



AMERICANS

AND THE HOLOCAUST

STUDENT PACKET
IMMIGRATION AND
REFUGEES: DEBATING THE
WAGNER-ROGERS BILL

UNITED STATES
HOLOCAUST
MEMORIAL
MUSEUM

WILLIAM LEVINE FAMILY INSTITUTE
FOR HOLOCAUST EDUCATION

ushmm.org/americans

NAME _____

DATE _____

AMERICANS

AND THE HOLOCAUST

Student Packet

IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEES: DEBATING THE WAGNER-ROGERS BILL

Document Analysis Worksheet

Directions

1. Read the text of the bill before Congress.
2. Review background information about the bill.
3. Examine the document assigned to you and answer the questions below.

What group or individual did you read about?

Summarize this person's or group's stance on the bill (list two to three main points of the argument):

What evidence (if any) does your individual or group provide to support the argument?

What external factors might have shaped this and how it was received by the intended audience?

THE WAGNER-ROGERS BILL OF 1939



Sen. Robert Wagner speaks with Rep. Edith Nourse Rogers about their bill to admit German refugee children. Actress Helen Hayes, who testified in support of the bill, sits in the middle. *Library of Congress*

On February 9, 1939, in an attempt to help rescue Jews fleeing Nazi persecution, Senator Robert Wagner, a Democrat from New York, and Representative Edith Nourse Rogers, a Republican from Massachusetts, introduced a bill to permit the entry of 20,000 refugee children, ages 14 and under, from Nazi Germany into the United States over the course of two years (10,000 in 1939 and 10,000 in 1940) outside of the existing quota limit.

Charity organizations, religious groups, and labor unions across the country publicized the plight of German refugee children in an attempt to gain support for the Wagner-Rogers “Child Refugee” Bill. However, self-described “patriotic organizations” favoring restrictive immigration strongly opposed the bill and claimed that the refugee children would deprive American children of scarce resources. The fight over immigration and refugees was waged in newspaper editorials and even a radio play. For several months in spring 1939, Congress debated whether or not it would allow this group of refugee children to immigrate to the United States from Nazi Germany.

76TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. J. RES. 64

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

FEBRUARY 9, 1939

Mr. WAGNER introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice
and referred to the Committee on Immigration

JOINT RESOLUTION

To authorize the admission into the United States of a limited
number of German refugee children.

Whereas there is now in progress a world-wide effort to facilitate the emigration from Germany of men, women, and children of every race and creed suffering from conditions which compel them to seek refuge in other lands; and

Whereas the most pitiful and helpless sufferers are children of tender years; and

Whereas the admission into the United States of a limited number of these children can be accomplished without any danger of their becoming public charges, or dislocating American industry or displacing American labor; and

Whereas such action by the United States would constitute the most immediate and practical contribution by our liberty-loving people to the cause of human freedom, to which we

are inseverably bound by our institutions, our history, and our profoundest sentiments: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives*
2 *of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That not more than ten thousand immigration visas may be
4 issued during each of the calendar years 1939 and 1940,
5 in addition to those authorized by existing law and not-
6 withstanding any provisions of law regarding priorities or
7 preferences, for the admission into the United States of
8 children fourteen years of age or under, who reside, or at
9 any time since January 1, 1933, have resided, in any ter-
10 ritory now incorporated in Germany, and who are other-
11 wise eligible: *Provided,* That satisfactory assurances are
12 given that such children will be supported and properly
13 cared for through the voluntary action of responsible citi-
14 zens or responsible private organizations of the United States
15 and consequently will not become public charges.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

76TH CONGRESS
1ST Session
S. J. RES. 64

JOINT RESOLUTION

To authorize the admission into the United States of a limited number of German refugee children.

By Mr. WAGNER

February 9, 1939

Read twice and referred to the Committee on Immigration

Transcript

76th CONGRESS
1st SESSION

S.J. RES. 64

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

FEBRUARY 9, 1939

Mr. Wagner introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Immigration

JOINT RESOLUTION

To authorize the admission into the United States of a limited number of German refugee children.

Whereas there is now in progress a world-wide effort to facilitate the emigration from Germany of men, women, and children of every race and creed suffering from conditions which compel them to seek refuge in other lands; and

Whereas the most pitiful and helpless sufferers are children of tender years; and

Whereas the admission into the United States of a limited number of these children can be accomplished without any danger of their becoming public charges, or dislocating American industry or displacing American labor; and

Whereas such action by the United States would constitute the most immediate and practical contribution by our liberty-loving people to the

Transcript (continued)

cause of human freedom, to which we are inseverably bound by our institutions, our history, and our profoundest sentiments: Now, therefore, be it

1. *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives*
2. *of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3. That not more than ten thousand immigration visas may be
4. issued during each of the calendar years 1939 and 1940,
5. in addition to those authorized by existing law and not-
6. withstanding any provisions of law regarding priorities or
7. preferences, for the admission into the United States of
8. children fourteen years of age or under, who reside, or at
9. any time since January 1, 1933, have resided, in any ter-
10. ritory now incorporated in Germany, and who are other-
11. wise eligible: Provided, That satisfactory assurances are
12. given that such children will be supported and properly
13. cared for through the voluntary action of responsible citi-
14. zens or responsible private organizations of the United States
15. and consequently will not become public charges.

AMERICANS

AND THE HOLOCAUST Student Packet

SENATOR ROBERT REYNOLDS



Robert Reynolds, 1940. *Library of Congress*

Robert Rice Reynolds was born in June 1884 in Asheville, North Carolina. He attended the University of North Carolina, but never graduated. He was accepted at the University of North Carolina Law School and never officially enrolled, but attended some lectures and was admitted to the North Carolina bar in 1908. After a few political defeats, he successfully ran for the United States Senate in 1932 as a Democrat. He supported Roosevelt's New Deal programs and was a fervent isolationist, opposing Roosevelt's international efforts so strongly that the president supported Reynolds' primary challenger in 1938. In 1939, he started an antisemitic newspaper, the *American Vindicator*, which ran until 1942. In 1944, the Democratic Party supported a different senatorial candidate, and Reynolds retired. He practiced law and real estate in North Carolina until his death in 1963.

Appendix to the Congressional Record (p. 2424–2425)

Our Country, Our Citizens First

Extension of Remarks of Hon. Robert R. Reynolds

Wednesday, June 7, 1939 (excerpt followed by original)

... I have introduced a bill in Congress which would prohibit the immigration of anyone to the United States for the next ten years, or until such time as our unemployed have been provided with full employment. The bill ought to pass. It is in the interest of the American laboring man. It is in the interest of the unfortunate men and women who tonight are out of employment and who tomorrow will again be looking for employment. It is in the interest of the youth of America who tomorrow will be seeking employment. Why admit thousands upon thousands annually to this country who come to usurp the jobs of American citizens? Why not take care of our own first?

My colleague Senator Robert Wagner has introduced in the Senate, and Mrs. Edith Nourse Rogers, Congresswoman, has introduced in the House, a resolution which provides for the admission of 20,000 refugee children, boys and girls, from Germany into the United States in the next two years. The bill further provides that these children must each be under 14 years of age and that provision must be made to the effect that they will never become public charges. I am against the passage of this bill. I am against the passage of any bill that will provide more competition and more hardships for the sons and daughters of American mothers

In conclusion, I want to say that I am thoroughly of the opinion that the time has come when we should think firstly of the people of America. Charity ought to begin at home. We ought to look after our own unfortunates whether they are orphans or whether they are just plain men and women of America, unemployed, before we attempt to take care of the refugee children of the world, or before we attempt to provide employment for the immigrants of the earth, who seek residence in America.

Now I'm going to ask you to do your part toward preserving that America for our own men and women—boys and girls. If you believe that America should be preserved for Americans then tonight write your Congressman and your two United States Senators and request them to vote against the Wagner-Rogers resolution

Let's keep America for our boys and girls.

Let's give American jobs to American citizens.

Let's empty our prisons of alien criminals and send them back to their native lands.

Let's deport those alien agitators who are eternally advocating a change in our form of government.

Let's do our best to save our country from destruction by alien-enemy forces which are boring from within.

Let's save America for Americans.

Our country, our citizens first.

southern heroism can be complete without the highest praise tongue can form or pen devise for the women of the South who gladly would have joined their loved ones in the battle front, but whom Nature assigned the harder task of keeping their lonely vigil behind, praying alone and against hope, keeping alive the flickering flame of home and family and by their courage and intrepid faith, firing with inspiration the heavy spirits of those who fought with guns.

Could they who fought for the lost cause see today the legacy of their sacrifice; could they see this great Nation which they have bound together in inseparable ties; could they behold the South they loved—the glorious States for which they gave their last full measure of devotion; we know that they would feel that they had not died in vain.

There was a holy and patriotic war for liberty—for liberty as they conceived it, in their zeal. It was a struggle for a way of living which so bore upon their hearts and was so essentially a part of all that they held dear that they were willing to die for it. Like a true knight in an age of chivalry, they did die for it without a murmur of protest upon their set lips and with no regrets in their still hearts. No just man will withhold respect from a cause for which another will lay down his life. Nor will a deserving hero squander an inheritance of honor by being less faithful to his ideals than a sacrificial ancestor who dies that his faith might live.

The way of life the men of the South knew and loved was melted with age and refinement. It drew upon the rich inheritance of the past for its trappings, its sense of values, its fashion, and its plan. It grew under the inspiration of beauty, of courage, of chivalry, of devotion to duty, of a code of life in which honor was the first precept. It emphasized the nobility of being more than the mere acquisition of things. The warp and the woof of it was a conception of the good life which rested upon the best things of the body, mind, and spirit which civilization has been able to produce. All those who fought upon the battlefield did not share that good life, but they moved in the warmth of its orbit and in their unattained dreams it lived.

This manner of life appropriate to a time and a section came into inevitable conflict with another which in the flux of time was moving into its place in the habitations of thought. Sponsored by a people equal in courage and conviction, as determined to fidelity to their own sense of the rightness of things, this newer way of life of the North and the old of the South clashed in the crucible of a nation's will in the ghastly amphitheater of war.

The war god smited upon the new way of life and the old crumbled into honorable ashes.

Upon the ruins of the old is arising a new edifice. It is the architecture of the current day. It is in the spirit of the times. About it is no halo but the sturdy confidence of knowledge and strength.

This new structure will not be completed for a long time yet to come. It must in a manner grow, and no magic builder can in a day fashion it into its ultimate form. But those who loved this old South will help build the new one. They will not let selfish interests prostitute its character, exploit its resources, drain away the resources of its capital and earnings, prostitute its commerce, and blight the lives of its children with endorsed ignorance. They will not allow callous indifference to suffering and disease to condemn it to unspeakable misery. They will not countenance a leadership without vision to sink it in a quagmire of sectional and nonconformity. If the times are new and the course of the new South different from the old, we cannot depend alone upon those who know no way but the old way. The pilot must keep abreast of the changes which the current brings about; else he will wreck his ship upon new shoals in the old channel.

Only a brave and an indomitable people could have reversed their way of living, adjusted themselves to a new economic order and a changed social system as the noble South has done to the advancement of the world. Yet glorious as has ever been our accomplishment, our work has only begun. All of our people must reflect the wholesomeness and healthiness of body and spirit which our God-given climate makes possible. A real war upon disease and upon the cause of disease must be waged with all the fervor of the men in gray under Lee and Jackson. In this land of plenty there must be no undernourishment of children or adults due either to inadequacy of food or ignorance of diet. Hospitals and medical care must be open to all the sick, and those whose ill demand the touch of sympathy and the nurture of science. All of the South's sons and daughters must have as good opportunities for education and vocational guidance as is given anywhere in the Nation, or those who lose their children will see them lose their birthright to the better trained while natural qualities entitle them to no such superiority. For as the Nation's wealth the South must, therefore, have a fair share of help for her public schools and for endowments for her colleges and universities. These loyal sons of forefathers who need the choice of duty to the South must remember their own obligation to the South and their genius and skill they must devote to the South's rehabilitation. Our own peculiar culture we must continue to nourish and build through our own sons and daughters who are taking first rank in the Nation.

There can be no hope of economic stability in the South if it is to cling to an agricultural system which has not given it an adequate standard of living in a century of trial. While much can be done by diversification, intelligent guidance, and Government cooperation for southern agriculture, yet many now on poor land

must be moved to good land, new crops and new markets must be developed, and there must be new jobs provided for the scores of people now on the farm. The facilities of electric power with the attendant comforts which it brings to the rural home, substantial and comfortable dwellings, opportunities stimulating and pleasurable, for community life, must be made available to those who till the soil.

The South must reestablish its sovereignty over its own soil and its own resources. A system of absentee landlordism which has drained its wealth is no more appropriate to these times than Negro slavery. Hence capital and credit for the able and responsible businessmen of the South to use in the real development of the South's enormous resources must be made available by the Federal Government, and the shackles of financial dependence which have bound her to an out-of-date banking system or an inappropriate capital market in other sections of the country must be stricken off.

When we are conserving our resources of people and soil, when we are adding to the strength of our citizens' increased knowledge and skill, when we are striking down all manner of discrimination and all forms of unjust restraint and oppression upon our economic system, when we act of the South serve its larger interests with the passionate devotion of the men in gray, then we are worthy to wear the mantle of those immortal heroes who followed Lee and Jackson and wrote their fame upon the scrolls of history.

There are yet among the living a few who bore arms in this conflict. Like a withered leaf trembling before the fierce blasts of winter, they have clung on to the tree of life. Ere we know it the fragile threads which sustain them will part, and they shall drop into a hero's bed in the sacred earth. While they can still hear our words of honor and praise, while they can yet feel the warm embrace of our love, let us take them to our hearts and hold them so tightly in our affection that even the messenger of death shall pause before it may call their names. And let us turn our memories to those flower-covered graves all over the South, and where they are in the North, and see again those who are there; see them as when they went forth to their country's call, ready, calm, and unafraid; as they bivouacked beside the campfire; as they passed a cup of water to a dying comrade; as at long last the gentle hand of death touched their brow and bade them come to their Father's house. Let us remember what faith they had when they went, what fine eyes they turned upon those behind to see that they carried on, how brave they were when they said good-bye.

They are not ours now; they belong to all mankind; but we see them, and in another way we have their opportunity and their obligations.

Our Country, Our Citizens First

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

or

HON. ROBERT R. REYNOLDS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 7 (Legislative day of Monday, June 5), 1939

RADIO ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT R. REYNOLDS, OF NORTH CAROLINA

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be published in the Appendix of the Record a radio address which I delivered several nights ago over the Nation-wide red network of the National Broadcasting Co. The title of the address is "Our Country, Our Citizens First." There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Good evening ladies and gentlemen, I have just returned from Asheville, N. C., my home. While there for several days I was approached by more than 100 different people. They were all out of employment and sought employment. Of these 100 who talked with me at least two-thirds of them were youngsters, men and women, under the age of 25 years. They were embarrassed, most of them. They didn't like to ask favors. But on account of the fact that they had been out of employment for some time, they had to overcome their backwardness in some instances and ask aid. They asked me to help them secure positions, any kind of work. These young men and women wanted work that they hadn't been able to get. I wanted to help them, and I was glad to listen to what they had to say. I sympathized with them, and I only wish I could provide each and every one of them with a job. But finding so many people in my home town looking for work was not a new experience for me. Here in Washington a day never passes but that I am approached personally by no less than 15 or 20 people who are looking for jobs, and a day rarely passes that a hundred or more do not call at my office, both men and women, seeking Government employment—any kind of employment. The situation, to my mind, is a pathetic one and a deplorable one. The situation presents a problem which must be solved.

Again I say that I wish that I could provide every one of these unfortunate people with positions. Those people who talked with me at Asheville, my home town, and those people who talk with me daily here at Washington, the Capital of our country, are merely a few of those constituting the population of the United States.

Since January 1, I have been in quite a number of States of this Union, speaking here and there, principally in regard to the subject of immigration and deportation, and tonight I am going to talk briefly about the same thing.

There are today more than 11,000,000 men and women out of employment in the United States. By that I mean 11,000,000 men and women who are without any sort of employment whatsoever. Of this number, remember that millions are young men and young women, under 35 years of age. In addition to that, we are told that there are 26,000,000 people in the United States who are only working part time. That is to say, they only have part-time jobs or jobs that consume only a few hours of their time each day. In addition to that, there are approximately 3,600,000 people, both men and women, on W. P. A. rolls; and then, of course, you will recall that we have about 300,000 able-bodied young men in the C. C. C. camps. They are provided with so much money a month, shelter, food, and clothing, and a finer bunch of young men cannot be found anywhere. In addition, there are about 4,000,000 people working for the Federal Government, the 48 State governments, the more than 3,500 counties, the thousands upon thousands of incorporated villages, towns, and cities; and, by the way, in speaking of this tremendous amount of unemployment, statistics reveal that 80 percent of all the unemployed of the world is to be found within the confines of the United States of America. That really is an appalling situation.

Our American friends, 3,000,000 in number, who are on W. P. A. rolls really don't want to be there. They would rather have work elsewhere, but they have unfortunately been forced to accept this aid of the Government. Not all the young men in the C. C. C. camps really prefer to be there, but in those camps they are at least provided for, and they can earn at least some money for their parents—and so it goes.

Despite this distressful situation in which our friends and neighbors, millions of them, are out of employment and are daily walking the streets in search of employment, there are some people in the United States who are advocating and proposing that we admit more immigrants from foreign shores. I think it the duty of the American people to look after their friends and neighbors first, and I am very happy to be able to state that millions of Americans believe with me that we should provide our American citizens with employment before we provide any aliens with employment.

I think that we should put to work every unemployed man and woman in the United States before we admit another single foreigner to this country. Our own people are out of employment, and they need shelter and food and clothing. Let's look after them before we permit our sentiments to run away with our better judgment. Those of you who are listening in tonight have neighbors who are out of employment and who want work and who cannot find it. Well, let's put those neighbors of yours and those neighbors of mine to work before we admit strangers from across the seas, and before we put those strangers to work in this country. Why not tonight make up our minds that from now on we are going to look after the interests of the American citizens and let the other countries of the world look after the interests of their respective citizens? That is one thing we have too long delayed.

I am very happy to be able to tell you that the American people are waking up to this situation and they are demanding that our Government look after the American people before assuming the responsibility to care for the unfortunates of the world outside of the United States.

In conformity with my ideas which have heretofore been generally outlined I have introduced a bill in Congress which would prohibit the immigration of anyone to the United States for the next 10 years, or until such time as our unemployed have been provided with employment. The bill ought to pass. It is in the interest of the American laboring man. It is in the interest of the unfortunate men and women who tonight are out of employment and who tomorrow again will be looking for employment. It is in the interest of the youth of America who tomorrow will be seeking employment. Why admit thousands upon thousands annually to this country who come to usurp the jobs of American citizens? Why not take care of our own first?

My colleague Senator Roscoe Wadsworth has introduced in the Senate, and Mrs. Morris Hazzard Roush, Congresswoman, has introduced in the House, a resolution which provides for the admission of 20,000 refugee children, boys and girls, from Germany into the United States within the next 2 years. The bill further provides that these children must each be under 14 years of age and that provision must be made to the effect that they will never become public charges. I am against the passage of this bill. I am against the passage of any bill that will provide more competition and more hardships for the sons and daughters of American mothers. I am against this bill because if 20,000 14-year-old boys and girls from Germany are permitted to enter the United States, it will simply mean that there will be 20,000 more boys and girls in the United States looking for jobs. In other words, if these 20,000 refugee children from Germany are now permitted to come here, it will simply mean that they will be looking for jobs in competition with your sons and daughters.

Well, now, in regard to these refugee children from Germany ever becoming public charges. The proponents of the resolution say that bonds will be made to guarantee their not becoming

public charges, but what about these bonds? Who knows what will happen to the bondsmen—and by the way, if you are going to permit the unfortunate children of the world to enter the United States, why not admit an equal number from China who have been orphaned as a result of the war over there? Then, why not permit the fatherless and motherless children of Ethiopia to come to our country for the same reason, and, again, why not permit the admission of at least 20,000 orphaned children from Spain? In other words, if we are going to admit 20,000 children from Germany, why not admit an equal number from other countries of the world where there are to be found orphaned children in destitute circumstances?

If we have in this country people who are financially able to take care of children other than their own, then why don't they make financial contributions to orphan here in the United States? Our orphanages are filled with children. Let's look after our own orphans here, our own unfortunate children, before we assume the responsibility of caring for others.

In conclusion, I want to say that I am thoroughly of the opinion that the time has come when we should think first of the people of America. Charity ought to begin at home. We ought to look after our own unfortunates whether they are orphans or whether they are just plain men and women of America, unemployed, before we attempt to take care of the refugee children of the world, or before we attempt to provide employment for the immigrants of the earth who seek residence in America.

Now, I'm going to ask you to do your part toward preserving America for our own men and women—boys and girls. If you believe that America should be preserved for Americans then tonight write your Congressman and your two United States Senators and request them to vote against the Wagner-Rogers resolution which, if passed, will admit 20,000 refugee children from Germany. And in closing may I say that a letter from you to me, personally—Roscoe H. Rusk, United States Senator, Washington, D. C.—will bring to you not only a copy of the Wagner-Rogers resolution but also copies of five bills introduced by me in the United States Senate designed to cure the evils growing out of lax immigration and deportation laws.

- Let's keep America for our boys and girls.
- Let's give American jobs to American citizens.
- Let's empty our prisons of alien criminals and send them back to their native lands.
- Let's deport those alien agitators who are eternally advocating a change in our form of government.
- Let's do our best to save our country from destruction by alien enemy forces which are boring from within.
- Let's save America for Americans.
- Our country, our citizens, first.

The Johnstown Flood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES J. DAVIS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 6 (Legislative day of Monday, June 5), 1929

ADDRESS BY HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE, MAY 31, 1929

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an authentic and picturesque description of the Johnstown flood, given by Hon. J. Hampton Moore, former Representative, and mayor of Philadelphia, president of the Johnstown Flood Correspondents' Association, at the fiftieth anniversary of the great flood at Johnstown, Pa., May 31, 1929.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Mr. Mayor, citizens of Johnstown and vicinity, it is appropriate as it is gracious and kind that the mayor and citizens of Johnstown should include the survivors of the Johnstown Flood Correspondents' Association in these fiftieth anniversary exercises. The correspondents are now few in number, but not less than 100 of them were in active service here, as speedily as they could reach the scene of the unprecedented and unforgettable disaster of May 31, 1889. They did not come together, because they could not. There were no automobiles in those days; no airplanes to hover over the scene; no radio to broadcast the news across the continent; even the telephone was in its infancy. Railroad transportation had broken down; telegraph wires were torn away; navigation was impossible; small streams had turned into raging torrents. Death, wreckage, and ruin were everywhere to be reported, if and when the newspaper correspondents and the telegraphers of Pennsylvania and surrounding States could break through. But this they could not do until extraordinary obstacles had been overcome. Washed-out railroad tracks must be restored, bridges over swollen streams rebuilt,

AMERICANS

AND THE HOLOCAUST Student Packet

NON-SECTARIAN COMMITTEE FOR GERMAN REFUGEE CHILDREN



Clarence Pickett, director of the Non-Sectarian Committee. *American Friends Service Committee*

In the wake of news coverage in the United States of the Kristallnacht attacks, child psychologist Marion Kenworthy asked Clarence Pickett—the director of the American Friends Service Committee, a Quaker relief agency, and a close friend of Eleanor Roosevelt—to lead an interfaith, non-sectarian effort to support legislation to allow the immigration of refugee children from Europe. The Non-Sectarian Committee for German Refugee Children, which was officially formed in March 1939, stressed the interfaith aspect of their organization in an effort to avoid raising the ire of xenophobic and antisemitic opponents of any immigration proposal. The co-chairmen of the committee included George Cardinal Mundelein, the Archbishop of Chicago, New York Governor Herbert Lehman, and Frank Graham, the president of the University of North Carolina University. The Wagner-Rogers Bill was the most prominent piece of legislation they endorsed.

Statement of Howard A. Seitz, Brooklyn, New York, Assistant Counsel for the Nonsectarian Committee (excerpt followed by original)

We are presented with a situation unique in modern history Children from homes shattered by the dictator wander helplessly over the face of Europe. They are not the victims of a war or of a famine or of some natural catastrophe. They are the victims of a planned program of extermination.

Selection of the children will be made in Germany by qualified persons acting under the supervision of the American Friends Service Committee and allied organizations. The children thus selected will be brought to this country and placed under the supervision of social agencies of their own faiths. They will be kept for a brief period at the ports of entry and then will be placed either with responsible American families who will undertake their entire and permanent care or will be settled in boarding homes. The selection of families to which these children will be entrusted will be under the supervision of established child-welfare agencies in this country, agencies which for many years have been leaders in the field of child care and child placement. These agencies will not only see the placement of the children but will continue supervision after placement to insure that each child remains in a healthy and favorable environment. Each step of the process of selection, transit, placement, and supervision has been considered and planned by the leading American experts in the field.

The appeal of the children themselves, the sponsorship underlying the resolution, and the care with which the entire plan for handling the children has been worked out have combined to produce extraordinary support for the resolution now before you. I have beside me here a number of endorsements and statements that have been received from persons in all walks of American life, representatives of all creeds and representatives of all political faiths. In addition to that I have this sizable bundle which represents only some of the applications which have been received by the Nonsectarian Committee and by other organizations interested in child welfare, asking that one or more of these German refugees be made available to be taken into the homes of Americans.

I would add a word concerning the main objections which have from time to time been urged against the resolution.

The first objection is: The resolution is an opening wedge for breaking down the quota law.

While admittedly the effect of the resolution is to permit the entry of 10,000 children a year for two years, in addition to the number permitted to enter under the present German quota, the resolution is strictly an emergency measure and does not alter, except for the emergency, our basic immigration policy.

The second objection is: The children so admitted would, at a later date, seek priority for the admission of their parents into the United States.

Even if such were the outcome, this would not increase the total number of persons admitted to the United States; only the order of admission would be changed. Visas for these parents would be dependent on the quota law

The third objection is: The resolution is limited to German children and ignores suffering children in other countries.

It is the German situation which is the most acute and the resolution recognizes just that. Other central European countries have not adopted policies comparable to those adopted in Germany

The fourth objection is that: This resolution would add heavily to the burden of unemployment in this country.

Statement of Howard A. Seitz, Brooklyn, New York, Assistant Counsel for the Nonsectarian Committee (continued)

The children whom it is proposed to bring in would not enter the labor market for some years... In the meanwhile they would be consumers. In this connection it is noteworthy that labor has raised its voice in behalf of the resolution

The fifth objection is: As long as there are needy children in this country it is unwise to offer refuge to children of other lands.

... the country's leading child-welfare workers testified in favor of the resolution, and have expressed their feeling that the sympathy aroused for German children will open up new channels of support for the work being done to help American children.

The sixth objection is that: Bringing in these children would cause a break-up of many families in Germany.

Obviously it is the present German Government which is forcing the breaking up of families. There is no intention to bring to the United States any children except from families which have already been broken or who are eager to part with their children despite the personal sacrifice involved.

The seventh objection is that: The children do not constitute a desirable group.

The children would be carefully selected by agencies specially equipped for such selection. No child will be admitted who fails to meet the requirements of existing law as to physical and mental health.

The eighth objection is that: How can we be sure that the children will not become public charges?

The resolution vests in the appropriate executive department the authority to require satisfactory assurances, and even after the enactment of the resolution, not a single child can be admitted until those requirements have been fully met.

... The question has been put on several occasions as to whether the children proposed to be helped by the resolution should not be given priority under the existing quota I cannot refrain from expressing unyielding opposition to this suggestion. To dam up one of the few remaining outlets for the adult victims of persecution would convert the resolution now before you from a humanitarian proposal into an act of needless cruelty.

There is nothing more to add. The proposal before you is a simple and kindly gesture, typically American and symbolic of America's best. We are still a great democracy, the leading exponent of tolerance and liberty.

The committee respectfully requests that your committee take favorable action on the proposal.

Now, you say you have some definite information that these children will not be a burden upon anybody, taxpayers or otherwise, and no one is going to suffer one slightest bit by their presence in this country? Is that the point?

Mrs. ROGERS. That is what has been brought to my attention.

The CHAIRMAN. So, it is useless to think of any preference, charging them against the quota, because you do not need Congress for that or this committee that has been discussing this problem for 2 weeks, is that not so?

Mrs. ROGERS. That is my understanding.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, unless you want to say something else.

Mrs. ROGERS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee. I am very grateful to you.

Mr. MASON. And very sensible.

Mrs. ROGERS. I try to be.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Reese here? I have a card here from the Veterans of Foreign Wars that indicated his desire to speak. I have called the gentleman at his office, and I did not find him there. I would like to close up these hearings today. What is the wish of the committee? Other than that, we just have one more witness, Mr. Pickett. We have interrupted him several times. He testified before and he wants to complete his testimony today.

Mr. POAGE. You say this man Reese, representing the Veterans of Foreign Wars, wants to be heard?

The CHAIRMAN. If he is not here and he wants to submit a statement later I think we should accept it, as we want to conclude the hearings.

Mr. MASON. Yes; we will accept his statement if he is not here.

Mr. ALLEN. There is no use to wait for him. If he comes in we will listen to him.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Pickett, do you desire to complete your testimony?

Mr. PICKETT. I think I will ask Mr. Howard Seitz to make the final statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you desire to make any further statement?

Mr. SEITZ. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

STATEMENT OF HOWARD A. SEITZ, BROOKLYN, N. Y., ASSISTANT COUNSEL FOR THE NONSECTARIAN COMMITTEE

Mr. SEITZ. Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, I appear here as a person who has been of counsel for this committee. I may say preliminarily, that I am a Catholic. I am a member of the Catholic Lawyers' Guild, and a former member of the legislative committee of that organization.

I understand that I am the last witness who will be called by the proponents of the bill. I apprehend that my purpose at this time in appearing before you is not to add anything to the material which the proponents of this bill have presented for your consideration, but, rather, to sum up in a very brief fashion the case that has been made by the proponents up to this point, and to consider with you the principal objections which have been brought forward against the bill. When Congress passed the immigration law of 1924 it determined in its wisdom, to restrict the immigration into this country. Its reasons for so doing were ample and the restrictions then

laid down are and will remain, I believe, the law of the land. The choice of policy, however, at all times rests with the Congress. It determines alike when a rule is to be laid down and when an exception is to be made. Sound adherence to policy may from time to time require sound discrimination as to the need of exception. You who were the judges of the country's need when you laid down the policy of restriction are likewise the judges of the country's right to live up to the American tradition of kindness, gentleness, and tolerance. If you determine that the 20,000 children whose cause I plead touch the history and the heart of America deeply and essentially, it is not only your duty but your privilege to express that determination in a modification of the general policy suited to the emergency now before you.

Let us examine for a moment exactly what the proposal before you is. Permission is sought to admit 10,000 children a year into the United States for the next 2 years. Under the terms of the resolution the authority so sought is carefully safeguarded. Only children under 14 years of age may be admitted. No visa shall be issued to any child who does not meet mentally and physically the exacting requirements of the present immigration laws. Moreover, and fundamental to the whole proposal, no children may be admitted unless assurances which comply with the requirements of the executive departments having jurisdiction are given with regard to each individual child insuring that they will not become public charges. Finally, appropriate provisions are made vesting in the Departments of State and Labor the necessary power to administer the provisions of the resolution.

I do not have to take your time to describe in detail the need for this legislation. The policy of the German Government with respect to its minorities is a matter of common knowledge to all of you. The testimony of the witnesses who have appeared before you has described vividly the persecutions which have now become a central policy of that Government. We are presented with a situation unique in modern history. In the language of one of the witnesses who appeared before you, "Its like has not been seen since the days of Herod." Children from homes shattered by the dictator wander helplessly over the face of Europe. They are not the victims of a war or of a famine or of some natural catastrophe. They are the victims of a planned program of extermination.

As the full extent of the tragedy which has befallen these children has become known to the American people, demand has grown that our great land should take some part in the work of rescue. The American Friends Service Committee at once assumed its historic position of leadership in this effort. Its attempt to ameliorate suffering has proceeded continuously to such extent as the situation made possible, and I might say in that connection that some question has been raised between the connection between the American Friends Service Committee and the German Government, but I only want to say in passing, because I think that statement is deserving of nothing more than something in passing, that it is utterly unthinkable that a group of American citizens, French citizens, or those of any other country should enter into Germany and attempt to do any work there without having some necessary business contacts with the Government of that country. Now, the efforts of the Friends were

supported in this country by thousands of other Americans to whom liberty, justice, gentleness, and tolerance are and remain cherished ideals. Out of this common effort was borne the Nonsectarian Committee for German Refugee Children. This is the group which has sponsored the resolution now before you; it has been planning continuously since its organization for the rescue and care of some of the child victims of German oppression.

The plan which the Nonsectarian Committee has worked out has been given to you in detail by prior witnesses. I need not repeat that testimony now. Selection of the children will be made in Germany by qualified persons acting under the supervision of the American Friends Service Committee and allied organizations. The children thus selected will be brought to this country and placed under the supervision of social agencies of their own faiths. They will be kept for a brief period at the ports of entry and then will be placed either with responsible American families who will undertake their entire and permanent care or will be settled in boarding homes. The selection of the families to which these children will be entrusted will be under the supervision of established child-welfare agencies in this country, agencies which for many years have been leaders in the field of child care and child placement. These agencies will not only see to the placement of the children but will continue supervision after placement to insure that each child remains in a healthy and favorable environment. Each step of the process of selection, transit, placement, and supervision has been considered and planned by the leading American experts in the field.

The appeal of the children themselves, the sponsorship underlying the resolution, and the care with which the entire plan for handling the children has been worked out have combined to produce extraordinary support for the resolution now before you. I have beside me here a number of endorsements and statements that have been received from persons in all walks of American life, representatives of all creeds and representatives of all political faiths. In addition to that I have this sizable bundle which represents only some of the applications which have been received by the Nonsectarian Committee and by other organizations interested in child welfare, asking that one or more of these German refugee children be made available to be taken into the homes of Americans.

The CHAIRMAN. Approximately how many have you there now?

Mr. SEITZ. Up to the present time, Mr. Chairman, as nearly as we can figure it out, and I say that because they come into the different agencies, something in excess of 2,500 separate letters have been received, and that has been without any solicitation and without any attempt at coordination.

The CHAIRMAN. I wish you would take some of them away from me. People have written to me about taking care of these children, and I would like to turn those letters over to you.

Mr. SEITZ. I shall be glad to take them. These come from all parts of the country. Many of these letters ask not for one child, but for two or three, and the reasons that are given are reasons which would touch the heart of anyone who read them. In many cases the applicants say, "We have had our application in with this welfare agency or with this orphan home, or that orphan home for 2 years and we could not get a child. Can you not do something for us?" But,

going on to give you just some notion of the people who have come to the support of this bill, Ex-President Hoover was among the first to accord the measure his support. Former Governors Landon and La Follette and Mayor LaGuardia have spoken out in favor of the resolution. The Senate of the State of New York has memorialized Congress to the same end, and the California Assembly has approved the project by the overwhelming vote of 47 to 1.

The CHAIRMAN. The assembly of the State?

Mr. SEITZ. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Now, the church support has been equally generous. All of the leading religious denominations have voiced approval of the bill through recognized spokesmen, and the Federal Council of Churches has submitted a formal resolution of support. Labor has added its voice in gratifying and generous measure. Mr. Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Lewis, chairman of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, Mr. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, and Mr. Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, have made their views known to you. Resolutions of various unions have likewise been submitted for your consideration. Educators in large numbers have sent messages or appeared before you. President Neilson of Smith College, President Hutchins of Chicago University, President Graham of the University of North Carolina, President Wilbur of Leland Stanford, and President-elect Rainey of the University of Texas, have spoken out. Business and professional associations of men and of women have forwarded to you their opinions in behalf of the resolution. From the leaders of opinion in all sections of the country the response has been clear, unambiguous and insistent. Not wishing to incur the record we will not submit at this time these resolutions and other expressions of support, but I simply exhibit these to you as examples of the whole-hearted and almost universal support that this resolution has elicited. In addition, the editorial comment has been almost universally favorable throughout the length and breadth of the land. You will recall the statement of the editor of Collier's Weekly, which has earnestly supported American action in behalf of refugees, that out of an estimated total of 12,000,000 readers not more than 20 expressed themselves as opposed to the position of the magazine in this regard. From every corner of America, then, have come voices urging the Congress to make the gesture which this resolution embodies. Several of the witnesses who appeared before the joint committee, and whose testimony was given in great detail, have testified as to various aspects of this legislation, notably Mr. Balderson, who described conditions in Germany from his own experience in Germany, and also Mr. Yarnell described the conditions, and Mr. Newbold Meyers, who is president of the committee and president of the council in the city of New York, described in detail the financial arrangements which have been made to take care of these children. Again not wishing to incur the record or to take up the time of the committee, I can refer the committee to those statements which appear in the printed record of the joint committee.

I would add a word concerning the main objections which have from time to time been urged against the resolution.

The first objection is: The resolution is an opening wedge for breaking down the quota law.

While admittedly the effect of the resolution is to permit the entry of 10,000 children a year for 2 years, in addition to the number permitted to enter under the present German quota, the resolution is strictly an emergency measure and does not alter, except for the emergency, our basic immigration policy.

The second objection is: The children so admitted would, at a later date, seek priority for the admission of their parents into the United States.

Even if such were the outcome, this would not increase the total number of persons admitted to the United States; only the order of admission would be changed. Visas for these parents would be dependent on the quota law, and it certainly would be of little, if any, importance whether they or some other adult were admitted.

The third objection is: The resolution is limited to German children and ignores suffering children in other countries.

It is the German situation which is the most acute and the resolution recognizes just that. Other central European countries have not adopted policies comparable to those adopted in Germany. As for the Spanish children, desperate as their plight has been and is, most of them will and can return to Spain when war conditions have ameliorated, and those who cannot can find haven in Mexico which has offered to receive them.

The fourth objection is that: This resolution would add heavily to the burden of unemployment in this country.

The children whom it is proposed to bring in would not enter the labor market for some years, and then only gradually. In the meanwhile they would be consumers. In this connection it is noteworthy that labor has raised its voice in behalf of the resolution.

Mr. POAGE. Under its proposed terms or the substitute it would be at least 7 years before any of them would enter the labor market, would it not?

Mr. SEITZ. Yes, sir; it would.

Mr. POAGE. Because, not being citizens, but being here merely under a visitor's visa they could not engage in labor until they did reach their 21st year and applied for citizenship.

Mr. SEITZ. I should say that was so under the provisions of the terms that have been suggested, and, finally, on that point the groups which in America should be most concerned about the possibility of competition in the labor market have themselves been outspoken in support of this resolution.

The fifth objection is: As long as there are needy children in this country it is unwise to offer refuge to children of other lands.

The provision to be made for the refugee children would not serve to relieve the problems of a great number of suffering American children who must be cared for not in foster homes but in their own homes. Moreover, the country's leading child-welfare workers testified in favor of the resolution, and have expressed their feeling that the sympathy aroused for German children will open up new channels of support for the work being done to help American children.

The sixth objection is that: Bringing in these children would cause a break-up of many families in Germany.

Obviously, it is the present German Government which is forcing the breaking-up of families. There is no intention to bring to the

United States any children except from families which have already been broken or who are eager to part with their children despite the personal sacrifice involved.

The seventh objection is that: The children do not constitute a desirable group.

The children would be carefully selected by agencies specially equipped for such selection. No child will be admitted who fails to meet the requirements of existing law as to physical and mental health.

The eighth objection is that: How can we be sure that the children will not become public charges?

The resolution vests in the appropriate executive Department the authority to require satisfactory assurances, and even after the enactment of the resolution, not a single child can be admitted until those requirements have been fully met.

In connection with the foregoing objections one other proposal frequently mentioned during these hearings should be referred to. The question has been put on several occasions as to whether the children proposed to be helped by the resolution should not be given priority under the existing quota. It is urged that these children could be thus rescued without any impairment of the existing quota system. I cannot refrain from expressing unyielding opposition to this suggestion. To dam up one of the few remaining outlets for the adult victims of persecution would convert the resolution now before you from a humanitarian proposal into an act of needless cruelty.

There is nothing more to add. The proposal before you is a simple and kindly gesture, typically American and symbolic of America's best. We are still the great democracy, the leading exponent of tolerance and of liberty.

The committee respectfully requests that your committee take favorable action on this proposal.

Mr. ALLEN. Whom do you represent?

Mr. SEITZ. I am of counsel, Mr. Congressman, for the Nonsectarian Committee for German Refugee Children.

Mr. ALLEN. This last statement you made, I believe, was that you would not want the bill to provide for counting the children against the quota now or to have them come in as preferences; you do not want that at all?

Mr. SEITZ. No, sir; we do not.

Mr. ALLEN. In other words, if you cannot get a bill so as to give 10,000 extra you would rather not have it at all, is that your attitude?

Mr. SEITZ. In substance it is. We feel that would work an unwarranted hardship on the persons who are presently on the list, and applicants for the quota.

Mr. ALLEN. I see.

Mr. MASON. But, if this suggested substitute should be passed and these children would be charged against the quota as they come of age, the first batch, we will say, 7 years from now, you do not think that would be creating a hardship upon anyone and that would change it from a humanitarian bill into a bill that would be the opposite?

Mr. SEITZ. We do not, Mr. Congressman. We feel that somewhere along the line it is reasonable for Congress to say that humanitarianism may end and that the policy of this country up to this point must be

rigidly observed. Just where that point is to be drawn I do not think I am qualified to say. I do not think any individual is qualified to say. I do think that Congress, in its wisdom, can make such a determination as it chooses. We do not regard the proposed amendment as at all unreasonable.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we can close this hearing and stand adjourned for an executive session next week.

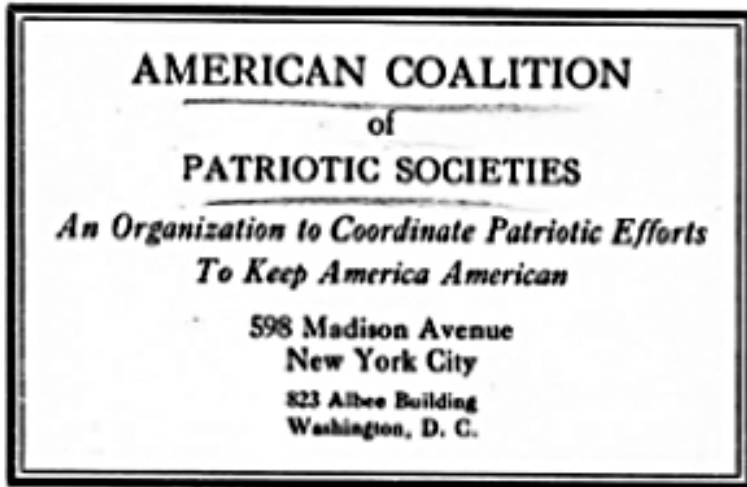
(Thereupon, at 3:30 p. m., the hearings were concluded and the committee adjourned subject to the call of the Chair.)

x

AMERICANS

AND THE HOLOCAUST Student Packet

PATRIOTIC GROUPS



The American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, one of a plethora of patriotic and fraternal organizations in the United States in the 1920s and 1930s, was an umbrella organization including the Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution, the American Legion Auxiliary, and the Veterans of Foreign Wars. The organization's stated purpose was to "keep America American"; to "advocate restriction upon immigration ... registration of aliens, [and] deportation of undesirables"; and to "resist efforts of unassimilated or hyphenated groups to use the Government of the United States for the furtherance of the policy of foreign governments, states, peoples, or organizations." The group specifically opposed Jewish immigrants, who were seen as racially undesirable and potential communists.

The group was founded in 1929, though many members, including the founder, John Bond Trevor, had participated in similar organizations for years. Trevor was an influential lobbyist for the 1924 Johnson-Reed Immigration Act, and is credited with helping to write the new legislation, which limited immigration overall and privileged immigrants believed to be racially and economically desirable.

Statement of Francis H. Kinnicutt, President, Allied Patriotic Societies, Inc., New York City (excerpt followed by original)

... The Allied Patriotic Societies is a group of about 30 societies, which I happen to be president of...

This society ... was very active at the time of both the passage of the 1924 quota law and in putting into effect, that is, the National Origins Act, which gave every country of Europe a portion of our immigration proportioned exactly to the number of people in this country already of that nationality.

We have always thought that that was a very sound and fair principle. And one of the motives undoubtedly was not to prevent any tremendous change, racially or nationally, from foreign nationalities in our existing population.

I don't admit that there is anything wrong about that. I think it is wise. I think it is right for the Nation to decide to preserve a certain amount of homogeneity and not be swamped by a flood of immigration such as we were getting from year to year from races that had hitherto been very meagerly represented and that would have put an entirely different complexion on our political and social institutions if it had been allowed to go on

... [T]he board of directors of the Allied Patriotic Societies, Inc., is opposed to the passage of the Senate Joint Resolution 64 (Senator Wagner) and House Joint Resolution 165 (Mr. Dingell) to admit into the United States 20,000 children ... "in addition to those authorized by existing law ..." on the following grounds:

1. On the humanitarian grounds on which all social agencies agree that children should not be separated from their parents and that foster parentage or institutional upbringing is prejudicial to children.
2. These children would soon compete with American youth for jobs in this country, one-third of our unemployed being under 25 years of age.
3. The passage of the joint resolution would inevitably lead to further breaking down of our immigration quotas by being used as a plea that the families of these 20,000 children should also later be admitted
4. The bill by no means makes adequate provision that these 20,000 children will not become public charges, a ground of exclusion under existing law.
5. The bill violates a fundamental principle of our immigration law, namely, the apportionment of our immigration strictly in accordance with the national origins of our population. The resolution would give an unfair proportion to ... Germany, to the prejudice of all others.

Our position is not that we are unsympathetic with the sufferings of people in foreign lands, due to racial and political persecution in a number of European countries, particularly Germany; but we believe that the problem dealing with the situation thus created cannot be solved by one nation alone, or beyond the limits imposed by the just needs of the people of these United States.

Louisiana was most emphatic upon asking the direct question whether they were becoming liberalized in their stand on bringing in emigrants.

Mr. WILMETH. I am afraid that they are imbued with sentiment rather than with the solid facts of the situation.

The CHAIRMAN. I am glad to hear that. If they are, it is certainly something.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Witness, regardless of whether they would become competitors in the market with American labor at the present time the minute they land here they would eat American grub, would they not?

Mr. KRAMER. That would bring more American grub into demand.

Mr. ALLEN. They would eat American grub that some American child would like to have.

Mr. KRAMER. And they would use cotton, and we would have to use more cotton.

Mr. WILMETH. Mr. Chairman, you have been most courteous, and the members of this committee and I want to thank you for this opportunity of voicing our sentiments.

STATEMENT OF FRANCIS H. KINNICUTT, PRESIDENT, ALLIED PATRIOTIC SOCIETIES, INC., NEW YORK CITY

The CHAIRMAN. Whom do you represent?

Mr. KINNICUTT. I am president of the Allied Patriotic Societies, Inc., Broadway, New York City.

I come here at the request of two organizations. One is the Ameri-Defense Society of New York, which, as most of you know, was organized during the war and was one of the leading civilian organizations in this country in our struggle with Germany. Its first honorary president was Theodore Roosevelt; and the last public message that he delivered before he died was to the society at the great meeting at the Hippodrome, and his theme was in defense of religion on the part of the people in this matter.

The Allied Patriotic Societies is a group of about 30 societies, which I happen to be the president of. That is simply an alliance. It does not pretend to bind the feelings of the members of the society. But we work in this way: We have monthly conferences, and one delegate is allowed for each society; and we hardly ever recommend anything that we don't know would have practically unanimous support. So it works fairly well.

But the votes are the votes of this organization, and the organization in 1922, also just after the war, at the time when there was a tremendous lot of disloyalty in New York City and communism—this society was organized by leading patriotic societies by Francis Bateman and the Sons of the Revolution, the Sons of the American Revolution, and the Society of the Columbian Order, the Tammany Patriotic Order.

It has recently acquired several new members.

We think that our work is useful in coordinating the efforts of the different patriotic societies. We don't claim to be any more patriotic than anybody else, but we do claim that we are interested in things from a nonpartisan view, such as restricted immigration.

This society, this patriotic society, was very active at the time of both the passage of the 1924 quota law and in putting it into effect, that is, the National Origins Act, which gave every country of Europe

a portion of our immigration proportioned exactly to the number of people in this country already of that nationality.

We have always thought that that was a very sound and fair principle. And one of the motives undoubtedly was not to prevent any tremendous change, racially or nationally, from foreign nationalities in our existing population.

I don't admit that there is anything wrong about that. I think it is wise. I think it is right for the Nation to decide to preserve a certain amount of homogeneity and not be swamped by a flood of immigration such as we were getting from year to year from races that had hitherto been very meagerly represented and that would have put an entirely different complexion on our political and social institutions if it had been allowed to go on.

Now, I wish to read our resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us the date of that, please, the date of your resolution.

Mr. KINNICUTT. The date of the resolution was the 15th of February. That was the resolution of the board of directors of the Allied Patriotic Societies against this bill. That was ratified at the following monthly meeting. We meet the second Wednesday of the next month. We always have a meeting in that month.

That was a well-attended meeting, and this resolution was unanimously passed. It was held at the Murray Hill Hotel.

The CHAIRMAN. How many were present?

Mr. KINNICUTT. One from each organization. It is only the delegates. About 30 or 35 people.

The CHAIRMAN. Thirty-five people?

Mr. KINNICUTT. That would be our average attendance.

This was the resolution that they passed:

Resolved, That the board of directors of the Allied Patriotic Societies, Inc., is opposed to the passage of the Senate Joint Resolution 64 (Senator Wagner) and House Joint Resolution 165 (Mr. Dingell) to admit into the United States 20,000 children of 14 years and under who reside or who have within the last 6 years resided in Germany "in addition to those authorized by existing law" (that is, outside of the immigration quotas) on the following grounds:

1. On the humanitarian grounds on which all social agencies agree that children should not be separated from their parents and that foster parentage or institutional bringing up is prejudicial to children.
2. These children would soon compete with American youth for jobs in this country, one-third of our unemployed being under 25 years of age.
3. The passage of the joint resolution would inevitably lead to the further breaking down of our immigration quotas by being used as a plea that the families of these 20,000 children should also later be admitted, outside of the quotas, regardless of their fitness or qualifications under our own immigration laws, and the separation of families produced by this very legislation would be used as an argument for increased immigration.

That is to say, the argument has been made for years about letting everybody in who had a relative in this country whether he is a criminal or not, on the ground of that horrible separation of families. The same cry will be used as an excuse for letting in all the families of these children. It has been practically admitted by several witnesses that that is exactly what they want to do. After the children are here, they will plead for the relatives or at least for the parents of these children. Then, instead of getting an added immigration of 20,000 or 10,000 a year, you will get double that or four times that; according to how many members of the family you will take.

Mr. LESINSKI. You stated that it was a general cry for generations. What do you mean?

Mr. KINNICUTT. I didn't say for generations. I said "for years."

Mr. LESINSKI. How many years?

Mr. KINNICUTT. Ever since the quota act of 1924 was passed there has been a running attempt to enlarge on quota admissions on the ground of separation of families.

Mr. LESINSKI. The same thing happened years before that, the same cry.

Mr. KINNICUTT. There was at one time a great raid on the ground that we ought to let in the refugees of the whole world. That was the other cry—let in 75,000 Armenians. So distinguished a man as Senator Williams of Mississippi introduced a bill, and it was turned down by Congress.

Mr. LESINSKI. Was the same cry made at the time that the colonists came over here?

Mr. KINNICUTT. I think that there has been a great misconception about the American people that there is no difference at all between the colonists and subsequent immigrants.

Mr. LESINSKI. In my estimation there is absolutely none. I don't think your forefathers are any better than mine, and I dare you to show differently.

Mr. KINNICUTT. You don't know who my forefathers were.

Mr. LESINSKI. I don't care what they were. They were no better than mine. My parents added to the upbuilding of this country as much as yours did.

Mr. KINNICUTT. They may have been better for all I know.

Mr. LESINSKI. Not any better than mine, and I don't say that mine were any better than yours.

Mr. MACIEJEWSKI. Mr. Chairman, isn't it a fact that England at one time sent a boatload of prisoners to this country?

The CHAIRMAN. The histories say so.

Mr. KINNICUTT. Well, England did a lot of things that the colonists didn't like. That is the reason we had the Revolution.

May I go on?

The CHAIRMAN. Go on.

Mr. MACIEJEWSKI. Let us hear his statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. KINNICUTT (reading):

3. The bill by no means makes adequate provision that these 20,000 children will not become public charges, a ground of exclusion under existing law.

That simply says satisfactory assurance, which means very little.

The CHAIRMAN. May I interrupt you for just one question?

Mr. KINNICUTT. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. Assuming now that we would provide for a formal grant of money to be in trust for the benefit of these children for perpetual care, would you agree to let in 20,000 children to be cared for by humanity?

Mr. KINNICUTT. I have already said, within the quota. I think it would greatly improve the bill to put in some definite qualifications as to that. I wouldn't want the bill if it is to be as it is now.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you agree then to let them in?

Mr. MACIEJEWSKI. Within the quota, he said.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that he said that.

Mr. KINNICUTT. Yes.

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Chairman, I think that question was put wrong. He has nothing to do with allowing these children to come in. It is up to the Congress to do that.

Mr. KINNICUTT. He asked my opinion. I cannot help it if I am answering his question.

Mr. LESINSKI. You only gave your opinion.

Mr. KINNICUTT. If I am asked a question, I suppose I have a right to answer it.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. KINNICUTT (reading):

5. The bill violates a fundamental principle of our present immigration law, namely, the apportionment of our immigration strictly in accordance with the national origins of our population. The resolution would obviously give an unfair proportion to one European State, Germany, to the prejudice of all others.

Our position is not that we are unsympathetic with the sufferings of people in foreign lands, due to racial and political persecution in a number of European countries, particularly Germany; but we believe that the problem dealing with the situation thus created cannot be solved by one nation alone, or beyond the limits imposed by the just needs of the people of these United States.

More specifically, this country cannot be expected to give refuge to more than its fair share of the vast number of refugees that are seeking to escape from Germany, the former Austria, and Czechoslovakia, and the new regime in Spain. Based on a careful examination of immigration statistics, the statements of our immigration officials, the admissions of reputable organizations interested themselves in the welfare of immigrants to this country, and to a less extent on press reports of the leading newspapers, it appears that the number of refugees that have entered this country since the beginning of the Hitler persecutions already exceeds 100,000, a number far greater than the total number admitted by all other European countries put together; and that it is going on at the rate of 47,000 per annum.

Mr. LESINSKI. I just want to stop you right there to question that 100,000 figure. Is that true? I would like to have a fair reply. Was that a misstatement?

The CHAIRMAN. He is quoting figures. Let him finish his statement.

Mr. LESINSKI. But there are no such figures that have been available.

Mr. KINNICUTT. I will give you a few in just a minute.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; you do that.

Mr. KINNICUTT. As I say, that is a number far greater than the total number admitted by all European countries put together.

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Chairman, in correction of that let me say that last year the quota from Germany was only 17,868.

Mr. KINNICUTT. I tell you what I am relying on. I am relying on the statement—

The CHAIRMAN. We will get to that. Just continue.

Mr. KINNICUTT. The gentleman has asked me a question. I have a right to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Let him finish his statement.

Mr. KINNICUTT. This is the way I make up this 100,000: I will confine it, if you want, to just the Jewish refugees alone and leave out the Protestants and Catholics and the Spaniards and so forth.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR (SUPPORTING)

**Child Refugee Bill
Receives Further Support**

To the Editor of the Brooklyn Eagle:

Catholic and Protestant clergymen have joined in asking Congress to support the Wagner-Rogers Refugee Child bill. Some of the sponsors of this bill are Cardinal Mundelein of Chicago, Canon Anson Phelps Stokes of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

The plan is wholly a humanitarian measure, but it has stirred up some opposition. There are three major reasons which those who oppose the bill give—the refugees will be an economic problem; a social nuisance; a political menace.

May I add my voice to the above prominent names who are in favor of the bill?

The oldest child will be 14 years of age, so he can in no way compete with American labor. As a matter of fact, both the A. F. of L. and C. I. O., in principle, support the Wagner-Rogers bill.

The children in no way will be a social nuisance, as they cannot enter our country unless they are guaranteed adoption by a family who requests them.

I don't believe they will be a political menace. On the contrary they will be a potential force for peace. They will become useful citizens, passionately attached to the land which gave them their only chance to live normal lives.

Other countries already have accepted thousands of these children. Let us here in America not forget our glorious traditions. As far back as our Pilgrim Fathers we opened our arms to refugees for political and religious freedom.

GEORGE BRAXILLER,
Director Young Peoples Alliance.
Brooklyn, June 26.

Brooklyn Eagle, June 30, 1939

Child Refugee Bill Receives Further Support

To the Editor of the Brooklyn Eagle:

Catholic and Protestant clergymen have joined in asking Congress to support the Wagner-Rogers Refugee Child bill. Some of the sponsors of this bill are Cardinal Mundelein of Chicago, Canon Anson Phelps Stokes of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

The plan is wholly a humanitarian measure, but it has stirred up some opposition. There are three major reasons which those who oppose the bill give—the refugees will be an economic problem; a social nuisance; a political menace.

May I add my voice to the above prominent names who are in favor of the bill?

The oldest child will be 14 years of age. So he can in no way compete with American labor. As a matter of fact, both the A. F. of L. and C. I. O., in principle, support the Wagner-Rogers bill.

The children in no way will be a social nuisance, as they cannot enter our country unless they are guaranteed adoption by a family who requests them.

I don't believe they will be a political menace. On the contrary they will be a potential force for peace. They will become useful citizens, passionately attached to the land which gave them their only chance to live normal lives.

Other countries already have accepted thousands of these children. Let us here in America not forget our glorious traditions. As far back as our Pilgrim Fathers we opened our arms to refugees for political and religious freedom.

GEORGE BRAXILLER,
Director Young Peoples Alliance
Brooklyn, June 26

The Brooklyn Eagle, June 30, 1939

AMERICANS

AND THE HOLOCAUST Student Packet

LETTER TO THE EDITOR (OPPOSING)

Alien Children
Phoenix

Editor,
Arizona Republic,
Sir:

This is one time that I cannot agree with one of your editorials, as appeared in the Republic this date (April 27) relative to admitting 20,000 German refugee children into this country.

You say this bill is a humanitarian act. No doubt that is true. But, why should the United States, when millions of workers are unemployed and hundreds of thousands of American children are hungry, bring in 20,000 foreigners and feed them?

The people who are sponsoring this bill should furnish the money to take care of these refugees—not the United States taxpayers.

I have read many editorials in your paper lamenting the great burden being placed on the taxpayers through relief programs of American citizens, but you failed to state in this editorial that bringing these children to America would impose any kind of a burden. But you did state that other nations are taking numbers of these refugee children, and it seems only fair that the United States should take its quota. What would be the quota of the United States—who has authority to say?

After we have amply provided employment for our unemployed and there are no hungry American children in this country and there is a labor shortage, then, and not until then, should we admit more aliens, children or grown-ups.

If the United States should join other nations in forming a colony in some other country and send these refugees there, I don't believe that the many millions of 100 per cent Americans would object. But, why should we take bread out of our own children's mouths to take care of 20,000 foreign children? We have too many aliens in this country today.

BILL WILLIAMSON.
P. O. Box 3891.

Arizona Republic, April 30, 1939

Alien Children
Phoenix

Editor,
Arizona Republic,
Sir:

This is one time that I cannot agree with one of your editorials, as appeared in the Republic this date (April 27) relative to admitting 20,000 German refugee children into this country.

You say this bill is a humanitarian act. No doubt that is true. But, why should the United States, when millions of workers are unemployed and hundreds of thousands of American children are hungry, bring in 20,000 foreigners and feed them?

The people who are sponsoring this bill should furnish the money to take care of these refugees—not the United States taxpayers.

I have read many editorials in your paper lamenting the great burden being placed on the taxpayers through relief programs of American citizens, but you failed to state in this editorial that bringing these children to America would impose any kind of burden. But you did state that other nations are taking numbers of these refugee children, and it seems only fair that the United States should take its quota. What would be the quota of the United States—who has authority to say?

After we have amply provided employment for our unemployed and there are no hungry American children in this country and there is a labor shortage, then, and not until then, should we admit more aliens, children or grown-ups.

If the United States should join other nations in forming a colony in some other country and send these refugees there, I don't believe that the many millions of 100 per cent Americans would object. But, why should we take bread out of our own children's mouths to take care of 20,000 foreign children? We have too many aliens in this country today.

BILL WILLIAMSON

P.O. Box 3891.

The Arizona Republic, April 30, 1939

The Museum wishes to acknowledge and thank the following donors to the Americans and the Holocaust Initiative:

Jeannie & Jonathan Lavine

The Bildners—Joan & Allen z”l, Elisa Spungen & Rob, Nancy & Jim

Jane and Daniel Och

Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld LLP

Arnold & Porter Kaye Scholer LLP

Ruth Miriam Bernstein

Joyce and Irving Goldman Family Foundation

In Memory of Simon Konover

Philip and Cheryl Milstein Family

Benjamin and Seema Pulier Charitable Foundation

David and Fela Shapell Family Foundation

Deborah Simon

Laurie and Sy Sternberg