process which is worthy of the opportunity there is no place for the application of iron bands of restraint to the vital creative forces—of either the foreign born or the native born—restraint which, in some form, appears in every perversion of Americanization which we have mentioned above.

Again, we repeat, Americanization, the propaganda of true Americanism which is the soul of our nation, is something much more than teaching American standards to our immigrants. In this propaganda the immigrant plays but a minor part and is noticeable only because both his difficulties and his contributions are of a peculiar sort. All of the perversions enumerated further garble the question by calling undue attention to the foreign born in attempting, by merely doing something spectacular to these foreign born, to solve our national difficulties.

It is only by adequately preparing for the whole subject of nation building, it is only by formulating a plan which will take in all the aspects necessary to make of our nation the best place possible, that we can make clear in that scheme the proper place of immigration and the immigrant. Nothing short of the formulating of such a plan and a definite and earnest following of it can accomplish this, and nothing short of it can eliminate the menace of Americanization.

1934

FOREIGN LANGUAGE INFORMATION SERVICE  
222 Fourth Avenue, New York City

April 22, 1934

NOTICE TO READERS

On April 21, 1934 a law went into effect which greatly reduces the cost of naturalization. The following table shows the naturalization fees as they are now and as they were before April 21st. It also indicates the sections of this pamphlet which should be changed to conform with the new schedule of naturalization fees:

	<u>Present</u> <u>Fee</u>	<u>Former</u> <u>Fee</u>
Declaration of Intention (or "first paper") (sec. 10; sec. 64).....	\$ 2.50	\$ 5.00
Certificate of Arrival (sec. 9; sec. 64).....	2.50	5.00
Certificate of Citizenship (or "second paper") (sec. 32; sec. 36; sec. 64).....	5.00	10.00
Duplicate of a lost, destroyed or mutilated Declaration of Intention or Certificate of Citizenship (sec. 16; sec. 63).....	1.00	10.00
Certificate of Derivative Citizenship (sec. 44).	5.00	10.00
Certificate of Registry under Act of Mar. 2, '29 (sec. 54).....	10.00	20.00

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The Filson Historical Society



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Marian Schibsky  
Chief, Division of Individual  
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NATIONALITY, NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM: THEIR INCONSISTENCIES\*

by

Edwin M. Borchard, Yale University

Perhaps it is inevitable that all valuable ideas shall embody potential inconsistencies and contradictions which threaten their validity and permanence. We have seen many types of state and government grow and then die, and yet man seems always to seek an ideal form which shall represent successful achievement in the art of co-operative living. Unfortunately the quest for and the capture of a political ideal often involve an insistent urge to carry the light to others, and if necessary, impose it upon them by coercion.

The idea of nationality typifies these contradictions. However great its service to the 18th and 19th centuries, its unintelligent exaggeration in the 20th threatens the permanence of the western order of life. This is not inevitable, for the danger might yet be overcome by recalling the tolerance and respect for others which 19th century liberalism had considered fundamental. It is the development of this tolerance and respect for others which lies at the foundation of peace among men, and it is for that reason that I regard the work of the National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship as fundamental in American life. It is in organizations like this that the genuine work for the pacification of men and nations takes place. Instead of conferring Nobel Peace Prizes on the authors of ephemeral schemes like the Dawes Plan and the Kellogg Pact, the Nobel Committee might begin to reward the unobtrusive but effective reconciliation of human differences in hearts and homes. The assimilation of

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\* Address delivered March 2, 1934 before the National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship and the New York Committee on Naturalization.



the alien, his accomodation and naturalization to a new environment, the cultivation of the host's respect both for his traditions and difficulties of adjustment, constitute at the same time contributions to a healthy patriotism and to international appeasement. The commonly admitted fact that the most patriotic Americans are those of the first generation is the best evidence of the possibilities of warm hospitality and humane treatment. Example not command, education not compulsion, are the methods which have made the United States a nation.

Nationality is a product of the gregariousness of man and of the stimulation afforded both by his strength and his weakness. The ancient clan and tribe were brought together by common tradition of race, dialect, and custom, and in turn were differentiated from other groups by like factors. Yet many of these clans and tribes seemed unable to satisfy their ego by cultivating their own gardens, but became inspired to carry their superior message to less enlightened clans and tribes. The spirit of the missionary and of the conqueror went hand in hand, and occasionally in ancient and practically always in modern times we find the proclamation of benevolent motives in appropriating things that belong to others. The great art of minding one's own business is overwhelmed by the urge to carry the gospel to the unregenerate, sometimes for ideals and spoils, sometimes for ideals alone. Woodrow Wilson was therefore in the profoundest tradition of human society when he undertook by force to make the world safe for democracy, and the sorry end of the adventure merely exemplifies the outcome of similar crusades in the past.

Naturally, not all political expansion professed moral motives. Before the liberal days of the 18th century it was perhaps still somewhat unusual to exalt conquest by appeals to emotional morality, although the warrior and the priest very often traveled in pairs. Since the 18th century, however, whether rationalized or not, whether honest belief or mere cant and hypocrisy, conquest is almost always associated with benevolent intentions, and the paraphernalia of nationalism, like the white man's burden or the rescue of the oppressed, supply ready symbols to justify the end in view. In the Treaty of Versailles, perhaps one of the most interesting pieces of spoliation of modern times, we find a high development of this capacity of man to deceive himself and others by the employment of numerous ingenious devices, such, for example, as the mandate system, although it must be conceded that these pledges to virtue may sometime involuntarily have to be redeemed and may in spite of imperialist tradition develop into useful institutions. Here again we find the dual desire to appropriate spoils yet to clothe the deed in a virtuous mantle. The excuse of "reparations" afforded many an opportunity for unprecedented violations of fundamental principles of international commercial relations. Nationalism and internationalism wage in the same political breast an internecine strife for supremacy, although I venture to maintain that intelligence in the use of both permits of their reconciliation.

The political organization of ethnic and social groups has been a matter of slow and divergent development. The ancient word "citizen" indicates that political loyalty was first given to a very small group organized in the city-states of Greece. The Greeks' unyielding zeal for that form of organization led to their undoing, for the ideal of a conglomerate state cultivated by Rome overwhelmed the cohesive unit of Greece and laid the foundation for the modern federated state, of which the British Empire is perhaps the natural heir and typical example.

But notwithstanding the disappearance, during the dominance of the Roman Empire, of the established traces of ethnic nationality, the seeds of political nationality were then laid. The competition between groups, the search for sustenance and material advantage, local antagonisms, suspicion of foreigners, the necessity for defense against rivals, the sense of personal association under local leadership - all contributed to the development of that group solidarity which burst into flame as the Roman Empire fell. But the modern state was still centuries off, retarded by feudalism, by the idea of the Holy Roman Empire, by the universal church, and by the confusion and mixture of races which makes the notion of race solidarity as a basis of nationality in Europe something of an exploded myth. England, least affected by these continental influences, was the first to manifest those evidences of national life which today we associate with political nationality, and by virtue of the Hundred Years' War helped to fuse France into the semblance of a nation. The rise of state-nationality during the Renaissance and Reformation, with the King as the symbol of national solidarity, finally put an end to the separation of feudalism and to the universality of Empire and Church. But feudalism and universality both left their traces. We find the feudal allegiance to a king or leader which prevailed during the formative stages of nationalism in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries transferred in the 19th century to a territory, a fatherland, an impersonal state. The state and the group are reified, and material interests now serve to bring into being a new and more dangerous form of nationalism. National culture is extolled, foreign achievement depreciated, and economic interests serve to cement what is called national policy.

The term "nationality" as a political term is itself a product of the 18th century, and here again we find our baffling contradictions. The French Revolution, which was nurtured in the ideas of the humanitarians of the 18th century, was designed to promote the interests of the common man. The people were now sovereign, and the state existed for the good of the greatest number. Both the traditional and the liberal nationalism of the 18th century were humanitarian in their programs and emphasized the necessity of economic liberalism, laissez faire, individualism, cosmopolitanism, and international peace. Aliens were welcomed into the community, provided they could be converted to "right" thinking, and intellectual attacks were levelled against dynastic wars, tyranny, feudalism, bondage and privilege of all kinds, whether theological, political, or economic, and in the name of liberty, equality, and fraternity a new heaven on earth was to be created. The world had been made safe for democracy. Man had been emancipated from dogma; reason had prevailed over supernatural faith. Our own political philosophers and statesmen, like Paine and Jefferson, had given tangible evidence of their loyalty to these ideas, and fortunately the necessities of exploiting a new continent and a determination to have no part in the wars of Europe, several of which the colonists had involuntarily had to fight, gave them an opportunity to give practical application to the high principles on which the country was founded. And so long as the United States has kept clear of European wars and entanglements, the national advance has been reasonably uninterrupted. The leaders of this Government were content to enjoy the advantages of an unparalleled material heritage and of a liberal political tradition which, on the whole, has served its purpose well. Their missionary zeal was satisfied by the Monroe Doctrine in keeping European imperialism out of America and permitting Latin American countries to develop as best they could their indigenous democracies.

But it was different in closely knit Europe. The high-minded French Revo-

lutionists not only met resistance from the less enlightened at home, but so convinced were they of the importance of their discoveries in human regeneration that they determined to spread the gospel to their benighted neighbors who still labored under the disadvantages of monarchial and illiberal governments. So they declared war on Austria and soon found opposition everywhere. The "nation in arms" was then created, and the apparatus of nationalism which we now take for granted was invented on a grand scale. National flags, national hymns, national schools, national conscription, and a national guillotine followed each other in rapid succession. The Jacobin missionaries fighting on several fronts began to forget what they were fighting for, and having by that time aroused most of Europe against them, developed the man on horseback and the highly integrated form of nationalism which enabled them to remain in the field with minor respite for twenty-two years. They met their Waterloo by the combined action of British and German armies. But by the time they got through they had laid the foundation for nationalism in Germany, Italy, and in every part of the continent where it had not already penetrated. Thus did liberal internationalism, inspired by a passion for uniformity and the distribution of blessings, come to an inglorious end.

And yet some of its valuable elements were saved. Perhaps that would not have been possible but for the statesmanship displayed by the peacemakers of 1815. Nationalism having reached its maturity, the enemy was thought of as France, and the temptation to mutilate the vanquished and to render it permanently innocuous was strong. But there were statesmen at Vienna who realized that the policy of humiliating the French would but lay the foundation for continuous wars. Wellington made his well-known trip to Vienna to plead for France and moderation. Talleyrand was made a member of the steering committee of the peace conference. Those were statesmen. They felt a sense of responsibility for Europe as a whole. And while Europe was denied the blessings of democracy, the result was that Europe experienced what for all practical purposes was a century of peace, during which it prospered as it never had before in all the previous centuries put together.

And this was true, notwithstanding some of the destructive forces which the industrial revolution had let loose. The stratification of European society was tempered by the opportunity for common schooling, by the increase of labor legislation, and by a moderately liberal economic order. Even the conflicting imperialisms of the 19th century had been managed with a statesman's eye. But finally the imperialistic competition was permitted to get out of hand. Lansdowne in 1904 entered into a fatal "consultative pact" with France, chafing under the coerced arrangement of 1871. The entente with Britain, following the military alliance with Russia in 1890, enabled France, not without the military help of the United States, to write in 1919 a treaty of so-called peace, the results of which no man can yet foresee. But during all the 19th century, nationalism, now equipped with all kinds of artificial stimulants, such as tariffs, armies, navies, and trade preferences, ran hand in glove with enlightened humanitarianism and liberalism. International peace was the common demand of all peoples. The inconsistencies were overlooked, and the rigor of the competition underestimated. When the clash came, socialists proved to be as good nationalists as were the militarists.

And now again we are at the crossroads. The Pax Romana concluded at Versailles carried in its womb the Covenant of the League of Nations. Could the accentuated nationalism which the Treaty had promoted to a point never before

attained be tempered by the professedly benign provisions of the Covenant? That question has agitated the world for the past fifteen years.

Egoistic nationalism has become in many parts of the world something like a religious cult, partly because of the new states brought into being, partly because subversive universal movements like communism threaten many governing groups, partly because the political crazy-quilt woven in Europe has proved inconsistent with Europe's economic well-being, partly because misery and unemployment make for crisis and crisis makes not for benevolence but for bitterness, strife, and Fascism, partly because international fear and disorganization have rearoused the primitive instincts of self-preservation in the form of autarchy or national self-sufficiency behind high tariffs, quotas, and the implements of both commercial and political war. The disease of hyper-nationalism has even spread to Asia. What a commentary on the intelligence of the 20th century. I hesitate to summarize the causes, but I fear that history will say that American intervention in a European war it did not understand helped to disorganize the world by placing power in the hands of the irresponsible. The warning and prophecy of John Adams have been verified by the event. Europe today, caught in the web of its own mistakes, trembles on the edge of further disaster. Diplomatic negotiation has become difficult, the avowals of disarmament are to be repudiated, and intolerance and hatred stalk through every land. This is the monument of Versailles.

Can the League of Nations rescue the world? The Covenant itself contains internal inconsistencies, for it looks both to the military enforcement of the Treaty in articles 10 and 16, and to its amelioration in article 19. While the spirit of article 10 has prevailed and carried the League to what may prove its doom, it is interesting to observe that none of these articles has been given practical effect. While some conceived the League as an instrument to hold down the status quo, others, like President Wilson, considered it as a means to effect those changes which time and circumstance make inevitably necessary. Some nations, having acquired a vested interest in the status quo, which, unfortunately for them, is sustained not by natural conditions but by military force alone, threaten preventive war if the Treaty is changed or imperiled. Others see in the League the only hope of averting war, but here again we must note contradictions. The League theory was - we can safely speak in the past tense - that whenever any nation threatened to upset the status quo all the rest would combine to strangle it by boycott or war into obedience and submission. The "aggressor" was to be condemned as a moral and legal pariah, and by starvation and military force he was to be shown the error of his ways. Those who had the spoils intended to keep them and prepared in advance to denounce as moral offenders those who challenged their self-granted privileges. Peace conferences are not distinguished for their sense of humor. The system was bound to break down, not only because it would be hard to get all the nations to agree that a particular rebellion from the system was unwarranted, but because most of them could hardly impose on their own people the hardship which war for the status quo might impose. And while nations have been known to go to war not in their own interests, but in pursuit of an abstraction calculated to redound to the interests of others, it is hardly to be supposed that a statesman could persuade his people to enter into conflict with any country Geneva might elect. But the idea, devoid of any foundation in history or practical experience, appears to have exercised a fatal fascination for certain American statesmen, who seem to believe that by picking an "aggressor" with the help of Geneva the United States could aid in preserving the peace. What they would accomplish in practice, it

is to be feared, is to make war to obtain peace, an illusion which has entrapped other peoples into destruction and misery. Thus again we have the curious contradiction that the proposed way to obtain peace is to make war, and given enough moral enthusiasm, confusion, propaganda, and recklessness, our righteous people may well carry the United States, into another adventure for peace through war.

But whether the League survives or not, and I hope that it may, a deflation of nationalism is essential. Its present implications are reciprocally harmful, but it exemplifies the age-old truth that good ideas often bear the seeds of destruction. We must return to thinking in terms of international conciliation and appeasement, both political, economic, and spiritual, and it would not be at all inappropriate for President Roosevelt to announce that the political and economic tension is acute and must be relieved. An understanding between the major feudists in Europe is certainly possible. The economic world could probably adopt without too much difficulty the principle of reciprocity and co-operation and turn away from autarchy. The obstacle is not, in my opinion, the changes which modern industrial organization have produced, for these were evident before 1914, but the unnatural conditions which the war and the refusal to make peace have produced. It is the duty of the victors to make peace, as Kant remarked, and this they have thus far declined to do. Public opinion must insist that they begin the process of reconciliation and appeasement, without which western civilization is threatened. Has nationalism made it impossible to bring a war to an end? If it has, the heritage which we call modern civilization is in great danger. Once bring the war to a close, and I am convinced that the recuperative powers of mankind will prove sufficient to restore a measure of prosperity and a moderately secure future. But it is unwise to underestimate the dangers which the spirit of Versailles embodies. And time is running short. What mankind needs is a return to the liberal tradition which made nationality a constructive force in the world.

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American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born  
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ANNIVERSARY OF EMMA LAZARUS' BIRTH CELEBRATED  
AT A TIME WHEN HER SPIRIT NEEDED GREATLY IN AMERICA

by Abner Green  
Educational and Legislative Director  
American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 22nd - Ninety-two years ago today Emma Lazarus was born in New York City. Daughter of Spanish-Jewish immigrants, her brief life was dedicated to fighting the advocates of anti-Semitic pogroms and helping to make possible a better life in this country for the victims of European oppression.

To many, perhaps, the name of Emma Lazarus may not immediately mean anything. But, no one will fail to recognize the familiar lines of her poem - "The New Colossus" - which was inscribed on the base of the Statue of Liberty in 1903, after it had come to express for all mankind the American spirit of tolerance and freedom.

In a poetic frame, "The New Colossus" epitomized the democratic ambitions not of Emma Lazarus alone but also of the millions upon millions of oppressed peoples of Europe - the "huddled masses yearning to breathe free" - who reached out for America - to the "golden door" of liberty and equality.

Its message has remained vital and, in recent years, has taken on added significance as freedom was destroyed in country after country by the forces of fascist aggression. And, today, the spirit of liberty of which Emma Lazarus sang is threatened in the United States as well, both from abroad and from certain forces in our own country.

Liberty vs. Concentration Camps

It is indeed ironical that on this day - July 22nd - the anniversary of the birth of the poet who considered American democracy a living ideal, the House of Representatives of the United States Congress will probably debate the Hobbs Concentration Camp Bill, HR 3. The bill, providing for the imprisonment, without bail and without trial, of certain non-citizens ordered deported but whose deportation

cannot be effected, contradicts completely that vision of American liberty which spurred Emma Lazarus to condemn the oppression of the Jew in Czarist Russia.

The best tribute America could pay to the memory of Emma Lazarus would be to defeat the Hobbs Concentration Camp Bill, which can be accomplished by wires and letters to Congressmen from individuals and organizations urging them to speak and to vote against HR 3.

#### Condemned Czarist Pogroms

Born of wealthy parents, Emma Lazarus lived the first part of her life in the protecting security of her immediate family circle. Shy and retiring, her first poetic works were of a deeply romantic nature, far removed from the world of reality. Her poetry was recognized and her ability praised by many outstanding critics and writers of that day, including Ralph Waldo Emerson.

However, in the early 1880's, Emma Lazarus was torn out of her seclusion by a cry for assistance from humanity suffering the blows of terroristic oppression. A wave of pogroms unleashed against the Jewish people by Czar Alexander II in 1878 swept Russia. Slowly, reports came to the world of the murder and terror that reigned in the lands of the Czar, who was attempting to turn the attention of the Russian people away from the ruin and starvation resulting from his war against the Turks.

An article in an American monthly magazine by a Madame Rogozin attempted to excuse the pogroms and to condone the Czar's brutality. Emma Lazarus became incensed at this attack on the Jewish people in an American publication. She wrote a complete reply, which appeared in the Century Magazine.

#### Helped Victims of Oppression

From that time on Emma Lazarus' poetry and writing became an instrument for fighting and exposing oppression. She wrote to give courage and vision to the opponents of despotism. She bravely defended the Jewish people. She actively undertook to help those refugees who managed to escape to this country, visiting them at Ellis Island, raising funds to aid them, helping them to find places to live and to adjust themselves to life in this country.

Emma Lazarus learned from her personal experiences what America meant to those who came to these shores to seek refuge. Her sympathies were clearly with the down-trodden of all races and all nationalities. To them she wanted to give a spirit and a will with which to fight the oppression from which they suffered. This can readily be seen from a reading of the poem for which she became world famous.

"The New Colossus"

Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,  
With conquering limbs astride from land to land,  
Here at our sea-washed sunset gates shall stand  
A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame  
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name  
Mother of Exiles. From her beacon hand  
Glows world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command  
The air-bridged harbor that twin cities frame.

"Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp," cries she  
With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor,  
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,  
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,  
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed, to me;  
I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

Emma Lazarus translated into poetic language the significance and role of the American people in a world of oppression. It is this spirit which gives the American people today the conviction and the determination to defeat fascism, both at home and abroad.

"The New Colossus" was written for the purpose of popularizing the campaign to raise funds for the purchase of a base for the Statue of Liberty. In 1887, one year after the dedication of the Statue of Liberty in New York harbor, Emma Lazarus died of cancer, at the age of 38.

Rights of the People Endangered

The forces which Emma Lazarus condemned and fought with all the strength at her command - Madame Rogozin in this country and the Russian Czar in Europe - still exist. They have taken on new forms, new slogans - but the objectives of oppression and the destruction of the rights of the people are still the same.

The widespread discrimination in employment against Americans of foreign birth, both naturalized citizens and non-citizens, negates the vision of equality and oppor-

tunity which Emma Lazarus saw existing in America for the victims of despotism.

The recent mass raids and arrests of non-citizens and the attempt to secure the enactment of the Hobbs Concentration Camp Bill undermines the American democracy in which Emma Lazarus placed so much hope for the future of her people and her country.

#### Facilitate Naturalization

In celebrating the anniversary of Emma Lazarus' birth, we can best pay tribute to her memory and for the things for which she labored by working to achieve that vision of a living democracy for all peoples in this country, which she expressed in her life and in her work. One of the immediate objectives would be the defeat in Congress of the Hobbs Concentration Camp Bill and preventing by legislative action discrimination in employment against Americans of foreign birth.

At the same time, steps should be taken to facilitate the naturalization of non-citizens and as rapidly as possible to dispose of the two million applications for American citizenship that are pending with the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

#### Defeat Discrimination Against Foreign Born

Emma Lazarus wrote and lived in a different time. But, her life and her work is of great significance to us today since it symbolizes a deep hatred of oppression and also a spirit of tolerance and understanding, which the American people are endeavoring to strengthen in their efforts to forge unity of the entire population in the fight to defeat fascism.

Discrimination against the foreign born prevents unity of the people and, in that way, seriously endangers democracy in our own country. Every individual and every organization can contribute to the fight to defeat this scheme against America by immediately communicating with their own Congressmen demanding that the Hobbs Concentration Camp Bill, HR 3, be defeated. In this way we can keep alive the spirit of American democracy, which motivated Emma Lazarus' life, as the best defense of the rights and welfare of the American people against fascist aggression and the schemes of fascist sympathizers.



## THIRTY MILLION NEW AMERICANS

BY LOUIS ADAMIC

✓ WITHIN its population of one hundred and twenty-five million, the United States has to-day about thirty million citizens—the overwhelming majority of them young citizens—who are the American-born children of immigrant parents of various nationalities: German, Italian, Polish, Czech, Slovak, Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian, Bulgarian, Jewish, Russian, Carpatho-Russian, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Finnish, Hungarian, Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, Dutch, French, Flemish, Spanish, Portuguese, Rumanian, Armenian, Syrian, Lett, Albanian, Greek, Turkish, and, of course, English, Scotch, and Irish. ✓ The country as a whole is but dimly cognizant of this fact, which, in my opinion (held for some time, but lately much strengthened), is of fundamental and urgent importance in our contemporary social and cultural scene. It should perhaps particularly interest those Americans who consider themselves of the old Anglo-Saxon stock: ✓ for here is a tremendous new element—what will it do to the old stock?—to the country?—how will it affect the development of civilization and culture, of racial types on this continent?

Early last spring I spent seven weeks on what some people believed was a lecture tour, which took me to the great industrial centers of New York State, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, where the population is preponderantly “foreign”; actually, my trip was not so much a series

of speaking engagements as an attempt—a device—to get some clear idea, if possible, of this immense mass of so-called “second-generation” citizens, numerically predominant in some of the most important cities and towns, whom I choose to designate the New Americans. I spoke, or rather tried to speak, more or less on the subject of this article, to more than fifty audiences of anywhere from one hundred to twenty-five hundred men and women and young people, in big towns like Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Akron, Detroit, Chicago, South Bend, Milwaukee, St. Paul, and Duluth, and smaller communities like McKeesport, Canonsburg, Ambridge, Farrell, and Sharon, Pennsylvania; Lorain, Ohio; Flint, Michigan, and Hibbing and Eveleth, Minnesota. Some of my audiences were almost wholly “foreign,” others mixed “foreign” and old-stock American. At the time I knew very little about the subject; I merely sensed its importance; and, to keep going for an hour or so, I discussed things more or less akin to it and at the end, admitting my ignorance, invited my listeners to get up and say anything they liked in relation to my remarks. Those who were too bashful to talk in a crowd, I asked to speak to me after the lecture or call me at the hotel or write me a letter. Many of them, both old-stock Americans and New Americans, responded to this invitation. Some of them then asked me to their homes. Others wrote me

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long letters. And the result was that before my tour was half over I began to think that these New Americans—twenty-six millions of them in 1930 and increasing at the rate of perhaps more than a million a year—constituted one of the greatest and most basic problems in this country; in some respects, greater and more basic perhaps than, say, the problem of unemployment, and almost as urgent.

This problem has existed, in nearly the same proportions that it exists to-day, for a long time, but few people have shown eagerness and ability to deal with it in a broad, fundamental way. Much attention has been paid to the problem of the foreign-born—but not to that of their children, the American-born second generation. Even to-day, as already suggested, there is no acute or intelligent appreciation of it. Very little is being done about it; and the longer it is neglected the worse it will become, both for the New Americans and for America as a whole.

In this article it is not my ambition to present the problem in all its details, ramifications, significances, for it is a vastly complicated one and different in every locality and in every racial group; and, frankly, in spite of my seven weeks' study, I still have a great deal to learn about it. My purpose here is merely to give as strong and broad a general suggestion as I can of its character and what I think might be done concerning it.

On my trip I came in close personal contact largely with New Americans of Slavic origin, but also with a few of Finnish, Lithuanian, Scandinavian, Italian, Hungarian, Jewish, and Rumanian parentage, and what I say in the ensuing paragraphs applies, of course, particularly to the Slavic groups. I have no doubt, however, that what is true of them is, to a

greater or lesser degree, true also of some of the others.

## II

The chief and most important fact (the only one I shall stress here) about the New Americans is that the majority of them are oppressed by feelings of inferiority in relation to their fellow-citizens of older stock, to the main stream of American life, and to the problem of life as a whole; which, of course, is bad for them as individuals, but, since there are so many of them and their number is still rapidly increasing, even worse for the country.

These feelings of inferiority are to some degree extensions of their parents' feelings of inferiority as immigrants in a country so drastically different from their native lands. The fathers and mothers of these millions of New Americans were naturally at a disadvantage even in the most friendly surroundings, and the surroundings were seldom wholly and continually friendly. As foreigners, in many cases not speaking the English language, they occupied inferior positions in the country's social, economic, and political life. Most of them were workers, performing, by and large, the meanest tasks and receiving meager wages. All too often in one form or another, they bumped up against racial or general anti-immigrant prejudice. Old-stock American workers looked askance at them. Many of them lived in the worst sections of their cities and towns, and were called Hunkies or Bohunks, Dagoes or Wops, Polacks or Litvaks, Sheenies or Kikes. They were frequently—and unavoidably—discriminated against. And, in the face of all this, they inevitably felt, as individuals and as members of their immigrant groups, somewhat inferior in their relation to America and to

other people here, and their tendency was to segregate themselves and mingle as much as possible only with their own nationals. And, just as inevitably, that feeling and that tendency were extended to the children, these New Americans, who shared their parents' lives and experiences, and who too were (and still are) called Hunkies or Dagoes by children of Anglo-Saxon origin, and whose names—names like Zamblaoskas, Krmpotich, and Wojciezkowski—were (and are) subjects for jokes on the part of ignorant teachers, at which the whole school laughed.

But in this respect the majority of New Americans, as individuals, are in an even more unfortunate and uncomfortable position than were (or still are) their immigrant parents. The latter, even if they were uneducated peasants or laborers, living here on the lowest social-economic levels, had in them a consciousness, or at least a powerful instinctive feeling, of some kind of racial or cultural background. They knew who they were. They remembered their native lands. They were Italians or Croatians, Finns or Slovenians; and that meant something to them. Many came from countries which culturally and perhaps in some other respects were superior to the United States, which as a new country had not yet had time to develop along those lines; and when oppressed by feelings of inferiority induced by their circumstances in America, could take partial refuge in their racial and cultural backgrounds. Some of the better educated ones, who did not have merely instinctive feelings about the culture and history of their old countries, but were also intellectually conscious of their heritage, could even look down upon America and consider themselves superior to old-time Americans, thus counterbalancing or compensating themselves for the unpleas-

ant feelings about their immigrant status in the New World.

Unlike their parents, who are (or were) aware not only of their European background but of having made the transition from Europe to America and gained a foothold here, most New Americans have no consciousness or instinctive feeling of any racial or cultural background, of their being part of any sort of continuity in human or historic experience. Some of them seem almost as if they had just dropped off Mars and, during the drop, forgotten all about Mars. I know this to be so; I talked to scores and scores of them in more than a dozen different cities and towns. In the overwhelming majority of cases, the immigrant parents—uneducated working people or peasants from the various European countries—were too inarticulate to tell their sons and daughters who they (the parents) really were, and thus transmit to them some feeling or knowledge of their background.

The average Slavic peasant, for instance, who came to this country during the last twenty or thirty years in nine chances out of ten is unable to inform his offspring adequately who he is, what his old country is like, what his background (which, *ipso facto*, is his children's background) consists of. He tells his numerous sons and daughters that he is a Pole, a Croatian, a Slovak, a Slovenian; but that is about all. The children do not know what that really means. The man acts as if he were proud of being what he is, at least in the privacy of his home; for his instincts and his memories of the old country occasionally make him act that way. To his children, however, who are growing up under anything but the best influences of American life and who do not know that behind their father's pride is a rich and vital past, he very often seems not a little ridiculous, certainly not worthy of

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their respect. To them he is just a Hunkey or Polack, a "working stiff," a poor, pathetic creature constantly at somebody's mercy and repeatedly stepped upon, and as such not much according to American standards—standards which they picked up in the movies and from other powerful agencies in American life. Often they are half ashamed of him. The immigrant mother frequently finds herself in the same situation. And the results are unsatisfactory family life, personal tragedies of all sorts, maladjustments, social perversities.

It is not unusual for boys and girls in their late or even their middle teens to break away from the homes of their immigrant parents, and eventually to repudiate entirely their origin and to Anglicize their Polish, Croatian, Finnish, or Lithuanian names, which old-time Americans find so difficult to pronounce and so amusing. But that, of course, does not solve their problem. In most instances it only makes it worse, though as a rule they do not realize that. I met New Americans of this type; they were invariably hollow, absurd, objectionable persons.

However, the situation of many of those who do not break with their parents, change their "foreign" names, and wholly repudiate their origin is but little better than of those who do. They were born here and legally, technically, are citizens of the United States; but few—even in the most fortunate homes—have any strong feeling that they really belong here and are part of this country. For, by and large, the education which is inflicted on them in public schools and high schools and in parochial schools fails to make them Anglo-Saxon Americans or to give them any vital and lasting appreciation of the American heritage, while their Anglo-Saxon schoolmates, purposefully - by - accident stumbling over their feet and calling them Hun-

kies and Dagoes, and their teachers, making fun of their names, increase their feeling that they are not indigenous Americans, but outsiders who are more or less tolerated. Their instincts, if they have any, are at cross-purposes. They are bewildered persons, constantly oppressed, as I have said, by feelings of inferiority.

These feelings of inferiority manifest themselves variously. Some of the New Americans turn them inside out and become chauvinistically patriotic; only their chauvinism has no basis in any vital feeling. It is insincere, empty, mere lip-service, intended only to impress the dominant Anglo-Saxon element, with which they have to cope; and hence worse—for the development of their own characters—than chauvinism that has some basis in conviction or feeling in racial or national background. And where there is any sincerity in this sort of "patriotism," it is based solely on shallow materialistic concepts, which they have picked up in school and elsewhere. "This is the greatest country . . . we have the biggest buildings . . . the best ice-cream . . . more bathtubs than all the rest of the world," etc. Without realizing it, these New Americans are ready for almost any sort of shallow, ignorant nationalist or fascist movement which will not directly attack the new racial strains in America's population; and some of them perhaps would have no great trouble in bringing themselves to deny their parents, pose as old-stock Americans, and serve even a movement which would terrorize the immigrants and their children as the Hitler movement in Germany terrorized the Jews.

Other New Americans turn their inferiority inside out in another way. They become loud and tough, sometimes actively anti-social. But let me hasten to say that this last group is not so numerous as generally imagined by

✓ those who occasionally glance at crime and juvenile-delinquency statistics. The surprising thing to me is that there is not more delinquency and crime among the New Americans. And I should add too that the chauvinists mentioned above are not very numerous either. These categories together include perhaps less than five per cent of the New Americans.

✓ The majority of the grown-up New Americans just hang back from the main stream of life in this country, forming a tremendous mass of neutral, politically dead citizenry; while their younger fellow New Americans, boys and girls in their teens (about twelve million of them), now attending public and parochial schools and high schools, show dangerous signs of becoming the same kind of neutral, unstimulating citizens, unless something is done about it. There is among them little aggressiveness, little spirit of any sort. Without a vital sense of background, perennially oppressed by the feeling that they are outsiders and thus inferior, they will live outside the main stream of America's national life. This is especially true of groups which linguistically and culturally are farthest removed from the Anglo Saxon, and still more of groups which, besides being unrelated to the Anglo Saxon, are (or till lately have been) suppressed or subject nationalities in Europe.

✓ And these widespread personal inferiority feelings are producing in large sections of this New American element actual inferiority in character, mind, and physique. There is no doubt that, by and large, in bodily and other personal qualities many of the immigrants' children do not favorably compare with their parents. They cannot look one in the eye. They are shy. Their limp handshakes gave me creepy feelings all the way from New York to the Iron Range in Minnesota. Those handshakes symbolized for me

the distressing tendency on the part of this vast and growing section of America's population toward characterlessness, lack of force and spirit, and other inferior personal qualities.

From whatever angle one looks at it, this is a serious matter for the New Americans as individuals and for America. Thirty millions—or even twenty millions, a probable number to which most or all of my generalizations here are directly applicable—are a lot of people, and this "second generation" will be (many already are) the fathers and mothers of the third generation, and it is not impossible that in two or three decades more than half of the population of the United States will be of these new cultural and national strains.

### III

What then should be done—what can be done about it? I think I can make a suggestion.

✓ In going about the country last spring I met several New Americans of whom most of the things I say above are not true. None of them was totally free of personal inferiority feelings (in fact, I find that even very few old-stock Americans are entirely free of them), but they were, nevertheless, fine-looking young men and women, boys and girls, keen and alert, articulate, ambitious, personally charming. ✓ Some were still in high school, one or two in college, and doing well as students; in fact, rather better than old-stock American students. Their handshakes were firm and they looked me in the eye. A few had a lively sense of humor which they could apply to themselves. Their laughter had a healthy ring. They knew something of what was going on in the country, in the world. Some of them, although still very young, seemed to know what they wanted from life. Two or three

had literary ambitions. One told me he would try to get into politics "in a big way," by which I understood that the United States Senate was not beyond his gaze; and his name was Wojciezkowski. Another, attending the University of Pittsburgh, thought he might get a job in a steel-mill and become a labor leader. In a bleak iron town in Minnesota I met a pretty girl of Slovenian parentage who was the best student in her school, had a vivid personality, and seemed entirely normal in all her attitudes. And so on, and so on. They impressed me as real, solid persons who would be an asset to any country.

Nearly all of them, in their childhood and later, had been unpleasantly affected by their parents' humiliating experiences as immigrants and industrial workers, and had had disagreeable experiences of their own which touched them vitally. They had been called Hunkies, Polacks, Litvaks, Dagoes. Many of them had had (and were still having) difficulties with their names. A young man of Lithuanian parentage in Pittsburgh, and attending the university there, who was attractive, "clean cut" in the best American sense, but whose surname was Lamblagoskas, told me that when he was a young boy in McKeesport the teacher had been too lazy or too indifferent to take the trouble to pronounce his name, so she had called him only Johnnie, while almost all the other children in class had both a first name and a surname. Then the two-name children had begun to call him "Just Johnnie" or "Johnnie the Litvak," which annoyed him very much. As in hundreds of thousands of similar instances, this, in conjunction with other experiences of that nature, produced in him an acute inferiority complex which oppressed him for years—"until," as he put it, "I sort of worked myself out of it."

A young man of Slavic origin, whose surname also was difficult for Anglo-Saxon tongues, told me that in his boyhood he had suffered a great deal because old-stock American boys called him "Sneeze-it," because in school one day the teacher had said that his name could not be pronounced but thought that she could maybe sneeze it. "But now," he said to me, "things like that don't bother me very much."

Others in this category with whom I came in contact had had and were still having—invariably, let me repeat—other troubles on account of being immigrants' children; but these troubles were not seriously affecting them, were not preventing them from developing into balanced, strong and healthy, charming human beings.

Why? There are at least two explanations. One is that most of them lived, during at least part of their lives, in comparatively favorable economic circumstances, and their parents managed to give them some schooling in addition to the legal requirement, which helped them more or less to work themselves out of their various second-generation complexes. The other explanation (probably not unrelated to the first) is that, in all cases without exception which came to my attention, their fathers and mothers were wise and articulate enough to convey to them something of their backgrounds in the old countries; tell them what it meant to be a Finn, a Slovenian, a Serbian, a Croatian, a Slovak, a Czech, a Pole, or a Lithuanian, and inspire in them some respect for that meaning; make them conscious of their backgrounds and heritage, give them some sense of continuity, some feeling of their being part of America, in which immigrants like themselves played an important role—part of something bigger and better than the bleak, utterly depressing existence led by them and their neigh-



bors in the grimy steel-mill and iron- and coal-mining towns where they lived.

During my seven-week trip I met, as I say, scores and scores of these New Americans. Among them were some of the most attractive people I have encountered anywhere. Some of these I already have mentioned. Another was a girl born and still living in Cleveland whose father and mother were Slovenians; and there is no doubt in my mind that much of her charm issued from the fact that she was keenly conscious of her parents' native land and culture. Two years ago they had taken her on a visit to Slovenia or Carniola, now a part of Yugoslavia, and she had discovered a tiny country which is physically as lovely as anything she had seen in America; with an old, mellow culture, a rich folklore, a considerable modern literature, and interesting folkways behind which there are centuries of wisdom and a long, unbroken chain of experience on the part of a quiet, peace-loving little nation that has lived there for a thousand years.

Still another of these exceptional New Americans was a young six-footer of Finnish parentage on the Iron Range in Minnesota. He had never been to Finland, but knew a good deal about the basic cultural qualities of that country from his mother's word-pictures of it, had a fluent command of the Finnish language which did not interfere with his English, knew dozens of Finnish folk ballads and lyrics and sang them well, and had read and re-read in the original the great Finnish epic-poem "The Kalevala." He was quietly proud of his people's achievements on the Iron Range both in the mines and on the land, and thought that Minnesota was his country. Despite the bleakness of the region, and the hard life there led by most of the people, especially the Finns, he loved

the Iron Range. His people had worked and suffered there for decades and converted great parts of it into farming country, although before they came nobody had thought it could ever be made suitable for anything.

In short, he was conscious of his background; he had a sense of continuity, of being part of a great human experience, which was part of the still greater American adventure. Largely, I think, in consequence of this, a strength of character was discernible in his every move and utterance.

I could give a few more such cases of exceptional New Americans, but that would be, in the main, repeating what I tell of the girl in Cleveland and the boy in Minnesota. All of them—representing, however, but a small minority—were conscious and, in a greater or lesser degree, proud of their racial groups' background in the old countries, and some also of their racial groups' background and history in this country. They had a sense of continuity, a feeling of being a part of something. And they, I think, are the answer to the question: What should be done about the problem sketched in this article?

The answer is that the New Americans, whose inarticulate and otherwise inadequate (through no fault of their own) parents have been unable to give them much along these lines, should be helped to acquire a knowledge of, and pride in, their own heritage; and this help should come, in very large part, from already established and functioning social and cultural institutions and agencies—schools, libraries, settlement and community houses, newspapers, lecture forums, and so on—in co-operation with a central organization which should be formed for the purpose of devising ways to disseminate information about the several racial or national groups represented among the thirty million "second generation"

citizens, of studying the problem and working out programs of action for its gradual solution or amelioration, from the point of view of honest, intelligent patriotism—patriotism in the highest, broadest sense of the word which implies concern for the country's future, not in the corrupted or narrow group sense in which it is usually used.

By now it is obvious to many people interested in the problem that it is impossible and, what is more, *undesirable* to make the offspring of Lithuanians or Serbians into Anglo Saxons; that the aim should be rather to help them become real men and women on the pattern of their own natural cultures. There is no doubt that in the few places where no attempts have been made by "patriotic" old-time Americans to force immigrants' children into the old-stock American mold—as, for instance, in the Bohemian communities in Nebraska and Texas, where Bohemians already are in the fourth generation; in the little city of Hamtramck near Detroit, where the public school system consistently encourages the large Polish group there to keep its individuality; in O. E. Rølvaag's Norwegian settlements in the northwest; in some of the foreign "colonies" in New York City, notably the Ukrainian one on the Lower East-side; or in several small Polish, Italian, and Finnish rural communities in New England, up-state New York, and elsewhere—the development of character, mentality, and physique in the New American element has been vastly more felicitous than where such attempts have been made.

Social and cultural institutions and agencies in various cities and towns where the problem stares them all in the face wherever they turn already are beginning to do things to help New Americans develop more or less on the pattern of their backgrounds. To

give a few examples: in Cleveland the excellent public library organization, with its scores of branch libraries, has begun to help the New Americans to learn something about themselves, their parents' native lands and their national groups' history in this country, particularly in Cleveland. All three of the big newspapers there have special reporters covering the "foreign sections" of the city, and occasionally print feature articles about the various foreign groups' contribution to the growth and development of Cleveland. Three years in succession now, the *Cleveland Press* has sent to Europe a competent journalist who more or less understands the problem discussed in this article, to write from there "stories" about things in Poland, Lithuania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, and Yugoslavia—things which interest the immigrants from these countries and their American-born children. Public-school and high-school teachers in Cleveland, as in one or two other cities, whose classes in late years are anywhere from forty to eighty per cent "foreign," are becoming eagerly interested in "second-generation problems" which face them in the form of numerous neurotic and backward or "problem" children who, for no apparent reason, burst out crying in the middle of a lesson. Of late teachers nearly everywhere, I am told, have advanced so far that they take the trouble to learn the correct pronunciation of difficult Polish, Yugoslav, Lithuanian, Czech, Finnish, and Slovak names, and to caution the old-stock American boys and girls not to call the New American children Hunnies, Wops, and other such names of derision.

In Pittsburgh, the university, with its colossal new Cathedral of Learning, is developing an educational program or movement for that vicinity which, if carried out with force, cour-

age and wisdom, is apt to become a great factor in the upbuilding of character, mentality, and physique among the New Americans, who already form well over half of the Pittsburgh metropolitan area's population.

In more than half of the cities and towns which I visited I found the so-called International Institutes, some of them part of the Y.W.C.A., which—with their club-rooms, reading-rooms, lectures, social affairs, exhibits of European peasant arts, and printed matter—are beginning to attempt to do something for the second generation, especially the girls. In Flint, Michigan, and in one or two other places, I came upon purely local organizations, some of them officered and run by such exceptional New Americans as I have described above, aiming to help the general run of New Americans to fight their feelings of inferiority.

I came upon professional social workers who were doing elaborate researches in certain phases of the problem and knew a great deal about the local departments thereof. The directors of most of the settlement-houses in Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, and Milwaukee were more or less awake to the situation as it existed locally and—in most cases, however, without having any real understanding of it—were also trying to do something about it. The same could be said of various settlement-house workers, teachers, a few ministers, and other agencies elsewhere.

All these efforts or, rather, beginnings of efforts are local, however; usually honest enough but very restricted in scope. The International Institutes, for instance, appeal largely to girls. There is no central or national organization interested in the thing as a countrywide problem, which it undoubtedly is, and, as I have tried

to show here, a tremendous and important one—important to old-stock Americans and to Americans of the third and fourth generation no less than to these New Americans, and to America as a whole.

#### IV

The organization I have in mind, which let us designate here as XYZ, would have, during the next fifteen or twenty years, a vast and complicated task to perform—namely, to give these millions of New Americans a knowledge of, and pride in, their own heritage, which, to some extent, would operate to counteract their feelings of inferiority about themselves in relation to the rest of the country; and, simultaneously, to create a sympathetic understanding toward them on the part of older Americans, so that the latter's anti-"foreign" prejudice, which is just now on the rise and is partly to blame for inferiority feelings in the new racial groups, would tend to lessen and ultimately be reduced to a minimum.

It would be a great educational-cultural work, the basic aim of which would be (1) to reach, in one way or another, almost everybody in this country with the fact—I hate the word message—that socially and culturally the United States, as it stands to-day, is an extension not only of the British Isles but, more or less, of all Europe; and (2), with constant reiteration and intelligent elaboration of that fact, to try to harmonize and integrate, so far as possible, the various racial and cultural strains in our population without suppressing or destroying any good cultural qualities in any of them, but using and directing these qualities toward a possible enhancement of the color and quality of our national life in America.

Probably the first group to be

reached by XYZ are the public-school and high-school teachers in communities with large "foreign" populations. They should be helped to find out who these youngsters filling their classrooms and responding to such names as Adamovicz, Kotcka, Amblaoskas, Hurja, Balkovec, and Pavelka really are. They should be informed that the children of Yugoslav (Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian) parents, for instance, have, by virtue of their birth, a great heritage which reaches a thousand years into European history and almost five hundred years into American history—that there is good reason for believing that Yugoslavs were on Columbus' ships when he bumped into this continent—that Yugoslav marines touched this continent in their own ships only a few years after Columbus—that Yugoslavs were in California before the Yankees arrived there, and were pioneers in two of California's now most important industries, fruit-growing and fishing—that in the last fifty years Yugoslavs, hundreds of thousands and perhaps millions of them, were among the most competent workers in America's most important industries, mining and steel-making, and as such have contributed enormously to the upbuilding of this country—that two of the most important men living in America today (important from the point of view of constructive, permanent achievement) are two electrical scientists, Nikola Tesla and Michael Pupin, both natives of what now is Yugoslavia—that Henry Suzzallo, one of America's most important educators, was a second-generation American, born in California, of Yugoslav parents—that Ivan Mestrovich, the sculptor, whose works are to be seen in Chicago, Detroit, Minneapolis, New York, and elsewhere, is a Yugoslav; and so on. I mention here what the teachers should be helped to

find out about the Yugoslav strain, because I know more about it than any other; but they should be informed also about the Polish, Czech, Slovak, Lithuanian, Hungarian, and the other strains—so that occasionally, preferably at some dramatic moment, as, for instance, after a clash between an Anglo-Saxon boy and a "Hunky" boy, they could talk about them in class.

The XYZ might develop a special literature on the subject of New Americans, addressed to teachers; it might have competent speakers able to address teachers' conventions, college student bodies and faculties, women's clubs, and other groups.

It might start a campaign for the revision of history text-books, giving recognition to recent immigrant groups from Eastern Europe, the Balkans, and elsewhere for their contributions to the upbuilding of America as she stands to-day. Such revisions should mention, perhaps, that in this upbuilding of modern America at least as many "Hunkies" and "Dagoes" died or were injured as early American colonists were killed in subduing the wilderness and in the War for Independence. The part played by the newer groups should be fitted into the history of the American adventure as a whole. This revision of text-books might, indeed, be among its first and most important tasks.

It might start a press service for English-language newspapers published in cities and towns whose population includes a large proportion of "foreigners" and for English pages of foreign-language newspapers. This service should include vividly written, authentic material on the backgrounds, history, culture, and contributions of the different "foreign" groups to the upbuilding of America, and stories of individual and group achievement.

It might publish pamphlets in Eng-

lish dealing with various phases of the problem; start a library of all available literature and material on the subject; make special efforts to stimulate interest and participation in the folk arts.

It might utilize the radio for this work, with special programs including, let us say, music and folk-songs of the various nations. Eventually it might arrange essay contests dealing with the history and contribution of the different "foreign" groups and other appropriate topics, open to New Americans in high-schools and colleges, with suitable prizes such as scholarships or trips to the native countries of the contestants' parents. It might organize group tours to European countries on which New Americans could discover their parents' old countries.

But enough of these suggestions. I make them largely to elucidate the problem further. Perhaps, if the national XYZ organization is not formed in the near future—though I feel certain that eventually something like it will be formed—local groups already interested in the matter possibly will find them helpful.

## V

I realize, of course, that the problem I sketch above is closely tied up with the socio-economic system under which we live; that, next to their being more or less strangers here, the worst factors behind the inferiority feelings of these millions of New Americans are poverty and its sister-evil, ignorance, both of them brought over by the immigrants and then fostered by

conditions here; and that the cure for most of the second-generation ills lies, ultimately, in the solution of our socio-economic problem. I doubt, however, whether the latter problem will be quickly and satisfactorily solved in this country if we permit to develop in our population a vast element, running into tens of millions, which is oppressed by acute feelings of inferiority and, largely as a result of those feelings, is becoming actually inferior human material—bewildered, politically neutral, economically unaggressive, prepared to live meekly, slavishly on the dole, and culturally nowhere. If this element is left alone in the face of its growing economic difficulties and rising prejudice against it on the part of "patriotic" older Americans, there soon will be no help for it. I imagine that hundreds of thousands of New Americans already are hopeless as potential constructive elements in any sort of vital, progressive civilization and culture; and if their number is permitted to increase, they will—let me repeat—profoundly affect the future of this country in a way that no one would want to see it affected.

On the other hand, if something is done about the problem in the spirit of the above general suggestions, I believe that the majority of the New Americans and the generation that they will produce will have an opportunity to become a great body of self-respecting, constructive citizenry; and that, with the diverse racial and cultural backgrounds they inherited from their immigrant parents, they will enrich the civilization and deepen the culture in this New World.



# Social Workers and the Frame of Government

*By Joseph P. Chamberlain*

FROM two points of view social workers as a class, either professional or non-professional, are inevitably concerned with state administration: first, from that of securing efficiency in the many social functions which the state has undertaken; second, from that of assuring all practical economy, so as large a surplus of revenue as possible will remain to be applied to the ever increasing social activities of the state.

There is no probability of a lessening of these activities which arise from the increasing density of population and the sense of the importance of the well-being of individuals to the welfare of the community and of other individuals therein. The poor we may always have with us; individual improvidence cannot be prevented; the tubercular, the narcotic addict are not necessary consequences of our social order, and each consumptive, each addict is a source of infection for other, healthy persons—our own closest friends perhaps. Only by state action, repressive and healing, can the people be freed from these dangers; but state action costs money. Better schools and better paid teachers, especially in the rural districts, mean more money; an improved health service means a larger and costlier health service; better roads imply greater initial and upkeep expense. Those who drive automobiles for pleasure as well as those who must go to state tuberculosis sanatoria are equally beneficiaries of state social activities. The real needs of the people which must be satisfied through the state, are so evidently expanding that not only increase in revenue, but economy in expenditure will be needed to meet them. One of the most clearly evident and fruitful sources of this economy lies in the improvement of the organization of state government, not on its political side, which registers the will of the people, but on its working side, which carries out this will.

Many efforts have been made and are being made to put through such an improvement, either by means of the budget or by reorganization of the state government to secure greater responsibility and efficiency. In some states, administrative reorganization is an accomplished fact; in others, official plans are proposed for the voters to consider. The latest plan is that of the New York State Reconstruction Commission which, as it was appointed and is backed by an energetic and experienced governor, is certain to have serious consideration.

The plan itself is not novel. It follows the recognized lines of centralization of authority and fixing responsibility which were adopted by the New York State Constitutional Convention of 1915 and by the legislatures of progressive states. The commission finds the administration divided into 180 different boards or bureaus, each running along its own lines, with no responsible head or organization for the whole. The governor, the constitutional chief executive, has no real control over most of his subordinates, many of whom he does not appoint and can only remove for serious misbehavior. The consequence of this lack of central control over operation and expense is overlapping of work and high and uneven cost of operation in different bureaus. As there is no central administrative authority, furthermore, there can be no efficient budget-making, no financial plan in the interest of the state as a

whole, proposed by a responsible executive for the consideration of the legislature, and, in consequence, this most important check on extravagance and inefficiency is wholly lacking.

The commission meets the situation by radically changing the present system. Its plan divides the state administration into sixteen great departments, whose heads constitute a sort of cabinet for the governor. In principle they should all be appointed by him and should go out of office with him, so that he and his party should be responsible for his administration; but the commission has found it impossible to carry out this reform completely, and two important departments—education and farms and markets—remain under boards chosen by the legislature. The State Hospital Commission is also finally put in charge of the department of mental hygiene, and the State Board of Charities, of the department of charities, which is a supervisory and not an administrative organ.

## The Comptroller

THE head of another department, the comptroller (department of audit and control), is generally admitted to be an exception to the principle that the governor should appoint the heads of departments. He is the auditor of the state; his duty is not to carry on part of the work of the administration, but to see that those who do carry it on spend the state's money honestly and in accord with law; he is the critic of the administration in the interest of the people. Consequently he should be independent of it, and the commission has left his office elective as at present, with the same term as the governor. In principle he should have even greater independence and that fearlessness which security of tenure and long experience alone can give. He should hold his office during good behavior as in Great Britain, and as is proposed for the United States in the Good bill, recently passed by the lower house of Congress; but as long as judges of the highest court remain elective, it is not probable that a different rule can be applied to the comptroller. The term, however, allowed by the plan is too short. It is no argument that he should go out of office with the governor. He is a critic, not a part of the administration, and a twelve-year term, making his office more nearly equal in dignity to that of a judge and emphasizing its non-partisan character, would be an improvement.

The reorganization of state care for mental defectives by including all institutions which care for them in a department of mental hygiene, the plan finally adopted, cannot fail of approval, and the difference in the nature of this problem and that of the Board of Charities is a logical reason for the establishment of a separate department of charities. The Board of Charities, furthermore, has a different function from that of the department of mental hygiene. It does not administer state institutions, it supervises and sets standards for locally controlled or private charitable institutions, so that a separate organ is, in any case, necessary. It is in line with modern thought to bring all persons in correctional institutions under a single control. The line which divides prisoners in reformatories and those in penitentiaries is too often arbitrary, and

Before the 44-hour week resolution became effective it was necessary to have it ratified by the different organizations represented in the council. This is the regular procedure when important issues are involved.

Other subjects to which the council is giving attention are the standardization of contract, the apprenticeship problem, the creation of district councils and wage uniformity.

The wage principles which have been endorsed by the International Joint Conference Council are as follows:

1. That the industry frankly recognizes the cost of living as compared to 1914 as the basic factor in wage adjustments.
2. The industry to pay at least a reasonable living wage; scales below this to be adjusted in frank recognition of the basic principle involved.
3. That, when not in conflict with the existing laws of a constituent body, local contracts to be for a period not less than three years, and include a clause providing for annual readjustments of wages based upon the cost of living as determined by authorities jointly agreed upon and upon the economic condition of the industry at the time of readjustment.
4. That a uniform standard system of cost accounting is considered fundamental to insure stability, permanence and prosperity to the industry and to provide a basis for securing a greater degree of uniformity in conditions throughout the country; a clause to be included in local agreements providing that such standard system as is recognized by the organizations represented in the International Joint Conference Council to be required.
5. That controversies over wages, hours and working conditions can and should be settled without resorting to lockouts or strikes through voluntary agreement to refer disputes when unable to settle through conciliation to joint boards of arbitration composed of equal representation of employers and of employees, provision being made for an impartial arbitrator if necessary.

The council is not a closed body. Eligible organizations which are not now members may unite with it by ratifying its principles. In addition to working out a system of industrial justice and to developing district organizations for legislative purposes, the council has given consideration to writing a uniform arbitration agreement to cover all branches of the industry. The basis of the general contract is the international arbitration agreement which now binds the International Typographical Union and the Closed Shop Division of the United Typothetae and the Franklin Clubs of America.

Thus the printing trades are building for themselves a system of economic government and of industrial law. It is significant to observe in this connection that in the very preamble of their agreement the assertion is made that "compulsory arbitration is deemed impracticable as a means of adjusting controversies between employers and employees." Voluntary agreements with conciliation and arbitration are the method preferred. The importance of this decision, arrived at by organizations of business men and of workers, who have had long experience in dealing with each other through collective bargaining, is great. It is no doctrinaire pronouncement nor is it an assertion of prejudice. It is a deliberate judgment founded on a great body of observation and of experiment. The business men and the union leaders who have united in this venture have taken simply the next rational step in the management of their own affairs. But at the same time they have given striking testimony to the direction in which industry is now marching.

A similar development in the men's and boys' clothing industry was reported last autumn [see the SURVEY for September 13, 1919]. Congress is now considering proposals which must have kindred consequences in the railroad field. The Railroad Administration in fact as one of its first acts unified the industrial relations of all the transportation systems under its control. In a less comprehensive way the stove founders have for some time been enjoying the benefits of a national economic organization. Somewhat informally but not less fundamentally the coal industry has been going through a kindred process. In Great Britain the movement has been paralleled in part by the creation of Whitley councils and in part by the unofficial organization of basic industries. Other important evidences of the drift can be found in various European countries.

Speaking broadly at least four stages of our economic his-

tory have been recorded since the United States became an industrial nation. The first of these was seen by the generations which witnessed with so many misgivings the rise of the modern corporation. Contemporary with that was the birth of the trade union. The individually owned business and the partnership gave way to the corporation and simultaneously workers were compelled to unite in local groups to protect their standards of living. That stage lasted until after the close of the Civil War.

The next step was the coalescing of corporations into pools. During these years the powerful unions merging many locals were formed. At the same time first the Knights of Labor and later the American Federation of Labor endeavored to unite the workers on a national scale.

Almost imperceptibly pools became holding companies and trusts and the third stage was at hand. During those years organized workers had great difficulty in maintaining their standard of living. It is probably fair to say that unions discovered no variety of organization as useful to their purposes as the trust proved to be to investors and to employers. The generation prior to 1914 may well come to be known from the standpoint of workers as the dark age of American labor history. In many industries the law of supply and demand regulated wages and living conditions. Ordinarily there were more workers than jobs. Consequently the welfare of the wage-earner suffered fearfully.

During all these years organization on a large scale was resented by the American people. Corporations were regarded with hostility. Pools were fought. Trusts were forbidden. Trade unions were often deemed to be not unlike conspiracies. Yet all grew. No anti-trust act has ever thwarted the integration of industry. The economic movement of the time ran counter to the will of the majority and to the enactments of legislatures and of Congress. Naturally the majority found themselves balked while law-makers discovered that they could not successfully prevent the formation of larger and larger industrial units. The law and the facts were in such opposition that finally a United States court refused to pretend to dissolve a trust because in the judgment of the court the trust was good. The judge at least was convinced that his decree was not potent enough to recall a day that was dead.

Then came the war. Under governmental sanction everything which through unification seemed to be more productive was brought under a single control. The necessity of war at last sanctioned trusts and many another variety of national industrial organization. In the midst of war the anti-trust laws were silent. The organization of workers moreover advanced on an unprecedented scale.

Instead of being opposed trade unions were welcomed. It was discovered that they alone possessed the key to the morale of workers. Under the stress of the world conflict labor leaders became counsellors and statesmen. Some Americans fancy that this occurred only in the United States and here because Washington had a wretched penchant for union votes. Nothing of course is more at variance with the facts.

The end of fighting in theory, however, was to bring a return to the conditions which existed prior to August 1, 1914. Nothing remotely like that has happened. Instead we in the United States in common with the rest of mankind have had to move forward. To meet the new problems we have been forced to create new industrial machinery. So it is that a development such as the International Joint Conference Council of the Allied Printing Trades has arisen. The country has become a single market and even the printers whose businesses are relatively still small and individually owned have been driven to recognize this reality. To a degree unapproached in some other industries they, furthermore, have preserved competition. Their present integration on a national scale, albeit, does not weaken that competition. On the contrary by equalizing industrial conditions competition is reinforced, for thereby efficient management is given a fair field to show its unimpeded powers.

WILLIAM L. CHENERY.

# CONSTITUTION DAY BULLETIN

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Chairman Constitution Day

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NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSE

428 SOUTH FIRST STREET

LOUISVILLE, KY.

Address at Armory  
Constitution day  
Sept. 17, 1924

Your Honor, Mr. Mayor, members of the committee, Fellow citizens:-  
I have the honor to represent the naturalized citizens of Louisville and to address this gathering in a few words. The boundaries of America and also the hearts of the citizens are open to those who came to dwell among the Americans and become one of them. I am proud to say that I and all I represent are one of you.

Now for those who had not a chance yet to become an American I say to them, become one at once, go to that school at the neighborhood House which is there for you and learn about Americanism and then the Examination will be easy for you and friends after the Judge has accepted you as a citizen. Friends, you must go thru it to realize what it means to you to be a free citizen of a free country, you know America protects you and you must protect America.

Fellow Citizens! I say, we are a free people yes, that is what the Constitution gives us. Right here let me beg of you to support that wonderful document and hesitate at the thought of changing it. True it can be changed to meet new conditions when ever the people so decide.

Our constitution protects us in every way, giving to the citizens of this wonderful country Freedom of religion, the first cause of settlement in the United States, Freedom of Speech, freedom of press and all the other rights which we enjoy.

Another word for the upholding of our constitution - think what protection it gives to us thru the power of the Supreme Court of the United States passing just judgment on every law before we are subjected to it, therefore I say:- Uphold the constitution, because under its wise provisions the United States has developed into a great nation of a happy and prosperous people and because it provides for the freedom, protection and opportunity for every citizen, whether native born or naturalized.

In conclusion, permit me to thank you in the name of the naturalized citizens of Louisville whom I have the honor to represent on this occasion for according us the opportunity of becoming one of you. Thank you. John Peter Assent.



## Tentative Questions Regarding Settlements

Neighborhood Division - Americanization Study - Carnegie Corporation

576 Fifth Avenue, New York

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This tentative memorandum is brought to the attention of Settlement workers attending the Conference of the National Federation of Settlements for the purpose, especially, of serving as a basis for interviews on the part of representatives of the Study. Either Mr. John Daniels, chief of the division, or Miss Elizabeth Roemer, who are attending the Conference, will be interested to talk with delegates at the latter's convenience. A luncheon table has been reserved by the Curtis Publishing Company to which those who wish are invited to come. As the brief time available, however, will of course suffice for only a few interviews, it is hoped that other headworkers of Settlements will be good enough to correspond with Mr. Daniels in connection with these questions, and that they will themselves ask any questions or offer any suggestions which may occur to them.

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Such relations would include consultation with officers and leaders, engagement in joint projects, use of the Settlement as a meeting place, and mutual representation on committees and governing boards.

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Individual participation would include, first, the individual's part in the activities of the Settlement itself, and his share in directing the Settlement groups with which he is connected and in affecting the general policy. It would also include the broader relations with the community and the affiliations with American organizations or interests brought about either through membership in Settlement groups or indirectly through Settlement influences. Political participation through naturalization, voting, and political leadership promoted by the Settlement would come in here, and finally the development by the Settlement of individual leaders within the neighborhood.

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Such development would presumably come about partly through groups, formed by and within the Settlement, becoming later self-directing, and partly by such groups being formed outside the Settlement, either with its advice or through the initiative of leaders developed by it.

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# Schools for New Citizens

by VIOLA PARADISE

A stirring chapter in the history of U. S. education—the Americanization of refugees from Europe—as observed by a writer who recently visited classrooms and agencies in a number of communities.

SEPTEMBER . . . A NEW SCHOOL TERM. NOT ONLY FOR America's millions of school children, but for some two and a half million adults, as well. Under the sponsorship of local school boards, WPA, settlements, unions, churches, they study subjects ranging from simple English to international relations, from Diesel-engine operating to dietetics. A class may be homogeneous—like one where thirty native Americans stand crowded in a Mississippi kitchen to learn to read and write their own language; or, in Arizona, where a group of Americans still speaking the language of their Spanish ancestors (who established missions in that territory in 1629) are now discovering their native tongue; or it may be a New York City school room, where students of a dozen different nationalities are also learning English.

But whatever the place and pace of learning, whatever the sponsorship, the classes have this in common: adults are eagerly acquiring knowledge in which they are absorbed or for which they will have immediate use.

Into this set-up comes the refugee.

He presents no new problems to the school systems of the country. Only some minor adjustments. For a while the public schools of New York and several other large cities did provide special refugee classes, both in day and evening schools. It was soon found, however, that nearly all the newcomers could fit into regular classes. And though some public schools and many private organizations still arrange special instruction for special groups, by and large public education takes the refugee in its stride.

The new refugee is in many ways easier to teach than the earlier immigrant. Schooling has been an important part of his life. Most of the adults have had the equivalent of our highschool education. Many have had university training. Visit almost any evening English class and you will find a refugee engineer, chemist, scholar. But though many of the emigres had acquired a little book-English in the course of their education and wanderings, most of them have still to learn to speak with ease, to think in English and, added one teacher, recalling many stories of horror and hardship, "even to forget in English."

The American school helps him forget. He has come expecting something rather forbidding. Instead he finds friendliness and individual attention. And a chance not only to pronounce words, but to contribute his own ideas.

## Learning the American Language

SUPPOSE YOU VISIT AN ADVANCED CLASS IN SPEECH IMPROVEMENT.

It is a little after seven. Twenty students have taken their seats. Others will be a little late, because of their working hours.

A new pupil presents his registration card. He clicks his

heels and bows from the waist. His eyes are guarded. "In a few days," the teacher tells you, "he will come in with an easy American 'Good Evening.' Like these."

A Czechoslovak couple has just entered, the woman ahead of the man. "It is not only our language idioms they must learn," she continues, smiling, "but the idiom of our manners. Sometimes it is harder for a man to let his wife precede him into the room than to get words in the right order in a sentence."

The Czechoslovak couple—from the Sudetenland—appreciate the joke, and explain it to the new student in German. He thaws a little.

As the teacher writes a list of words on the board, you look at some of the other students. Afterwards you learn that the handsome white-pompadoured woman with earrings was a teacher in Italy; that the hollow-eyed German is an anthropologist who spent two years in a concentration camp; that the bowed bald man—once a Berlin factory owner—had almost starved on his then fantastic but now almost commonplace odyssey, via Poland, Lithuania, the whole width of Russia, Japan, and finally across the Pacific to the United States; that the distinguished looking man with the deeply lined face and long pliant fingers is a Hamburg surgeon, here only nine weeks, who must wait five years and become a citizen before he will be allowed to practice.

You see, too, many others, long in the United States: A Greek fruit store owner, spurred by the Alien Registration Act into a realization of the value of citizenship, is trying to learn the language he has been mispronouncing for two decades. And, with a start of surprise, you recognize a good sprinkling of American-born students.

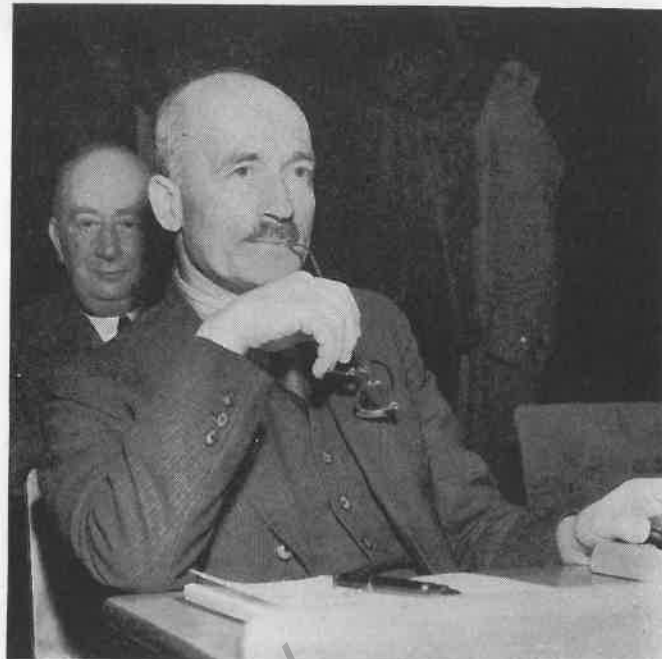
A pronunciation drill begins the session. *This, those, thirty, thirsty, nothing*. . . Will these tongue-biting words ever be conquered? And which will be hardest—for the Hamburg surgeon to change his *sirsty* to *thirsty*, for a Hungarian butcher to *think* instead of *tink*, for a sad-eyed Viennese anthropologist to transform *nossine* to *nothing*; or for an American machinist to wrench free of his life-time habit of saying *thoity* and *nutt'n*?

But before your very ears some amazing improvements are accomplished, and more are promised.

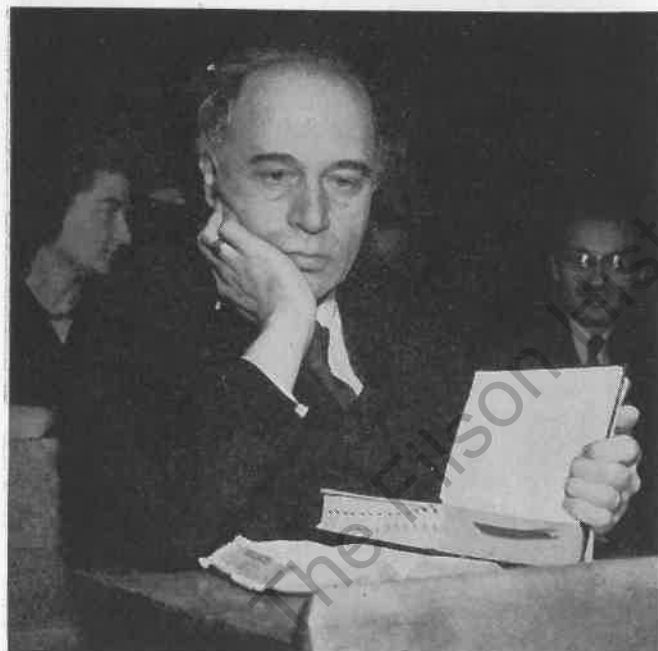
Next comes reading, with a current events magazine as text. The students read in turn, the others following silently with their lips, alert for the teacher's corrections, stopping for definition and comment. Then a lesson in dictation—a rather difficult poem. You feel sure it is beyond the ability of the class, but you are pleasantly surprised at the number who get it with only a few mistakes. The newest comers and the most backward students of course make a good many, and one or two have given up after a short try. (*Continued on page 472*)



Most of her life lies ahead



He was a scholar in his native land



The American school helps him forget



She comes from Italy; her son is a professor

International Photos

## NIGHT SCHOOLS FOR NEWCOMERS

The absorbed people on these two pages are refugee students in the evening elementary schools in New York City. They have come from many countries, though 79 percent of last year's 8,382 students were from Germany and Austria. Of these 1,025 were under 21 years of age, and 4,366 between 21 and 40. The largest single group were newcomers (3,791) and most of these were first year aliens.

Not one of the refugee students was illiterate—21 percent of the men and 18 percent of the women had had some college

training; 59 percent of the men, 21 percent of the women had had secondary schooling.

As the superintendent of schools points out in his annual report on the night schools for 1939-40: "It is 109 years since night schools for adults first began in this city. In the last year we have seen new problems, new programs and new objectives grow, keeping pace with the change in the tide of immigrants coming to our shores and with the native-born who seek to go on with their education."



Now it is young *and* old in the night school

International Photos



Married couples attend class together

The teacher looks at a number of papers, and chooses one student to copy his upon the board. The others compare and correct, and those who could not get the poem from dictation, copy it into their notebooks for home study.

Then the class moves on to its favorite stage—discussion.

Who will volunteer to give a two or three minute speech? A pause. Then a plump Italian gets up and makes an impassioned plea for all-out aid to Britain. The teacher interrupts only near the end, to call time, and to point out a few of the speaker's errors. An Irish-American woman—about fifty—is next. Twisting at her dress like an embarrassed little girl, she tells how she gets people to give bundles for Britain: she helps them clean out their closets. Next a shy girl, whose nationality you never learn, suggests that somebody speak on what to do about subversive propaganda. Now one of the Americans gets up. "I'm a subversive guy," he begins, and makes a speech maintaining that this is not our war. There is much head-shaking at this but no violent discussion, and most of the students write down the twelve books which the subversive guy recommends—books ranging from "In Place of Splendor" to "Red Star Over China." Next a White Russian, veteran refugee in many lands but only now come to America, answers in gentle but badly broken English. "You are mistakit. You are been foolished wit propaganda," he begins. Next the Greek makes a three sentence contribution. "Here in America is free speech. Here in this class everybody speak how he think. Nobody mad." Then the American machinist gives a brief and intelligent talk on unemployment insurance.

By now they all want to speak, but the bell rings. The hour-and-a-half is over. The teacher reminds them of an imminent expedition to the Museum of Natural History. They gather their notebooks and leave, some to go into other classes, some for home. They've learned a good bit, and they've had a good time.

### Free Speech, Unafraid

ONE OR TWO OF THE TEACHERS TOOK ADVANTAGE OF HAVING a visitor present to invite special discussion. Many refugee students were eager to talk about differences between life and customs here and in the countries they used to call home.

"The hardest," said a young German, "was conversation. Not the English, I learned enough for talking in England. But what to talk *about*? People asked me only, how was it in a concentration camp? Or how did it feel to be bombed? Or do I like America? Then comes the silence from nothing more to say. You feel how—the way—you are classified, *alien*. But now, since I come to school, now I have much with Americans."

"Yes," said another. "In school for the first time I feel I *belong* to a country. What happens in your newspapers, even your history, they are for *me*, too."

"Your history," said an older man. "At home we were taught it is too new to count. But here we learn that a few years of American history can make much for civilization. Because your history, it is the history of an idea, an ideal. Liberty—that was once only a word. Here it is something, even for *me*."

"Even yet," said another, "I am not easy with liberty. When people talk against Hitler, out of habit my head turns. *Suppose someone listens!*"

"It took one year," said another, "not to tremble when someone spoke to criticize the President. Even now, when

a cartoon makes fun with him, then I know I am not yet Americanized to think such freedom should be. That is, I *think* it should but—don't *feel* it."

"For me," said another, "the hardest was to lose the old life, before Hitler. Here I am nobody."

"Oh, he will change," a young woman interrupted. "Soon we let go of the past. Soon we don't have to tell people how important once we were."

"There is even a joke about that," said another. "An American dachshund met a refugee dachshund. 'So you're a refugee dachshund,' he said. And the refugee dog answered, 'Yes, but in Germany I was a St. Bernard!'" And they all laughed.

"Even laughter," said another, "we find again in America. Only not our right jobs. *That* is the hardest. And besides English so many new things to learn."

The refugee has indeed many things to learn; to travel by subway, to use our telephones, to buy our groceries—new brands and grades, weights and measures, new foods, especially vegetables; and new cooking. He must learn, too, a whole new code of American manners: the small change of our conversation; how to behave in a restaurant; that we have no equivalent of the European coffee house, where one cup of coffee entitles one to spend the whole evening over newspapers and talk. He must learn, too, how to take his children's Americanization, and America's way of treating children. "Why," said one father, "when I came to school to register, the principal not only asked *me*, he asked *my child* to sit down!"

But they learn quickly. Many attend not only the WPA or other public school classes, but seek out special classes sponsored by private organizations.

Perhaps the most outstanding of these private organizations is New York's Committee for Refugee Education, with which twenty-one social service groups cooperate—Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, non-sectarian. This committee's work has a significance quite apart from the fact that in its fifteen months' existence it has given instruction to some 3,400 refugees: it has pioneered in the collection and development of teaching materials. Its "Guide to Materials for Teaching English to Refugees," prepared by Fanne Aronoff, Gilbert Convers, and Nora Hodges is endorsed by state and government bureaus. It has become a valuable contribution not only to teachers of refugees, but to the whole adult education field. It is useful, too, to teachers in public schools, especially in communities with little money to spend, for it reveals an enormous amount of historical and other educational material which can be secured free or for a nominal charge.

This committee and the public schools and libraries work closely together. Indeed the whole field of education for the refugee and for the older immigrant—national and local, public and private—offers inspiring examples of cooperation. The Office of Education in Washington, the WPA education service, the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice, all pull together to promote good citizenship among America's foreign born. English and naturalization classes under every kind of sponsorship make good use of the excellent federal textbook on citizenship, "Our Constitution and Government," published by the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice. Other teaching materials developed in one part of the country are made available to other parts, largely through the services of the WPA.





An English and citizenship class in Charleroi, Pa.

A whole article might be written on the WPA Americanization and Citizenship program. This is only one part of the WPA education program, in which, in January 1941, 956,163 adults were enrolled. In its 4,187 naturalization classes, 78,691 foreign students are learning, besides English and American history—

their rights under the constitution and their duties as citizens . . . how our federal government operates and how the state and local governments operate. They learn about the Supreme Court. . . . They learn our American customs and American ideals. They learn to outgrow old nationalistic loyalties and prejudices. . . . They become friends with their neighbors from other lands.

They are taught in terms of adult thought. . . . They learn: "This is a democracy," instead of "I see a cat." They learn "I am free"—"I have a job." They learn about things relating to their own adult lives. They enjoy themselves while learning to become good American citizens.—From a leaflet, *The WPA Americanization and Citizenship Program*, published by the Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C.

The friendly spirit which the refugee finds in Americanization classes he finds, too, in other American institutions—our public libraries, for example. These are a revelation and a boon, especially to book-starved scholars who for years have been denied the use of libraries in their native countries—often, indeed deprived of their own books. Many of them had read translations of certain American authors—Jack London, Upton Sinclair, Theodore Dreiser, Sinclair Lewis—and out of these had built up a spotty picture of American culture. In the libraries they fill out the picture. They want books on American history, customs, all phases of American life. To meet this need a descriptive list called *Interpreting America* and a series of regional lists to be distributed to refugees who are being "resettled" in different parts of the country, have been issued by the Readers' Advisers of the New York Public Library. "The public library," says the head of this service, Jennie M. Flexner, in a paper

on "Readers' Advisers Work with the New Emigre," "offers the first real touch of freedom. . . . Books are a way to learn to live among us . . . . Among books these men assume again the stature of men, and the librarian has the privilege of taking part in restoring to these emigres the sense of belonging . . . which will enable them to make their real contribution to the life of the country."

### A Fresh Accent on Patriotism

THERE IS A LITTLE DANGER OF GIVING THE IMPRESSION that all refugees are extraordinarily intelligent and adaptable. There are of course many who find the going hard, the language baffling, the new customs bewildering. But these are in the minority. For the most part the refugees take up their new life with determination, face their new hardships with courage. "I used to teach philosophy," said one. "Now I must develop a new—how do you say?—a new brand. I go to California to become a butler. Now I must hope to be a *good* butler, till my better chance comes. And it can come—no?—in this democracy."

Last June, at the graduation exercises of New York City's elementary evening schools, a Czech refugee, a chemist, made the valedictory address. When he said, "We owe a special debt to this country whose adherence to its guiding principles of democracy and humanity has snatched us . . . from the misery and brutality of a world gone mad. Our many nationalities and creeds are fused in a common objective—to serve this, our adopted country," every word rang with meaning. And it found a moving response among the other 1,400 graduates, representing seventy-five nationalities and many degrees of culture.

And, at the graduation exercises of an elementary day school, a fourteen-year-old refugee child said in her essay on "What It Means to Me to Be an American."

America! . . . My heart leaps with gratitude. . . . I am here in this new country after the terrible hardships I have seen and endured in a land ruled by a dictator. . . . I can walk in the street without any fear of being mocked at or called names. . . . I should be thankful for all my privileges, the Bill of Rights, the Amendments, the Constitution, for which so many patriots sacrificed their lives "that this nation, under God, might have a new birth of freedom."

These two quotations express the feelings of most of the 150,000 refugees from Nazi controlled countries, now in the United States as candidates for citizenship. They are a tiny fraction of our population of a hundred and thirty millions. Small, even among our five million aliens. But though the refugee is statistically almost negligible, culturally he is important. It would be hard to find, in any other group of comparable size, so large a percentage of persons with a contribution to make to the arts, the sciences, and the general culture of our country.

And perhaps even more valuable to us than the cultural contributions the refugee brings to America is his enthusiasm for what he finds in America. The historic words, *liberty*, *democracy*, *justice*, custom-blunted in our ears, recapture their old real content when they are spoken by these emigres, whose appetite for freedom, like that of those earlier refugees, the Puritans and the Huguenots, has been whetted by persecution. The refugee brings to America a fresh accent on patriotism.

## Tentative Questions Regarding Settlements

Neighborhood Division - Americanization Study - Carnegie Corporation

576 Fifth Avenue, New York

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Can America escape the racial intolerance we see flaring up in other countries? Unfortunately the United States has not been able to quarantine itself against the bitterness and bigotry of Europe. Here, too, on many sides are to be found hatred against the Jew, antagonism toward Germans and Italians and other inter-racial prejudices which make for disunity, and which, if permitted to continue, are particularly dangerous in a country with so vast and varied a population as the United States. To make such prejudice yield to understanding has been a chief objective of the Service in its work of interpreting our different foreign born groups, their problems and contributions to older Americans, and to each other. Local agencies, as in other years, have been supplied with comprehensive information on naturalization, immigration and other problems of the foreign born. More and more teachers and schools, we are glad to note, are asking for material on tolerance and the contributions of our different ethnic groups.

Not for many years, as I wrote you last month, have there been introduced in Congress and the state legislatures so many un-American proposals with regard to the alien. The Service not only vigorously opposed the most important of these proposals before the Senate and House Immigration Committees, but, as in the past, continued to use its first-hand experience with the immigrant's problems to work for changes in our laws which will unite families and encourage citizenship. Our Washington representative keeps in constant touch with bills and hearings before the immigration committees of Congress. Our series of Legislative Bulletins keeps interested organizations throughout the country informed as to what the situation is and what they can do to help.

What greater contribution can America make to the whole problem of tolerance and better understanding than by demonstrating that the melting pot really works, that a people made up, as we are, of many races and nationalities can live together in unity and good will? It is support like yours that has made possible the work of the Service toward this goal. Will you not help to continue it by renewing, or if possible increasing, the contribution of \$2 which you sent the Service last September.

Sincerely yours,

*Ken Lewis*

Director

Miss Frances Ingram

P.S. Many thanks for your comments on change of name. Decision was postponed until sometime this fall.

50x7

## *Chronicles of Americanization . . . [VII]*

By  
*Alfred Prowitt*

ON AUGUST 27, 1941, Italian-born day laborer George Cascino, his wife Theresa, and their five children were guests of honor in the crystal ballroom of Chicago's dignified Union League Club. They had been invited to receive the Club's first annual award — an illuminated parchment, framed in gold — presented "in recognition of extraordinary achievement in maintaining the American ideal of family life, parental responsibility, and duty to community and country."

In the presentation ceremony, Ferre C. Watkins, the Club's president, said: "Mr. and Mrs. Cascino, in the face of great adversity, you have created a family circle in keeping with the best American tradition and have contributed something noble to the land of your adoption. In your children you have given it five splendid American citizens. You have faced hardship and sacrifice and you have won, just as did the founders of this great nation. We salute you as true Americans."

The story behind this award is a dramatic one.

Nearly four decades ago, George and Theresa Cascino sat on their doorstep in a little Italian mountain village, planning their future.

THE Union League Club of Chicago is composed of prominent civic-minded citizens. Early in 1941 it decided to search for the Chicago family that had done most to maintain high family standards in the face of adversity. The Cascinos first attracted its attention when George and Theresa Cascino, saying that they wanted their boys to have every possible advantage to become good Americans, enrolled their sons in one of the club centers operated by the Union League for underprivileged boys. After studying thousands of cases, the Club judged this family most worthy of its award.

Organizations in many cities have asked the Union League Club for details about this plan for public recognition of exemplary citizenship.

He was a shepherd boy and she, his beautiful 17-year-old wife, was of equally humble station. The question was, should George accept an uncle's offer to pay his passage to America.

"Go, George," Theresa urged. "Begin a home for us. I can go across later."

So George went, and letters came regularly from America — roughly written letters, because George had not owned a pencil until he was 11 and had had to learn to write with a stone. Each letter contained a small remittance. Theresa wondered



why it was so small, for was not America the land of plentiful gold? Surely George was using his money to build her a fine home.

Finally Theresa had enough money to sail for America. George met her at the station in Chicago and took her to his small room in a shabby neighborhood.

"But our house, George?" asked Theresa.

"This is all we have," he said, "but we're together in America at last." He explained that he had been able to obtain only intermittent employment as a day laborer at small wages.

"I will help," said Theresa, bravely. "I can work."

From their landlady she learned to hand-stitch trousers, then got a job in a clothing factory at \$2.50 a week.

A child, Angelina, was born to them. Theresa continued to work in the factory whenever she could get a neighbor to tend the baby. A boy was the second arrival, and at two-year intervals three other sons were born.

Throughout these years the going was rough. George's earnings were irregular; when he was not employed Theresa found work and he took care of the children. Illness struck almost every member of the family in succession. The need for a steadier income became pressing. So that she could take regular employment, Theresa sent for her mother to come from Italy to man-

age the household. After long hours in a factory Theresa came home to do the family washing and ironing, and that of one or two boarders.

Finally the Cascinos accumulated \$900, and with it made a down payment on a house. It was a day of jubilation when they moved into their own home — but a few months later they were told that, because of a flaw in the title, the house was no longer theirs. Thus disappeared the savings of years.

They rented a house for \$10 a month — the cheapest they could find, in order to save money again for one of their own. George patched the creaky structure as best he could, but rain still poured in and rats and other vermin resisted eradication. George and Theresa held a conference and came to a fateful decision: they would give up their desire to possess a home so that they could improve present living conditions for their children. Straining their slender budget, they moved into a better dwelling.

In the neighborhood it was customary to get children out of school at the earliest possible age and put them to work, but the Cascinos agreed that their children should have the fullest benefits of schooling. They were criticized and ridiculed for their ambitions. The district was a breeding-ground for gangs of automobile thieves, bootleggers and racketeers; boys were tutored in crime; eight schoolmates

of the Cascino boys were killed by police bullets and others were sentenced to prison.

"We must not let our children be tempted to crime," Theresa said. Thereafter each was given a weekly allowance, even though it was no more than a few pennies and nickels. Often the children turned back the money. "You need it more," they would say.

With their growing conception of Americanism, George and Theresa attended citizenship classes, along with their children, in nearby settlement houses. They studied the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the election system, and were proud when they were able to discuss national, state and municipal issues. They bought a cheap dictionary and consulted it whenever they encountered a new word.

Mrs. Cascino's mother, who had been managing the household for six years, was following the customs of a backward Italian province, she spoke only Italian to the children and food was eaten from one central dish. "This must stop," George said to his wife. "You must give up your job, stay at home, and bring up the family as an American mother would."

So Theresa stayed at home, gently deposing her mother as mistress of the household. There was a sensation one evening when napkins appeared on the table. After the soup was consumed, Mrs. Cascino removed the empty bowls,

then set an individual plate of spaghetti in front of each member of the family.

Though always living in poverty the Cascinos were able to put Angelina through a high school secretarial course, after which she got a job. Dominic, the eldest son, wanted to be a mechanic, and he was sent to a trade school.

When Joseph finished high school his mother persuaded a neighborhood druggist to hire him at \$1 a week. The boy was so faithful to his tasks that the druggist began to teach him pharmacy. But Mrs. Cascino was uneasy; after all, a boy should select his own future.

"What would you be if you could choose *anything*?" she asked him.

"A surgeon, Mother. But it's impossible — you've got to be rich to be a surgeon."

"Joseph," his mother answered, "you will be a surgeon."

Joseph entered Crane Junior College for a premedical course. Upon graduation he was awarded a scholarship in the University of Illinois Medical School.

Michael, after finishing high school, worked as shipping clerk and attended junior college at night. Anthony, the youngest, was in high school and earning \$15 a month as supervisor of games in a boys' club. At times his earnings with those of Angelina were the sole support of the household.

In recent years, when their neighbors were rushing for relief checks,

the Cascinos never sought government aid. Today, after 35 years in America, the Cascinos still cannot claim any material possessions. They live, as they always have, in a humble, crowded Chicago flat. But —

Joseph is now a brain surgeon of distinction, and in 1942, when the last of his three years as resident physician of the Illinois Research Hospital is completed, he will enter the Navy as a surgeon.

Dominic is a dependable artisan in the shoe industry.

Michael is majoring in accountancy in Northwestern University's graduate school — attending evening classes because of the necessity of daytime employment.

Anthony, valedictorian in a class of 215 in high school, worked his

way through Lewis Institute, from which he emerged with a Bachelor of Science degree and a straight "A" average. He received the Austin scholarship at Northwestern, where he is now majoring in business administration. Both he and Michael will receive master's degrees this January.

Angelina, formerly supervisor of stenographers at the Western Electric Company, is now a wife and mother.

So STANDS the Cascino family. Like thousands of immigrants, they came to America with the idea that gold lay in the streets. Disillusioned, they reshaped their dreams and, by unremitting toil and perseverance, reared their children in the American way.



## Oomph at Seven

A WOMAN's most delightful age is seven. At seven she sits on a man's knee without hesitation, affected or genuine, and without putting the knee to sleep. She enjoys listening to him, encourages him to talk, and believes any story he tells. Her curiosity over what became of his hair is sometimes embarrassing, but her sympathy with him in his loss is unquestionably sincere. While unduly interested, perhaps, in the state of his exchequer and never too proud to accept pecuniary aid, she is no gold digger whose gratitude is measured by the amount of the contribution. For as little as two copper cents she will bear-hug his spectacles all out of shape, and he feels sure she means it. At seven she is more or less front-toothless, to be sure. But then she doesn't yet chalk her nose or paint her nails, and she hasn't begun to use tobacco. All in all, a charming age!

— Editorial in N. Y. Times

## SHALL AMERICANISM REMAIN?

Washington, D. C.

TO the Editor: Mr. Clarence Martin's article under this title in your issue of April 13 contains several assertions which are at once remarkable and unproved. I should like to offer brief comments on a few of them.

Assertion No. 1: The proposal for the Child Labor Amendment was driven through Congress mainly by the Children's Bureau, with the assistance of some Communists and Socialists. (While this assertion is not made by Mr. Martin in so many words, it is implied or insinuated with sufficient definiteness to impress the unwary and the uncritical.)

Comment: The proposal was urged upon Congress by twenty-one organizations, the majority of which were much more influential politically than the Children's Bureau; for example, by the American Federation of Labor. The latter group still remains the most effective advocate of the amendment. The political power and the voting power of the Socialists and the Communists combined were little if any greater in 1924 than they are today and were as little likely then as now to induce congressmen to take any attitude on any legislative measure. No great compliment is paid to Congress or to the intelligence of the American people by asserting that less than half a dozen women and a few negligible extremists were able to maneuver Congress into giving more than a two-thirds vote in favor of a proposal to amend the Constitution. As I was a member of the Joint Committee set up by the sponsoring organizations to work for the amendment before Congress, I may claim some acquaintance with the relevant facts of the situation.

Assertion No. 2: "One of its active proponents afterward became the organizer of the nationalized children's colonies of the Soviet government, etc."

Comment: The allusion is to Anna Louise Strong. She was a \$1,600 a year clerk in the Children's Bureau in 1914 and 1915 and never had any other connection with the Bureau. Nor did she have anything to do with the adoption by Congress of the Child Labor Amendment.

Assertion No. 3: The Children's Bureau republished in its Bulletin No. 57 "one of the papers of Madame Alexandra Kollantay. . ."

Comment: Bulletin No. 57 contains 206 pages. Mme. Kollantay (not "Kallantry") is bibliographically referred to twice. The combined references occupy less than six lines.

Assertion No. 4: "Children's Bureau Publication No. 60, p. 146, advocated the passage of an act by Congress providing for compulsory registration of pregnancy through local health offices."

Comment: "This publication 'advocated' this measure in the same sense that the *Congressional Record* 'advocated' Senator Hefflin's diatribes against the 'Roman Church.' The compulsory registration of pregnancy was recommended by Dr. J. Whitridge Williams, whose paper is one of the three score or more productions read at the Conference on Standards of Child Welfare in May and June, 1919. Incidentally, one of the papers appearing in the volume was contributed by Right Reverend Monsignor William J. Kerby. The Children's Bureau assumed no more responsibility for these addresses than did the Congress of the United States for the speeches by Senator Hefflin in the *Congressional Record*.

Assertion No. 5: "The Senate report of the hearings thereon (pages 49, 91, 94) gives the credit of drawing the amendment to Mrs. Florence Kelley Wischnewsky, a sincere and ardent Socialist."

Comment: The Senate report does nothing of the sort. On page 49 it quotes the paragraphs of Mrs. Florence Kelley's statement in which she informs the Senate Committee that she appears in favor of Senator McCormick's draft of a proposed Child Labor Amendment, as the representative of the National Consumer's League and as a member of a committee representing ten national organizations of women. On page 91, Senator Walsh is reported as using the following words: "Mrs. Kelley, evidently you had something to do with the drafting of this resolution. . . ." In her answers to this and other statements by Senator Walsh, she neither affirmed nor denied the statement just quoted. Page 94 of the report contains not a word by or about Mrs. Kelley. As a matter of fact, a dozen or more tentative formulations of the

proposed amendment were submitted to the Committees of the Senate and the House. I had a hand in making one myself and I think it was the same one which Senator Walsh had in mind in the words quoted above. The final draft was made by Senator Walsh of Montana and ex-Senator Pepper of Pennsylvania.

Assertion No. 6: The amendment "applies to labor whether one is employed or not."

Comment: So do the child labor laws of all those states which prohibit any child from being "employed or permitted to work." The obvious purpose in both the amendment and the state laws is to prevent the exploitation of children engaged upon piece work with their parents, who alone are legally and technically "employed." Witness, contract sweated labor in homes and the cruelly oppressed children of Mexican parents in the beet fields of Colorado. In passing, all the states now possess, by reason of their "reserved powers," full constitutional authority to do all the horrendous things that, according to Mr. Martin, Congress could do if the Child Labor Amendment were ratified. I suggest that he should get excited about this situation and agitate for an amendment to the constitution of his own state of West Virginia depriving it of the power to pass such "communistic" labor laws.

Assertion No. 7: "The possible in government generally happens." Hence Congress will use to the full extent the power conferred by the Child Labor Amendment.

Comment: Congress does not "generally" exercise all its possible powers. Witness, its failure to use the power expressly conferred on it in Section 2 of the Fifteenth Amendment to enforce the right of colored citizens to exercise the electoral franchise. An impressive number of other powers might be cited which Congress possesses but has exercised either indifferently or not at all. The assertion or the fear that men from states which have no higher than fourteen- or sixteen-year limits would, when they get to Congress, vote for an eighteen-year limit for all sorts of labor, betrays a very unrealistic, not to say naive, understanding of practical politics.

Assertion No. 8: The amendment would enable Congress to "nationalize" and "Russianize" the children of the nation. "It is an attack upon the family. It strikes a blow at the home. It is opposed to the ideals, the traditions, of our American institutions."

Comment: These more or less rhetorical and more or less reckless charges are too general to merit a more definite reply than a citation of the well-known rule of argumentation: "What is gratuitously asserted may be gratuitously denied."

Assertion No. 9: Under the implied powers granted by the amendment, "Congress can take over the educational system of the country and prescribe through a federal bureau educational methods and standards."

Comment: This assertion has probably done the amendment more harm than any other that has been uttered by the opposition. Obviously it raises a technical question, the question of constitutional construction. Whether the amendment gives Congress this alleged power over education can be decided with final authority only by the Supreme Court of the United States. In the meantime, no opinion about it is worth anything if it does not come from a recognized student and authoritative interpreter of the Constitution. For the benefit of your readers, I am requesting you, therefore, to print the paragraphs which I am enclosing herewith from the speech delivered by the late Senator Walsh of Montana on the Child Labor Amendment in the Senate of the United States, January 8, 1925. Neither Mr. Martin nor anyone else will dispute Senator Walsh's exceptional competency in this matter.

None of the unproved assertions in Mr. Martin's article is original. We who were in close touch with the controversy on the Child Labor Amendment in the years 1924-1925 recognize all these assertions as old acquaintances. We are also aware that they all derive ultimately from two classes of sources: first, the National Association of Manufacturers, whose very able General Counsel, James A. Emery, wrote one of the earliest pamphlets against the amendment. Mr. Emery is a Catholic but for a quarter of a century or more he has appeared before congressional committees in opposition to every important measure of social justice introduced in Congress during

that period. The other source is certain super-patriotic and pseudo-patriotic organizations which see in every effective piece of social legislation an attack either upon the Constitution or upon American political traditions and institutions. Yet thousands upon thousands of Catholics, as well as other Americans, have accepted unquestioningly this selfish and pernicious propaganda. Under its influence, these Catholics and these other Americans have come to look upon the Child Labor Amendment as the result of a clever and diabolical plot to transfer the control of children from the family to the federal government.

In closing, I wish to say that I knew practically all the principal promoters of the Child Labor Amendment and was fairly well acquainted with their activities in bringing the proposal before Congress. I have never known a group more honestly desirous of ending the evil of child labor. That was their single aim. Yet they have been and are still vilified as plotters against "the family, the home, the school and the church." Even the dead have not been spared. I knew Florence Kelley for almost a quarter of a century. As one of the vice-presidents of the National Consumers' League, of which she was general secretary, I worked with her on behalf of minimum-wage legislation and other laws for the protection of the weaker economic classes. I have never known any other person, man or woman, who labored with quite so much self-denial and effectiveness on behalf of "the least of these." Ex-Governor Smith and ex-Secretary Newton D. Baker have quite recently acclaimed her devotion to these causes in more eloquent language than any that I could command. Therefore, I should like to take this opportunity, Mr. Editor, to protest against the wholesale calumny of both the dead and the living, perpetrated by certain opponents of the Child Labor Amendment, and I should like to point out that the Eighth Commandment has not been repealed.

RT. REV. JOHN A. RYAN.

*Excerpts from the Speech of Honorable Thomas J. Walsh:*

The relevant section of the amendment reads: "The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age."

The inquiry is propounded as to whether the word "labor" does not include intellectual as well as physical labor. The whole history of the child-labor movement answers that it does not. The context answers that it does not—that is, except in the most limited sense. In determining what Congress meant by the language it used and what the people of the country mean by the terminology employed in the amendment should it be ratified through the action of their representatives in the state legislatures, regard must be had to the evil to be met and remedied. Indisputably, undeniably, it was to save children from the evil effects of undue physical toil or physical toil under conditions inimical to health and normal growth. Public attention has been called to be case of infant prodigies or other very young children of unusual talents who were permitted or required for profit publicly to exhibit their gifts or attainments to an extent perilous to their physical growth or possibly their normal intellectual development. And it may be that some child labor laws have attempted to meet such cases, but disregarding such exceptional conditions, they have uniformly been addressed to the physical labor of the child. Even in the exceptional cases referred to, the physical effort was to be repressed, though the supposed injury was due to the accompanying extraordinary mental exertion.

The conclusion to which a consideration of the evil to be remedied, as that subject is illuminated by the history of the child labor movement, necessarily impels, is enforced by the very language of the amendment which gives Congress authority to "limit," or "regulate," and to "prohibit" the labor of persons under eighteen years of age. Would it not be perfectly absurd to imagine that the people intend to authorize Congress to prohibit the intellectual labor of such persons and thus prevent them from getting an education at all? Yet to this conclusion we are driven if we conceive that either the words "limit" or "regulate" are to be held to apply to such labor. It will scarcely be argued that the power to "limit" would authorize the entry of the nation upon the task of educating children and certainly the power to "prohibit" would not. When the Congress and the people conclude to vest the national government with the authority to take over the enormous task of public instruction, the education of the

youth of the nation, some less equivocal language will doubtless be used and must be used to satisfy any sensible court of that purpose.

Authority as well as reason impels to the conclusion that the fears entertained in some quarters that the federal government would, in some wise, under the amendment control education are without foundation.

In *Church of the Holy Trinity v. United States*, 143 U. S. 457, it was held that an act of Congress prohibiting the admission of "aliens under contract or agreement to perform labor" here did not apply to the case of a minister of the gospel engaged by a religious organization to act as its rector. The court applied in that case universally acknowledged principles of law equally applicable in the construction of constitutional provisions and statutory law expressed by it as follows:

"It is a familiar rule, that a thing may be within the letter of the statute and yet not within the statute, because not within its spirit, nor within the intention of its makers. . . . Again, another guide to the meaning of a statute is found in the evil which it is designed to remedy; and for this the court properly looks at contemporaneous events, the situation as it existed, and as it was pressed upon the attention of the legislative body. . . .

"Where there was presented a definite evil, in view of which the legislature used general terms with the purpose of reaching all phases of that evil, and thereafter unexpectedly it is developed that the general language thus employed is broad enough to reach cases and acts which the whole history and life of the country affirm could not have been intentionally legislated against, it is the duty of the courts under those circumstances to say that, however broad the language of the statute may be, the act, although within the letter, is not within the intention of the legislature, and therefore cannot be within the statute."

The law books are replete with cases limiting the application of labor laws to those engaged in manual labor and to labor in which intellectual effort is relatively unimportant or inconsequential. From them to dictionaries and glossaries have evolved the principles expressed in the following:

"In the ordinary significance of the term 'labor' is understood to be physical toil.

"It is safe to say that the word 'labor,' when used in its ordinary and usual acceptance, carries with it the idea of actual physical and manual exertion or toil and is used to denote a member of that class of persons who literally earn their bread by the sweat of their brows and who perform with their own hands, at the cost of considerable physical labor, the contracts made with their employers. (*Oliver v. Macon Hardware Co.*, 98 Ga. 249; *Farinholt v. Luckard*, 90 Va. 936.)

"In the language of the business world a laborer is one who labors with his physical powers in the service and under the direction of another for fixed wages. (*Rogers v. Dexter R. Co.*, 85 Me. 372; 16 Ruling Case Law, 410.)

"The word 'labor' in legal parlance has a well-defined, understood and accepted meaning. It implies continued exertion of the more onerous and inferior kind, usually and chiefly consisting in the protracted exertion of muscular force. 'Labor may be business, but it is not necessarily so, and business is not always labor. In legal significance labor implies toil; exertion producing weariness; manual exertion of a toilsome nature.' (*Moore v. American Industrial Co.*, 50 S. E. 682, 138 N. C. 304.) Words and Phrases—Labor."

In none of the legal definitions of the word has it been given such a scope as to embrace the field of education.

The suggestion that the amendment means national control of education, it is not unreasonable to surmise, originated with one who knows better, to excite the fears of some indiscriminating minds overwrought by the so-called Oregon law and the proposal to create a federal department of education. I venture the assertion that the amendment affords no ground for even serious argument that it has such scope or that any self-respecting lawyer will ever stand before a court to contend that it does, assuming that the Congress should ever conclude that it was by the amendment vested with any such authority.

*Additional copies may be secured from The National Child Labor Committee, 419 Fourth Avenue, New York City.*