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NATIONAL ORIGINS *and* HORSE SENSE



By Senator David A. Reed

THERE can be no disagreement among Americans over the wisdom of restricting immigration. In the earlier years of our development as a nation there may have been doubt as to the desirability of regulating the flow of new immigration to our shores. Now there can be none, nor is it conceivable that we shall ever again open the gates to all those who would like to partake of our prosperity. The differences which divide us, therefore, relate to the method of restricting immigration and not to the principle of restriction.

It is very much like a consultation over a sick patient. Everyone knows he is sick. The physicians are called in to diagnose the illness and prescribe a course of treatment. That is what Congress has done in dealing with immigration. The diagnosis showed that we were getting more immigrants than we could digest. They were pouring into our ports in such numbers as to endanger the national health. It was apparent that unless something were done to check it, the flow of immigration would soon cause complications of an even more serious character than those we faced in the past.

But before entering upon a discussion of the remedy prescribed by Congress in 1924, and administered for the first time on July 1st of the present year, let us examine the general subject briefly. Then we may better understand the significance of the steps which we as a nation have taken to deal with what I regard as our most pressing problem.

History teaches us that nations may be destroyed from within or from without. The great civilizations of the past have declined and disappeared from one or two causes. They have either fallen victim to conquest by a stronger foe, or else internal degeneracy, due to changes in population or the abandonment of those ideals and interests which accounted for their rise, has led to their disintegration. As a nation we have nothing to fear from

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without. No rival is sufficiently strong to attack us or do us permanent harm. Our danger is internal, arising from the peaceful penetration of unassimilable elements in our own population.

Although the situation is hardly analogous to the conditions which hastened the fall of Greece and Rome, it is well to remember that these civilizations of the ancient world, as history is measured, likewise were weakened by the infusion of alien blood and alien interests, making them finally easy prey to more virile and better disciplined foes.

Today we are in somewhat similar position among the peoples of the world. We know our success and prosperity in a material sense. We believe that we are also as happy, and get as much out of life, as any other nation. It is natural that those who are less fortunately situated should turn their eyes longingly in our direction.

From the earliest times, men have sought the most fertile fields and ranged the world for wealth. It has been so from the beginning. The Israelites spent forty years in the desert to realize a promise that they would come to a land flowing with milk and honey.

Alaric the Goth marched into Rome at the head of a barbarian host which coveted its wealth. It was the wealth of the Indies which led Columbus to set sail on the journey which brought white settlers for the first time to the shores of the New World. Our own country was colonized by men and women who came here to better their condition.

The alien who applies to an American consul abroad for a visa which will admit him to the United States pursues the primitive quest. We are the magnet which attracts the modern world. There are applicants on the waiting lists in our foreign consulates who would have to live twelve hundred years to stand a chance of entering this country. There are hundreds of thousands who are willing to wait years for the opportunity to come. Prospective immigrants are backed up behind the quota barriers in almost countless numbers—a great reservoir of humanity which, unless held in check, would rush upon us with a force sufficient to smash ideals and institutions which we have been building.

Let us remember, too, that unless the dykes

hold, we shall face an unemployment problem worse than that of any country in Europe, where millions of men and women are receiving doles under an economic system which ultimately must collapse under its own weight. As for our own situation, it must be apparent to the most superficial student that if this country should be suddenly forced by free trade or unrestricted immigration to compete on equal terms with the low-paid labor of other countries, it would be the darkest hour in our history. Because of the greater heights to which we have climbed in our economic advance, the resultant readjustment would entail more suffering than we have ever known in the infrequent flurries caused by financial stringency or industrial deflation. These would be as the gusts before a cyclone.

So much for economics.

There is an additional aspect of the problem which we must not overlook. With our entry into the World War, we discovered with disagreeable suddenness that the theory of a melting pot was unsound, and that for many years we had cherished a pretty illusion as to our ability to assimilate alien groups irrespective of origin. More recently we have had corroboration of the alien character of these groups in the campaign waged by their spokesmen and to some extent by the rank and file for the repeal of the National Origins Clause of the Immigration Act. Out of these



"The principle on which the National Origins Law rests is that, so far as possible, each year's immigration ought to be, in miniature, a counterpart of the population already here"

and similar experiences comes the conclusion that we still harbor foreign colonies in our midst, animated by alien ideals, owing first loyalty to some other country, and giving only lip service—and not always that—to the land to which they have come to make their homes.

In at least a dozen States and in practically all of our great industrial centers there are groups of varying size in which English is rarely heard, or in which some other language is the common tongue of the people. Nor is this circumstance attributable to the fact that the members of these colonies represent the first generation in this country. This is true only in part. There are districts in which a foreign language has been spoken as a matter of habit for several generations, and in which there is hardly more loyalty to the obligations of American citizenship than could be found in a foreign country. Fortunately they are few. In the aggregate, however, they supply excellent evidence of the breakdown of the theory that we could bring such groups into the United States, play "The Star-Spangled Banner," give them free schools and an opportunity to achieve economic independence, and thus make them good Americans. It simply doesn't work, and we may as well admit it.

This, then, was the problem:

1. To restrict immigration.
2. To do so in a manner calculated to develop a greater homogeneity and encourage the early assimilation of new arrivals, both in the interest of national security and to preserve those institutions on which our greatness rests.
3. To find a solution so sound in conception and so fair in operation that it would stand as a permanent protection against changes made under pressure from particular groups selfishly seeking special favors under our immigration laws; and above all one which would give the same consideration to our own people as to the foreign-born in our midst.

It is unnecessary here to refer except briefly to the preliminary steps leading to the final solution in the enactment and eventual application of the National Origins Law. To refresh our memories, let it be recalled that the question of immigration has agitated Congress for twenty years; that the first restrictive measure was vetoed by President Taft in 1913; that a second bill including provision for a literacy test was vetoed by President Wilson; and that it was not until 1921 that Congress, confronted with predictions that five million persons would seek admission to the United States in the following year, passed another measure restricting immigration which President Harding signed. It took a World War, with its aftermath of poverty and suffering, to impress upon the Executive as well as Congress the thought that it was vitally necessary that the unlimited flow of aliens from every country be stopped if American prosperity and American standards of living were to be maintained.

This law, hastily enacted to meet an emergency, temporarily limited immigration from other countries to three percent of the number of foreign-born persons enumerated in the 1910 census. It was a crude measure, and provided for quotas which bore no resemblance to the makeup of the United States as it then stood. How could it, when it considered only the foreign-born, and gave no thought to those of us who were born here, and whose ancestors in many cases helped to win our freedom from England? But in this law were the germs of a later enactment, the Immigration Act of 1924, under which we are now operating, and which seems likely to stand until such time as it seems necessary or desirable to shut off immigration entirely.

It was my privilege and good fortune to introduce this measure in the Senate. A similar bill was presented by Congressman Albert Johnson at the same time in the House. The Senate bill was the unfinished business of that body for more than six weeks, and was constantly under debate during that time. It was passed finally by an overwhelming vote, testifying to the belief of Congress that immigration must be more sternly limited

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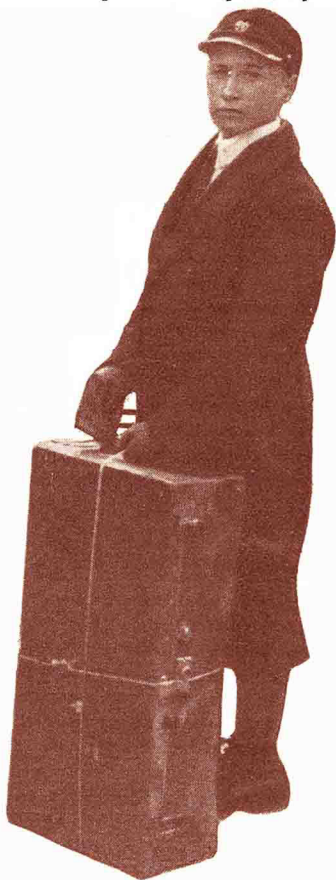
and that, so far as possible, each year's immigration ought to be, in miniature, a counterpart of the population already here. That is the principle on which the National Origins Law rests, and the reason why it cannot be successfully attacked. For the first time it introduces into our consideration of this subject the element of impartiality, of complete freedom from racial or national bias. It puts the nations of Europe on exactly the same basis with respect to arriving immigrants, and says to each one: "We will accept your people in the proportion in which they are represented in our present population."

Its enactment was hailed with approval by every student of biology and of population problems, by every patriotic organization and every labor association, and it was regarded by many persons as America's second Declaration of Independence. If throughout the future the law can be kept impartial so that we may say to every man who challenges it, "We have restricted immigration for the national good, but we have done it impartially, according to the statement of the Declaration of Independence that all men are created equal," then its permanency is more assured than if great groups of people can say that the stock from which they sprang is discriminated against. It is important to remember that the national origins law, which limits our annual immigration to 153,714 persons of all nationalities, reduces by about 11,000 the number allotted on the 1890 census basis, in effect from 1924 to 1929. But much more important is the element of impartiality which serves as an armor for its protection in decades to come.

This brings us to the interval between the time of the enactment of the Immigration Act of 1924, containing the National Origins Clause, and the actual application of that clause to the immigration quotas on July 1, 1929.

In that interval it was necessary to arrive at an accurate approximation of our own population, that we might apportion the quotas accordingly, and to provide a temporary basis for the regulation of our immigration while this study was in progress. The temporary plan decided on provided for quotas equal to two percent of the number of foreign-born in the United States, based on nationality, but instead of taking the enumeration of 1910, which had governed the quotas from 1921 to 1924, it substituted the census of 1890. No one could foresee at that time that this action would give the hyphenate elements in the United States, and particularly the professional German-Americans of the type which gave us so much trouble during the World War, the ammunition with which to attempt to have the National Origins Clause repealed.

It should be understood that the 1910 basis gave an undue advantage to immigrants from the Mediterranean region, including Italy, for the simple reason that there were more foreign-born persons of Southern European origin in the United States in 1910 than foreign-born of other stocks. The explanation is found in the fact that the heaviest immigration from Italy occurred in the two decades from 1890 to 1910. The 1890 basis, on the other hand, greatly reduced the representation of Italian and Slavic groups in our immigration, but gave a corresponding advantage to the Germans, and a smaller but still disproportionate advantage to the Scandinavians. The explanation was identical: the immigration from Germany and the Scandi-





With all their worldly goods

navian countries reached its peak during the decades immediately preceding 1890. As I recall the figures, the movement of immigrants from Germany to the United States attained its high-water mark during the ten-year period from 1880 to 1890. As there were more persons of German birth in the United States in 1890 than from any other European country, Germany was the chief beneficiary of the 1890 basis.

It was thoroughly understood at that time that this was a temporary arrangement. It was simply an expedient. Immigration had to be restricted in some manner until the National Origins basis could be worked out. The 1890 census was considered as satisfactory as any which could be used for that purpose. Inaccurate as it was—and doubly so in view of the adjustments necessitated by the World War—it more nearly approximated our present population in racial makeup than any other census based on our foreign-born population alone. Congress therefore provided that the 1890 basis should stand for three years, on the assumption that the experts assigned to ascertain and report on our national origins could complete their studies within that period. Three years later, in 1927, they were not yet ready to report, so the 1890 quotas were continued by joint resolution of Congress for another year. In 1928 there still was sufficient doubt as to the accuracy of the figures to lead Congress to consent to a further postponement for twelve months.

Finally, in 1929, the experts reported an agreement. Their figures had been checked and rechecked. Studies undertaken by different groups—historians, biologists, statisticians and others—all produced substantially the same result. We knew at last from what stock we sprang, with a margin of error so small that it would not mean a difference of more than a few hundreds in the quotas of the countries which supply the bulk of our immigration. And Congress, notwithstanding the activities of foreign groups and hyphenate Americans, supplemented by a campaign of misrepresentation and attempted intimidation, to its everlasting credit refused to be stampeded and stood firm for the principle embodied in the National Origins Law. The final vote in the Senate on the Nye resolution to repeal the clause was 43 to 37. It came after weeks of debate in which the whole question of restriction was reopened. And with the vote the attempt to repeal the law collapsed completely.

Up to that time I had been receiving each week letters and resolutions by the score, some of them favoring the National Origins Law and others opposing it. Since the vote I have received several



hundred congratulatory communications from its friends, and not a single protest that I recall.

I am told by the Commissioner General of Immigration, Judge Harry E. Hull, that his experience has been the same, and that those charged with the administration of the law have heard neither criticism nor protest of any kind since the Senate decided in favor of the law as it stood. The campaign stopped the moment the vote was taken. The fight was ended, and the opponents of the law knew it and settled down to make the best of it.

It is worth remembering that the new quotas are based on percentages worked out by a committee representing three departments of the Federal Government. At their head

was Dr. Joseph A. Hill, the Assistant Director of the Census, for many years a government employee, and recognized as one of the foremost authorities on population. Dr. Hill is a man of scientific mind, as impartial as the multiplication table or the calendar, and utterly without bias one way or the other on the national origins issue. When the Assistant Secretary of State, Wilbur J. Carr, was before the Senate Committee on Immigration, he said, speaking of Dr. Hill and the committee of experts associated with him:

"I think all of us are prepared to say that we have absolute confidence in him and his colleagues, and are prepared to take their statement as to the accuracy of their conclusions and the sufficiency of the information upon which those conclusions are reached."

I shall refer again a little later to the accuracy of the national origins percentages as compared with those on which the 1890 quotas were based. It will be more helpful at this point to summarize the procedure by which the new percentages were reached.

First of all, let me say emphatically that the national origins quotas are not "based on the census of 1790," or "based on the census of 1920," nor do they represent the guesswork of uninformed individuals. Authorities in this field have been studying the makeup of our population for many years. There are several books on the subject which may be accepted as authoritative. We have immigration statistics of our own which go back to 1820. Our first census enumeration was taken in 1790, and there has been a Federal census each decade since. American, German, English and Irish historians have studied the subject from special angles, and reached conclusions whose accuracy cannot be questioned. All of this material was available to Dr. Hill and his colleagues. Of course they did not try to trace back the ancestors of particular individuals. They took all of the material at hand, all of our immigration records, our census records, the works of acknowledged authorities; they studied the makeup of our population in the Colonial period, and even the



foreign statistics of emigration from many foreign lands, and conducted their study in the cold light of scientific analysis, and in co-operation with the Council of Learned Societies.

Finally, after five years, they announced their conclusions as to our racial makeup, giving us the results of what was probably the most exhaustive study of population ever made for any purpose. And when we have their assurance that the figures are accurate, and can see for ourselves that other authorities, approaching the subject from different angles and at different times, arrive at substantially the same results, we may surely accept them without question.

There has been little contention with respect to the figures themselves. The whole controversy over the National Origins Law has revolved around the plan to apportion the quotas in conformity with our present population, resulting in a loss of the undue advantage enjoyed heretofore by certain groups. But if the study itself were protracted and difficult, the principle involved is simplicity itself. It can be compressed into a single sentence: The National Origins Law is built around the theory that we can more readily assimilate people similar to ourselves than those who are dissimilar, and that we shall reach the maximum of assimilability if we can bring in each year a counterpart in miniature of our present population.

That is what the National Origins Law does, and all it does. It apportions to each European nation a share of our annual immigration equal to its proportionate representation in our population. It says to the Germans: "You and your predecessors and their descendants account for seventeen percent of our entire white population; therefore you shall have seventeen percent of our annual immigration." To the inhabitants of England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, it says: "You shall have forty-two percent of our immigration because forty-two percent of our own people are of the same stock." Similarly with the Irish Free State, which will have twelve percent, and with the Scandinavian countries, and Russia, and Poland, and Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia and Italy and all the countries

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of Southeastern Europe—each will be represented in exact proportion to its representation in our present population. What could be fairer than that?

And do not forget that the National Origins Law gives representation also to native-born Americans as well as those of foreign birth. All of the earlier enactments based the quotas on the number of persons of alien birth counted in the census of 1910 or 1890. Most of the alternative proposals are constructed around the same idea. No other plan has ever come to my attention which gives the same recognition to native-born Americans and those who made this country possible, developed its resources, fought its wars and brought it to its present position in world affairs. All other plans place the whole emphasis on the alien, to the exclusion of those of us who think we have at least as great a stake in our country as the newly-arrived immigrant, and who carry in our blood something of the vigor which has made our nation great. I think we Americans are entitled to that much consideration, at least. There is nothing snobbish in that. It is just horse sense.

Now let us consider the objections to the national origins plan as advanced by its critics.

"It is guesswork," they say. "How can you determine the national origins of a population so large and so heterogeneous in character?"

That assertion has been answered in part in the preceding paragraphs of this article. The real question, of course, is whether the national origins basis is more or less accurate than any alternative basis. I have told of the time consumed in the study of our national origins, the scientific spirit in which it was made, and the reasons why the conclusions of the experts may be accepted as accurate. In the hearings before the Senate Committee on Immigration on March 15, 1928, we find this in the testimony of Dr. Hill:

Q. If the question be raised of uncertainty due to changes in political boundaries in Europe, it is true, is it not, that the element of uncertainty pertains as much to the 1890 basis as to national origins?

Dr. Hill: Quite true.

Q. There is a necessary factor of guesswork there?

Dr. Hill: Or of estimates; yes.

Q. In the effort to determine what portion of German immigration, let us say, came from German Poland?

Dr. Hill: Yes. I think there is perhaps a somewhat erroneous impression about that. Most people, I believe, have the impression that the 1890 basis rests upon exact figures, but that is rather far from being the case, because the 1890 census does not show how many people there were in the United States in 1890 who were born in that portion of Europe which is now Czechoslovakia. That had to be estimated. It does not show how many people there were in the United States in 1890 who were born in that portion of Europe which is now Yugoslavia. That had to be estimated. It does not show how many people there were from that portion of Europe which constitutes the present Germany or the present France or the present Irish Free State. All through, that had to be estimated. The law contemplates that. It provides that where there have been transfers of territory, the number of people born in the transferred territory shall be estimated. So there is a pretty large element of estimate in the 1890 basis.

Dr. Hill might have gone on to say that the 1890 census did not show how many people there were in this country then who came from the present territory of

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Russia, or Italy, or the several small states which were separated from or added to the territory of these and other European countries as an aftermath of the World War. The fact is that the whole map of Europe was changed by the war, and that there is more of an element of guesswork in arriving at the quotas used prior to July 1st of this year than in those which have governed our immigration since. I remember distinctly that in the debate which preceded the passage of the Act of 1924, quota estimates based on the 1890 census were given which bore little resemblance to the actual figures used when the law was put into effect.

Yet we hear it said that national origins is inaccurate! From my own study of the subject, I am convinced that it is substantially more accurate than the 1890 basis which we have now discarded.

Now what of the results, and what of the objection that although the National Origins Law greatly increases the quotas of Great Britain, it also increases the number of immigrants from the Latin and Slavic countries and at the same time cuts down the admissions from Germany and the Scandinavian countries? First let us have the figures. Here are the principal changes—the old and new quotas of the countries chiefly affected:

NORTHERN AND WESTERN EUROPE:

	1890 Foreign Born Basis	National Origins Basis
Belgium	512	1,304
Denmark	2,789	1,181
France	3,954	3,086
Germany	51,227	25,957
England, Scotland, Wales and North Ireland	34,007	65,721
Irish Free State	28,567	17,853
Netherlands	1,648	3,153
Norway	6,453	2,377
Sweden	9,561	3,314
Switzerland	2,081	1,707

SOUTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE:

Austria	785	1,413
Czechoslovakia	3,073	2,874
Finland	471	569
Greece	100	307
Hungary	473	869
Italy	3,845	5,802
Lithuania	344	386
Poland	5,982	6,524
Portugal	503	440
Rumania	603	295
Russia	2,248	2,784
Yugoslavia	671	845
Other Countries		4,943
Total		153,714

It is apparent at once, of course, that England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland gain more than Germany loses; that as an incidental result of the readjustment the Scandinavian countries are greatly reduced; that the Irish Free State is cut about one-third, and that there are less important changes elsewhere. Ethnic studies have shown, however, that the balance between the north and south of Europe remains essentially the same under both systems, so that we get, actually, about the same proportions of northern and southern Europeans, but with a different distribution. If that issue is important at all, that is the thing to be remembered, as the actual apportionment among the several European nations is by no means a guide to the racial characteristics of their immigrants, especially since the war. We get Germans from France and Poland, for example, as well as from Germany.



On the question of assimilability alone, it will hardly be contended that it is easier to assimilate thirty thousand Germans or Scandinavians who do not speak our language than thirty thousand British who do. I refuse to become involved, however, in any argument over the relative merits of the different groups in our own population or in the population of Europe.

When we remember that the architecture of the world still pays its tribute to the genius of Greece, and that the sculpture of the world has never known anything so fine as that which came from Greece, we can- *(Continued on page 64)* not speak slightly of the Greek race. When we remember that brush never touched canvas with such genius as in Italy, we cannot speak slightly of that nation, whose art so far surpasses our own. When we remember that the great music of the world comes from Germany, no man in America has a right to speak slightly of them. When we remember that the literature that marks the world's high point in human thought was written in the tongue which we jointly own with the British, we have no reason to speak slightly of that race.

In considering this question, let us not get into the morass of national antipathies, and undertake to say that the Dane is better than the Swede, or the German better than the Briton, or the Italian better than the Greek, or make any other such contrast which can only lead us into a maze of contradictions and disagreements. Let us rather consider the subject as if these nationalities were all, in some way, desirable stocks. We have them all, and we want them all, and he would be rash indeed who claimed for any one group a superiority so marked as to warrant the exclusion of the others.

We can neither set up an arbitrary standard of judgment with respect to racial or national stocks, as a chart for our guidance in admitting immigrants to the United States, nor can we justly divide our annual immigration according to the foreign-born of any particular census. To do so is to invite endless confusion and controversy. In the one case we could never agree on an arbitrary apportionment, and in the other it must be obvious that as any census necessarily favors one group over another, depending on the movement of aliens to the United States in the separate periods of our history, there would be an unending fight to adopt some other census than the one in use at the moment. It would be a perennial issue in political campaigns, and national legislators would always be subject to pressure from special groups to vote for a change in the basis. We should never hear the last of it.

As it is, we can say to all alike: "You are getting exactly what you are entitled to in the new quotas, if what you seek is justice. Your people represent a definitely ascertained percentage of our population. You have the same percentage of our annual immigration. That arrangement is equally fair to everyone."

So long as we adhere to that principle, our position will be unassailable. We shall have a strong bulwark against changes in our population through immigration, and permanent protection likewise against the admission of disproportionate numbers of unassimilable types.

May I sound a word of warning in this connection to those well-intentioned persons who constantly urge a wider application of the principle of selection to our immigration? The present law, of course, is both restrictive and selective—restrictive as to numbers, and selective in the discretion given to our consuls abroad to grant visas to the more desirable types of individuals who submit themselves for examination. We also give preference to immigrants skilled in agriculture, in an effort to build up our farms and counteract the tendency of newly-arrived immigrants to flock to the cities. But beyond that we cannot go. We could never agree, for example, on a basis of selection. Some of us might think it better to admit a scientist than a cobbler, an artist than a clerk, an engineer than a laborer. But that would not please those of us who needed cobblers or clerks or labor to work in the mills. Do we need brains or brawn in our immigration? And how could we be sure, knowing as little of biology and human backgrounds as we do, that in excluding a laborer and his family we were not excluding some unborn child who might prove a genius? There are no answers to such questions, nor is there any possibility of accord with respect to any system of selection, considering the diversity of ideas on the subject. All we can do, and what we propose to do under the National Origins Law, is to get the best we can of the stocks which have made us what we are, and to that extent preserve our racial balance and keep our immigration on a high plane.

Both in the Senate and elsewhere I have heard the question asked: "Will the countries which benefit by increased quotas—England, for example—send us desirable types, or will we get immigrants who are inferior mentally and physically—the idlers and inefficient?" The best answer to that is to be found in the character of the immigration we are getting from the British Isles, and the discovery that the idle workers in the industrial districts would rather stay there and receive their doles than come to the United States and hunt a job. Moreover, those who have been out of work for a protracted period seldom possess the resources necessary to come. They can neither finance their passage nor show that they are sufficiently fortified against the possibility of becoming public charges in this country. They are public charges there. How can they show they would not become the same here? That alone excludes them from consideration in most instances.

It might be remarked in passing that in the early months of 1929 there were more persons receiving doles in Germany than there were in England, so that if it were to be assumed that we should get the industrial overflow from

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one country, we should have to assume it of both. As a matter of fact, we do not get it from either. Rather we get the better class of mechanics and artisans who, possessing the energy and the means to come to this country, yield to the lure of higher wages and do so if they can. So far as competition from the British colonies is concerned, the best evidence of the stronger attraction of the United States is found in the circumstance that whereas the British government constantly endeavors by advertising and otherwise to encourage emigration to Canada and Australia, there is always a long waiting list of those who want to come to this country.

All of us, I think, recognize that the immigration we get from Germany is of excellent quality, and I am sure we do not want to discriminate against them. But there could be no justification for continuing in their favor a system which gave such disproportionate results, and was justly subject to the charge of unfairness by other nations. I am confident that the average American of German descent accepts this viewpoint unhesitatingly. It was not from Americans that the strongest pressure came. It had its source in alien influences, alien sympathies and alien interests. If it were not for political expediency and the assumed necessity of catering to hyphenate groups, there would have been no thought of repealing the National Origins Law. That is something that every American should understand and remember.

Besides The American Legion, which stood steadfast for the law and waged a valiant and effective fight through its authorized spokesmen and by means of resolutions against its repeal, almost one hundred patriotic organizations throughout the United States rushed to its support. In the end it became a patriotic issue, and was so recognized by those who fought side by side to preserve it. And that, in my judgment, plus the merit of the law itself and the principle of impartiality around which it is built, is the best guarantee of its permanency.

Millions of Americans see in it the hope of the future. Under the old systems we traveled far on the road of our destiny. With the immigration issue settled, we shall travel farther.

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