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of foreigners whom he never has, and never can, see. Taking a short time view, this is probably true. But granting that at the present moment science and the opening up of new countries have suspended the action of the law of diminishing returns, yet natural increase must in course of time again justify the old doctrine of Malthus. When the law is acting sharply, then in a sense men again become competitors for the means of subsistence. Some solution of this rivalry must be found. Either there might be a return to wars of extermination, or, if the old international organisation was broken up, a policy of *laissez-faire* might prevail by which the fittest economically would survive; this would very possibly effect the extermination of the white races. (The black races, for instance, in America, have an economic advantage over white men in that they require less food in proportion to their efficiency.) Or, finally, if a highly-developed international polity were evolved and a government set up representing the general will of mankind, with work not of arbitration but administration, then the world might be divided in such a way as to support not those only most economically fitted, but the best men from every point of view of all races. For this solution to be reached it is evident that the political education, especially of the backward nations, must be rapidly pushed forward. Failing this we must, in spite of Mr. Angell, look forward to much cruelty, military or economic; it is not clear that the former is the worst.

F. MCM. HARDMAN

*Immigration: A World Movement and its American Significance.*

By HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1913. Pp. ix + 455. Price 7s. 6d.)

MR. FAIRCHILD'S book represents the increasing disquiet with which many Americans are beginning to regard the immigration stream. He argues that the problem has changed; that the immigrants of to-day are less desirable than the immigrants of a generation back, and America less capable of assimilating them—and that, therefore, the policy of the country must be adapted to the new conditions. He looks to "some far-reaching, inclusive plan of regulation . . . in which all countries concerned will concur"; or, failing that, to a radical restriction of the numbers of immigrants until such plan can be devised. The evils which have brought about this change of feeling in America Mr. Fairchild attributes mainly to the "new immigration"; and he brings out

very clearly the distinction between this "new immigration," artificially stimulated, and derived from Southern and Eastern Europe, and the old, which was a far more spontaneous flow, from the Northern countries of Europe. The "new immigration" became important in the 'eighties, and has since increased very rapidly, while the old has dwindled. At the same time the United States has changed greatly, owing to the growth of industrial and urban life, the filling up of its vacant land, and the increasing proportion of foreign-born to native inhabitants—all matters which affect its power of assimilating newcomers. The general course of the immigration movement Mr. Fairchild sketches in several interesting historical chapters, and then devotes the main body of his book to a study of the effects of the great volume of immigration. In this respect he pays but scanty attention to what America owes in a general way to her immigrant population, but he makes a careful study of the connection between the unrestricted immigration and such developments as the decline in the native birth-rate, the depression of the wages of native workers, the increase of pauperism, the formation of racial groups, the decline in the average efficiency of the population, and the recurrence of industrial crises. Directly or indirectly, the immigrants have played some part in all these things, though it is not easy in every case to determine exactly what part.

But the immigration question is not simply economic in its bearings. In a new country its significance is very great, since it touches the making of the nation. For good and evil, the immigration stream has been one of the main influences in American history in the last hundred years. It has delayed the formation of a distinctive race and culture in America. The many new elements in the population have yet to be mingled to form a race, and their various national characteristics united in the evolution of a culture. The Americans have spread across the continent a civilisation of great material power, but it is a civilisation and not a culture, and the America of the future is still in the making. Moreover, the movement has provided a constant connection with Europe. Geographically separate, politically aloof, the United States has, none the less, been closely bound up with the life of Europe by this ever-flowing stream of people. It has not had the separate and individual development that its other conditions promised. None the less, in spite of the thirty millions of immigrants who have entered the country since 1820, the civilisation of America remains American. No part of American life has been Germanised or Italianised, or become Czech or Greek. Anglo-

Saxon ideas in politics and economics keep control, and there is no race sectionalism in the country. The superior mental force of American life has ensured this degree of assimilation, and predicates in the long run a complete assimilation. The formation of race groups, which Mr. Fairchild discusses, seems not an enduring phenomenon, but a matter affecting the first generation of immigrants; for the fact is that the race feeling of the immigrant, which differentiates him from his American environment, is weak relatively to the desire for betterment which has placed him in it, and which steadily assimilates him to it. But, though the Anglo-Saxon controls the progress of civilisation, in the long run a new race will be formed whose capacities will be the determining influence in American life. Immigration not only leads to the forming of new races, it also tends to the equalising of economic conditions between the various countries affected. The existence of a flow of population from one country to another is due to a real or supposed superiority of conditions, usually economic conditions, in the receiving country, and the effect of the flow tends to diminish this superiority. So long as America permits a relatively free immigration, immigration will continue, until the other nations of the world cease to believe that her standard of life is superior to their own. In such a process it is natural that a time arrives when the receiving country becomes apprehensive as to the loss of its relative superiority and as to the change in its race character, and contemplates the application of a reasoned policy to a process of nature. America seems to-day to be moving towards that point.

Mr. Fairchild has given us a broad, careful, and valuable study of the American problem. With the latest statistics he has been able to deal with new features in the question like the counter movement of returning immigrants, and he also writes in an interesting way of the effect of emigration on some of the countries of Europe. He has not, we think, demonstrated that America could have made her present progress had she followed a less liberal policy in this matter, or even that she could have held Western America against the Asiatic invasion, but in a sane and sympathetic way he has stated the case for a new attitude to a changed problem.

E. A. BENIANS