

LYNCH LAW AND UNRESTRICTED IMMIGRATION.

BY THE HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE, REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM MASSACHUSETTS.

ON Sunday, March 15, the people of the United States were startled and shocked by hearing that on the preceding day a mob in New Orleans, led by men of good standing in the community, had broken into one of the prisons and with cool deliberation had killed eleven Italians who were confined there. The victims of this attack were accused of complicity in the recent murder of the chief of police. Two had never been brought to trial, and the trial of the others had resulted in the acquittal of six and a mistrial as to three. The mob acted on the belief that these men were guilty of the crime with which they were charged; that that crime was the work of a secret society known as the Mafia; and that the failure of the jury to convict was due either to terror of this secret organization or to bribery by its agents.

Americans are a law-abiding people, and an act of lawlessness like the lynching of these Italians is sure to meet with their utmost disapproval. There is no doubt that every intelligent man deplores the lawless act of the New Orleans mob. But to stop there would be the reverse of intelligent. To visit on the heads of the mob all our reprobation, and to find in its act alone matter of anxiety and regret, would not only be unjust, but would show a very slight apprehension of the gravity and meaning of this event. Such acts as the killing of these eleven Italians do not spring from nothing without reason or provocation. The mob would have been impossible if there had not been a large body of public opinion behind it, and if it had not been recognized that it was not mere riot, but rather that revenge which Lord Bacon says is a kind of wild justice. The mob was deplorable, but the

public sentiment which created it was more deplorable still, and deserves to have the reasons for its existence gravely and carefully considered.

What, then, are the true causes of the events of the 14th of March at New Orleans? One, certainly, was the general belief that there had been a gross miscarriage of justice in the trial of the accused Italians. Whether the jury rendered their verdict against the evidence or not, it is certain that the people of New Orleans pretty generally thought that they had done so. It is, unfortunately, only too evident that there is a profound lack of confidence in the juries of New Orleans. Lawlessness and lynching are evil things, but a popular belief that juries cannot be trusted is even worse, for it is an indication that the law is breaking down in its ordinary operations. This condition of public opinion is, no doubt, due in very large measure to the extremely bad condition of politics in New Orleans; a fact of which the country has had for some time a vague idea, but upon which, since the 14th of March, it has received a great deal of very definite information. A city in which political meetings concerned only with the affairs of a single party are held under the conditions which attended the caucuses at the time of the struggle between Governors Nicholls and McEnery, and where a great gambling enterprise has been sowing the seeds of corruption in every direction, is in a very bad way. Violence breeds violence, and corruption engenders corruption. Wrong-doing of this sort always returns to plague the inventors. At the same time, the condition of municipal politics in New Orleans is something that the people of that city must deal with themselves. If they do not set matters right in this respect, no one else can, and they will suffer by their bad city politics more than anybody else.

The other exciting cause of the mob was the belief that the men who were killed were members of the Mafia, a secret society bound by the most rigid oaths and using murder as a means of maintaining its discipline and carrying out its decrees. Of the existence of such a society no reasonable man can, I think, have any doubt. That it has, as a rule, confined its operations to the people who brought it here is, I think, equally beyond question. But there is nothing to keep it necessarily within such bounds. It is anything but self-limited, and in a political soil like that of New Orleans it was pretty sure to extend. Now,

if there is one thing more hateful to Americans than another, it is secret, oath-bound societies which employ assassination as a recognized means for carrying out their objects. The killing of the eleven prisoners had in it no race feeling whatever. There has been no hostility to the Italians in America, as such. On the contrary, they have been generally regarded hitherto as an industrious people, prone to fierce quarrels among themselves, but, in the main, thrifty, hardworking, and well behaved. The men were not killed in the New Orleans prison because they were Italians, but because they were believed to be members of a secret-assassination society responsible for a brutal murder. There was a further popular belief that this society was not only responsible for the murder of the chief of police, but that it was extending its operations that it was controlling juries by terror, and that it would gradually bring the government of the city and the State under its control. This belief, no doubt, was exaggerated, but it was certainly not without foundation.

We have, therefore, three facts here of the gravest import. First, an outbreak of lawlessness which resulted in the death of eleven men; second, a belief that juries could not be depended upon to administer justice and protect the lives of the citizens; third, the existence of a secret society which was ready to use both money and murder to accomplish its objects, even to the point of perverting the administration of the law. It is my purpose to deal only with the last phase of this question. I believe that, whatever the proximate causes of the shocking event at New Orleans may have been, the underlying cause, and the one with which alone the people of the United States can deal, is to be found in the utter carelessness with which we treat immigration to this country.

The killing of the prisoners at New Orleans was due chiefly to the fact that they were supposed to be members of the Mafia, but it would be a great mistake to suppose that the Mafia stands alone. Societies or political organizations which regard assassination as legitimate have been the product of repressive government on the continent of Europe. They are the offspring of conditions and of ideas wholly alien to the people of the United States. Nevertheless, to certain minds they present a permanent attraction, and there are classes of men sufficiently illiterate and sufficiently criminal to reproduce them wherever they may happen

to be, even when there is no repressive government to serve as an excuse. The last twenty years have shown the existence of these societies at various times in one form or another in the United States. They have appeared in different parts of the country, and have usually been put down and their deeds punished by ordinary process of law. We have had, for example, the Molly Maguires in Pennsylvania, the Anarchists in Chicago, the Mafia in New Orleans, and, according to a recent statement in the *New York Times*, there is a similar organization among some of the Poles.* It is idle to say that, like all other honest citizens, the great mass of men belonging to the races which have been most pointedly connected with these organizations heartily disapprove them. There is no question that this is true; and yet none the less these dangerous societies spring up and commit murders, and are either put down by the law or crushed out by wild deeds of lawlessness and bloodshed like that at New Orleans. They come not from race peculiarities, but from the quality of certain classes of immigrants of all races. If we permit the classes which furnish material for these societies to come freely to this country, we shall have these outrages to deal with, and such scenes as that of the 14th of March will be repeated.

In the January number of this REVIEW I brought together some statistics in regard to immigration and the changes in its character, as shown by the official reports of the last few years. Since the appearance of that article a special report by Mr. F. L. Dingley upon the subject of European immigration has been issued by the State Department, and some of the statements which he makes are well worth consideration. They have an especial

* A dispatch to the *New York Times* dated Shenandoah, February 10, and headed "Secret Polish Avengers," says: "It is now well known that a secret Polish society, organized for the purpose of defending their people and avenging their wrongs, has existed in this valley for the past two years. The police officers of this place have made the discovery, which in details is as sensational as anything connected with the Molly Maguire troubles." Then follows an account of a disturbance in a Polish saloon in which one Balsekavage was beaten and robbed by John Auskittis. After the arrest of the latter seven of his friends started out to avenge him, and made a murderous assault upon a party of Balsekavage's friends, but were attacked by the police and arrested. "The society to which these men belong consists of about forty members. They have no place of meeting, but congregate in gangs on the street corners and in saloons. If one of the members gets into trouble, whether he is right or wrong the society is obliged to stand by him and get him out of it at any cost. The police state that one of the most important objects of the society is subornation of perjury, and the rules of the society appear to have been most boldly enforced of late."

weight, because Mr. Dingley takes a very rosy view of the immigration to this country and is decidedly friendly to it, although he is not blind to its evils, and advises that precautions should be taken to sift and direct it. In the previous article to which I have just referred I made the point that the immigration of those races which had thus far built up the United States, and which are related to each other either by blood or language or both, was declining, while the immigration of races totally alien to them was increasing. Mr. Dingley's very recent facts strengthen this conclusion, and I desire to call attention to some of the evidence his report furnishes.

The French, Belgian, and Dutch immigration, all of which has proved valuable to this country, is, as it has always been, so small as to be of comparatively slight importance. The German immigration, which has been not only one of the largest, but one of the best, has continued to decline. In the first five months of 1890 it fell off 6,000 as compared with the corresponding months of 1889. Of the Scandinavian immigration Mr. Dingley says: "The emigration from Sweden to the United States for several years averaged from forty to fifty thousand annually, but it is now slowly receding." From Great Britain and Ireland the figures are even more suggestive.

"For the eight months of 1890 ending August 31, as compared with the corresponding months of 1889, there was a decline of 7,423 in the total number of English emigrants to the United States; in Scotch emigrants, a decline of 3,348, and a decline of 6,321 in Irish emigration. The total decline of emigrants of British origin in this period, as compared with the corresponding period of 1889, was 17,195; the total for this period of eight months in 1890 was 106,123."

On the other hand, the immigration of Poles, Bohemians, Hungarians, Russians, and Italians is increasing. Here is a description which Mr. Dingley gives of some of them:

"Says one of the observers of the emigrant movement to the writer:

"There are forty young fellows in that group yonder whom I saw returning from the United States last fall. They are now about returning together to the United States. I cannot prove that they are contract laborers, but I believe they are. They form an illustration of a good many emigrants. They have a leader; if the boarding-house gets that leader, he gets the whole party—they follow him as the sheep follow their leader. These parties formerly went to Holland to make brick by contract; now they do better by going to the United States. Do you see that woman who goes along with them with that huge pack on her back? She does the drudgery for the workmen, cooks

for them, and carries their rags. Every group of ten of these contract workers has an old woman to do their cooking.

"Who are they? They are generally Poles, generally young, generally ignorant. They are warranted work in the States at better wages than they used to get in Holland. They scrape together considerable money in the States and return to Poland each autumn to stay until they are again wanted in the ensuing spring in the United States. They travel from Poland to Bremen in fourth-class cars, like cattle and at live-stock rates. They can get rich on low wages, live on pork and stale bread, and are killing competitors of unskilled American labor."

"Perhaps the most pitiable lot in the emigrant groups which I am describing is a party of Russian Jews, starved out of Russia, going to the United States to join the congested ranks of middlemen. They are almost revolting, mainly peddlers of the smallest scale. Nobody wants them, even in the poorest emigrant lodging-houses. The more one observes this movement the more he is inclined to say that the place to stop it is not at Castle Garden, but in Russia.

"I learn that in England students of this subject are now urging that the question be made a subject of diplomatic attention, for England is suffering from pauper immigration more notably according to its population than ourselves.

"A comparison of the personnel of the various natural [national?—Ed.] groups in Bremen emigrant lodging-houses shows at a glance the superiority of the Germans and Scandinavians. These Germans have an average of \$50 in their pockets, besides their tickets to the American destination, some of them as far as Missouri and Dakota, but the Jews and Poles are practically penniless."

Worse than all, perhaps, is the movement of low-class labor from the far East. On this point Mr. Dingley says:

Perhaps the most discouraging feature of the statistics from Marseilles is the decided increase in the oriental movement—Syrians and Armenians."

The same increase holds true of Italy as of Hungary, Russia, and Poland.

"The total emigration from Naples to the United States in 1889 was 15,709. In the first three months of 1890 the total emigration was ten times larger than for the corresponding period of 1889. From Naples, during the first three months of 1890, there emigrated to the United States 12,633 Italians and Sicilians. The movement from Sicily has been rapidly increasing during the past few years. From Palermo, in 1887, 2,201 Sicilians embarked, destined for the United States; in 1888 the number advanced to 3,713, while in 1889 it moved up to 6,017; while during the present year the number is likely to be as great or larger.

"The American consul at Palermo, speaking of Sicilian emigrants, says: 'The Sicilian emigrants to the United States are generally rustic and of the lowest type of the Italian as to character and intelligence, few, if any, being able to read or write. They have not, as a rule, a cent of money after paying their fare.'"

These are some of the figures, and Mr. Dingley further states

that 85 per cent. of the Italian immigration is from Sicily and southern Italy. These facts which I have quoted from Mr. Dingley's report all show the truth of what I said in my previous article—that not only was our immigration changing in point of race, but that it was deteriorating.*

There is also another side to the Italian immigration pointed out by Mr. Dingley which deserves a passing notice. This is the large number of Italians who stay but a short time in the United States, and who then return to their native country with such money as they have been able to save here. I quote the report again :

"What amazes is the size of the countercurrent. Sometimes as many as 1,000 Italians came back from the United States to Naples in the month of December. . . . Hence, when they have made a few dollars in the United States beyond the present wants, they hasten to their old homes. They love to spend their savings in Italy ; it seems to them almost a sacrilege to spend them elsewhere."

This, of course, is a most unwholesome feature in any immigration. Persons who come to the United States, reduce the rate of wages by ruinous competition, and then take their savings out of the country, are not desirable. They are mere birds of passage. They form an element in the population which regards as home a foreign country, instead of that in which they

* The latest statistics from the last treasury statement are as follows :

COUNTRIES.	Month ending January 31.		Seven months ending January 31.	
	1891.	1890.	1891.	1890.
Austria-Hungary:				
Bohemia.....	197	50	4,693	1,268
Hungary.....	1,299	767	13,695	10,228
Other Austria (except Poland).....	1,034	1,302	14,106	13,670
Total.....	2,530	2,119	32,494	25,166
Denmark.....	173	127	3,874	3,217
France.....	241	3 5	4,065	4,020
Germany.....	2,685	2,236	50,561	45,739
Great Britain and Ireland :				
England and Wales.....	1,548	1,599	31,125	32,700
Scotland.....	468	377	5,776	6,317
Ireland.....	543	550	21,116	20,734
Total.....	2,499	2,457	58,017	59,751
Italy.....	1,766	1,627	27,282	16,441
Netherlands.....	78	107	1,510	1,451
Poland.....	1,252	294	12,321	2,699
Russia (except Poland).....	2,017	1,121	22,951	16,746
Sweden and Norway.....	405	258	18,678	16,229
Switzerland.....	186	163	3,250	3,428
All other countries.....	955	484	10,273	6,785
Total.....	14,287	11,298	244,976	201,680

live and earn money. They have no interest or stake in the country, and they never become American citizens.

More serious, however, than these statements as to the general character of the present immigration are, perhaps, the startling facts which Mr. Dingley brings to light as to the utter failure of any laws or regulations which we now have to exclude members of the criminal classes. I will give a few extracts to show how serious this objection is. He says on this point in regard to Germany, whence comes so much of our best immigration :

"One sees some pardoned criminals. A lawyer who was sentenced to imprisonment for swindling was pardoned and sailed hence for the United States to start anew. Such persons are advised to leave their country for the joint good of country and self.

"An American resident in Bremen states :

"I know of one case where two ex-convicts were assisted to leave Germany for the United States by a benevolent society. There are in every large German city societies to help ex-criminals to get a new start in the world. The United States consul at Bremen detected one case where two convicts had a new outfit and tickets for New York furnished by a benevolent society. These men were returned to Germany, but probably they have since gone to New York by some other line. They are birds of prey; you may see them in new suits and new outfits, handbag, etc., and generally they are tramps or ex-criminals who are being helped out of Europe, not by the government, but by so-called benevolent societies, whose object in part, I fear, is to get rid of undesirable population more than to bless all mankind. . . ."

"A German-American in Hamburg speaks as follows :

"Many criminals and socialists have gone to the United States from Germany in recent years, because they are not so thoroughly hounded there, while the American laws are less impertinent than the German."

The same is true of the Scandinavian immigration, which has also been one of our best sources of immigration.

"Although such things are difficult to substantiate, still, from my own observation and from circumstances I have heard related and occasional incidental accounts in the press, I am thoroughly satisfied that criminals, vicious characters, paupers, and other objectionable persons have been and are constantly being assisted to America for the purpose of getting rid of them; and I doubt very much if there is a single hamlet, village, or any other community, not to speak of the large cities, in the whole kingdom which could not furnish instances of such a practice.

"I believe this is principally done by private subscription by members of the community to rid themselves of objectionable characters; but I also am perfectly confident that it is done as well by the officials of prisons, poor-houses, and other institutions, for the reason that, careful as the press is about publishing anything reflecting unfavorably upon their country or institutions, occasional instances inadvertently, or in other connections, appear in print."

The worst showing is made at Liverpool, as might be expected from the very large number of immigrants leaving that port. Mr. Dingley quotes on this point the statement of an emigrant agent :

"I think that at least one hundred very objectionable emigrants leave Liverpool every week for New York. Some of these, and perhaps the most objectionable, are British paupers assisted by benevolent societies ; some of them are ex-convicts, but the most of them are paupers from the Continent—I mean persons without a cent of money or an outlook or trade or habits of industry or of self-support. There is an agent in Liverpool who takes ex-convicts, sees them on the ship, and pays them their 'good-behavior money,' after paying their passage to the United States. They are furnished with a new suit of clothes, and are given to understand that they can do better abroad than at home. They have something over and above their tickets. The government is not concerned in this matter, but they get to America on British funds."

The Mormon immigration is declining, and yet Mr. Dingley found 120 on a single ship, and was told by one of their missionaries that they brought over 700 a year. If these are the facts in regard to our best sources of immigration, we can imagine what they must be in regard to the worst. In the excitement growing out of the affair at New Orleans one Italian newspaper said there were galley-slaves at every point on the Atlantic coast, and there can be little doubt that there were ex-convicts among the New Orleans Mafia.

It would require more space than THE REVIEW could give if I were to quote what is said in this report on the subject of disease among immigrants, but it has the same bearing as the statements in regard to the immigration of convicts and criminals. Ports in Europe where we used to have a consular medical examination are now entirely unguarded, and even at places where cholera has appeared nothing is done by the United States to prevent the shipment of persons from infected districts.

The increase of paupers is more alarming than that of criminals and diseased persons. Most of the Italians, Poles, and Hungarians have no money at all. They land in this country without a cent in their pockets. The condition of the Russian Jews seen by Mr. Dingley is even worse. Yet it has been stated in the newspapers that plans are on foot to remove these unfortunate people from Russia to the number of four millions and land them in the United States.

I do not think that it is necessary for me to make any comment upon the extracts which I have quoted from Mr. Dingley's very interesting report ; but if we reflect that on his own statement

one-half the pauper population of Massachusetts and New York is of foreign birth, I think we can see how deeply alarming the present condition of affairs is.

The last Congress passed an act to regulate immigration. It aims at nothing more than an attempt by better organization to enforce existing laws, which are not carried out now with any efficiency. It is well to have this done, of course, on the principle that something is better than nothing, but the act falls far short of what is needed. Here in this report we have the statement of an expert, who has made a most careful investigation, that the immigration of the races who have peopled the United States, and among whom the standard of education and character is comparatively high, is falling off, and that the immigration of people removed from us in race and blood is rapidly increasing, and that these people are almost wholly illiterate and for the most part without resources, either in skill, training, or money. We also learn that many of them come here merely for a temporary purpose, and that by one channel or another the paupers and criminals of Europe, covertly assisted in many instances by government or by benevolent societies, are pouring into the United States. It is not to be wondered at that from such elements secret societies, with assassination among their tenets, spring up, and that such bloody work as that of New Orleans or the slaughter of the policemen in the Chicago Haymarket ensues.

Surely the time has come for an intelligent and effective restriction of immigration. No one wishes to exclude a desirable immigrant who seeks in good faith to become a citizen of the United States ; but it certainly is madness to permit this stream to pour in without discrimination or selection, or the exclusion of dangerous and undesirable elements. There are great States in the West and Southwest naturally anxious to have their lands occupied and their population increased, but there is something more important than rapidity of settlement or the quick development of wealth. These advantages will be dearly bought if we pay for them a price, which involves the lowering of the standard of American citizenship. More important to a country than wealth and population is the quality of its people. Far more valuable than sudden wealth is the maintenance of good wages among American workingmen and the exclusion of an unlimited supply of low-class labor with which they cannot compete.

In the present state of things, not only are we doing nothing to protect the quality of our citizenship or the wages of our workingmen from an unrestricted flood of immigration, but we are permitting persons so ignorant and criminal to come among us that organizations like the Mafia are sure to rise in our midst. The time has come for an intelligent restriction. Mr. Dingley advises—what every person who has looked carefully into the subject suggests—consular inspection in the country of departure. To this, I think, should be added some such fair and restrictive test as that of ability to read and write. What is needed now most of all, however, is an intelligent and active public opinion to which Congress will respond. If we do not act, and act intelligently, we must be prepared for just such events as that at New Orleans, not merely bringing in their train murder and sudden death, but breeding race antagonisms and national hostilities which never existed before, and which need never have an existence if we deal properly with this momentous problem.

HENRY CABOT LODGE.

THE POLITICIAN AND THE PHARISEE.

BY THE HON. J. S. CLARKSON, LATE FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER-GENERAL.

THE United States government is first a political and second a business organization. If it is purely an affair of business, it could not be noble enough in the larger things in human ambition and existence to protect life, insure liberty, and promote human happiness. It is something which, under the blessing of God and the wisdom of man, comprehends and serves first greater aspirations than any mere sordid thing of business, finance, or commerce. Therefore it is not primarily a business machine. It is something with a soul, and that soul, let the reformers cant as they may, is put into it through politics.

For this is a representative government based on party responsibility. The people at the polls, deciding between certain parties, decide in favor of certain political or party principles. When they elect a Republican candidate for President, they indorse the Republican platform of principles, and expect to see those principles carried out in the government during the term of that President. When they elect a Democratic candidate for President, they expect to see the Democratic principles carried out in the government during his term. This was the intention of the fathers of the republic and the makers of the constitution, and this idea controlled, and party principles ruled in government, under the limitations of reason and law, for the first hundred years of the republic, to the satisfaction of the people and the vindication before the world of the capacity of man for self-government.

In these first hundred years partyism was encouraged and applauded ; not discouraged and flouted according to the new intellectual fashion of this latter day. Indeed, the early men of