The following is a rather lengthy and complete account of Federal Legislation on Immigration between 1876 and 1898, taken from Volume 39 of the Report of the United States Immigration Commission, headed by Senator Dillingham in 1911, constituting Senate Document number 758 of the 61 Congress, 3 Session, pages 29 to 50:

"About three-fourths of all the immigrants arriving in the United States prior to 1880 were landed in New York. The laws of that State in force between 1847 and 1876, when the regulation of immigration by States was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, provided in substance that the captain, consignee or owner of any vessel arriving at the portof New York from a foreign country having on board passenger immigrants destined for the City of New York should give a bond of $300 for each of such passengers, conditioned to indemnify the State against any charge or expense on account of the passengers named in the bond within four years from arrival. The patties interested in the vessel had, however, accredited to them by the same legislation the right to avoid this bond by paying a certain sum (varying in different years from $1.50 to $2.50) to the commissioners of emigration, whose duty it was to pay out of this fund whatever expense the State might incur for any alien passenger who might have arrived at the port of New York within the previous four years. The commissioners were also empowered to purchase lands and erect whatever buildings seemed necessary for the care, support and protection of such immigrants. In the year 1847 the commissioners began, and for many years after continued, to purchase lands on Wards Island and to erect buildings thereon for the care and treatment of the sick and diseased and the support and maintenance of the needy among immigrants. These lands were used exclusively for immigrants who had arrived at New York within four years from the date they sought care or support from the public authorities. The commissioners also leased in 1855 the building in New York City known as Castle Garden and converted it into a landing place for immigrants.

"At Castle Garden, after examination of their luggage by the customs officers, the immigrants were transferred to the landing depot, where they were received by officers of the commission, who entered in registers kept for the purpose all particulars necessary for their future identification. The names of those having money, friends, or letters awaiting them were called out, and they were put into immeeiate possession of their property or committed to their friends, whose credentials first were properly scrutinized. Clerks to write letters for them in European languages and a telegraf operator to forward their dispatches were at hand. The main railway lines had offices there. Brokers were admitted to exchange the foreign moneyof the immigrant. A physician was always in attendance, and a temporary hospital was located there.

"What New York in 1876 was doing at Castle Garden with money collected from arriving immigrants other Atlantic States were doing with money raised by taxation, nearly all of them by this time having abandoned the collection of head taxes. Thus

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it is readily seen that New York, receiving three-fourths of all immigrants arriving in the United States, was especially affected by the decision of 1876. What the State had previously been able to do with a fair measure of profit, as claimed by the Western States, now became a heavy expense.

"Naturally, in the attempt to secure national legislation, New York was particularly active. Convinced that their plan of caring for immigrants as working for the port of New York was the best one for the National Government to adopt, the Legislature of New York appropriated money to carry on the work at Castle Garden until Congress had an opportunity to legislate on the subject, and on April 26, 1876, that Legislature passed the following resolution:

" 'Resolved, That the commissioners of emigration are hereby instructed to call the attention of Congress of the United States to the present condition of the immigration laws, resulting from the decision of the Sup reme Court of the United States, declaring the State laws on that subject unconstitutional and void, and to impress upon Congress the necessity for speedy national legislation in regard thereto, and the said commissioners take such steps as in their good judgment may be proper to secure such legislation.'

"Reference has been made to the Conklin-Cox bill for the Federal regulation of immigration, which was introduced in the Senate and House of Representatives following the Supreme Court's decision that State comtrol of immigration was unconstitutional. This bill provided for a manifest of alien passengers; a head tax of $2; the exclusion and deportation of convicts, insane persons, and paupers, and the re-imbursement to the States of all money paid out for the support and maintenance of any immigrants within four years from their arrival.

No action, however, was taken on this bill. The principal opposition to the proposee measure came from commercial organizations. As early as 1872 the National Board of Trade had expressed as its judgment 'that all capitation taxes collected from or upon immigrants, whether imposed direvtly or indirectly, with or without color of law, are odious and unjust, and ought to be abolished.' The organization arguee that immigration figures were a pretty sure index to national prosperity. During the seventies, while immigration was at a low ebb because of the prevailing business depression, it objected to a head tax; it wanted to have nothing done which should interfere with the return of prosperity. And in the late seventies, when immigration was returning to a normal figure, it did not belive 'that just as the tide of population is flowing again toward our shores, both illustrating and increasing the returning prosperity of the Nation, Congress will do anything the effect of which will be to affix a stigma on the character of the movement, no less than to diminish it in force and volume.'

"Bills to regulate immigration were now regularly introduced by the New York Representatives and Senators, all generally following the plan of the Conklin-Cox bill of the 44th Congress. One exception to this was a bill introduced in the 46th Congress, which did not provide for a head tax, the Committee on Foreign Affairs deeming the imposition of a per capita charge on each passenger

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inadvisable in consequence of thedecrease in immigration to the United States, as it was believed the fund which would be obtained would be inadequate to meet the expenses necessary for carrying out the law. Instead the bill provided that a sufficient sum for that purpose be appropriated from the National Treasury.

"The New York State Board of Charities was especially active in trying to secure legislation, and, September 9, 1879, adopted the following resolution:

" 'Whereas this board has become satisfied by observation and investigation that it has long been the custom for many of the cities and towns in different governments of Europe to send to this country blind, crippled, lunatic, and other infirm paupers, who ultimately become life-long dependents on our public charities; and whereas the greater number of these helpless creatures arrive at the port of New York, whence some find their way into other States, but the majority of them become permanent inmates of the charitable institutions supported by the State of New York: therefore

" 'Resolved, That in the opinion of this board, the evil being an increasing rather than a diminishing one, an effort should be made looking to its suppression or limitation.

" 'Resolved, That the attention of the Senators and Representatives of our State in Congress be called thereto, and that a copy of these resolutions, signed by our president and secretary, on behalf of this board, be sent to each of our Senators and Representatives, requesting their efforts toward procuring legislation, if possible, by Congress, providing for an appropriation of funds to defray the expense of the return of any disabled, lunatic or other infirm paupers, arriving in this country, to the places whence they came.'

"The opposing argument cam be found in the following remarks of Representative Rice, of Massachusetts:

" 'Let the State and city which reap the benefits of this mighty immigration assume the responsibilities which devolve upon them in receiving that benefit and pay the bills for which provision is here sought to be made, and not seek to draw the money to meet them by an unconstitutional measure from the Treasury of the U.S.'

"Still Congress failed to enact an immigration law, and finally, May 31, 1881, New York, again attempting to evade the force of the Supreme Court decision that States could not tax incoming passengers, enacted a law imposing a head tax of $1 upon every alien arriving in New York City. This law met the fate of former legislation of this nature, and was declared unconstitutional in the case of The People v. The Compagnie Generale Transatlantique (107 U.S. 59) Mr. Justice Miller again delivered the opinion of the court, which was unanimous.

"The Immigration Law of 1882."

"Congress having taken no action, President Arthur, in his annual message, December 6, 1881, called attention to the subject of immigration, saying:

" 'In 1875 the Supreme Court of the United States declared unconstitutional the statutes of certain States, which imposed upon ship-owners or consignees a tax of $1.50 upon each passenger arriving from a foreign country, or in lieu thereof requiring a bond to indemnify the State and local authorities against expense for the future relief or support of such passengers. Since this decision the

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expense attending the care and supervision of immigrants has fallen on the States at whose ports they have landed. As a large majority of such immigrants immeeiately upon their arrival proceed to the inland States and the Territories to seek permanent homes, it is manifestly unjust to impose upon the State whose shores they first reach the burden which it now bears. For this reason and because of the national importance of the subject I recpmmend legislation regarding the supervision and transitory care of the immigrants at the port of debarkation.'

"April 6, 1882, Mr. VanVoorhis, of New York, introduced a bill to regulate immigration. It was referred to the Committee on Commerce, and on June 19, 1882, a substitute bill (H.R.6596) was reported and passee the House on the same day by a vote of 116 to 16. Later it was found that the wrong bill had been substituted, and on June 21 it was resolved to recall the bill from the Senate. It was returned June 23, and on June 27 another substitute was introduced and passed (H.R. 6677). This passe d the Senate without amendment on July 29 and was approved August 3, 1882.

"The enactment of a Federal Immigration Law at this time was largely a result of the continuee efforts of the people of New York to secure such legislation and their refusal to continue paying the expenses of keeping Castle Garden open. Mr. Guenther, a Representative from Wisconsin, said:

" 'While I would be perfectly willing to have the State of New York pay the expenses of keeping Castle Garden open for the purpose of receiving immigrants, still I recognize the fact which has been clearly demonstrate d within the last week, that unless this bill becpmes a law Castle Garden will be closed, and the immigrants will be landed in the streets and become the prey of heartless and rascally land sharks, against whose miserable trivks they are fortunately protected to a great extent.'

The provisions of this, the first general immigration law, were, first, that a head tax of 50 cents should be levied on every passenger not a citizen of the United States coming by steam or sail vessel from a foreign port to any port within the United States; the money thus collected to be used to defray the expenses of regulating immigration and for the care of immigrants arriving in the United States, and of such as might be in distress after landing, no more being expended at any port than shall have been collected at such port; second, the Secretary of the Treasury was charged with executing the provisions of the act, and for that purpose he was given power to enter into contracts with such state officers as might be designated by the governor of any State to take charge of the local affairs of immigration within said State; third, that foreign convicts, except those convicted of political offenses, lunatics, idiots, and persons likely to become public charges should not be permitted to land.

"In this law the National Government did not take full control of the matter, but allowed the governors of the States to say who should administer it locally. No mention was made of overland immigration. In 1884, by act entitled 'An act to remove certain burdens on the American merchant marine and encourage the American foreign carrying trade,' passengers coming in vessels employed only in trade between the ports of the United States and the ports of Canada and Mexico were exempted from the provisions of the act of

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1882. This act was held constitutional in the Head Money Cases (112 U.S.,580).

"The First Contract-Labor Law.

"One of the earliest methods by which immigration to the United States was stimulated was that of advertising abroad for laborers. It is said the practice began in 1869. Advertisements offering inducements to immigrants to proceed to the bituminous coal fields of western Pennsylvania were carried in New York newspapers, and these announcements frequently were copied by European papers. It is said that usually when such advertisements appeared in the New York newspaper stating that several hundred men were needed in a certain place there were no vacancies, the object of the advertisements being to send more laborers into the coal regions than were necessary, so that when two men were seeking the same situation they would be more likely to work for reduced wages.

"In the first general session of the Knights of Labor, held in Reading in 1878, this subject was discussee, and it was finally decided not to insert anything in their preamble against the importation of any class of laborers, because their principles theoretically demanded that they extend welcome to all.

"But with the growth of labor organizations investigations into the subject showed that land-grant companies, steamship companies and manufacturers had agents all over Europe advertising for laborers. Then workingmen began to question whether it was wise to support a policy which made it possible for the employer to flood the market with foreign laborers to compete with them. They could not see why the articles made abroad by foreign workmen could be landed here only upon payment of a duty, while the foreigner himself was allowed free entry.

"To fight an agreement of the manufacturers of window glass to import foreign laborers to take the place of native-born Americans, in 1883, the Knights of Labor drafted a bill forbidding the importation under contract of foreign workmen, and January 14, 1884, Mr.Ferrel, of New Jersey, introduced it in the House of Representatives. Another bill to prohibit the importation of foreign labor (H.R.2550) had been introduced a few days before by Mr.Foran, of the Committee on Labor. On February 24, 1884, Mr.Foran's bill was reported back with a recommendation that it pass.

"The committee found that the evils complained of and sought to be remedied actually and to an alarming extent existed. They declared that the foreigner who voluntarily and from choice left his native land to settle in this country with the intention of becoming an American citizen was welcome. No one was injured by his coming; instead the state benefited. The bill in no measure sought to restrict such immigration. Its object was to restrain and prohibit the importation of a class of persons who would never immigrate here but for the inducements of men whose only object was to obtain labor at the lowest possible rate, regardless of the social and material well-being of our own citizens.

"After several amendments, one of which provided 'that nothing in this act shall be construed as prohibiting any individual from assisting any member of his family or any relative to migrate from any foreign country to the United States', the bill was passed by the House, June 19, 1884.

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Immigration:

"In the Senate, July 5, 1884, action upon the bill was postponed until December, and on February 13, 1885, the bill was brought out of committee, and after brief consideration it passed the Senate February 18, by a vote of 50 to 9, and was approved by the President February 26. After the bill had passed the House a general assembly of the Knights of Labor held in Philadelphia declared against the i portation of foreign labor, The question of the bill received considerable attention, and later, when its progress was delayed in the Senate, the organization became impatient. On January 14, 1885, their general officer sent a letter to the Senate requesting the passage of the bill. In closing his letter, he said: 'Do not think that I call your attention to this matter upon my own responsibility. I but obey the request of the 700,000 workmen who respectfully ask for the speedy passage of this bill.'

"The contract-labor act of 1885 made it unlawful for any person to assist or encourage in any way the importation or immigration of any foreigner into the United States under any kind of a contract to perform labor or service here, and it further provided that all such contracts should be null and void.

"The penalty for violating the law was a fine of $1000 upon the solicitor or importer of immigrants, to be recovered by the United States or the person who should first bring his action, including any alien who was a party to such a contract.

"The master of any vessel knowingly bringing any foreigner under contract of labor was liable to a fine of $500 and imprisonment for six months for each alien so brought.

"Skilled workmen to perform labor in any new industry, provided that such labor could not otherwise be obtained, were excepted from the provisions of the act, as were professional actors, artists, lecturers, singers, and personal or domestic servants. It was also provided that any individual could assist any relative or personal friend to migrate here for the purpose of settlement.

"The act of 1885 was defective in that no insoection was provieded for, nor was any arrangement made for the general execution of the provisions of the law or for the deportation of the contract laborer himself. Labor organizations, and especially the Knights of Labor, were instrumental in bringing these defects to the attention of Congress, and Mr. O'Neill, of Missouri, introduced the bill to amend the law. Its purpose was simply to make the law operative. It passed the House July 15, 1886, and the Senate in the following February. It was approved by the President February 23, 1887.

"By this amendment the Secretary of the Treasury was given the same power to exclude and deport contract laborers that he had been given under the act of 1882 over criminals, paupers, idiots, and lunatics.

"Again, in the deficiency bill approved October 19, 1888, the act of 1885 was amended and the Secretary of the Treasury was given power to return within the year any immigrant landing contrary to this law, and at the expense of the owner of the vessel bringing such immigrant, or if they came from adjoining territory then at the expense of the person previously contracting for his services. The Secretary was also authorized 'to pay to an onformer furnishing original information that the law had been violated such a share of

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the penalties recoveree as he may deem reasonable and just, not excedding 50%, where it appears that the recovery was had in consequence of the information thus furnished.'

"From 1882 until 1888, besides the passage of the contract-labor laws referred to, there was little attempt at other immigration legislation. Numerous bills in amendment of the laws of 1882 were introduced in Congress, but no consideration was given them or action taken.

"Sentiment Toward Immigration."

"During the eighties, immigration having reached enormous figures, there was a quite general sentiment throughout the country that something should be done to check the foreigner from coming in such numbers. The following editorials from newspapers in various sections of the country illustrate the prevailing feeling: (These are taken from Public Opinion, Vol. III, pp. 97, 196, 249, 336, 356. 1887)

"Minneapolis Journal: We have indukged the false sentiment about the United States being the land of refuge for the oppressed of the world long enough. It is time to set some bounds of reason to our welcome, and to make some discrimination between those who seek the shelter of our shores. We are not called upon to receive the vicious or the ignorant, the paupers, and the criminals of Europe and Asia in limitless quantity, to the everlasting advantage of the countries from which they come, and to the constant danger of our own institutions; but we are called upon by every feeling of love for our country and every sense of justice and devotion to our hallowed institutions to shield them from the dangers which threaten from the side of unrestricted immigration. If we must be ruled in this matter by sentiment and governed by generosity, there is room for it on the safe side. We owe it to ourselves, we owe it to the honest, law-abiding foreigner whom we do welcome, and we owe it to the world that here republican institutions shall be given a fair chance to justify the wisdom and hope upon which they were founded. With a prospect before us for the heaviest immigration in 1887 ever known in a single year, the importance of some protection against the continued and prospectively increased inflow of 'the Cazzaroni and the criminals' of Europe can scarcely be overestimated.

"New Orleans Picayune: The work people in America are not in a thoroughly prosperous condition, and there are already many out of employment. We would be glad to welcome the distressed people of all nations, but it must be admitted, under existing circumstances, the wholesale immigration from the Old World is not the unmixed blessing it was so long held to be.

"Ohio State Journal: What statesman will be wise enough to sift the hundreds of thousands of emigrants crowding over from Europe and say which, in justice to ourselves and to them, should be admitted, and which, in the exercise of the sacred right of self-protection, should be excluded? Fortunately, it is a question upon which there is not likely to be any division upon party lines. Wise men of all parties belonging to the industrial elements of our population are asking for relief. Nor will the sympathies of our foreign-born population necessarily be arrayed against some wisely discriminating measure of restriction. It is a significant that certain measures taken last winter by the State of Wisconsin to discourage the influx of certain classes of foreigners into that State were heartily and

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Said the Journal

said outright

earnestly supported by the larger portion of Wisconsin's Scandinavian and German citizens, and Wisconsin, whose population is so largely foreign-born, was, we believe, the first State in the Union, certainly the first of all the Western States, to forbid unnaturalized citizens from acquiring real estate within her limits." The last measure is not mentioned for the purpose of approving it. It is a measure that goes too far, both as to principle and policy. We only refer to it as an evidence that our present foreign-born population, as well as the native-born, is alive to the dangers that may spring from the crowding to our shores of undesirable elements from Europe, and that the discussion of how best to restrict that immigration will not excite the hostility of foreign-born American citiznes."

The "Baltimore News: Immigration must be restricted, if not entirely prohibited."

The "Springfield (Mass.) Republican: We have now a larger alien element than is safe, and ought to have 20 years to digest and assimilate it."

"New York Commercial Advertiser: One of the first things to be done in this country in the future is to put a stop to indiscriminate immigration.

"San Francisco Bulletin: Public opinion is undergoing a radical change on the general question of welcoming to our shores all grades of Europeans, and, having already decreed the rejection of paupers and criminals, will readily adopt the rule that to secure admission to the United States the immigrant must not only be of decent character and with some present means of support, but must also be of sound mind and of sufficient intelligence to offer a reasonable guaranty that he will not become a charge upon public charity.

"Omaha Republican: Voluntary immigration is welcomed to this country-men and women who come of their own accord, to better their fortune, and who are willing to work to that end. Even though many do not bring money in their pockets, they add to the wealth of the country in brawn and brain and heart and spirit, But the criminals, paupers, and imbeciles, who are 'assisted' here levy a tax upon honest and industrial people for their support, and their presence, under the circumstances, is an insult to the Nation.

"~~However,~~ that all sentiment was not unfavorable to the immigrant ~~is shown by the following newspaper editorials.~~ Favorable comment was usually more guarded than the unfavorable, and always the desire was for the 'worthy' immigrant. And, too, the South seemed more ready to favor immigration, because of the need of labor to open up and develop new industries. ~~This is seen in the first editorial:~~

"Memphis Appeal: They can come and welcome. Overcowded as many of our cities are, there is still room for these hard-working, honest people, especially here in the South, where manufactures are in their infancy, and there is abundant opporutnity for labor as well as capital.

"New York World: The United States is yet the most sparsely populated by far of the civilized countries. Since it became a nation, a hundred years ago, immigration has been largely instrumental in making it what it is. Its powers of assimilation are very great,

* Report of Bellingham Commission on Immigration 1911 Vol. 39. p 1?) Quoted from Public Opinion for 1887. Vol 41

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Immigration:

and immigrants become heart and soul American citizens with marvelous unanimity. We are the last people in the world to stop immigration. It would be a heartless, injurious, and stultifying act. The anti-immigration party will be short-lived one.

"Laboring men continued their campaign against foreign contract labor, and in aparty convention, held in Cincinnati, May 15, 1888, the following plank was adopted: 'We demand the strict enforcement of all laws prohibiting the importation of subjects of foreign countries under contract.'

"The American Party also demanded a restriction of immigration, declaring that 'one of the greatest evils of unrestricted foreign immigration is the reduction of the wages of the American workingman and workingwoman to the level of the underfed and underpaid labor of foreign countries.' The remedy suggested was consular inspection and a tax of $100 on every passport issued to an alien coming to the United States.

"On July 12, 1888, the House of Representatives passee a resolution in which note was taken of the charges of prominent journals that the laws prohibiting the importation of contract laborers, convicts, and paupers were being extensively evaded owing to the lack of machinery to enforce them. This resoltuion authorized the appointment of a select committee to investigate the matter.

"Investigations of the Ford Committee."

"This committee, known as the Ford Committee, consisted of Messrs. Ford, of Michigan (chairman); Oates, of Alabama; Spinola, of New York; Guenther, of Wisconsin; and Morrow, of California.

"The report of this committee was made at the following session of Congress. A bill (H.R.12291) accompanied the report. The report alleged that there were thousands of alien paupers, insane persons, and idiouts annually landed in this country, who became a burden upon the States where they happened to gain a settlement; that many of these were assisted to emigrate by the officials of the country from whence they came; that the number of persons not lawfully entitled to land in the United States who came in by the way of the Canadian frontier was large, and was becoming a matter of serious danger, the testimony showing that in many instances immigrants coming by steamer to Quebec had within 48 hours after their arrival there been applicants for shelter in the almshouses of the State of New York. This was probably the first time that serious attention was called to the matter of overland immigration.

"The committee also declared that the law of 1882 as regards the excluding of convicts had been and was being repeatedly violated, and to such an extent that it demanded remedial legislation. The contract-labor law was easy to violate and conviction hard to secure. To remedy these defects they recommended that the enforcement of all acts relating to the regulation of immigration be entrusted solely to the Federal Government rather than to State authorities, as was provided by the law of 1882.

"The committee praised the immigrant of the past, but said that it could not praise the immigrant then coming. The idea of selection was emphasized, and it was asserted that 'the time had

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come to draw the line and to select the good from the bad, because the country could not properly assimilate them.'

"Besides excluding idiots, paupers, lunatics, and convicts, the bill proposed by the Ford Committee added to the excluded classes poltgamists, anarchists, and persons afflicted with a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease. The provisions of the contract-labor law were also incorporated within the bill. It provieded that any person found within the United States, having come contrary to law, could be deported within two years at the exoense of the transportation company bringing him. All aliens were also require d to bring a consular certificate of emigration showing they were not among the classes excluded by the United States law.

"Though the general feeling of Congress and of the country at large at this time was in favor of some measure which would regulste or restrict immigration, no agreement was reached as to the form it should take, and the legislation recommended by the Ford Committee was not enacted.

"Immigration Committees Established."

"Congress, however, realized that legislation was needed and continued an investigation of the subject. On December 12, 1889, a standing committee on immigration in the Senate and on December 20, 1889, a select committee on immigration and naturalization in the House were established. And, looking to a thorough revision of the immigration laws, on March 12, 1890, the House concurred in the following resolution:

"That the Senate Committee on Immigration and the House Select Commitee on Immigration and Naturalization be, and hereby are, authorized jointly to investigate the workings of the various laws of the United States and of several States relative to immigration from foreign countries to the United States, especially the law of Congress 'to regulate immigration,' approved August 3, 1882; and also to investigate the workings of the contracts made by the Secretary of the Treasury under said law of August 3 with the various State commissioners, boards, and officers; and also to investigate the effect on immigration, and incidentally on American workingmen, which is likely to follow the purchase of American industries by foreign capital; and also to report to Congress the official correspondence on the proposal to make Bedloes (Liberty) Island, in the harbor of New York, an immigrant depot, what title, the Government has to such island, what buildings, if any, are intended to be built on said island, and what officers and employees it is designed to employ thereon in connection with such immigration, and whether, in the opinion of the committees, after investigation, such island is the best and most suitable place for such immigrant depot, the investigation being conducted at such times and places as said committeess may deem proper, etc.

"Various reports were submitted by this joint committee. A bill was agreed upon and introduced in the Senate (S.5035) and in the House (H.R.13586) during the second session of the Fifty-First Congress.

"The conclusion of the committee was that a radical change

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in the immigration laws was not advisable, though they had found throughout the country a demand for a stricter enforcement of existing laws. During 1890 one or more political parties in 23 of the States had demanded additional regulations of immigration.

"The investigation of the joint committee showed that large numbers of immigrants were being landed every year in violation of the law of 1882, the chief cause of which was the divided authority provided for the execution of the immigration act. Since the Secretary of the Treasury had to act through State boards or commissions, the operation of the law became cumbersome and uncertain, as there was no single responsible head.

"The contract-labor law was found to be generally evaded. Very few persons were ever sent back under it, because those coming under contract were so well 'coached' that it was practically impossible to detect them as such. Then, there were other ways of evading it. Agents were sent to Europe to arouse interest in America by circulating glowing descriptions of the wages paid here and the great fortunes to be made. The agent entered into no contract with laborers abroad, but made such promises as influenced them to come. Neither was the evil coming from foreign advertising eliminated by the labor laws in force. When differences arose between employers and employees, advertising abroad for men was still of common occurrence. The workmen here were then brought to terms or the market became overflooded with labor and wages were reduced.

"It was also found that steamship companies had large numbers of agents in Europe soliciting passengers. It was claimed in some of the testimony presented to the committee that as many as 25% of the immigrants landed came in violation of the contract-labor law and influenced by representations of the agents of carrying companies.

"Immigration through Canada was again considered, and it was declared that 50,000 European immigrants had landed in Canada and reached the United States in that way. They thought it impossible to keep them all out, but recommended that inspectors be located at two points.

"The bill presented by the committee aimed to correct these faults in existing law. As it was presented it received rather general favor, the only opposition to it being on the part of the ultrarestrictionists who tried to have substituted H.R.58 which raised the head tax from 50 cents to a $1 and provided for a thorough consular examination. They even suggested putting the head tax up to $5, but concluded this was not a proper provision, because 'If it is intended to put the head tax high enough to limit immigration, to restrict it, to prevent the poorer classes from coming to this country, $5 is not enough to effect that. It ought to ne higher. If the object of the head tax is merely to pay the expenses of the administration of an effective system of inspection, $1 would be sufficient.' This substitute bill was defeated by a vote of 207 to 41. The bill of the committee passed the House February 25, 1891, by a vote of 125 to 48, and February 27 it passed the Senate without discussion. It was approved March 3, 1891.

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"The Immigration Law of 1891."

"The purpose of the immigration act of 1891 was to provide for the better selection of immigrants rather than the restriction of immigration. The head tax, being considered merely as a means of raising money for the proper administration of the law, was left at 50 cents, as provided in the law of August 3, 1882, since at that rate it had been sufficient to pay all the legitimate expenses it was designed to meet and leave a surplus.

"In addition to those excluded under the act of August 3, 1882, convicts, lunatics, paupers, and idiots, also persons suffering from loathsome or contagious disease, polygamists, and persons assisted by others to come, unless under special inquiry they were found not to belong to any one of the excluded classes, were excluded under the act of 1891.

"To strengthen the contract-labor law, the encouragement of the immigration of foreigners by promise of employment through advertisements published in any foreign country was made a violation of this act. This provision, however, did not prevent States from advertising the inducements they offered for immigration. All transportation companies were forbidden, either by writing, printing, or oral representation, to solicit, invite, or encourage the immigration of any alien into the United States except by ordinary commercial letters, circulars, advertisements, or oral representations, stating the sailings of their vessels and the terms and facilities of transportation.

"Ministers, professors of colleges, and members of any recognized profession were excepted from the provisions of the contract-labor clause and these, with skilled workmen, professional artists, lecturers, actors, singers, and personal or domestic servants, completed the list of those who could come into the United States under contract to perform some kind of service. Any person aiding in bringing in any alien excluded by law was guilty of a misdemeanor and became liable to a fine of $1000 or imprisonment for not more than a year or both.

"It now became the duty of the commanding officer of every vessel bringing alien immigrants to report to the proper inspection officers the name, nationality, last residence, and destinatio of all such aliens; all decisions of the insoecting officers refusi the right to land were final unless appeal was taken to the Secretary of the Treasury; the medicak examination of immigrants at United States ports were to be made by surgeons of the United States Marine-Hospital Service, and for the first time inspection of immigrants on the borders of Canada and Mexico was provided for, the Secretary of the Treasury being empowered to prescribe rules for such inspection.

"Another provision not found in the law of 1882 was that which allowed the return within a year after arrival of any alien who had come into the United States in violation of law, such return being at the expense of the transportation companies or persons bringing such aliens into the country. Any alien becoming a public charge within one year after arrival was considered to have come in violation of law. Finally the office of superintendent of immigration was established, and this office was given the entire charge of all immigration matters, aside from the enforcing of the Chinese-exclusion act, under the supervision of the Secretary of the Treasury.

" Thus it is seen that this law attempted to codify the existing laws; Federal control was completely and definitely

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263

established; the clauses relating to exclusion were extended and strengthened; more complete provisions were made for inspection and deportation; and an attempt was made to regulate overland immigration.

"The Investigations of 1892."

"The industrial depression following shortly after the passage of the act of 1891 resulted in renewed efforts for the restriction of immigration. Both the Republican and the Democratic Parties in their conventions in 1892 adopted planks favoring the further restriction of immigration, as follows:

"Republican.

"We favor the enactment of more stringent laws and regulations for the restriction of criminal, pauper, and contract immigration.

"Democratic.

"We heartily approve all legitimate efforts to prevent the United States from being used as the dumping ground for the known criminal and professional paupers of Europe, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the laws against Chinese immigration, or the importation of foreign workmen under contract, to degrade American labor and lessen its wages, but we condemn and denounce any and all attempts to restrict the immigration of the industrious and worthy of foreign lands.

"The immigration question also continued to receive its full share of attention in Congress, and although the new law had been in force less than one year, on January 29, 1892, a joint committee of the two Houses was charged with investigating the various Federal laws relative to immigration and the importation of foreign contract laborers, This committee reported to Congress on July 28 of the same year. The committee found that many undesirable immigrants were being permitted to land, who, under a proper and reasonable construction of the laws, should have been refused admission. This was partly because the old custom of receiving bonds that persons should not become public charges was still continued. Though this might have been allowable under the law of 1882, they considered it illegal under the law of 1891. They also came 'to the conclusion that the law permitting the Commissioner of Immigration at any port to be the sole arbiter as to whether an immigrant shall land or not, with an appeal in favor of the immigrant in case he is not permitted to land, and no appeal in case he is unlawfully permitted to do so, should be changed.' In recommending a more careful inspection of arriving immigrants, they said that what theretofore had been called examinations appeared to be 'more of a farce than a reality.' To remedy this they proposed that whenever an inspector was in doubt regarding the right of an immigrant to land he might detain him for a special inquiry conducted by four inspectors, the favorable decision of three of them being necessary to admit. Finally, the committee decided that an examination should be made at foreign ports of embarkation by the captain and surgeon of the ship bringing him, thus making the steamship and transportation lines responsible for the character of the persons they bring.

"Bills embodying the recommendations of the committee were introduced in the Senate and the House. The Senate bill was passed without debate on July 27, 1892, but the House took no action at that session.

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"During the same session the Senate undertook an investigation, having passed the following resolution on July 16, 1892:

"'That the Committee on Immigration be empowered to investigate the workings of the laws of the United States relative to immigration from foreign countries and the importation of contract labor into the United States, and of the laws and prevailing methods of naturalization,'

"The result of this investigation was reported to the next session of Congress. Accompanying the report were two bills, one (S.3786) proposing additional regulations concerning immigration and the other (S.3513) prohibiting immigration for one year. The reason for the latter bill was the epidemic of cholera then prevailing in Europe.

"The bill declaring for the total suspension of immigration for one year, simply to 'defeat the arrival of cholera within our borders,' however, was deemed too severe, and instead the following provision, which is still in force, was inserted in the general quarantine act:

" 'That whenever it shall be shown to the satisfaction of the President that by reason of the existence of cholera or other infectious or contagious disease in a foreign country there is a serious danger of the introduction of the same into the United States, and that notwithstanding the quarantine defense this danger is so increased by the introduction of persons or property from such country that a suspension of the [illegible] right to introduce the same is demanded in the interest of the public health, the President shall have the power to prohibit, in whole or part, the introduction of persons and property from such countries or places as he shall designate and for such period of time as he may deem necessary.'

"The other bill is interesting in that for the first time restriction of immigration by means of the educational test was recommended. Along with 'persons blind or crippled, or otherwise physically imperfect, so that they are wholly or partially disabled from manual labor,' and 'persons belonging to societies which favor or justify the unlawful destruction of property or life,' the majority of the committee proposed and incorporated in their bill a clause excluding-'all persons physically capable and over twelve years of age who cannot read and write with reasonable facility their own language, except that an aged person not so able to read and write who is the parent or grandparent of an admissible immigrant may accompany or be sent for by such immigrant."

"The bill also provided for a complete passenger list or manifest made out by the passengers themselves.

"In regard to a plan of consular inspection of immigrants, the committee said that while not deeming it expedient to report a provision making it compulsory, they would submit as section three of the proposed law a plan for issuing a consular certificate when any person chose to apply for one, in which case on upon arrival here he would be subjected to a less rigid examination than if coming without such certificate.

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"The principal arguments against this bill were that the law of 1891 had been in force only a brief period and its operation as yet had only been of an experimental character. Instead of passing a new law it was argued that it would be better to bring about a more perfect enforcement of the spirit of the existing law. The objection to the educational test was that the demand of the country was not for skilled and educated labor, but 'for a class of brawn and muscle to assist in agriculture and in the line of their work to aid in the development of the almost boundless resources of the great West and South.' It was further argued that the country was n ot demanding the exclusion of any but criminals and paupers.

"While there wde some who favored an even more radical restriction than was proposed in the committee bill, the idea of a better enforcement of the existing laws prevailed, and while the committee's recommendations resulted in a revised immigration law, which was approved March 3, 1893, it was by no means radical.

"The Immigration Law of 1893."

"The immigration act of 1893 required the captain or commanding officer of all vessels bringing in alien immigrants to deliver on arrival to the proper immigration official lists of all immigrants aboard their ship. It was further required that these lists be signed and sworn to before the United States consul at the port of departure; their sworn statement being to the effect that, no persons belonging to classes excluded by United States laws were included in the list.

"In regard to each immigrant the list gave the full name, age, and sex; whether married or single; the occupation; whether able to read or write; the nationality; the last residence; the seaport of landing; the final destination; whether having ticket through to such destination; who paid his passage; whether in possession of money; and if so, whether upward of $30; whether going to join a relative; and if so, his name and address; whether ever before in the United States; whether ever in prison or an almshouse; whether under contract to perform labor; and what is the immigrant's health, mentally and physically, and whether deformed or crippled.

"No longer would the word of one inspector exclude an immigrant. It now became his duty to detain for special inquiry every immigrant whom he did not think, beyond a doubt, entitled to admission. Special inquiries were to be conducted by not less than four inspectors, and to admit, a favorable decision by at least three of them was necessary.

"Bonds that no alien should become a public charge were allowed to be received only upon express authority given by the Secretary of the Treasury in each special case.

"Transportation companies engaged regularly in carrying immigrants were required to certify twice a year giving to having kept exposed in the office of each of their agents in foreign countries a copy of the law of 1891 and all subsequent laws relating to immigration, and that they had instructed their agents to call the attention thereto of all persons before selling them tickets.

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"The subject of immigration, however, continued to be agitated in Congress, and on April 5, less than five weeks after the approval of the law of 1893, the Senate passed a resolution which provided- 'That the Committee on Immigration be authorized and directed to make inquiry into the condition and character of the alien immigrants coming into the United States for the purpose of supplying labor for the coal, iron, and other mines of the country, and further to inquire whether the laws against the admission of laborers under contract are effectually enforced, etc., and also generally to inquire into the workings of the law of March 3, 1893.'

"Since the law of 1893 was not yet in force, it is easily seen that Congress was not wholly satisfied that the existing laws were sufficient. During this Congress, as in the Previous one, the principal attempt at legislation was in trying to secure a more rigid inspection of immigrants with a view to preventing the immigration of undesirables. The plan especially urged was that of consular inspection. Such a bill was introduced into the House of Representatives by Mr. Stone, of Pennsylvania, on January 16, 1894.

"On July 20, 1894, Mr. Stone's bill passed the House without debate. The purpose of this bill, as declared in the committee report upon it, was to prevent the admission of criminals and paupers into this country as immgrants. They were excluded by the present laws, but the committee held that the examination on the arrival of the immigrants, was, necessarily, wholly insufficient to determine whether the immigrant belonged to the excluded class or not, and that there was no reason why the immigrant should be brought 3000 or 4000 miles to determine whether he was admissible or not, and that if he was not admissible, it would be much better for him to know that fact before he embarked at a foreign port for the United States.

"Consular inspection of immigrants, however, was not generally in favor in the Senate. One ground of objection, stated by Senator Hill, of New York, being that it was not wise- 'to have two departments of the Government meddling with the same subject, but that it is best that to the Treasury Depart - ment, which is intrusted under the existing laws with the carrying out of the immigration, should be given whatever authority is to be given, and that the Department of State, which has charge of the Consular Service, should have nothing to do with it.'

"The Senate, following the advice of the Secretary of the Treasury, amended Mr. Stone's bill so that it provided for an inspection abroad by Treasury agents instead of by consuls.

"Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, opposed the Senate's amendment substituting Treasury agents for consular officers, saying in a debate upon the bill- 'that they have no powers at all on the other side of the water. The Senator from New York syays that they will examine the manifests; that they will go on the ships and examine the immigrants. That is purely a permissive right. They go on if the owner of the ship allows them to go and look at the manifest. They are clothed with no authority whatever. I do not mean to say that they would not do some good and effective work. I think they would. I think also

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they would probably in practice be allowed to inspect the immigrants and to send out a great deal of valuable information such as the Senator from New York has described, but I think it is distinctly an inferior method to that proposed in the bill as passed in the other House.'

"No agreement was reached in the conference on the bill between the two Houses. In the Senate, as a result of the action of this conference, another bill (S.2314) was introduced by Senator Hill, of New York, to provide for the exclusion of alien anarchists, such a provision having been added to the first bill in the Senate. This bill passed the Senate on August 16, 1894, but the House did not consider it.

"Consequently the only legislation of the Fifty-third Congress affecting immigration was found in the appropriation acts of 1894 and 1895. The act of 1894 increased the head tax on immigrants from 50 ¢ to $1; provided that the decisions of appropriate immigration by customs officers, if adverse to the admission of an alien, should be final unless reversed by the Secretary of the Treasury, and provided for the appointement by the President of commissioners of immigration at various ports of arrival. By the act of 1895 the designation Superintendent of Immigration was changed to Commissioner-General of Immigration, and in addition to his other duties he was given charge of the enforcement of the contract-labor laws.

"The American Protective Association."

"It is necessary here to refer to the American Protective Association, a phase of the old Know-Nothing movement, which became active at about this period. It was a secret organization, and like the earlier one it was formed for the purpose of making itself felt in the elections. The Junior Order of United American Mechanics and Patriotic Sons of America were claimed as sympathizers and co-operators.

"The reasons for the formation of this organization were stated by its president as follows:

"'1. That the spirit of the National Constitution was being violated in various ways by certain persons and bodies in the United States.

"'2. That certain members and sections of the National Government were in connivance with the said violators.

"'3. That the conditions governing our national immigration were such as to weaken our democratic institutions and form of government and to substitute therefor a system of government not in harmony therewith.

"'4. That the immigrant vote, under the direction of certain ecclesistical institutions, had become so dominant a factor in politics as to virtually control it.

"'5. That this domination had resulted in political prostitution, corruption, and favoritism of the worst kind.

"'6. That the great majority of the American people, while painfully cognizant of the sinister and debasing results of these conditions and desirous of amending them, were either ignorant of any efficient means of counterorganization, or fearful of their personal interests at the hands of their powerful and organized opponents.'

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"It would seem from the above that the movement was directed against immigrants only as they were Catholics.

"Up to 1893 the membership of the 'A.P.A.',as it was commonly known,never exceeded 70,000. But in two following years it became firmly planted and,according to the president of the society,was instrumental in overturning the entire political machinery in New York,Massachusetts,Michigan,Missouri,Tennessee, Kentucky,Ohio,and Iowa,and of California,Minnesota,Pennsylvania, Wisconsin,Washington,and Oregon in part. [See W.J.H.Traynor in North American Review,vol.162] It is said that in the Fifty-fourth Congress nearly 100 Members were pledged to support the platform of the Order,but,says Mr.Traynor, 'it would be unfair, as it is untrue,to say that the great majority of these were honestly the friends of the American Protective Association,or imbued with the principles of the organization,' for,he continues, 'many accepted A.P.A. principles as a means to the end of obtaining A.P.A. votes.'

"In 1896 the association claimed a membership of nearly 2,500,000 persons. At this time it seemed probable that it would grow in influence and power,but in reality it never went beyond the stage of being an agitation. The reaction soon set in and its decline was even more rapid than its rise.

"Literacy Test favored by Congress."

"In the Fifty-fourth Congress the principal immigration bill under discussion provided for an educational test. In December,1895,such a bill was introduced in the Senate by Mr.Lodge,of Massachusetts,and in the House by Mr.McCall,of Massachusetts. As introduced this bill provided that there should be added to the excluded classes-'all persons between fourteen and sixty years of age who cannot both read and write the English language or some other language.'

"On April 2,1896,Mr. Bartholdt,from the Committee on Immigration,reported a substitute for Mr.McCall's bill. The substitute provided that no-'male person unable to read and write his own language be admitted to the United States, excepting children under the age of sixteen years,and parents of persons now living in or hereafter admitted to this country.'

"On February 18,1896,mr.Lodge's bill was reported adversely in the Senate and a substitute introduced. The substitute provided that there should be excluded-'all persons over fourteen years of age who cannot read and write the language of their native country,or some other language,except that an aged person not so able to read and write,who is the parent of an admissible immigrant,may accompany or be sent for by each immigrant.'

"The House substitute bill passed that body on May 20, 1896,by a vote of 195 to 26,after being amended by the addition of three sections dealing with the coming of Canadians across the border to perform daily labor in the United States. This amendment made it unlawful for any alien-'to be employed on any public works of the United States,or to come regularly into the United States by land or water for the purpose of engaging in any mechanical trade or manual labor for wages or salary,returning from time to time to a foreign country.'

"The Senate did not act on the House bill during this

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session,nor did it consider the Senate bill. Early in the following session,however,December 17,1896,the House bill with amendments passed the Senate by a vote of 52 to 10. The House disagreed to the Senate amendments and asked for a conference. After two conference reports,the House disagreeing to the first,the bill was finally passed,the second conference report being adopted in the House on February 9,1897,by a vote of 217 to 36,and in the Senate on February 17,1896, by a vote of 34 to 31.

"As the bill went to the President it provided for the exclusion from the United States of persons physically capable and over sixteen years of age who could not read and write the English language or some other language; parents,grandparents, wives,and minor children of admissible immigrants being excepted.

"The basis of the argument for the educational test can be found in the following quotation from the Senate report on the subject:

" 'The illiteracy test will affect almost entirely those races whose immigration to the United States has begun within recent times and which are most alien in language and origin to the people who founded the thirteen colonies and have built up the United States; that it would fall most heavily against those classes of immigrants which now furnish paupers,diseased and criminal,excluded by existing law,and is therefore a continuance of the present policy of the United States which has met with general acceptance; that the immigrants who would be excluded by the illiteracy test do not go out into the Western adn Southern States,where immigration is needed,and become an agricultural population,but remain almost entirely in the Atlantic States and in the great centers of population,where the labor market is already overcrowded; that the illiterate immmgrants who would be excluded by the bill proposed by the committee are largely congested in great cities and furnish a large proportion of the slum population; that the illiteracy test would shut out those classes of immigrants which statistics show contribute most heavily to pauperism and crime and juvenile delinquents,and that with two exceptions none of the excluded races,as shown by the letters of the governors of the different States,are desired in 26 States of the Union from which reports have been received. In one word, it may besaid that this measure will exclude a larger number of undesirable immigrants,so far as statistics can be relied upon, than any restriction which could otherwise be devised.'

"In the arguments made against the bill it was contended that restriction of immigration was not desired,and also that the educational test would not shut out criminals,many of whom were well educated.

"The passage of this restrictive measure,which was especially aimed at southern and eastern European immigrants,seems to emphasize the truth of the sentiment of the several States as expressed by their governors in replies to inquiries sent to them by the special immigration investigation commission in 1895,asking them whether immigration was desired in their respective States, and if so,from what races?

"The following is a summary of their replies:

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270

"Race Preferences Expressed by Governors."

"Wisconsin: Germans, because they all work and are generally very prosperous.

Michigan: English-speaking are most desirable, with Scandinavians and Germans next.

Kansas: Scotch, English, Scandinavians, and Germans.

reverse ↷ North Dakota: Germans, English, Swedes, and Norwegians.

Oregon: As farmers and farmhands are our principal need, we prefer those from the British Isles, France, Italy, Germany, and Scandinavia.

Montana: Farmers from the north of Europe, where climatic conditions approximate those of Montana.

Idaho: Scandinavians or Germans are preferable.

Colorado: First, for horticulture and agriculture, we prefer Germans and Scandinavians.

Maine: Scandinavians, but not others.

New Hampshire: Swedes and Germans for farmers and women for general housework.

Pennsylvania: Our own laboring people are in sufficient number to supply the demand.

Illinois: Not seeking further immigration just at present.

Iowa: Any class of foreigners very undesirable at present time.

Minnesota: No need for unskilled labor of any kind at present time.

Nebraska: Germans, Swedes, Italians. No demand for labor of any kind at present.

Mississippi: Germans, Swedes, Italians: but not sure any immigrants are desirable at present.

California: There is an oversupply of laborers in every branch of industry. There is no desire anywhere for immigration of the non-producing classes, who are dependent upon manual labor for the means of subsistence.

Massachusetts: Further immigration not needed.

New York: No necessity at present for encouraging further immigration.

Rhode Island: Every trade is more than supplied with all the labor needed.

Kentucky: British, Germans, Swiss, Scandinavians. Poles, Huns, and Latin races are not desired, except individuals who come of their own volition.

Virginia: English, Scotch, Irish, Germans, and Swedes.

Georgia: Germans, French, Hollanders, Belgians, Scandinavians, and Swiss.

Arkansas: American, German, and English-speaking immigrants-farmers, but welcome all desirable immigrants.

Florida: First preference for English-speaking immigrants.

Texas: Desire immigrants who are sober, industrious, worthy, and who will make good citizens.

"President Cleveland's Veto."

"President Cleveland returned the bill with his veto, March 2, 1897. He objected to the radical departure from the previous national policy relating to immigration, which welcomed all who came, the success of which policy was attested by the last century's great growth. In referring to the claim that the

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quality of recent immigration was undesirable,he said: 'The time is quite within recent memory when the same thing was said of immigrants who,with their descendants,are now numbered among our best citizens.' The prevailing disturbed labor conditions he attributed to a general business depression,which would in no way be affected by restricting immigration. In referring to 'the best reason that could be given for this radical restriction of immigration,' the 'protecting of our population against degeneration,and saving our national peace and quiet from imported turbulence and disorder,' he said that he did not think it would be protected against these evils by limiting immigration to those who could read and write,for,in his mind,it was safer 'to admit a hundred thousand immigrants who,though unable to read and write, seek among us only a home and opportunity to work,than to admit one of those unruly agitators who can not only read and write,but delight in arousing by inflammatory speech the illiterate and peacefully ~~intent~~ inclined to be discontent.' (Apparently he had had enough of them in the Haymarket riots and the Pullman Strike troubles.) Those classes which we ought to~~/~~ exclude,he claimed, should be legislated against directly.

"The sections of the bill declaring it a crime for an alien regularly to come into the United States for the purpose of obtaining work from private parties,President Cleveland declared, were 'illiberal,narrow,and un-American,' and,besides,the residents of these border States and Territories 'have separate and especial interests which in many cases make an interchange of labor between their people and their alien neighbors most important frequently,with the advantage largely in favor of our citizens.'

"On March 3,1897,the House passed the bill over the President's veto by a vote of 193 to 37,but no action was taken in the Senate,and,considering the close vote by which the conference report was adopted by the Senate,it is very doubtful that it could have been passed over the veto.

"In the Fifty-fifth Congress the bill which President Cleveland vetoed was introduced again,and at this time it received the special indorsement of the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor. The latter organization,in its convention held in Washington,D.C.,February 6,1898,declared for it as follows: 'We urge the adoption of a reasonable law to restrict undesirable immigration,such law to be based upon an educational qualification.'

"The Knights of Labor,in their convention of the year before held in Louisville,Ky.,also declared for it. The following extract from the Journal of the Knights of Labor,January 15,1898, represents the attitude of that organization: 'Among the other matters requiring legislative action whcih were considered by the last annual convention of the general assembly of the Knights of Labor,held at Louisville,Ky.,November 9 to 17,the subject of restricting immigration was discussed,with the result that House bill No.74 and Senate No.112 received the unanimous approval of that body. ----- As regards the propriety of the educational test,

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we are satisfied that it is the most practicable method yet advanced. Unlike the present laws or the proposed consular inspection, it will not leave the administration of the laws to the discretion of the officials. Its redeeming feature is that it is positive and leaves no loopholes for thousands of contract laborers to crawl through, as is the case under the present law. The educational test might keep out a few desirable immigrants, but the country can well spare them if we rid ourselves of the large class of undesirable ones. The line must be drawn somewhere, and to our mind the educational test offers the best remedy.'

"One of the most active opponents this measure had was the Immigration Protective League, which, it is said, had been formed primarily for the purpose of defeating immigration legislation. Their principal means of working was by distributing circulars. The nature of their circulars is shown by the following quotation taken from one of them:

" '----the nativistic authors of such entirely superfluous new laws pretend their only object is to protect the American laboring man against foreign competition. This is, however, only a poor excuse for their real scheme, dictated by that hatred of the foreigner, whom they would like to exclude altogether---. If in particular, the now comparatively feeble stream of immigration is completely cut off, then they will succeed in oppressing Germans in this country and ruin the German element politically and industrially. To the great satisfaction and delight of the English-American press, many a German newspaper, whose competition is a thorn in their flesh, will be forced to the wall. No German church building will then be erected any more or conserved; no German school could exist, and the German language will disappear from the public schools.'

"Such circulars, it is said, were a result of the misunderstanding of the provisions of the bill, because under it only a very few Germans would have been excluded. In referring to this, Senator Fairchild, of Indiana, said: 'I received and am still receiving protests (against the Lodge bill) from various societies in Indiana. One of them was from a German organization in Jeffersonville. I took the trouble to investigate this, and found it had been directly instigated by a steamship agent, and that the members of the German Aid Society, who ostensibly protested, were led to believe that it was a general restriction of immigration and not merely an attempt to keep out illiterated, which these very men who protested heartily approved of.' [Chicago Tribune, January 21, 1898.]

"There was also objection to the bill on the part of some Catholics. An idea of this is shown by a remark of Senator Gibson, of Maryland, which connected the bill with the A.P.A. movement. He said: 'This dangerous organization, Mr. President, which is generally believed to be instigating and urging the passage of the bill, has for its real purpose hostility to the Catholic Church.' The Lodge bill passed the Senate January 17, 1898, by a vote of 45 to 28, but the House refused to consider it by a vote of 103 to 101.

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"By an act of June 18,1898,the Industrial Commission was created. Section 2 of this act provided: 'That it shall be the duty of this commission to investigate questions pertaining to immigration,----and to report to Congress and to suggest such legislation as it may deem best upon these subjects.'

"This commission was very influential in framing the immigration law of 1903,which,with the exception of the act of June 6,1900,which gave to the Commissioner-General of Immigration the administration of the Chinese-exclusion law, was the only legislation upon the subject since 1893."

(End of quotation from Dillingham Report.)

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