

The Alien Enemy

American experience of immigration—Privileges abused—Government also at fault

By J. W. MACMILLAN.

Immigration is a modern phenomenon. It is to be clearly distinguished from other forms of human migration. The wanderings of primitive tribes were not of the same character as the recent movements of population across the Atlantic. The invasions, conquests, and flights of the past, all of which resulted in the transfer of masses of people, are not to be ranked as immigration. Immigration is a peaceful movement, between two countries whose peoples are approximately of the same culture. Just as water always seeks a common level so do peoples of the same cultural density. If two bottles are connected by a pipe or tube near their bases the liquid in them will come to the same level. When transportation had become possible through invention the levelling up of Europe and America inevitably began.

The United States has had an experience of immigration which no other country approaches. The earlier trickles across the Atlantic were, for the most part, to her shores. And, since the Irish famine of 1848 suddenly increased the volume of immigrant traffic, it has poured unceasingly into her ports. If one would understand what immigration means, and its effects upon wealth and population, upon crime and disease, he must study the social history of the United States for the last seventy years. The report of the Commission on Immigration of the Congress of the United States, appointed in 1907, is the one great storehouse of information regarding a phenomenon which already means much to Canada, and is filled with promises and threats for her future.

It is of interest to note that in 1793 the first spasm of doubt as to the utter desirability of encouraging all sorts of immigrants crossed the minds of the American people. A war with France was imminent, and the social mind was in somewhat the same condition of tenseness as ours is in Canada today. At this time a law was passed requiring a residence of fourteen years in the country before naturalization could be granted. With calmer times this period was reduced to five years, where it remains. A more noteworthy law, passed at this time, was one providing that enemy aliens should be deported to the country of their origin. Since then this has been recognized as the true remedy for the evils of immigration.

Undoubtedly it is the proper corrective. It is based on the just principle that each nation is responsible for its own burden of undersirables. It has no right to shoulder off its paupers, indigents, insane, cranks and agitators upon any other nation. And any of these classes who are sent or find their way into another land may with propriety be returned. The immigration law of Canada as well as that of the United States has recognized this principle of international justice for years. The open door of worldwide hospitality does not involve a welcome to dangerous guests.

But the immigration laws of the two northern nations of this continent have shrunk from imposing any disabilities on political offenders. That is in keeping with the traditions of the English-speaking peoples. It is in line with the revulsion we have felt against the "verboten" and "pogroms" of Germany and Russia. When, several years since, the Russian government attempted to secure the extradition of a political offender from Canada, alleging that he was a criminal and came under the treaty allowing the extradition of criminals, the moral sense of Canada was strongly in sympathy with the refugee. In Winnipeg, where the case was tried, public sympathy was entirely on his side.

The war, however, has cast a new light on this question. An international conspiracy has been exposed. The culprit is revealed, not as fugitive from an oppressive autocracy, but as its

agent and tool. There have been aliens among us, men who lied to us for our destruction. They pretended to have joined with us. They invited our confidence in order to betray us. They accepted our citizenship with their tongues in their cheeks. They used our markets in order to make money with which they tried to sell us into ruin. Our policy of deportation needs to be extended to include this class.

It is significant that the report of the United States Commission on Immigration recommended that "aliens who attempt to persuade immigrants not to become American citizens should be subject to deportation." The Commission, sitting in the days before the hurricane broke, did not foresee the treachery which should be exposed. But they discerned the malcontent spirit at work in the country. They thought of these traitorous aliens as motivated by personal greed, trying to keep their fellows from learning English and coming into close association with their native-stock neighbors, in order to exploit them for gain. They did not think of a worse sort of treason which should accept naturalization with a deceitful mental reservation in favor of a hostile government, and should use the vote as their chief implement for the overthrow of the free institutions of the land they had mendaciously sworn to love and cherish.

The demand which is rising throughout all Canada for the return to Germany, or Austria, or Turkey of this class of alien enemies is right and wise. Let them go to the land to which they belong. Let them share in its woe and shame, to which they have contributed. Why should we burden ourselves with their maintenance in our internment camps or prisons? We are not brutes, and will not shoot them. We will simply drive them forth ignominiously from our shores, to bring their disgrace to the home from which it issued. We will show the world how strong is our love for freedom by spurning those who would use freedom to further tyranny.

The motive behind the recommendation of the U. S. Commission for the deportation of alien enemies is the protection of the properly-behaved immigrant. It is the logical implication of our hostility to the traitor. If we rise up to chastise the guest who insults our generosity, we will no less rise to defend the guest who responds becomingly to our generosity. We must distinguish between alien enemies and "foreigners." We must not only refrain from indicting as rebels men bearing non-English names but we must honor and support them in their efforts to become true Canadians.

Our immigration policy has been faulty in its protection of the immigrant. Most of the unwholesome phenomena of the last few years in this respect

are the direct results of our blundering in relation to the newcomer after he had been admitted. Our concern for his welfare ceased to function once he had passed the inspector at the port of entry. We said to him, "Here you are with the whole country open to you. Go where you will. Do what you please. Say what you like. It is all yours for the taking." It sounded well, no doubt, but it was appallingly unfitted to the helpless stranger. No mother addresses her new-born baby after that fashion. No employer treats his apprentices so. No teacher conducts his classes after that manner. Yet these are the true analogies. The newly arrived immigrant was like a babe, an apprentice, a pupil in our land. So he became the prey of his own ignorance. He cuddled close in the slums of the cities instead of getting onto the land. He was exploited by sharks of his own race, who kept him ignorant for their own gain.

More than that. We made him a citizen before he knew what citizenship meant. Politicians hunted him up and wrote his name on voters lists in order to manipulate his vote at elections. They drove him in mass formations to the polls. They made foul bargains with his bosses, whether industrial or religious, the substance of the bargain being that if he should vote for the party the civilizing influences of public schools and industrial laws should not disturb his ignorance and helplessness.

What wonder that this class of ignorant and cheated "foreigner" behaved himself without discretion and restraint during the war! His chance for big wages came with the acceleration of production and the drawing off of the native stock to the fighting. He asked and took all that the traffic would bear. Had he any other example before him? Were there any instructors who possessed his confidence who might have cautioned him against excess? Let us not blame him but ourselves.

There is another class of "foreigners," small in number but of great self-advertising capacity. These are the economic sophists. With them are mingled some men of English and Scotch stock, no native-born Canadians, to my knowledge. These men are internationalists. The explanation of them is their primitive and impulsive mentality. They are the prey of their own love of vivid and violent conceptions. The experience of Britain shows that the safest method with such is to let them blow off in public. In Russia, where they were suppressed, they resorted to cellars and made bombs. In Britain they exhorted Hyde Park on Sundays and worked the rest of the week for their livelihood. It is unwise to be too much alarmed about such. Our real enemy is not the internationalist, but the man whose loyalty is to another country.

Manitoba has established a court which will pronounce upon the loyalty of suspects. The proven enemy will become subject to the laws which deal with treason. The proven friend, whatever the style of his name, will be given a certificate of character which will defend him against unjust and superheated suspicion. This is action on the right lines.

MANITOBA'S FINANCES.

Hon. Edward Brown, Provincial Treasurer of Manitoba, announced to the Legislative Assembly on Wednesday last that a balance of over \$322,867 was outstanding at the end of the year.

The actual expenditure amounted to \$7,308,680.92 or \$262,525 less than estimated. The actual receipts amounted to \$7,631,548.35 or \$23,799 less than estimated. The succession duties yielded \$102,500 less, the public amusements tax \$90,000 less, and the provincial levy \$125,000 less than had been estimated, while automobile licenses increased \$36,000, and telephone rentals \$118,000.

The total cash in hand at the end of the fiscal year for all purposes amounted to \$3,382,571, and the capital investments to \$4,341,621, making a total of \$7,-

POLISH NATIONAL DEPARTMENT.

A "Commercial and Industrial Bureau of the Polish National Department" has been established in New York during the past month with the object of assisting in the establishment of commercial relations between the United States and Canada and Poland and to collect all data and information which should form a basis for the work of the future official Polish commercial agencies in America.

624,292 for cash and capital. While the cash balances for the year had decreased by \$480,000, the capital investments had increased by almost two millions, showing a net gain for the year of \$1,357,340.