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Erin Clark
Colby College

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Introduction

The turn of the 20th century in the United States was a time of new phenomena — of department stores, urban living, monopolies, and millionaires. It was also the period in which the popular magazine flourished. The technology required for mass production of magazines had become a reality, the per issue cost of most publications had fallen to a reasonable level, the government had lowered postal rates, and readers had recognized the medium as uniquely suited to the discussion of intellectual matters. Magazine subscribers treasured each issue and kept them for extended periods. They were read and re-read, possibly even stored as reference material.

Not all magazines were considered equal. One particular set of publications, referred to by Theodore Peterson as "quality magazines,"1 prided themselves on maintaining the highest level of intellectual scholarship and a heightened sensitivity for issues that were important to their select middle- and upper-class readership. The inflated price of these magazines hovered closer to 35 cents than the 10 cent cost of the more plebian magazines, such as McClure's, and resulted in a slightly wealthier, and hence more educated, readership. Four magazines made up the heart of the quality magazine collection and these were Harper's Weekly, Century Magazine, The Atlantic Monthly, and Scribner's Magazine.

The powerful editors of these magazines made conscious decisions regarding the topics addressed in each issue — author and subject matter were considered closely, and only those deemed most worthy and timely reached publication. It is, therefore, important to recognize and study the issues, and the presentation of the issues, which frequently
appeared in these publications. Such a study can reveal important cultural influences on middle- to upper-class Americans at the turn of the twentieth century.

Between 1880 and 1910 foreigners flooded the shores of the United States. This wave of immigration differed from that of the early 19th century in that these newcomers hailed from geographical locations previously largely untapped: mainly Southern and Eastern Europe and Asia (although Asian immigration occurred mainly on the west coast.) The editors of Harper's Weekly, Century Magazine, The Atlantic Monthly, and Scribner's Magazine found this second "wave of immigration" a topic worthy of frequent discussion. Magazines printed illustrated stories, political articles, first-hand immigrant and missionary accounts, engravings, and articles written by magazine staff. Articles about immigration were normally lumped into two categories: discussion of immigrants from the countries of China and Japan and discussion of immigrants from the "Old World." The two groups were seen as separate and distinct from one another, and were therefore rarely considered together in any one article. This essay will focus mainly on the consideration of Old World immigrants, as the striking dichotomy of opinions about Asian and Old World immigration calls for separate discussion of the two subjects.

An examination of these magazines reveals that in spite of the nativism John Higham claims dominated this period, in which a "fever spread throughout the land, infecting all sections and every class" causing "a nation-wide extension of the attack on immigration," opinions expressed in these magazines had a more tempered outlook on immigration that was, at least for the period between 1890 and 1900, optimistic and positive.
During this time the United States was quickly approaching a new century and had recently celebrated its centennial birthday. In the years between 1876 and 1900 a number of realities, such as the disappearance of the frontier, a labor shortage, and the recognition that the American population, excluding the African-American population, was mainly homogeneous, caused magazine writers to question whether such homogeneity best served the needs and development of the country. Writers for the quality magazines seized the idea that arriving immigrants could act as a potential source of revitalization. Late Victorian and positivist strains of sentiment contributed to this outlook. The end of the century was also marked by a number of cultural and philosophic movements that emphasized optimism and progress. Henry May discusses these movements in *The End of American Innocence*:

"Progress was no longer a universal single movement, but wherever one looked things were getting better. People no longer needed the old fixities, they could do better without them (and few doubted, at bottom, that they knew what better meant.) Repudiate, commanded a generation of relativist thinkers, the outworn notions of universal moral absolutes. When this is done, we will be able to advance toward truth, freedom, and justice."³

The influx of immigrants was viewed as another component of the country’s progress. The cultures of the Southern and Eastern European arrivals would augment the pre-existing American culture, allowing the positive characteristics to inculcate themselves, and the negative aspects to be eradicated through the processes of education and assimilation. This process is part of an idea Simon Patten referred to in 1905. May suggests that Patten predicted the coming of a new civilization in which poverty would be eliminated and all men raised above the highest present moral and cultural level. Part of the basis for Patten's prediction lay in American resources, part in the new understanding of the malleable, undetermined nature of man. Selfish tendencies
were not inherent; once clear away bad conditions and latent virtues would emerge.\textsuperscript{4}

Implementation of this idea naturally relies on the participation of immigrants who would be both malleable and a potential source of the mentioned “latent virtues.”

The class status of the quality magazine readers made them more capable than a large portion of American society to maintain a positive outlook about immigration. Much of the concern about increasing immigrant populations during the last decades of the 19th century occurred among working- and lower-class citizens of the United States. They argued against immigrant encroachment because this flood provided direct job competition. Higham states that:

If anyone had cause for complaint against the foreign-born on grounds of substantial self-interest, it was the American hand who did much the same work, served the same boss, and often lived in the same neighborhood... Entering the American economy on its lowest rungs, he commonly began by accepting wages and enduring conditions which Americanized employees scorned.\textsuperscript{5}

A belief that immigrants were willing to work longer hours for lower wages often made working-class citizens in the United States fear their increasing population. The middle- and upper-class readers of Harper's Weekly, Century Magazine, The Atlantic Monthly, and Scribner's Magazine were not in direct competition with immigrants for jobs and, therefore, were not concerned that they would lose jobs to the immigrant presence. In fact, the readers of these magazines were likely to be members of the management or owners of the industries that employed the working class, and would, therefore, welcome the influx of cheap, new labor represented by the immigrants.

As yet another consequence of class, readers of these periodicals were less likely than lower-class citizens to come into direct contact with immigrants. The physical distance between the two groups served to make the immigrants less daunting, as day-to-
day interaction was infrequent. The space between the two groups also allowed an interest in the exotic nature of the immigrants, their neighborhoods, cultures, and experiences. The readers of these magazines were curious about their foreign lifestyles. This curiosity was apparent in the number of articles that described, in an almost fictionalized way, the passage made from the old country to the new. These passage articles frequently were illustrated to provide readers with visual images of the intriguing immigrant journey. The foreign routines of the new population intrigued American upper-class society, which no longer could rely, due to the disappearance of the frontier, on exciting stories of cross-country explorations.

At this time, romanticism had yet to fade from the American consciousness and the editors of Harper’s Weekly, Century Magazine, The Atlantic Monthly, and Scribner’s Magazine found articles about immigrant journeys and living conditions suited to romanticization. Less attractive elements of immigrant life were glossed over and the more disturbing aspects of the new population’s communities and harsh realities were, initially, infrequently part of magazine coverage. At this time the rags to riches story, most prominently represented by the Horatio Alger novels, had become popular, and it is likely that the middle- and upper-classes viewed the in-flooding immigration as a source of exciting new prospects for the American dream. The Alger narrative told the story of a boy making the transition from rural to urban life, who in so doing achieved middle-class status, a position that was associated with wealth and prosperity. Magazine readers, by reading the romanticized journey stories, saw immigrants as an extension of this story, as yet another group of people making the transition from rural, albeit foreign rural, life to the promise of the new American urban center.
Even though the immigrants generally remained much removed from the everyday experiences of magazine readers they were still accessible and pursued by the magazine staffs that researched and gathered articles for each issue. *Harper's Magazine* tapped into the writing ability of Jewish immigrant and Yiddish writer Abraham Cahan when they published his insider's view of the New York City's Jewish tenement settlements. Personal descriptions of immigrant life, such as his, could well satisfy the exotic curiosities of the magazine's readers. The opportunity for Jews to provide first-hand accounts of their experiences was unique to their particular ethnic group. Italians, Poles, Germans, and others did not have in their American settlements the publicly acclaimed literary figures that were present among the Jews, such as Cahan who had published several popular novels. But the inclusion of accounts by Cahan, missionaries, and others who spent large quantities of time in the immigrant communities increased the general sense of optimism the magazines were projecting – for these immigrant authors and accepted members of the immigrant community logically chose to present themselves in a positive, yet realistic, light that allowed magazine readers to either empathize with or gain respect for their lives in America as immigrants.

Immigration slowed briefly during the 1890s as a result of several economic panics, but a new economic boom after the turn of the century caused a rise in immigration levels. Between 1900 and 1910 the flow of immigrants averaged more than one million individuals per year (as opposed to the 3.7 million that entered the country during the entire 1890s). As immigrant communities grew substantially in size the reality of the sheer numbers of immigrants in the country became increasingly apparent to the previously distanced upper-classes. Their concentration in the urban areas of the
East coast, where the majority of magazine subscribers also resided, began to make it more difficult for magazine readers to escape the realities of the immigrant presence.

The combination of the optimistic, late-Victorian era drawing to a close, and the growing numbers of arriving immigrants, caused the articles of these magazines to take on a new tone. It was harsher and decidedly more political. Several crucial articles by Henry Cabot Lodge appeared in *Century Magazine*, and called for immigration restriction legislation. There was a dwindling amount of sentiment in the magazines projecting the idea that immigrant cultures could be a positive force in American society. Instead magazine readers were presented with numbers that demonstrated that the overwhelming masses of immigrants arriving on American shores had increased potential for becoming criminals, wards of the state, or mentally unstable. Notions of exoticism disappeared and calls for restricted or selective immigration became the norm.

Magazines initially, however, defied the accepted modern opinions of immigration, which hold that American sentiment toward foreign peoples was overwhelmingly negative during late decades of the 19th and early decades of the 20th centuries. Instead, the articles of *Harper's Weekly*, *Century Magazine*, *The Atlantic Monthly*, and *Scribner's Magazine* show that the middle and upper classes responded to the positive stimuli immigrants provided for economic and industrial expansion, and initially saw immigrants as a source for increased social expansion. This outlook was strongly espoused in the magazines during the closing decade of the nineteenth century, and only began to shift when immigration reached its peak in the early 1900s and began to dominate portions of society significant enough to incite stirrings of concern. This
turning point in sentiment, as demonstrated by the quality magazines, is surprisingly later than one might expect, based on the texts of Higham and Handlin.

This turning point, however, did not mark a permanent shift from positive to negative sentiment. The optimistic outlook of the 1890s was revived by scholars and intellectuals several decades later, and then again with the close of the 20th century and the nationwide embrace of the possibilities apparent in diversity. In 1916, Randolph Bourne published an article entitled, “Trans-National America,” which resonated with many of the same optimistic sentiments found in the earlier articles of the quality magazines. Bourne states, “We have needed the new peoples – the order of the German and Scandinavian, the turbulence of the Slav and Hun – to save us from our own stagnation.” He affirms a belief that immigration will not only save the country from a backwards slide, but will also contribute to ongoing progress. “The foreign cultures have not been melted down or run together, made into some homogeneous Americanism, but have remained distinct but cooperating to the greater glory and benefit, not only of themselves but of all the native ‘Americanism’ around them.” Bourne’s arguments serve to form a bridge between the ideas of the late 19th century expressed in the quality magazines and those proposed by a unique group of intellectuals during the 20th. His “distinct but cooperating” amalgamation of immigrant peoples and British descendants runs parallel to ideas of the late 1800s that immigration would serve as a source of national revitalization, while it additionally hints at the embracing of differences and uniqueness of cultures that has been characteristic of the diversity seeking discussions since the close of the 20th century. Harper’s Weekly, Century Magazine, The Atlantic Monthly, and Scribner’s Magazine addressed the latent opinions of middle- and upper-
class Americans about immigration and immigrant peoples during the time period between 1890 and 1910, and in so doing added a facet to the foundational, and ultimately lasting, opinions about the conglomeration of cultures in American society.

**The Quality Magazines**

Articles from *Harper’s Weekly, Century Magazine, The Atlantic Monthly*, and *Scribner’s Magazine* will be used in this study as a means to investigate cultural assumptions made by middle- and upper-class Americans between 1890 and 1910. The authority and importance of these magazines, however, should not be assumed without a thorough understanding of their particular role and importance during this period.

Magazines were a valuable and unparalleled source of information because they were the only 19th and early 20th century medium to reach a national audience. Although metropolitan newspapers maintained large subscription lists, their focus was mainly local. Books were too slow to react to public sentiment, and were incapable of demonstrating monthly or yearly shifts in opinion that are evident in the frequently produced and quickly responding magazines. Magazines reached far beyond the cities in which they were printed and produced, and were, therefore, more sensitive and aware of broad, national trends.

The quality magazines, at this time, were still relatively removed from the financial support that advertising provided. Instead they were almost wholly dependent upon the collection of subscription fees. This made the magazines more conscious of their readers, for it was on their money alone that they survived. Matthew Schneirov,
author of *The Dream of a New Social Order, Popular Magazines in America*, believes that this reader dependence caused the magazines to be cautious about defining themselves in any particular manner on polemical issues for fear that doing so would alienate certain subscribers. Instead, only those issues that were wholeheartedly supported by the largest numbers of readers were espoused. In his words,

> They did not claim to represent a particular subculture, political party or group ideology of constituency. As a result, when an article or story or illustration appeared in one of the popular magazines, this fact already conferred on it a kind of substantiality, acceptability, or weightiness. Popular magazines, more than any other medium, seemed to represent 'America' itself.9

Magazine editors considered any opinions particularly polemical or outwardly political inappropriate for coverage.

Magazine readers were not only widely distributed, they were also numerous. Between 1890 and 1905 magazine circulation tripled, making the less than twofold increase in newspaper circulations over the same time period pale in comparison. Magazines became so numerous that “by 1900 the total circulation of monthly magazines was about 65 million or about three magazines for every four people.”10 Colonel George Harvey, editor of *The North American Review and Harper's Weekly* recognized that this popularity lent greatly to credibility and stated such when speaking to the president of Harper’s & Brothers,

> how admirably they have performed their functions and how accurately they have gauged the public’s requirements and inclinations may be judged from their obvious popularity. The alert new periodicals have been called national newspapers, and to this extent the term is warranted: They do deal largely with vital topics of immediate interest, they do take sides, they do aim to guide as well as interpret public opinion, and their field is the whole country.11

These magazines did, indeed, wish to effect cultural change. After 1875 Americans saw the birth of a new social order that often revolved around the realities of
industrialization. Magazines saw themselves as having a particularly important role in the development of culture for this new social order. The magazine industry lay almost entirely in the hands of middle- and upper-class college-educated intellectuals. As members of the dominant and relatively traditional class of Americans they had many fears and reservations about the changes in society. The magazines saw themselves as a medium through which cultural change could be moderated in ways that would ensure morality, rationality, and the avoidance of unnecessary emotion. In particular, they chose to emphasize Victorian ideals, including a focus on the family and home. All opinions expressed in the quality magazines were filtered through this upper-class attempt to instill Victorian values on newly industrialized, commodity-ridden America.

One element of Victorian life was an emphasis on reading. As this was an activity that occurred in the home, and could be shared between family members – as mothers and fathers taught their children to read and employed reading as a family pastime – it became an important element of Victorian culture. The proliferation of magazines gave Victorian families another source of reading material, and their less pedestrian quality made them, in accordance to their readers' needs, superior to newspapers. The literary qualities of magazines such as Harper's Weekly, Century Magazine, The Atlantic Monthly, and Scribner's Magazine also gave readers a sense that they were participating in self-improvement and self-education. These magazines were aware of this sensibility and made concerted efforts to provide only the most upstanding material. The editor of Harper's Monthly once stated, "Our rule is that the Magazine must contain nothing which could not be read aloud in any circle." American coffee tables at this turn of the century
period were often sure to feature the newest issue of a magazine, which served as a status symbol and marker of social class.

What magazine appeared on the coffee table, however, was important and revealed much about its owner. During this time there was a distinct dichotomy between what were seen as two distinct types of magazines. The first set, the ones generally referred to throughout this study, are known as the quality magazines. They are the magazines that were founded with great emphasis on providing reprints of important literature. Due to the fact that the per issue cost hovered between twenty-five and thirty-five cents these magazines were affordable only for the middle and upper classes. The focus on this segment of society was, however, intentional, and editors of these magazines wished only to reach this particular portion of the American public.

The second set of American magazines present during this time was the less expensive, ten and fifteen cent, publications such as *Munsey's* and *McClure's*. The circulation booms experienced by these magazines were even more drastic than those experienced by the quality magazines. Circulation and subscription growth was particularly aided by government legislation that reduced postal rates for second-class mail from three cents per pound in 1874 to two cents per pound in 1879, and then to one cent in 1885. Technological advances in printing and the use of half-tone processes for illustration also made it more economical and efficient to produce a magazine. The lower cost of these magazines allowed them to cater to working-class America. Topics addressed were more ephemeral and the subject materials covered were less focused on literature. There was also less hesitation to cover political issues. These magazines began to pride themselves on the use of the increasingly popular technique known as
muckracking. In one sense these magazines provided *Harper's Weekly*, *Century Magazine*, *The Atlantic Monthly*, and *Scribner's Magazine* with their greatest competition. But since the audiences they targeted differed greatly the competition was superficial, as the working classes were disinterested in the lofty affairs covered by quality magazines, and the middle and upper class used their subscriptions almost as status symbols, symbols that could not be achieved by displaying copies of the less expensive magazines.

Each magazine's image was dependent on the editorship of the publication. Magazines frequently altered their coverage of issues and shifted their focus when editors changed. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries an editor had substantial control over all choices made regarding a magazine's content. The responsibility was so great that many editors felt a social responsibility to their readers, whom they often considered to be much like themselves. As Schneirov comments, "the genteel editor could still see his readers as personal friends, roughly sharing the same tastes and level of education."

Mistakes made in the selection of tasteful pieces could have a great effect on the publication, and inclusion of articles that were considered unacceptable and morally degrading could cause subscription levels to drop. Editorship was not to be taken lightly. Gunther Barth, author of *City People*, describes the responsibility in this way,

"Frequently the editor took over the role of spokesman or conscience of the community formerly filled by ministers or statesmen."

The first of the quality magazines to be founded was *Harper's Weekly* in 1857. It quickly distinguished itself as the premier magazine for illustration. During the Civil War, issues often contained Mathew Brady's photographic images of the military
struggle. The satirical illustrations of Thomas Nast, the premier cartoonist of the era, were also most likely to be found in the pages of Harper's. These cartoons were indicative of the magazine's uniquely decisive political tone. Many of the later quality magazines avoided coverage of complicated social issues on which there were diverse opinions. This, however, was not to be the case with Harper's. In fact it was "designed largely as a vehicle for that political discussion which Harper's Monthly eschewed." The feature article of the first issue was a 4000-word essay debating the results of the most recent election.

Editorship of the magazine changed hands four times over the course of the period this study examines, with almost all of these changes occurring during the turbulent 1890s, when competition rose due to the introduction of cheaper magazines. George William Curtis held the position of editor at the beginning of the period, and remained editor until 1892. Curtis is best known for fostering the relationship between Harper's and Thomas Nast, in spite of the fact that he was frequently uncomfortable with the extreme opinions Nast's cartoons depicted. The readers of Harper's identified with him on a personal level, as there were two to three of his editorials published in each weekly issue. They were, therefore, struck by his death in 1892.

The magazine then had a string of editors that remained for little more than two to three years, and exercised little long-term influence over the magazine as a whole. These individuals were Carl Schurz (1892-4), Henry Loomis Nelson (1894-8), and John Kendrick Bangs (1898-1901). George Harvey was the next to become editor, and it was he that saw the magazine through the first decade of the 20th century, not leaving until 1913. Under the editorship of Harvey Harper's became a strong proponent of Woodrow
Wilson's nomination and then campaign. Although he was able to use the magazine as a political vehicle for Wilson's benefit, unfortunately Harvey was unable to make it profitable, and his retirement in 1913 also saw the sale of the magazine to the McClure organization. It was thereafter a changed publication, significantly less serious and political in tone, and this change marked its eventual end.

The second quality magazine to appear in America was founded in November 1857, only eleven months after the first issue of Harper's Weekly appeared, and was the primarily Boston, or New England, based Atlantic Monthly. The magazine sought to bring together the great intellectual minds of New England, and provide them with a place to publish. Participants in the initial planning stages for the magazine included Ralph Waldo Emerson, John Greenleaf Whittier, and Henry Longfellow. This group, which envisioned a "literary and anti-slavery magazine," named thirty-eight-year-old James Russell Lowell as editor. A Brahmin by birth, Lowell was "distinguished not by wealth or social prestige but by a tradition of liberal intellectual and moral leadership and a respect for learning." During the last years of the 19th century, when the quality magazines began to face increasing competition from the less expensive family magazines, the Atlantic refused to alter its original vision and continued to maintain high standards for its contributors, avoided discussion of overly emotional and political issues, kept advertising to a minimum, and remained consistently focused on the intellectual paradigms that were most important to New Englanders. Although the magazine suffered from much criticism for its close adherence to the magazine's original vision, it undoubtedly allowed the Atlantic to maintain a quality unmatched by its peers.
Between 1881 and 1890 Thomas Bailey Aldrich edited *The Atlantic Monthly.* A former contributor of serialized novels, Aldrich had previous associations with the magazine. In spite of the fact that Aldrich's personal convictions caused a "narrowing of the magazine's focus to the more purely belletristic, an increased separation between the life of the mind and the political life of the nation, and a growing resistance to aesthetic and social change" over the course of his time as editor "the *Atlantic*'s norm was moderate in both politics and aesthetics, and latitude was given for the expression of a broad range of opinions." For the purposes of this paper it is important to note that Aldrich's only lifelong political association was with the Immigration Restriction League.

Editorship was passed to Horace Elisha Scudder in 1890, and held by him until 1898. Although Scudder remained with the magazine for less time than his predecessor, he managed to exert more influence. His belief that the intellectual and "cultured" portions of the population should be familiar with timely issues of American social life caused an increase in "the *Atlantic*'s commentary on political, economic, and social issues," a shift that caused the *Atlantic*'s circulation and profit to increase. Scudder's main interest was education and he "regularly asserted the crucial importance of public elementary and secondary schools as the primary source of individual development and economic well-being, as well as ethical development and acculturation." A belief in the abilities of the educational system to acculturate its participants was to become important in the magazine's discussion of immigrant children.

Scudder's advanced age and troubled medical past caused his health to quickly wane under the stresses of magazine editorship. In 1898 he passed the *Atlantic* off to
Walter Hines Page, who was to effect change by “draw[ing] younger writers and audiences, adapt[ing] the magazine to new publishing trends, and ensur[ing] its survival by making it more commercially successful.”26 Although his editorship was only to last a single year, Page was able to institute many of these changes. He published several muckraking essays, examples of which include an exposé of the harsh realities of tenement life, and a series of ethnic writings that emphasized diverse cultural realities.27 In spite of his ability to shift The Atlantic quite rapidly away from its more rigid intellectual traditions he could not avoid feelings of confinement and limitation. He left The Atlantic and became editor at McClure’s magazine in 1899.28

Page’s quick departure caused The Atlantic’s publisher, Mifflin, to call on Scudder to find a replacement. Scudder recommended Bliss Perry, a thirty-nine-year-old professor of English and American literature at Princeton.29 Perry accepted the position, but promised to be less dynamic than Page, although he continued Page’s trends, only at a much decelerated pace. Perry’s issues of The Atlantic, in contrast with those of Scudder’s, contained a five percent reduction in fiction and a ten percent increase in articles that were concerned with timely social and political issues.30 Delicately balancing a vision of the magazine that hovered somewhere between that of Scudder and Page, Perry kept the magazine afloat throughout the first decade of the new century and ensured that The Atlantic was to remain the eminent highbrow magazine for the discussion of literature and intellectual life.

Joining the market and providing the two earlier magazines with additional competition, Century Magazine began publication in 1881. It was not an entirely new addition to the scene, however, for it had been published since 1870 under the title
Scribner's Monthly. Century stood apart from its competitors because of its emphasis on nationalism. This emphasis was most strongly depicted in its articles about the Civil War and in its urging for reconciliation between North and South during Reconstruction.31

Another unique feature of the Century was its beginnings as an evangelical Christian magazine.

Between 1881 and 1909 Century Magazine had only one editor, an individual by the name of Richard Watson Gilder, one of the three men who initially provided the vision necessary to create and found the magazine. Gilder was known for his idealism, an idealism that Arthur John, author of a history of the magazine, describes as an “euphoric faith in the good, the true, and the beautiful that most of us experience briefly as teenagers.”32 Gilder was clearly a wholehearted member of the optimistic school. His optimism for the Century was not unfounded, for Gilder helped to usher it into the height of success. At the peak of the War Series, a nostalgic review of the Civil War published during the mid-1880s, circulation reached almost 250,000 subscribers, and hovered around 200,000 for the following ten years.33 Gilder promised his readers “the best of all magazine material, the elaborate discussion of living practical questions” and he was particularly aware of the different types of readers. On one occasion he is even reported to have made a list of potential readers – a young man, an old doctor, a widow, a soldier, a teacher, and a housewife – and then attempted to include something in the current issue that would appeal to each one of these readers.34 Gilder’s conscientiousness, extreme organization, and ability to recruit the respect and talents of the best writers of the time often served to make Century Magazine the most popular of the quality magazines, in spite of its late publication start.
Drawing on the success of the three already existing quality magazines, *Scribner's Magazine*, not to be confused with the earlier and unrelated *Scribner's Monthly*, was first issued in January 1887. Knowing that it was entering an already saturated market, *Scribner's* made an extremely valuable decision to offer their magazine at twenty-five cents per issue, in comparison with the thirty-five cents charged by *The Atlantic Monthly, Century, and Harper's*. This cost reduction allowed readers to save one dollar per year in subscription fees, a sum that proved significant in coercing readers to subscribe to the newest of the quality magazines.

The reduction in per issue cost caused *Scribner's* to produce a slightly slimmer magazine than its competitors but subscribers seemed disinclined to notice. *Scribner's* first editor, Anson Burlingame, laid out the magazine’s formula as coverage of “popular topics with literary treatment – ‘intrinsic interest’ and ‘pure literary work.’”

In spite of Burlingame’s formula, *Scribner’s* initially gave less coverage to issues of political and social concern than did the *Century*. Burlingame, however, found a unique means of including coverage of diversity and immigrant life in *Scribner's* through the works of Danish immigrant Jacob Riis. The magazine included a series of his works including “How the Other Half Lives” and “The Poor in Great Cities.” The coverage was a success, and the perspective it demonstrated was unique for few other magazines, with *Century Magazine*, thanks to Abraham Cahan, acting as an exception, featured such vivid first hand accounts of tenement and impoverished inner city life. Burlingame maintained the magazine throughout its most successful years and retired from editorship in 1914, two years after circulation rates first began to significantly drop.
Although the success of the quality magazines waned with each passing year after 1910, their popularity in the previous three decades cannot be ignored. Over the course of these years Harper's Weekly, Century Magazine, The Atlantic Monthly, and Scribner's Magazine reached millions of Americans, and the editors, writers, and issues of these periodicals were recognized nationwide. The magazines not only reflected opinions of middle and upper class America, as evidenced by the sensitivity of the magazine editors to the desires of their readers, but also helped these sectors of American society decide which issues, and which stances on issues, were important and appropriate.

1890-1900: Support for Immigration

A particularly prominent issue was immigration. Magazines were not as flamboyant as were newspapers of the time in their coverage, but articles concerning immigration frequently appeared in all four magazines. Coverage took many different forms – from editorials, to staff written articles, to illustrated stories, to articles submitted by politicians and prominent newspaper reporters. The most significant aspect of this coverage, however, was its initial optimism. The majority of articles that appeared during the 1890s approved of immigration and saw it as capable of bringing about positive change for American society. Ways in which this optimism was expressed were diverse and hearty, even as the progression of time began to demonstrate growing negative opinion about the increasing presence of immigrants. Indeed, most articles, even those that speak positively of immigration, acknowledge many of the fears Americans had
concerning the character and quality of the immigrants. Many authors did their own investigating in order to dispel these fears.

One such method of investigating was for an author to visit a customshouse, or barge house, where the immigrants were unloaded from the shipping vessels upon their arrival. It was here that they were examined for diseases, questioned about their plans, and forced to disclose the quantity of money they had available in order to support themselves. If an immigrant did not meet the standards in any number of tests it was government protocol to return them to Europe. Many citizens, however, had doubts as to the thoroughness and competency of these customshouses. Several authors, therefore, made sure to examine them and report their findings.

Julian Ralph's October 24, 1891 *Harper's Weekly* article "Landing the Immigrant," tells the story of his visit and examination of the grounds of Castle Garden and Ellis Island, the two customshouses of New York City, through which as many as 11,747 immigrants passed per day. At the time in which the article was written responsibility for dealing with immigration had recently been transferred from the individual states to the federal government. As a result of this transition the building of the Ellis Island Station was commissioned, as the state refused to give permission to the federal government for the use of the mainland Castle Garden building located in Battery Park. In order to gather the information to write this article Ralph was present at Ellis island for the docking of a ship filled with immigrants, and then proceeded to follow them through the step-by-step process prescribed by immigration law.

While observing the immigrants descending from the newly arrived steamer Ralph remarks that promise is visibly inherent in their manner and carriage. This
observation leads him to further assert that they will achieve all ends to which they aspire in the New World. Of these disembarking individuals he remarks, “I never had seen so sturdy, so intelligent and so neatly and comfortably dressed a body of new-comers before. And so they proved an exceptionally welcome band, maligned most cruelly by misinformed gossips or by envious and mischievous rivals of the steamship line.” He refers to Americans who clamor for the curtailing of immigration as “narrow-minded.”

In spite of their general good appearance, Ralph acknowledges that the load of immigrants does contain several that will not pass federal government regulations. One inspector discovers an individual who had gone back to Europe in order to procure skilled labor for a factory he planned to open in the United States. To the question whether he brought any laborers back with him, the man confidently presents the inspector with a young man. The inspector, knowing the right questions to ask, inquires whether the young man had been offered a securing bonus to work in this individual’s factory. The inexperienced immigrant does not hesitate to tell the truth and replies, “Yes.” With that, the inspector promptly sends him back to Europe, for no contract laborers are allowed to enter the country as immigrants. Two women come under suspicion as expectant mothers, and unless able to provide proof of husbands or fiancées are to be returned as well. Restrictions are tight and inspectors know what to look for. Ralph is struck by the honesty with which questions are answered. It is, for him, “a very refreshing spectacle” after his experiences in the customshouses of the west coast where Asian immigrants lied “like pirates.”

While not necessarily trumpeting the idea that Americans should promote immigration, Ralph’s article serves to provide his readers with confidence that the
customshouses were doing everything possible to make sure that immigrants were of credible backgrounds and were prepared to support themselves in America. Fascinated by the diversity he sees while on Ellis Island, Ralph sees promise in the "future of the newcomers," a promise recognized by many other authors publishing in the quality magazines during this period of time.

A decade later an author for *Scribner's Magazine* was to come to a similar conclusion after undertaking an examination almost identical to that of Julian Ralph's. The year was 1901, and public insecurity about arriving immigrants had once again made a customhouse examination pertinent. On this occasion author Arthur Henry visited the Barge Office of New York City, and recorded his experiences in an article entitled, "Among the Immigrants." His findings, made exactly a decade after Ralph's, are similar. Watching the immigrants exit the boat, painfully destitute and "packed like cattle," Henry cannot help but be moved. In spite of this reality Henry believes that "no one can watch a load of immigrants land, without being struck by the astonishing signs of hope and confidence about them all." This quality extends to each and every individual, for Henry notes that as they progress through the trying procedures of the Barge Office "even the babies of this race [Russian Poles] seem ready to bear whatever comes to them with a calm and sturdy patience."

The inspection procedures are rigorous. Henry observes the immigrants having their scalps scrutinized for signs of favus, eye-lids peered under for signs of disease, pockets emptied for the counting of financial resources, papers examined for evidence of a troubled past, questions asked in order to determine their contacts in America, and probings made concerning their plans for finding housing and jobs. Not all arrivals
successfully pass through this scrutiny. Henry observes that “about three in every
hundred are barred for one cause or another,” and many more are placed temporarily in
“the great pens that surrounded us, and which, sunk half a story lower than the floor
where we were standing, looked like long, wide pits, filled with restless animals.”
Those in the great pens would remain there, often for several days, until family members
were located or stories about contacts who were prepared to support them could be
confirmed. When released from the pens all faced the Court of Inquiry that “consists of
five judges” who made the final decisions regarding who was allowed entry. The stories
heard by this tribunal are moving, and tears are frequently shed both by interrogator and
interrogated.

The nationalities of arriving immigrants were taken into account and certain
individuals Henry observes are allowed clearance based almost solely upon the tribunal’s,
the body that decides an immigrant’s fitness for entrance into the country, experience
with previous individuals from their homeland. When considering the case of one family,
consisting of a mother and her three children who, if allowed clearance, would travel to
Wyoming to live with their previously arrived brother, the head of the tribunal remarks,
“They are Poles . . . you don’t see any Poles begging or living in charitable institutions.
They are a healthy, hard-working, and clear-headed lot. They are honest, too.” On the
basis of their Polish background and the head of the tribunal’s recommendation the
family in question was allowed to enter the country with a mere four dollars.
Nationalities provided support systems for their newly arrived countrymen, so much so
that Henry learns from the judges that “anyone who leaves the Barge Office to enter this
country will find help if he is able and willing to work, for every nationality looks after

Henry reassures his readers that as long as the Barge Office remains discretionary there is little chance that admitted immigrants will become wards of the state.

Henry's observations at the Barge Office assure him that all necessary precautions are made in order to ensure that those immigrants entering the country are of the greatest potential. Comments made by the custom house officials he interviews demonstrate the confidence those in daily contact with immigrants have about their abilities to contribute to, survive in, and improve American society. In his conclusion Henry directly confronts those who might still hold doubts as to the quality of immigrant character. He addresses these readers in stating,

> It is a mistake to think that this country is being made a dumping ground for Europe's rubbish. Year by year we are acquiring, by a process of natural selection, the pick of the nations. Those who possess thrift, courage, and ambition make their way here. The dull, the indolent, and the hidebound stay at home. The third and fourth, if not the second generation from these sturdy emigrants give us good Americans. The danger that we have most to fear is that we too, will grow old as a nation, and that this constantly inflowing tide of new blood will be diverted to the ancient lands becoming young again.\(^5\)

The experiences and investigations pursued by both Arthur Henry and Julian Ralph proved the efficiency and dependability of the legal system created to prevent the entrance of unwanted immigrants. With these precautions in place, they argue, the United States will receive only immigrants of worthy character, and in so doing positively augment the American population.

Beyond the abilities of the government and law to ensure the entrance of only the most promising of immigrants, the processes of assimilation were also looked to for reassurance. If carried out in the appropriate manner, assimilation had the ability to mold entering immigrants into conscientious American citizens. In the January 1891 issue of
Century Magazine, its editor, Richard Watson Gilder, addressed the question of "How to Develop American Sentiment among Immigrants" in his regular column entitled, "Topics of the Time." Gilder's editorial, which reveals that he is resigned to continued immigration, strives to enforce the importance of assimilation in the minds of his readers. He refuses to take a direct stance supporting increased and continued immigration, but accepts its necessity and states, "there can be no difference about the desirability and the necessity of making good Americans of those already here or certain to come.... it is almost equally clear that the supply must come, now as ever, from the countries of Europe." Gilder is of the opinion that if immigrants are brought to American shores, the processes of American assimilation, if adequately exercised, can transform them into Americans.

Assimilation, however, cannot happen without the assistance of already established Americans accepting the responsibility of introducing these strangers to their new culture, government, and society. Gilder asks his readers, "How are we training them for their new duties? To whom do we turn them over without so much as a thought? What is the school in which they must learn what they can about our system of government, and who are their teachers?" He sees that during this time the wrong people, such as labor agitators, have answered these questions and accepted the responsibilities of educating immigrants. These labor agitators and others have "ignorantly led into wrong-doing" many newly arrived immigrants. In many cases, under these influences, immigrants have accepted inappropriate philosophies, because they do not understand that the principles that operated in the Old World, that called for violence and often socialism, are not necessary in their new democratic home.
Gilder names a number of institutions that already exist in the United States and have extended themselves for the purposes of assisting immigrants. These include almshouses, churches, schools, and lecture rooms. But the task is large enough that these institutions are not enough, or often are not capable of addressing all topics about which immigrants need educating. It is here that Gilder chooses to call upon his readers, "the young men and women of leisure and cultivation," for whom he believes the undertaking of this responsibility would provide "employment of a kind befitting their character and training" and an opportunity to "be able to make some return to government and society for the benefits they themselves have enjoyed." Gilder states that there is much unrecognized talent in the cities. Working with immigrants will provide an outlet for this talent, and provide direction for many educated individuals who were previously without suitable employment or occupation.

The outlook goes beyond the present, for Gilder acknowledges that not only do immigrants have the ability to affect American social life in the present, but that they will also become the parents of future generations of American citizens. For magazine readers to devote their time to the education of these people is to do good for "aspiring citizens – to the men who in the future will have in their hands the weal or the woe of their country." The youth of arriving immigrants is also important, for they are impressionable and their age promises that they will spend long lives in the United States. Once upper- and middle-class educated citizens have accepted the responsibility to educate the immigrant masses, the immigrants will naturally begin to take the burden back upon themselves, and pass their newly acquired knowledge on to their immigrant peers.
While Gilder does not express positive sentiment about the state of immigrants before they have been exposed to the processes of acculturation, he believes in their potential to become good American citizens with the right training and education. During the country’s founding Americans created their own unique form of democracy, and according to him, Americans of the late 19th century have the opportunity and challenge to shape the new generations of their country, and in so doing direct the next wave of American progress. Immigration is indispensable and cannot be halted, but that does not necessarily mean that the United States is to suffer negatively from its effects. With the proper care and the acceptance of social responsibility, the readers of Century Magazine, and others like it, can ensure that immigrants are transformed into new, conscientious American citizens.

One important method of assimilating immigrants was through education. This method was aimed mainly at the younger generations of immigrants, or those that were the traditional age for schooling, although adult immigrant education frequently occurred in urban centers. An article presented in Harper's Weekly in the June 4, 1892, issue by David Graham Phillips discusses the accomplishments made by children attending Ward School No. 23 on the north side of City Hall in New York City. The students are of all races and nationalities, with the exception of African-Americans. Phillips is impressed at the sheer number and diversity of students that exit during the afternoon release:

One group has the tow heads, the blue eyes, the fair skins, that indicate German or Scandinavian origin. Perhaps the next group will have the almond eyes, the sallow, unhealthful-looking complexion, and the straight oddly growing black hair of the Chinese. Another group will be made up of young Polish or Russian Jews. Still another will have peculiarities which suggest the roaming Arabs. And there will be group after group which any eye can distinguish as of some nationality so unfamiliar as to be unnamable."
The school, is in fact, renowned as “the best place for a child of foreign birth and foreign parentage” to receive an American education. All parents, therefore, who “look forward to their children being genuine Americans, with nothing of the foreign left about them except the facial type” ensure that their children attend this school.60

The first task of the school is to introduce the children to the English language. Phillips is surprised to discover that the teachers of Ward No. 23 do not speak any foreign languages themselves. Instead they teach the children by presenting them with objects or pictures of objects and teach them the corresponding English words. While visiting this school, Phillips is told that when a child is given six months of this training “if you close your eyes and listen to the reading exercises, you will not be able to distinguish Chinese child or Arab child or Tunisian child from the few pure-blooded Americans.”61 Phillips is impressed by readings performed for him by two Italian and two Chinese girls. For not only do the children learn English, but they also speak it without an accent.

Not content with teaching merely the simpler academic tasks, Ward School No. 23 also tackles the more sensitive and finer points of culture. Boys are taught “that in America men take off their hats to women, and hold doors open for them, and give way to them in all matters of precedence.”62 During lunch hours Ward School No. 23 teaches its students manners and ways of proper eating. “In fact, at every turn the American way is brought to the attention of the children, and is impressed upon them.”63

Phillips points out that the prospects and benefits of educating the foreign children are even greater than might initially be assumed. His visit to the school has enabled him to recognize that the assimilation of these children will also further the assimilation of their parents and elders. In a process like that mentioned by Gilder in his editorial, the
educated children of Ward School No. 23 will be able to carry their new lessons into the foreign ghettos and communities of the city and educate others to the American ways. Their success has proved that they "are not so stubborn in their fondness for the language and customs of their native lands as is sometimes supposed," and the opening of additional schools such as this one will do much to introduce and educate arriving immigrants about the culture, laws, and language of the United States.

Not all articles and presentations of immigrants in the quality magazines concerned themselves with the details of immigrant adjustment. Some, in fact, did not even address the possibility that Americans could have fears about immigrant newcomers. Although these depictions were often simplified and idyllic, they played an important role in promoting positive opinion about immigrant potential.

Romanticized depictions of immigrants frequently focused on the transition from the Old World to the New, with a particular emphasis placed on the trans-Atlantic voyage. These romanticizations liked to create a sense that life in the Old World was often dominated by poverty and hardship, and that the new lives of immigrants in America would be characterized by only prosperity and happiness. One of the best examples of a magazine submission that presented this view was André Castaigne's "From the Old World to the New," a piece that consisted of twelve illustrated pages depicting the journey from "The Fields of Old Europe" to "The Land of Promise." This piece appeared in the April 1894 issue of Century Magazine. Arthur John describes it as "a graphic and sympathetic picture story of the peasant migration."

Castaigne's first illustrated scene is that of men and women working in the fields of Europe. They are laboring by hand, with bent backs, and bare feet, while a team of
horses whose riders hold gallant flags ride by. One of the workers is looking up from the patch of field he is hoeing to look wistfully at the riders. In the second set of illustrations, entitled “Hard Times,” the supposed husband and wife are seen in a dark room where the wife is bent over in tears, and the husband in ragged pants sits, hunch-backed, and wide-eyed, staring fearfully into the distance at something unknown. The children are huddled together on a low mattress behind the parents, and appear unnoticed and untended. In a smaller image, peasants are seen moving away from their village with all of their belongings bundled in a cart or carried on the back of one of the men.

The next depiction shows a number of people boarding a large ship, with an offset, smaller image of a deserted town. Several of the individuals boarding the ship carry large bundles and assorted items, and are obviously meant to represent those who are seeking to escape “hard times.” From the docked ship, the picture story progresses to the Atlantic voyage, a stormy and cramped passage where passengers huddle carelessly in the dark hallways of the ship.

With the next set of illustrations, which noticeably contain a greater quantity of light, the elements of hardship and heaviness of heart drop away from the narrative. At this point, the immigrants arrive in America, and are shown walking down the city streets, surrounded by tall buildings, gazing around themselves with gaping mouths. It is interesting to note that Castaigne has now given his immigrants shoes and short-waisted coats, items they had lacked in the Old World scenes. Those that are not awed by the city streets are shown boarding a train, on which the word “West” has been painted.

It is this train that apparently takes them to their final destination, which Castaigne refers to as “The Land of Promise.” Here the immigrant family is seen
gathered around a large kitchen table, on which sits an oil lamp and the remainders of a hearty meal. The father, seated at the head of the table no longer staring forlornly into the distance, reads to his wife and daughter from a book. In another illustration on this page their home is depicted from afar, and is shown with white smoke coming from the chimney. The home itself is nestled amongst picket fences and leafy trees on an ample tract of land. In the largest image of this two-page spread the father rests his axe against a fallen tree to gaze lovingly and restfully at his daughter who sits cheerfully in the grass reading a book. In the background, the mother watches them both, cradling the newest member of the family in her arms. It is a truly idyllic picture, and shows a family whose life is enriched by education, sustains itself in a hearty manner, and owns a beautiful home and large quantities of land. There is no hint of the fragile Old World peasant that was first introduced in "The Fields of Old Europe." Additional gaiety is added to the scene by the fact that the season is either spring or summer. America has assimilated its newcomers and transformed them into a healthy, accomplished family.

It is hard to believe that Castaigne’s picture story, with its flawlessly happy ending, is an accurate description of immigrant life. There is no sign of the struggles associated with adopting a new culture, finding a new home, and building a new life. The romantic qualities of the illustrated narration is obvious to a reader of today, but the depictions would likely have been welcomed and believed by a reader of Century Magazine in 1894. Castaigne attempts to leave little doubt in his readers’ minds that any immigrant would not be capable of achieving the ends his achieve in “From the Old World to the New.” The amplification of his story implies that the immigrants’ contribution to American society would be a revitalization of family and prosperity
through agricultural production of the west. Although few articles or illustrations were as blindly positive, Castaigne’s picture story and others like it presented a romanticized vision of what was possible for immigrating Europeans.

When immigrants were given the opportunity to depict themselves in the quality magazines romanticization disappeared. Immigrant authors did not hesitate to make magazine readers aware of the difficulties through which they, and others like them, had struggled, but not unlike Castaigne’s picture story, they also made it clear that immigrants were capable of overcoming the problems that surrounded them daily. These articles were striking in their lack of hesitation to uncover the reality of the urban ghetto. Because of the willingness and in depth way in which immigrants wrote about the degradation of immigrant living conditions and the poverty under which they suffered, one might incorrectly consider these articles a testimony to the negative effects of immigration. This, however, is far from the case. These articles attempted to show that the hardships faced by immigrants were not the result of their own actions, but instead merely a consequence of pitfalls the American system had set up for immigrants. The articles demonstrate the determination of arriving foreigners, who constantly struggled and successfully made their way out of poor living conditions, low paying jobs, and educational deprivation that were characteristic of their prescribed social status as immigrants.

Few immigrant communities were given the opportunity to represent themselves in national magazines. Jews with journalistic ability were one exception. Urban Jewish neighborhoods were filled with Yiddish newspapers and theaters at which original Yiddish productions were performed. Abraham Cahan, an emigrant to the United States
in 1882, was well-known for his accurate portrayals of immigrant life in several full-length books, including his most popular *Yeke: A Tale of the New York Ghetto* published in 1896. The *Atlantic Monthly* recognized his abilities to portray immigrant realities and in 1898 published his article, "The Russian Jew in America." His article asks the question "Have they [Russian Jews] proved a desirable accession to the American nation?" In the words of other immigrants, such as Danish Jacob Riis, and individuals who were in close and sustained contact with immigrants, such as East Side factory worker Miss Ida Van Etten, Cahan finds many affirmative answers to this question. He quotes the words of Riis: "I am sure that our city has today no better and no more loyal citizen than the Jew, be he poor or rich, and none she has less to be ashamed of." Cahan, Riis, and Van Etten found that the squalid conditions in which the immigrant lived guaranteed to be only a temporary state, out of which all self-motivated and to be educated Jews quickly scrambled.

In demonstrating the "desirable accession" of the Russian Jew Cahan chooses to demonstrate how newly proposed immigration restriction legislation is almost entirely inapplicable to Jews. The proposed educational test to prevent foreign illiteracy would not have any effect on the population of Jews, for "every Russian and Polish Jew, without exception, can read his Hebrew Bible as well as a Yiddish newspaper, and many of the Jewish arrivals at the barge office are versed in rabbinical literature, not to speak of the large number of those who can read and write Russian." Russian Jews arrive in America as well-educated individuals, and then often seek further education in order to learn the history and language of their new country. Their presence in institutions of learning is overwhelming and Cahan believes "surely nothing can be more inspiring to
the public-spirited citizen, nothing worthier of the interest of the student of immigration, than the sight of a gray-haired tailor, a patriarch in appearance, coming, after a hard day's work at a sweat-shop, to spell 'cat, mat, rat' and to grapple with the difficulties of 'th' and 'w.' American citizens have no need to worry about the education of Russian Jews, for they will be sure to seek education independently.

According to Cahan, immigration legislation also frequently aspired to prevent foreign criminality and pauperism from becoming a feature of American life. In his article, Cahan presents evidence to prove that Jews did not contribute to the numbers of foreigners held responsible for criminal acts. In 1898 Jews made up fifteen percent of the total immigration population in New York State, yet they produced less than five percent of the foreign-born held in state prisons. Pauperism was also not characteristic of Jews, as Cahan insinuates that it might have been a general trend amongst other immigrating groups. Dr. Radin, a visiting chaplain of prisons, did research for a report on the almshouse at Blackwell’s Island, New York City, in 1893, and also found proportions of Jews at that facility to be lower than their proportions in the general population might suggest. This report reassured doubting American citizens of the 1890’s by stating that the “eleven Jewish inmates to be found at Blackwell’s Island almshouse among a total of 2170 males is sufficient proof how little the poor and needy among us become a burden on public charity. Those who are opposed to the immigration of Jews may heed this.”

Populations of Jewish immigrants already present in the United States demonstrated neither pauperism nor criminal tendencies.

Cahan also counters the latent fears of many Americans about the ability of immigrant workers to lower wages. Although a Jew might initially be content to accept
lowered wages, he soon strives to achieve the standards of the American working class.

For "if he brings with him a lower standard of living, his keen susceptibilities, his 'intellectual avidity,' and his 'almost universal and certainly commendable desire to improve his condition' impel him to raise that standard to the level of its new surroundings." Jews are quick to realize the status of those around them, and cannot help but aspire to equal levels. The system and wage scales to which he initially falls prey are not of his choosing. As Cahan asks and answers, "Is the Russian Jew responsible for the sweating system? He did not bring it with him. He found it already developed here." Although he undeniably submits himself to the system it is not necessarily by choice, but generally out of necessity. Dominant traits of frugality and determination, that are readily pervasive in the Jewish immigrant settlements, then allow him to "surely emancipate himself" from its vices.

Jewish immigrants do not choose to make wages that barely allow them to sustain their families and do not wish to house themselves in filthy tenements with cramped quarters. Instead, immigrants are forced into these situations by American owners of industry who offer them the lowest possible wages and landlords who over-charge and scrimp on maintenance for their rented tenement units. Russian Jews are frequently only the victims of a pre-existing American system that chooses to discriminate against immigrants. Cahan's acknowledgement of this injustice corresponds with a similar opinion expressed by journalist Jacob Riis. Riis observes that "They [the Jews] do not rot in their slum, but, rising, pull it up after them.... As to their poverty, they brought us boundless energy and industry to overcome it....They brought temperate habits and a redeeming love of home." Through the eyes of Riis and Cahan magazine readers
glimpsed an immigrant population that does not degrade American society, but instead contributes to positive citizenship, and even strives to improve existing American conditions. Those conditions which Jews are incapable of correcting of their own accord must be addressed by the American population itself, for it is amongst these native citizens that the foundations of vice were laid. The positive influences Jews might effect on American society are only thwarted by American discrimination.

The work of immigrants Abraham Cahan and Jacob Riis were striking because of their brutal acceptance and willingness to expose the poverty and squalor present among urban immigrant communities. They did not deny the criticisms the American public had about immigrant communities but set about to prove the American causes of this degradation. They boldly looked to confront the fears of Americans, and prove that public concern was better directed elsewhere.

**A Transition: Recognition of Growing Negative Sentiment**

American authors of the quality magazines began to address and acknowledge criticisms of immigrants as the year 1900 approached. Articles such as these, that delineate, yet do not support negative opinions of immigrants, began to define the turning point between negative and positive sentiment about immigration. One such article is that written by Carl Schurz, a German immigrant to the United States in 1852 and best known, prior to his arrival in the United States, for his heroic deeds in the German Revolution of 1848. Once settled in the United States he began his political career which would include important positions as the Minister to Spain, a Major General in the Civil
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War, senator from Wisconsin, Secretary of the Interior during Rutherford B. Hayes's administration, and a short stint as editor of Harper's Weekly. After retiring Schurz became involved in the movement for social reform and was known as an opponent of imperialism. His seminal magazine article concerning immigration was entitled, "Restricting Immigration." It was printed in the January 8, 1898, issue of Harper's Weekly. Schurz's article attempts to dispel criticisms of immigration by providing readers with rational counter arguments. It is his hope that recognition of "the incalculable services" that immigrants provide to American society, and which were previously "universally recognized," can be renewed.

Schurz focuses on what he considers the four most common public criticisms of continuing and increased immigration. The four concerns are as follows – that the influx of immigration will lower the standards of citizenship, that immigrants provide dangerous competition for native citizens in the labor market, that immigrants are of bad character, and that immigration will create and aggravate overcrowding.

In order to refute the argument concerning the potential decrease in standards of American citizenship and the bad character of foreign peoples, Schurz calls upon readers to trust in the laws of the United States government, which have made precautions against the entrance of inappropriate peoples. Schurz references the Act of October 19, 1888, which states that, "persons who within one year become a public charge are [to be] returned at the expense of the transportation companies." His argument could be further backed by an additional law, the Immigration Act of March 3, 1891, that guards against the entrance of "the inadmissible classes of persons likely to become public charges, persons suffering from certain contagious disease, felons, persons convicted of other
crimes or misdemeanors, polygamists, [and] aliens assisted by others by payment of passage,"81 but unfortunately Schurz neglects to mention it. There are a number of individuals at this time, however, who did not find these laws adequate. Instead they proposed, as Schurz mentions, an Educational Test, which would be administered to all immigrants upon arrival to the United States. Schurz maintains that this proposed test would not prevent the lowering of citizenship standards because it would fail to block entrance to anarchists and political activists, who would likely be able to pass the requirements of the test which were generalized as being able to "read and write twenty words of our Constitution in one language or more."82

On another level, Schurz states that all of these pieces of legislation are unnecessary, although by their establishment they solve a certain problem in quelling some societal fears. Schurz tells his readers that whether there is legislation or not, American society will be safe from the possible vices of individual immigrants due to the diligence of the police and courts who deal with wrongdoers. In order to conclude his argument Schurz invokes the question: "Does any broad-minded American really think that two or three thousand immigrants a year, most of whom are scattered over a vast extent of country, can permanently lower the standard of citizenship among a people of seventy-three millions?"83 The percentage of the population that consists of foreign-born individuals, or immigrants, is so small, 14.4% in 1870 and 14.8% in 1890, that Schurz sees them as relatively negligible in relation to the greater masses.84 The rhetoric that Schurz employs conveys the sense that he would hold those that maintain these fears about immigrant character and their effects on standards of American citizenship as
lacking necessary faith in the law, protective agencies, assimilating forces, and the culture of the United States.

Schurz also considers the argument concerning competition in the labor market to be riddled with misconceptions and fallacies. In general, his article points out that restricting labor supply actually works against the economic principles and growth of the country. The rapid expansion of industry during the last decades of the 19th century created a labor shortage, a shortage that could not be filled by the native population of the country at that point in time. Indeed, there was occasionally a shortage of available individuals to accept open job positions. Schurz states that not only will immigrants fill these jobs, they will also act as consumers, and in so doing further stimulate the economy. He also trusts immigrants to be of the sensibility to request wages equal to that demanded by native citizens, if not immediately on arrival then soon thereafter.

As for overcrowding, the article states that the country "is capable of nourishing five times its present population." Even without considering land and physical space, Schurz believes the production capabilities of the country have never been greatly taxed. These resources alone should easily sustain immigrant additions to the population.

It is only at the end of the article that Schurz poses the opinion he has hinted at throughout the entirety of the document, a claim that the expressed concerns and fears of Americans aimed at immigrants are only a redirection of fears emerging about the culture and progress of American culture itself. Schurz sees the deterioration of political systems, morality, living conditions, and citizenship as having occurred without the influence of outside sources, such as immigrants. Americans are, in Schurz's opinion, too afraid to face the reality of their own degradation. Restricting immigration is not a viable solution.
because it is not the source of the problem. Schurz predicts the outcome if Americans continue to believe in the criticisms of the 'foreign element':

It would soon turn out that the immigrant was not the cause of the deterioration of our political life, nor the lack of employment; that the causes of the evils must be found, in the one case in the increasing intrusion of the mercenary spirit into our politics, and in the other in our economic conditions, which are in some respects aggravated by our laws; and that the pretended cure was mere quackery, which solved no problem and benefited nobody.86

Schurz's opinion is resounding – he wishes to see all bars to immigration removed and immigrant potential recognized. By directly addressing anti-immigration sentiment Schurz actually gives the pro-immigration view a new strength. Although Schurz might still romanticize the immigrant situation his acknowledgement of the non-romantic and pessimistic position only adds to his credibility.

Schurz's article is further supported by an article written by Kate Holladay Claghorn that appeared in the October 1900 issue of The Atlantic Monthly. Kate Holladay Claghorn was an acknowledged expert on immigrant life. A participant in the Industrial Commission of 1901, she contributed a twenty-eight page report entitled "The Foreign Immigrant in New York City," which provided the United States Government with one of the most comprehensive sets of data about urban immigrant life.87

In her magazine article, Claghorn, like Schurz, directly addresses the grievances commonly voiced against immigrants. She lists the most common complaints about immigrants as their frequent degradation into "poverty, vice, crime, dirt, ignorance, superstition, political corruptibility, anarchical tendency, and, more serious than all, a constant change for the worse in all of these respects in the characters of immigration as it pours in upon us decade after decade."88 Like Schurz, what Claghorn sees is a society which places blame on immigrants for its own troubles.
Historically, as the article points out, this is not an uncommon trend. Claghorn calls upon her readers to consider the wrath and criticism with which American society first attacked immigrating Germans and Irishmen earlier in the 19th century. Now, both groups have established themselves comfortably among the middle and even the upper classes of American citizens. Wholly assimilated and well-behaved citizens, they should serve as examples. For, “is there any reason to suppose that newer comers will not assimilate as readily? There are not wanting indications that they will succeed even better.”89 It is hypocritical for past immigrants to question the potential of the newly arriving Eastern and Southern Europeans to assimilate, and it is to repeat a past error for native American citizens to maintain the same fears about these immigrants as they had during the last influx.

Claghorn believes that criticisms have focused on two separate groups of immigrants. First, “the Hebrews, coming from Russia, Poland, Hungary, Austria, Roumania, and elsewhere,” and secondly, “‘the scum of Southern Europe’... the Italians, Bohemians, non-Jewish Hungarians, Poles, Austrians, and others.”90 Through her studies Claghorn claims to have uncovered the true natures of these groups and has discovered them to be undeserving of such criticisms.

Of the Jews, Claghorn states, “A study of even the most poverty-stricken and forlorn of the most recent Jewish immigrants shows them to be a temperate, moral, and industrious people. ... The Hebrew race certainly adds an element of value to the community that cannot be despised.”91 In spite of their living conditions, which Claghorn asserts can be cramped and uncleanly, she has found them to have a “far lower death rate than is shown by any other foreign element in the city, and, strange as it may seem, a
perceptibly lower death rate than even that of the well-to-do native dwellers in wholesome uptown wards.\textsuperscript{92} In addition to their good health they maintain a strong reverence for parents, low levels of crime and involvement with the law, and an infrequent reliance on charity.\textsuperscript{93} Jews have also demonstrated a fast rate of advancement. In less than a decade since their largest immigrant influx Jews “have already learned the principles of industrial combination, have sent their children to and through the schools and even the colleges.”\textsuperscript{94} Unless Americans find it suitable to criticize those who have been able to achieve a longer life span and a greater rate of social advancement, Jews are a positive addition to American communities, such as that studied by Claghorn in urban New York City.

In a moment of authorial decisiveness Claghorn chose Italians to represent the immigrating nationalities from southern Europe. Readers might have been surprised to hear this “much misunderstood people” described as “gentle, industrious, frugal, and temperate,” which is quite unlike the description Claghorn was often given, such as a “lot of idle, dissipated, cutthroats.”\textsuperscript{95} In many ways, she finds they are not unlike the Jews, although their striving for social advancement is not undertaken with quite the same amount of passion. Even without matching the rates of Jews, however, “the Italian family, even in circumstances of the greatest destitution, showed at least the normal amount of interest in the education of their children, and in many cases made especial sacrifices to secure it.”\textsuperscript{96} Southern Europeans, Claghorn uncovers, have been subjected to many stereotypes, quickly applied, and most often not true.

In fact, the processes through which immigrants are proceeding are not as foreign as might initially be assumed. At this point in the article Claghorn develops an extended
metaphor in which the arrival of immigrants is likened to the transitory movement of Americans to the frontier. Similarities exist in that "the movement across the sea to us is headed by the same class that led our own march across the plains, and, like the early frontiersmen, the later immigrant, on arriving at the end of his journey, finds himself freed from the restraint of a public opinion that he has felt in the community where he was known." Immigrants to America have come to escape the restraints of their homeland, as frontiersmen left the east coast to avoid the static aspects of its well-developed social hierarchy.

Some negative aspects of immigrant life should, therefore, be overlooked as merely a portion of the adjustment period. Clagborn likens the immigrants to cowboys—"So, it is not surprising to see in him some of the characteristics of the cowboy, - the brawling, swearing, and drunkenness, the violence and profligacy that naturally arise when a male population is herded together, and all of those outbursts that keep police magistrates and swell the records of crime." Like the frontier communities, once settled and adjusted all of this brashness will fall away and order will once again be established. Patience is all that is necessary in order for immigrant societies to meet American standards.

In the meantime, these communities, in the process of formation, will likely have higher rates of crime. This statistical reality can be explained by the higher percentages of males in the population. Once these discrepancies are accounted for, it can actually be seen that immigrant populations demonstrate no more criminal behavior than the native white population. Once the ratios of male to female are balanced, which occurs as soon as
immigrants are able to procure resources in order to transport their loved ones to America, the discrepancies in crime rates disappear.

In addition to attempting to dispel the myths about immigrant crime, Claghorn also states that immigrants cannot be held accountable for corruption in America’s political systems. The historical record must, once again, be examined in order to show that corruption has been present in almost all stages of government life. Claghorn refers to currency and banking legislation that enabled the United States to avoid paying national debt. Even if immigrants were to vote in favor of corrupt legislation it should be disregarded because, “it is impossible to point to a single important modification of our institutions by foreigners.” Their political power is sufficiently negligible so that their ability to effect change in the political system is unlikely.

Furthermore, immigrants are necessary for the growing industrial needs of American production. Labor shortages, in industries where the native white population refuses to employ itself, were growing increasingly severe. Claghorn reports that, “the assistant commissioner of immigration at the port of New York has testified that since the recent arrival of business, the bureau of immigration has received, within a period of three or four months, applications for ten thousand unskilled workmen whom it could not furnish.” Those who claim that immigrants provide a threat to society because they ferret jobs away from native citizens, due to their willingness to work longer hours for less pay, have ignored the fact that there are not enough Americans willing to fill the job vacancies immigrants will accept. “There is no competition between the well-clad, well-fed, intelligent workingman and the half-starved, sickly, and dull one. The former will always command higher wages than the latter, because his work is better worth it, and
because the latter cannot take his place." Instead, Americans are dependent on immigrant labor in order to fill the undesirable jobs that will allow for the continued production of increasingly omnipresent mass-produced goods.

If exposed to the processes of assimilation, given jobs appropriate to their stature and position, and allowed time to settle, like those who have ventured to settle on the frontier, "the problem of assimilation does not, then, seem a hopeless, or even a very discouraging one." Much like the conclusions drawn by Schurz, this article leads Century's readers to look at themselves in order to uncover the basis for current social problems. In addition, Americans must come to "a frank and honest acceptance" of the responsibilities of their citizenship and assist in the processes of assimilation. The concluding paragraphs of her document harken back to the European idea of the "White Man's Burden," stating that "the Anglo-Saxon race has taken up the mission of schoolmaster and protector to the whole world." The American's burden, as laid out by Kate Holladay Clagborn in "Our Immigrants and Ourselves," is to realize that to halt the processes of immigration is impossible, to criticize immigrants wrongly for traits that they do not truly possess is inappropriate, to believe conclusions of statistical evidence gathered by amateurs is to allow immigrants to be misrepresented, and to not undertake the effort to ensure that they become fully integrated members of American society is irresponsible. The benefits of the immigrant influx are numerous enough that "it would seem a token of ignorance or weakness on our part if we were to throw it away." The articles of Claghorn and Schurz represent some of the last expressions of optimism in the quality magazines of America before the harsher, anti-immigration articles began to take their place in the quality magazines. But positive support for
immigration had appeared in many forms during the years before 1901. Invoking ideas of civic responsibility, the strength and power of assimilation, the efficiency of customshouse regulations and immigrant inspections, the romantic nature of the immigrant journey, exposing the faulty nature of statistics that attempted to prove the violent nature of foreigners, speaking for the good nature of the immigrating nationalities, and highlighting the important role that immigrants can play in the expanding American job market, these articles of *Harper’s Weekly, Century Magazine, The Atlantic Monthly, and Scribner’s Magazine* served to shape the opinions held by middle- and upper-class readers about the ever increasing influx of foreigners. Authors of these articles were influential figures, including United States senators, magazine editors, prominent illustrators, employees of special government commissions and research groups, and well-known, and widely published, immigrants. As a direct result of their positions and stature, the opinions they expressed in these articles were given credence and value by readers. Americans, through these magazines, pondered the benefits of a diverse American community consisting of European nationalities mingling with generations of families that had come to establish themselves as Americans. The traits of Jewish, Polish, Italian, Hungarian, and other nationalities each brought to the United States their own rejuvenating force that, when combined with the ways of American culture, would create an even stronger American population.

*Negative Views of Immigration*
Visions and attitudes about the positive nature of immigration in the United States began to wane as the threshold to the new century was passed. Theodore Roosevelt, America's 26th president, took office in 1901. A charismatic leader, his rhetoric began to penetrate American consciousness. One topic on which he took a definitive stand was immigration, and his opinion, which was often in conflict with that previously expressed in the quality magazines, began to change the trend of American sentiment. Magazines, as sensitive instruments of public opinion, shifted their coverage to match this new sentiment.

Roosevelt believed that American legislation, as it existed in 1901, was not sufficiently stringent to exclude the immigrants unworthy of entrance to the United States. "Our present immigration laws are unsatisfactory," was his straightforward, unequivocal statement concerning the issue during his First Annual Message in Washington on December 3, 1901. A significant codification of immigrant law occurred in the passing of the Immigration Act of March 3, 1903, which created the first comprehensive law for the national control of immigration, yet during his Fifth Annual Message given in December 1905, President Theodore Roosevelt still expressed his disillusionment with immigrant legislation. During the speech, Roosevelt said, "The laws now existing for the exclusion of undesirable immigrants should be strengthened. Adequate means should be adopted, enforced by sufficient penalties, to compel steamship companies engaged in the passenger business to observe in good faith the law which forbids them to encourage or solicit immigration to the United States." In less formal settings Roosevelt made harsher anti-immigration comments, including ones such as, "I wish the cholera would result in a permanent quarantine against most immigrants."
Roosevelt's commentary on immigration did not stop at discussion of immigrant entrance and legislation, but proceeded further into commentary about immigrant status, behavior, and responsibilities after their arrival. A champion of American pride and patriotism, Roosevelt's greatest fear was what he referred to as "hyphenation." He loathed the idea that America could become a country of hyphenated peoples – German-Americans, Irish-Americans, Polish-Americans, etc. To be a true American, in Roosevelt's mind, meant that an immigrant must eliminate all remembrances and practices of his/her old culture and accept wholly and without exception the ways of America. As H.R. Brands, author of *T.R. The Last Romantic*, explains, "Roosevelt had no patience, no tolerance even, for what a later generation would call multiculturalism. He insisted that those who came to America must forsake their emotional and cultural attachments to their native lands and embrace the culture and mores of their adopted country." In hyphenization lay the potential downfall of America. Roosevelt pursued this idea of Anglo-conformity to extremes, calling upon immigrants to "change their names and their customs, for to bear an American name was 'to bear the most honorable of titles.'" Immigrants such as the Russian Jews who immigrated to the United States and then tended to collectively settle in urban ghettos, maintaining strong ties to those of their own nationality, appalled Roosevelt, by their unwillingness to give up their separate ethnic identity to become "true Americans." These groups of immigrants he sought to either fully assimilate or to bar from further entrance.

Before Roosevelt's election to office immigration legislation had focused mainly on the restriction of Asian immigrants. Laws including the Burlingame Treaty, the Naturalization Act of 1870, the Chinese Exclusion Act, the Act of September 13, 1888,
and the Geary Act placed heavy restrictions on the entrance of Asians to the United States. Similar legislation aimed at Europeans, even those of Eastern and Southern descent, was not passed. All legislation that served to restrict the immigration of these groups was not focused on individuals based on their nationalities, but instead on characteristics independent of their backgrounds, such as polygamy, disease, and criminal records. At the turn of the century, driven by Roosevelt’s requests, more restrictive and selective immigration laws were passed. During the first decade of the 20th century legislation was passed that increased the types of individuals that could be refused entrance (with particular emphasis placed on “anarchists.”) The legislation also raised head taxes, gave the president the ability to restrict immigrant influx if he felt it a danger to the American labor force, and required immigrants to complete a declaration of intent for permanent settlement.

Henry Cabot Lodge, a close friend of Roosevelt’s and member of the United States Senate, had long clamored for increasingly restrictive immigration legislation, and had been influential in the requests for education tests for immigrants during the 1890s. His efforts had been unsuccessful at the time, but the support of Roosevelt now encouraged him to approach the issue with renewed energy, and he contributed greatly to the push that allowed this new wave of immigration restriction to pass through United States government channels. Understanding the influence that magazines had over their readership, Lodge published an important article in the January 1904 edition of Century Magazine. Entitled “Efforts to Restrict Undesirable Immigration,” this article presents Lodge’s anti-immigration argument. At the head of the article Lodge is introduced to the reader as a “Member of the Senate Committee on Immigration.” Lodge desires to restrict
immigration because he believes that the Eastern Europeans, which make up the newest wave of immigration, cannot be naturally assimilated. The first settlements of the United States consisted of Englishmen, and it was Englishmen that came to make up the country. Germans, Scandinavians, and the Irish, who are members of Western civilization, share similar historical and cultural backgrounds with the Englishmen that initially founded the country, and are, therefore, able to assimilate. Eastern Europeans, however, in Lodge's words, are "utterly alien to us, not only ethnically, but in civilization, tradition, and habits of thought." His belief in the undesirable nature of these peoples had led him to press for legislation that restricts this group, without hindering the entrance of Northern Europeans. The legal device that will allow this selective restriction is the educational test. Lodge has found that,

this test would exclude virtually no immigration from Scandinavia, Finland, or Germany, not more than three per cent. from France and Great Britain, and less than ten per cent. from Ireland, but that it would shut out from forty to fifty percent of the Italian and Russian immigrants, and as large or even larger percentage of the immigrants from eastern Europe.¹¹²

The educational test alone "discriminates between the objectionable and the desirable classes" and is therefore a necessary addition to the already existing legislation, which is inadequate and only capable of restricting paupers, the mentally ill, the criminal, the diseased, and, most recently, anarchists.¹¹³ Lodge's stance is clear, for his defense of the educational bill proves that it is not general immigration that he disapproves of, but instead it is prejudice towards Eastern Europeans that motivates him to pursue selective restrictions. He does not argue that immigrants will contribute to overcrowding or that they will compete with Americans in the labor market. His fear is that Eastern European immigration will tint the relatively homogeneous Western white blood that has, to date,
made up the majority of America's population. The basis for this fear he states has been founded in statistics for "if any one will take the trouble to study the statistics of our prison, insane asylums, and almshouses, he will see by the percentages what an enormous direct burden it places upon the States and upon the taxpayers." Lodge has applied Roosevelt's concept of Anglo-conformity to the creation of immigration legislation, and uses the marginality, cultural differences, and religion of Eastern Europeans to claim that they will be unable to become a "natural" part of American society, and, therefore, should not be allowed to immigrate. "Unsifted" foreign immigration is the true bane, not immigration itself.

Lodge's article in *Century Magazine* appears as part one of a two-part discussion entitled *A Million Immigrants a Year*. The second portion of this section consists of an article, "The Need of Closer Inspection and Greater Restriction of Immigrants," written by Frank P. Sargent, the Commissioner-General of Immigration. Exercising greater sensitivity than Lodge, Sargent is careful to avoid explicitly isolating any particular geographical group of immigrants. Instead, Sargent inadequately attempts to avoid discrimination by nationality: "We are not prejudiced against the people of any country, remembering as we do that our ancestors were immigrants." (This statement becomes hypocritical as one reads further, for Sargent subtly hints that the class of immigrants he speaks negatively of consists not of the English, German, and northern Europeans, but must instead be the southern and eastern Europeans.)

Sargent sees much about the characters of immigrants to create caution. He believes they frequently become wards of the state, provide poor quality labor, and belittle America's educational prowess. Sargent sees these immigrants as people who
maintain "no regard for morality and for law and order, who in secret plan the murder of
their own kindred, and whose mere presence is a menace to society." These
characteristics are trends of the new wave of immigration, which Sargent sees as
strikingly different from its predecessors. "Such do not come here imbued with the spirit
that animated the aliens of bygone years." Although it does not name them explicitly,
this article, like Lodge's, isolates southern and eastern Europeans as the carriers of traits
damaging to established American society and culture.

In order to avoid the additional health risks caused by transporting to the United
States, along with "acceptable" immigrants, the diseased and criminal individuals who
are only to be turned away at the barge office, Sargent calls for stationing of American
immigration inspectors at embarkation points in Europe. In this way "unacceptable"
immigrants will be examined and turned away prior to the cramped journey during which
they frequently spread diseases. Inspection adjustments such as this one will allow for the
quality of immigrants to improve. Sargent makes frequent use of the term "high quality"
to describe the type of immigrants suitable for admission as citizens and neighbors (the
term is vague, and his interpretation of it seems to vary). Once again, however, like
Lodge, Sargent is not calling for a complete abolition of immigration, for he states that he
does not think that the country should operate under a "closed-door" policy. He only
knows that "the United States can and should choose its immigrants from among the best
people of Europe, and should deny admission to the pauper, the diseased, and those who
are not willing or not able to conform to American institutions and law." Although
addressed in a more indirect manner, Sargent's opinions of immigration coincide with
Roosevelt's desire to admit only immigrants completely willing to assimilate, and
Lodge's claim that there is a need for increasingly restrictive, and selective, immigration legislation.

Reports published in the quality magazines from those interacting with the immigrants during the trans-Atlantic journey and from inspections at docking sites in Southern Europe also begin to attest to character flaws and deficiencies that American citizens should note about arriving immigrants. In an article by James B. Connelly, "In the Paths of Immigration" which was published in the November 1902 issue of *Scribner's Magazine* the testimony of some of these observers and inspectors is referred to. Connelly recalls, "those in charge of the immigrant from southern Europe will tell you that he is not a desirable creature." The opinions of these individuals is reliable, for "they have handled many, many thousands of his kind." One might question why, then, they are willing to facilitate the transfer of these undeserving individuals from their homeland to the United States. Profit, says Connelly. The shipping companies that transport these immigrants are able to garner large sums for their transport, although in doing so they must deal with passengers they describe as "repulsive" and "repugnant." Profit driven, these companies dump on the shores of America those "neglectful of the commonest civilities" for the immigrant "is slothful, he is boorish, he is - m-m - dirty. And his manners! B-r-r h! He is - Oh, what is he not that is distressful." Connelly's description only provides further reason for the American public to press for increased legislation guarding the United States from the bad character infiltrating the American public by way of immigration and clearly demonstrates the shift in opinion about immigrants portrayed by the quality magazines.
The increasing numbers of immigrants caught even the attention of foreign visitors. A citizen of Great Britain, H.G. Wells, spent several months in the United States, and while doing so he published an article in *Harper's Weekly* entitled, "The Future in America – A Search After Realities." A multi-part document, installment VII concerned itself with "The Immigrant." Wells, like Roosevelt, Sargent, and Lodge, found many reasons to incite caution about increasing immigrant influxes. He deemed the situation serious, but feared that "few people grasp the true dimensions of this invasion."

For Wells, assimilation is a significant concern. He describes the immigrant wave as follows: "Into the lower levels of the American community there pours perpetually a vast torrent of strangers, speaking alien tongues, inspired by alien traditions, for the most part illiterate peasants and working-people. They come in at the bottom: that must be insisted upon." The description of these nationalities as alien is central to Wells’s belief, and it is a condition that cannot be avoided, or necessarily overcome. Wells observes a group of people that are inherently "inaudible, inarticulate, and underneath." To integrate small numbers of these people is possible, but the rate at which immigrants were entering the country in 1906 caused Wells to express alarm. "I doubt very much if America is going to assimilate all that she is taking in now, much more do I doubt that she will assimilate the still greater inflow of the coming years. I believe she is going to find infinite difficulties in that task." Wells watches a group of young Jewish immigrants at a school in New York City wave American flags about while singing a song about American glory. The scene is moving, yet somehow, in the eyes of these children, some who have been in the country less than eight weeks, Wells senses a
lack of true comprehension. Not grasping that fact that he, himself, is foreign, the children look at and speak to Wells as if he is an American.

Beyond flaws in the education of young immigrants, the adult population of immigrants in the United States experience negative change under American influences. The sight of immigrant neighborhoods is shocking and disappointing to Wells. He tells of one such neighborhood in the article - "You cross from New York to Staten Island, attracted by its distant picturesque suggestion of scattered homes among the trees, and you discover black-tressed, bold eyed women on those pleasant verandas, half-clad brats, and ambiguous washing, where once the native American held his simple state." The immigrant influence on American neighborhoods has been one of increasing degradation. Likewise, American social structure and realities have imposed their own negative influences on the immigrants. Instead of assimilating and becoming integrated members of the American population, Wells finds that America has forced immigrants to live in conditions and adopt habits more reprehensible than those they possessed in their native lands:

America, it is alleged, makes a man out of him. It seems to me that all too often she makes an infuriated toiler of him, tempts him with dollars and speeds him up with competition, hardens him, coarsens his manners, and, worst crime of all, lures and forces him to sell his children into toil. The home of the immigrant in America looks to me worse than the home he came from in Italy. America is incapable of assimilating the newcomers in positive ways, but instead has forced upon them a strange form of injustice in which their dreams of improvement are met with realities of deterioration, and the immigrants, in turn, return negative ends to American society.
Wells does not provide many concrete solutions to the immigrant problem. The only proposal he casually mentions is to "suppose the newcomer were presently to be taxed on arrival for his own training and that of any children he had with him."\textsuperscript{129} This would be sure to "check the inrush very greatly."\textsuperscript{130} His intent, however, is not to provide the American public with solutions to the problem; instead he merely intends to alert Americans to the dangerous consequences continuing immigration could have for both Americans and immigrants alike. Wells believes that some, such as the teacher of the Jewish children with waving flags, have developed a false sense of hope about the possibilities of immigrant improvement. His experience and observations instead yield an awareness of the high percentage of criminals among the foreign-born, the futility of assimilating the extremely large numbers of entering immigrants, and the inherently negative character flaws of these foreign nationalities. These he depicts in his article in the hopes of exposing Americans to the realities that he fears will go unnoticed.

Wells was not the only foreign born observer to express concern about the immigrant problem in America. Foreign-born Americans, who were to some degree assimilated, also expressed concerns. They especially wished for limits on new immigration. This trend is in direct opposition to that previously represented by Cahan and Riis. Broughton Brandenburg reflects this attitude in his two-part Harper's Weekly article, "The Stranger Within the Gate," which was published in the June 17, 1905, and August 5, 1905, issues. He discusses particularly those foreign born who had joined American unions. Focusing on the garment industry unions, which were 60 percent foreign born, he finds that the United Garment-Workers of America have "formally protested against the continuation of the importation of cheap foreign labor, saying that
they cannot stand the competition.\textsuperscript{131} The labor problem that immigration presents has grown to proportions so alarming that not only must the fears and needs of old-stock American laborers be considered, but also those of the newer, foreign-born, American citizens. This fear is real enough that the United Garment-Workers union members have drafted a document in which they propose four requests:

Resolved, That we call on American trade-unionists to oppose emphatically the proposed scheme of government distribution of immigrations, since it would be an obvious means of directly and cheaply furnishing strike-breakers to the combined capitalists . . . Resolved, That we condemn all forms of assisted immigration through charitable agencies or otherwise. Resolved, That we warn the poor of the earth against coming to America with false hopes . . . Resolved, That with respect to immigration we call on the government of the United States for a righteous relief of the wageworkers now in America. We desire that Congress should either (1) suspend immigration totally for a term of years; or (2) put into force such an illiteracy test as will exclude the ignorant, and also impose such a head tax as will compel immigrants to pay their full footing here and be sufficient to send back all those who within a stated period should become public dependents.\textsuperscript{132}

In addition to these formal requests, unions also issued complaints about the immigration of contract laborers, which had previously been made illegal by federal law.\textsuperscript{133} Brandenburg, like the foreign-born workers, has found that "the law excluding contract alien labor was being evaded by tens of thousands of immigrants, aided and abetted by relatives, employment agents, padrones, and employers in this country."\textsuperscript{134} Immigration has clearly reached an epidemic level when the fellow-countrymen, and peers, of the entering immigrants choose to press for legislation that will prevent their entrance and help to protect the rights and jobs of those already settled in the United States.

The unions proposed these reforms in the hopes of protecting their current rights as laborers, but the ends hoped for would also protect future generations of Americans. The immigrant threat was recognized as more than just immediate, and several articles
focused on the integration of foreign nationalities into the American genotype and character. A number of Americans, both casually and scientifically, considered European nationalities to be split into several distinct subraces, the so-called Mediterranean, the Alpine, and the Baltic. Initially, the make-up of the United States population consisted significantly of those of the Baltic “race,” with the notable exception of a large African-American population concentrated in the southern portion of the country. The late-nineteenth-century waves of immigration brought increasing numbers of members of the Alpine and Mediterranean “races.” Gustave Michaud in his March 1903, *Century Magazine* article, “What Shall We Be? The Coming Race in America,” explores the results of this racial integration, for due to the higher birthrate among these “races” “what the newcomers are is thereby, in a large measure, what the nation will be.”

The Baltic “race,” which Michaud describes as the dominantly traditional “race” of America, consists of those from the Scandinavian peninsula, the British Isles, and the northern plain of Germany. Movement has also caused those of France, Russia, and central Europe to frequently exhibit features of the Baltic “race” as well. Natural selection has functioned in developing the characteristics of the “race,” which consists of the fittest of those individuals from the “primitive Mediterranean race” who moved northward in Europe:

Many of their mental as well as their physical characteristics find an explanation in that hypothesis: those individuals who, through lack of ingenuity, foresight, or activity, were unable to meet the requirements of a severe winter, perished, generation after generation; their posterity was constantly decreased, and the posterity of the active, energetic, and the thoughtful was thereby relatively increased.”
The article goes on to provide a glowing, detailed description of the characteristics of this "race." Physically their description is similar to that which would later become known as Aryan, and their temperament is generally described as industrious. Furthermore,

Mentally they are enterprising and persevering, and cheerfully dedicate most of their time and thought to work... They are liberally gifted with those moral instincts which are highly favorable to the creation and growth of communities... They are altruistic, fearless, honest, and sincere. They love order and cleanliness, and attach considerable importance to the dress and external appearance of individuals.\(^{137}\)

Any negative aspects of the so-called Baltic "race" are strikingly absent from these and additional descriptions that appear in the article.

The next race considered is the "Alpine," which is made up of the individuals living in the mountainous areas of central and southern Europe. Natural selection has fitted this group to "thrive best in the regions which are by no means hospitable to the majority of living beings."\(^{138}\) Physical features typical of the so-called Alpine "race" include gray eyes, chestnut hair, a full chin, small stature, and stockiness. Traits of character are delineated as conservativism, artistic qualities, meditation rather than action, powerful family affections, and no reverence for wealth.\(^{139}\) The combination of all these characteristics have served to create an individual suited to live in "extreme simplicity," most often in Europe as "well-to-do bourgeois and farmers."\(^{140}\)

The third "race," the Mediterranean, Michaud describes as the oldest "human stratum" on the continent of Europe.\(^{141}\) They are located in the areas surrounding the Mediterranean Ocean. Interestingly, the article lacks a physical description of this "race," but merely focuses on its character traits. Michaud explains that "the Mediterranean is the most emotional of the three European races. It lacks the persevering energy of the Baltic. Those people are equally prone to enthusiasm and to discouragement."\(^{142}\)
Due to the rate at which members of the Alpine and Mediterranean "races" have begun to immigrate to the United States, Michaud speculates on the changes that will become apparent in the American people due to interbreeding. Both physical and mental changes are likely to result and include a shorter and broader skull, a reduction in average stature, more brunettes, and most poignantly "a decline of that enterprising spirit which has been called the American push."¹⁴³ This last characteristic is mainly the cause of the ease in which the cross-Atlantic journey could now be completed. The selection that once naturally occurred no longer happens and therefore Michaud asks whether artificial selection can be instituted.

He proposes to institute a "mental test" that seeks to "ascertain not so much the acquired knowledge of the individual as his mental capacity."¹⁴⁴ This will ensure the fitness of American population in the future. In order to fully gauge one's intelligence it is necessary for those administering the testing to be entirely familiar with the background and traits of that particular nationality. Michaud, therefore, would like to institute a system by which immigrants are required to pass an inspection, acquire a license, and collect a series of references prior to immigrating. Only in this way, the article claims, will the natural selection that once occurred continue, and the United States can ensure that they are receiving only the most capable and contributive individuals for the future development of race in the United States.

Michaud's article presents another argument to increase fervor for restrictive immigration legislation, but it also demonstrates a blatant form of Darwinian racism. The descriptions of the Baltic "race" depict a group of nearly flawless individuals. According to Michaud's article this "race" has no negative characteristics significant enough to
require delineation. The Alpine and Mediterranean “races” are criticized for possessing a lack of motivation or a tendency towards discouragement. A reader could not help but envision the Baltic as the ideal, and the members of the other races as less desirable. Like the opinions expressed in many of the other articles appearing at this time it is not immigration itself that caused alarm among the American population, but the shift in the geographical locations from which these immigrants were derived that caused concern.

Native Americans citizens during the 19th century would have been able to traverse the streets of a large eastern city without necessarily coming into significant daily contact with immigrants. By 1901, however, this was no longer possible and “Americans were startled by the realization that upwards of three-quarters of the population of New York, Chicago, Cleveland, and Boston consisted of immigrants or the children of immigrants.”¹⁴⁵ The exoticism and romanticization of the immigrant presence was replaced with the realities of overwhelming immigrant population. The articles of the quality magazines reflected these realities with their newly adopted negative approach towards immigration. The shift in magazine articles was one part of a larger cultural and intellectual response to changing, turn of the century times.

When the “new wave” of immigration began in the 1880’s several hundred thousand new immigrants entered the country each year. By the first years of the 20th century these numbers had escalated to the million mark. Many Americans had not foreseen this rapid growth, as they had likewise not completely understood or anticipated the effects that mechanization, urbanization, and other social trends would have on American society. The desire to grasp these realities resulted in a charged and dynamic intellectual atmosphere. Peter Conn, a social historian of the turn of the century period in
America, describes this atmosphere. "The forces of new and old, of experiment and resistance collided with singular energy. To put it summarily, a revolution was occurring, but one that provoked and met a counterrevolutionary reply."¹⁴⁶ "Competing tones" characterized an increasingly dichotomized society.¹⁴⁷ The unquestioning belief in the progress of society, that was characteristic of the 19th century, began to falter.

This turbulent atmosphere caused reevaluations of the immigrant presence. Suddenly, individuals saw "no escape from the ubiquitous alien into the future, or even into the present."¹⁴⁸ That which they had once welcomed they, with the popularity of Darwinist rhetoric, renewal of class divisions, growth of nationalistic imperialism, and waning optimism, now began to fear. Henry James, author of the above quote, and other intellectuals searched for an escape from the realities of the immigrant presence and found that there was none "but into the past."¹⁴⁹ On many intellectual fronts "the accelerating shocks of the future were met by the redoubled claims of the past."¹⁵⁰ Americans once again yearned for their previous, albeit idealized and inaccurate, Northern European dominated population demographics of the early 1800s. There was "a cascade of xenophobic and antidemocratic diatribes against the races and ethnic groups of Europe."¹⁵¹

The combination of these trends and realizations, in addition to the rhetoric of the Roosevelt administration and political agendas of individuals such as Henry Cabot Lodge, contributed to the shift in opinions, from positive to negative, expressed in the Harper's Weekly, Century Magazine, The Atlantic Monthly, and Scribner's Magazine about immigration. Passage of increasingly strict immigration legislation is one of the best indicators of this shift. Congress and the President approved six significant
legislative bills concerning non-Asian immigration restriction during the first two
decades of the 20th century. The long debated educational bill was finally passed as a
portion of the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917. These additional restrictive
measures led to a decline in immigration that would continue for decades. Between 1900
and 1920 the foreign-born population fell from 13.6 to 13.2 percent, and an even greater
reduction was experienced over the next twenty years, and by 1940 foreign-born
individuals constituted only 8.8 percent of the American population.

The quality magazines also began to experience a decline in popularity. Many had
become weak versions of their original forms by 1910, and were suffering from the
continuous competition provided by the cheaper and more abundant magazines
swamping the newsstands. With the decrease in circulation rates their cultural
significance also waned, and they began to lose touch with the pulse of middle- and
upper-class society. The introduction of radio to American society also encroached upon
the prominence magazines had once claimed as the only medium for national publication
and discussion. This study of magazines, therefore, does not consider articles beyond
1910. After this date, the quality magazines, due to their limited readership, do not serve
as the best tools for uncovering cultural trends and opinions.

Reverberations in Modern 20th Century Thought

The appearance of positive sentiments about immigration in the quality magazines
prior to 1901, a reality that is in opposition to Higham’s belief that a fear of immigration
affected “all sections and every class,” has ramifications for 20th century intellectual and
cultural trends in the United States. The opinions expressed in the articles of Schurz, Gilder, Cahan, and others during the 1890s created a foundation for further intellectual synthesis regarding the possibilities of a culturally diverse American population.

*Harper's Weekly, Century Magazine, The Atlantic Monthly, and Scribner's Magazine* acted as sounding boards for ideas that were, in modified forms, to reappear throughout the 20th century in conjunction with the terms multiculturalism and diversity.

The first prominent reemergence of the positive immigration sentiments of the 19th century quality magazines occurred in an article published by a marginalized academic by the name of Randolph Bourne. As described in a biography written by Bruce Clayton entitled *Forgotten Prophet: The Life of Randolph Bourne*, "he was a radical in the making, given to spouting Nietzsche and other gods of the day; he was a prophet of youth and a romantic Socialist who liked to salute racial and cultural diversity and satirize the Anglophile pretensions of the eastern academics." His recognized intellectual radicalism, that prompted descriptions such as that previous, separated him from the scholastic mainstream. Physical deformities including dwarfism and facial disfigurement, in addition, only increased his distance from the norm. Bourne had been educated at Columbia and yearned to be recognized as a part of the established 20th century intellectual American circle. Unfortunately "his radical ideas had a way of resurfacing, making him suspect in the eyes of the respectable world of liberal opinion." In spite of his unshakable status as an outsider, Bourne was recognized for his promise and creativity. *The Atlantic Monthly* began to publish his work in 1911, and in 1916 published his article "Trans-National America," a text that contained ideas about
immigration reminiscent of the positive opinions expressed in the quality magazines before 1901.

In examining the American South, which lacked the great influx of immigration experienced by the more urbanized and industrialized north during the late 19th century, Bourne finds that the stagnation Americans once feared has become reality. He states, "The South, in fact, while this last Northern development has gone on, still remains an English colony, stagnant and complacent, having progressed culturally scarcely beyond the early Victorian era. It is culturally stagnant because it has had no advantage of cross-fertilization like the Northern States." Immigration served to save the North from this predicted fate.

Bourne than takes the positive rhetoric about immigration to a new level. He argues that immigration transformed the United States into the "first international nation." The conglomeration of races, nationalities, and experiences in America will allow it to become "the world-federation in miniature, the continent where for the first time in history has been achieved that miracle of hope, the peaceful living side by side, with character substantially preserved of the most heterogeneous peoples under the sun." Immigration will not only save the country from stagnation, but it will also serve to position America as a model for the development of countries across the world. America has not become the melting-pot that it was once proposed to be, but instead has become a nation of peoples "learning how to live together."

Bourne's radical opinions, as expressed in *The Atlantic Monthly*, a no longer mainstream magazine, were likely not shared by the general population of the United States in 1916. As noted in the introduction to his article in the anthology *The American*
Intellectual Tradition, “Bourne was most influential of the handful of intellectuals who opposed the nativism dominant among Americans of Protestant Anglo-Saxon stock during the era of World War I.” His argument, although not popular, serves as a stepping stone between the sentiments expressed in Harper’s Weekly, Century Magazine, The Atlantic Monthly, and Scribner’s Weekly prior to 1901 and the opinions concerning race and diversity that appear at the close of the last decades of the 20th century.

During the last quarter of the 20th century “multiculturalism” became a popular subject in discussions of American national development. In 1997, President Bill Clinton gave a speech at the University of San Diego, Commencement in which he proposed an initiative called “One America.” Under this program he foresaw the existence of a harmonious, multi-racial nation. In his speech Clinton invoked a vision of California where “within the next three years . . . no single race or ethnic group will make up a majority of the state’s population” and where “a half-century from now, when your own grandchildren are in college, there will be no majority race in America.” These statements were more than just visions they were realities. He calls on the graduates of this class to remember that, “we understand the benefits of our racial, linguistic, and cultural diversity in a global society.” It is a request for acceptance, and one that is strangely reminiscent of the passages written by Randolph Bourne and the articles of the quality magazines that asked American readers to appreciate and understand the uniquely positive aspects of each diverse group that came to, or had come to call, America its home.

Negative sentiment regarding immigration has not ceased, and will likely not cease in future years. Restrictive legislation continues to pass through Congress each
decade. Although Americans are no longer indiscriminately accepting "your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free" it has become a nation that recognizes the unique opportunities provided by a diverse population. The articles of Harper's Weekly, Century Magazine, The Atlantic Monthly, and Scribner's Magazine published during the last years of the 19th century took advantage of a unique opportunity to recognize the positive effects that could be achieved by allowing the entrance of peoples of different nationalities. Scholarship has frequently overlooked the reality of this attitude of acceptance present among middle- and upper-class Americans prior to 1901, and in so doing has done a disservice to the recognition of a lengthy and well-expressed appreciation of diversity, multiculturalism, and revitalization that survived the negative shift led by Roosevelt and others in 1901 and subsequent years to remain a uniquely American ideology that resurfaces throughout the duration of the 20th century.
Notes


4. Ibid., 159.


8. Ibid., 174.


10. During this period newspaper subscriptions rose only from 36 million to 50 million subscribers. Ibid., 5.


12. For this reason Matthew Schneirov refers to this collection of magazines as the family magazines. Schneirov, 53.

13. Ibid., 53.


15. Schneirov, 42.


18. Ibid., 472.

19. Ibid., 469.


21. Ibid., 32.

22. Ibid., 164.

23. Ibid., 168.


25. Ibid., 216.

26. Ibid., 245.

27. Ibid., 258-9.

28. Ibid., 271.

29. Ibid., 275.

30. Ibid., 276-7.


32. Ibid., 4.

33. Ibid., 132.

34. Ibid., 120.

36. Ibid., 718.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid., 720.


42. Ibid., 821.
43. Ibid., 822.
44. Ibid., 821.


46. Ibid.


49. Ibid., 304.
50. Ibid., 309.
51. Ibid., 310.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid., 311.


55. Ibid.
56. Ibid.

57. Ibid., 472.

58. Ibid.


60. Ibid.

61. Ibid.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

65. John, 212.

66. Castaigne, a French artist and immigrant to America, was a prolific illustrator for many magazines during this period. First appearing in Century Magazine in 1891, before 1895 he had published over 160 illustrations in that publication, a number so significant that it would have required him to average one painting per week. His illustrations continued to appear in Century Magazine until 1916. Appearances in the other popular magazines of the time included Harper's Magazine between 1901-1913, Scribner's Magazine during the years 1892-1914, and McClures from 1902-1910. Jim Vadeboncoeur, Jr., Andre Castaigne Biography, n. pag. [Online. Internet. 20 Apr. 2002. Available: http://www.bpib.com/illustrat/castaign.htm.]


69. Ibid.

70. Ibid., 131.

71. Ibid., 132.

72. Ibid., 133.

73. Ibid.
74. Ibid., 134.
75. Ibid., 135.
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid., 130.
78. Collier's Encyclopedia, s.v. "Schurz, Carl."
80. Ibid.
82. Schurz, 27.
83. Ibid.
85. Schurz, 27.
86. Ibid.
89. Ibid., 538.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid.
92. Ibid.
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid., 539.
95. Ibid.
96. Ibid.
97. Ibid., 540.
98. Ibid.
99. Ibid., 544.
100. Ibid., 545.
101. Ibid.
102. Ibid., 547.
103. Ibid., 548.
104. Ibid.
105. Ibid.
107. Ibid.
109. Ibid., 742.
112. Ibid., 468.
113. Ibid., 469.
114. Ibid.

116. Ibid., 471.

117. Ibid.

118. Ibid., 473.


120. Ibid.

121. Ibid.

122. Ibid., 525.


124. Ibid.

125. Ibid., 1203.

126. Ibid., 1204.

127. Ibid., 1202.

128. Ibid., 1204.

129. Ibid., 1205.

130. Ibid.


132. Ibid., 1116.

133. This law, as quoted by Brandenburg, reads, "The following classes of aliens shall be excluded from admission into the United States: . . . those who have been, within one year from the date of application for admission to the United States, deported as being under offers, solicitations, promises, or agreements to perform labor or service of some kind therein . . . Section 324.-It shall be unlawful for any person, company,
partnership, or corporation, to prepay the transportation, or in any way to assist or encourage the importation of any alien into the United States, in pursuance of any offer solicitation, promise or agreement, parole or special, expressed or implied, made previous to the importation of such alien to perform labor or service of any kind, skilled or unskilled, in the United States." Ibid., 1115.

134. Ibid.


136. Ibid., 685-6.

137. Ibid., 686.

138. Ibid.

139. Ibid.

140. Ibid., 687.

141. Ibid.

142. Ibid.

143. Ibid., 688.

144. Ibid., 689.


146. Ibid., 5.

147. Ibid., 2.

148. Ibid., 41.

149. Ibid.

150. Ibid., 13.

151. Ibid., 139.


155. Ibid., 3.

156. Bourne, 174.

157. Ibid., 176.

158. Ibid., 177.

159. Ibid., 179.

160. Ibid., 170.


162. Ibid.
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