

The Founders of the Republic  
on Immigration  
Naturalization and Aliens

"Every Society from a great Nation down to a  
Club has the right of declaring the conditions  
on which new members should be admitted."

—GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

COLLECTED FOR AND EDITED BY

MADISON GRANT

AND

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*(Research work by Ogden A. Kelley)*

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## FOREWORD

The conviction grows that this Republic will perish, if at all, from internal, not external, cause. The assaults upon the Republic, upon its traditions and institutions, are from within and are constant and progressive. One major danger lies in the influx of alien races, unfitted, by habit of mind and inheritance, to uphold a form of government, traditions, and institutions which their mentality ignores. To call it merely a major danger is to minimize. It is the foundation of substantially all the serious dangers which threaten the preservation of Constitutional Liberty in America. Bear in mind that Constitutional Liberty means merely Liberty under Law, coupled with a capacity for self-government and an inherent recognition of the safety embodied in a representative form of government—which is the great, but to almost all unknown, distinction between a Republic and that form of alternate, individual absolutism and of the tyranny of the mob, called a Democracy. Our Government is and always has been a Republic. Our danger lies in our steady and increasing degeneration into a Democracy—and, thereupon, will follow chaos, and the formation thereafter of a number of separate political entities of various sorts (see Fisher Ames, page 23). Were people from these other races; alien as they are in mind, in outlook, and in instinct; actually needed for any purpose, or to the extent to which they were ever needed, excuse

in whole or in part might be proffered for introducing the seeds of fatal disease into the body politic. The questions then arise—Were they needed—and—Has there been any counterbalancing gain? It would seem not. The best authorities agree that the introduction of aliens into this Country has not increased its population by a single unit during the last one hundred and fifty years—that the population of the United States would have reached approximately its present figure had all immigration ceased with the Declaration of Independence. A vivid example is found in the fact that the population of the United States increased during the period of seventy years; from 1776 to 1846; from approximately three millions to approximately twenty-one millions, and that during that entire time the total immigration into this Country did not exceed one and a half million persons (see Stoddard, "*Re-Forging America*," Chap. III). The truth of the general proposition has been long known. In Articles 21 to 23 of his "Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind, &c." (see page 24 *et seq.*) Franklin sets it forth with his customary clear thought and concise expression. So also Jefferson, making his calculations for Virginia alone (see page 58 *et seq.*), pointed out as well the lack of need as the dangers to arise to the body politic from the immigration of other races (see page 39 *et seq.*). The demonstration of what they said has followed upon the precept. The pre-empting of the less desirable occupations by the newcomers, willing to work for a lesser wage and under harder conditions, has been a continuous process. As that has occurred those occupations have been removed as possible employments for de-

scendants of the older, more homogeneous stock (see Jefferson, pages 65, 69). We have then been merely substituting new and alien stocks for the earlier stock. That the process of introducing discordant elements into the body politic is fraught with danger has been the opinion of the thoughtful for many years (see Hamilton, pages 49, 50. Jefferson, page 68. Washington, pages 89-92). The Founders of this Republic were not unadvised on the subject. These pages contain, without comment, extracts taken from the writings and sayings of a number of our early leaders. They will repay study.

MADISON GRANT.  
CHAS. STEWART DAVISON.

February 18, 1928.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

JOHN ADAMS—	PAGE
Against employing foreigners.....	1
Advocates a national consciousness.....	2
Education and religion, the support of the Constitution.....	3
Against any surrender to foreign factions here.....	4
• Against foreign interference here.....	5
• Dangers of foreign influence here.....	6
Against employing foreigners.....	7
• Deportation of foreigners.....	7 <sup>1/2</sup>
Favoring employing Americans.....	9
American instructors for West Point.....	10
Jefferson elected by the foreign vote.....	11
Must be on guard against foreigners.....	12
American professors for our colleges.....	13
Europeans tainted with ineradicable prejudices.....	13
Republic exposed to foreign intrigue.....	14
<b>JOHN QUINCY ADAMS—</b>	
Should stay aloof from Europe's affairs vigilantly.....	15
• Favoring the Alien and Sedition laws.....	16
Against importation of disaffected foreigners.....	18
Our political science and government the best.....	19
<b>FISHER AMES—</b>	
• Safety of the Republic necessitates the power of expelling or excluding aliens.....	21
Adventurers not good citizens.....	22
Tendency of republics to degenerate into democracies.....	23
<b>FRANKLIN—</b>	
• Immigration does not increase population.....	24
Immigrants crowd out natives.....	25
Alien colonies disastrous to us.....	26

FRANKLIN (Continued)		PAGE
White people a minority in the world.....		26
Disadvantages of alien colonies.....		28
“ “ “ “ .....		29
“ “ “ “ .....		30
FRANKLIN } —Advocating appointing Americans..... 31		
LEE } .....		
ADAMS } .....		
FRANKLIN—		
Felons sent to America as immigrants.....		32
“ “ “ “ “ “ .....		33
Industrious English artisans desirable.....		34
Suggests a patent law as desirable.....		35
CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN—		
Jefferson elected by foreigners—fears the effect of....		36
Admits his own earlier error as to naturalizing aliens..		36
Advocates ten years for naturalization.....		37
GENERAL GREENE—		
Advocates trained Americans as army officers.....		38
HAMILTON—		
Our system of laws preserves liberty.....		39
Excess population a detriment.....		40
Foreign influence a ‘Grecian horse’ to a Republic....		41
Homogeneity necessary for permanency of the Union..		42
Attachment to other nations an evil.....		43
Cites Jefferson as against the importation of foreigners		44
Cites Jefferson that foreigners bring and perpetuate		
their own principles.....		45
Cites Jefferson that foreigners here will warp our legis-		
lation.....		45
Cites Jefferson, safer to wait for natural increase of		
population.....		45
Jefferson was elected by the foreign vote.....		46
Aliens if admitted will replace us, as we the Indians..		47

HAMILTON (Continued)		PAGE
Rome and Syracuse fell through admitting aliens to		
citizenship.....		48
Our safety depends on common national sentiment... 49		
Immigration tends to produce heterogeneity.....		50
The evil of incorporating foreigners in the nation....		51
Deferred naturalization desirable.....		51
“ “ “ “ .....		52
PATRICK HENRY—		
Virtue, morality, and religion our sole armor, not imi-		
tation of Europe.....		53
JOHN JAY—		
Advocates excluding aliens from office.....		54
Advocates preservation of our original policies.....		55
Advocates deferring full citizenship to aliens.....		56
JEFFERSON—		
Executives not to grant citizenship.....		57
Our natural growth of population amply sufficient... 58		
Safer to wait for natural growth of population.....		59
Disadvantages of immigration, safer to increase natur-		
ally.....		60
Disadvantages of immigration, safer to increase natur-		
ally.....		61
Mobs inhabiting cities are sores on the body politic..		62
Down to 1785 only fifty thousand immigrants.....		63
Against immigration of negroes.....		64
All employments honorable here in 1795.....		65
Advocates developing our own resources.....		66
Advocates excluding foreigners from influence.....		67
Dreads foreign colonies here.....		69
Advocates English immigrants.....		70
Immigration does not increase population.....		71
RUFUS KING—		
Advocates distinctive American principles.....		72
Deprecates admitting malcontents.....		73

RUFUS KING ( <i>Continued</i> )	PAGE
Advocates all immigrants bringing certificates of good character.....	74
Deplores depreciated character of immigration.....	74
Desires exclusion of foreign rebels.....	75
“ “ “ “ “ .....	76
“ “ “ “ “ .....	77
<b>JAMES LAURENS—</b>	
Against employing foreigners.....	78
<b>MADISON—</b>	
Re: Intrusion of obnoxious aliens through other states	79
Immigration is against our interests.....	80
* Citizenship should be granted but slowly.....	80
<b>GOUVERNEUR MORRIS—</b>	
Reason not emotion should sway our policies.....	81
Nations can declare conditions of admission of aliens..	81
<b>WASHINGTON—</b>	
Sentries to be natives.....	82
Army recruits preferably to be natives.....	83
“Put none but Americans on guard”.....	84
A native should command the artillery.....	85
Recruits should preferably be natives.....	86
Deprecates employing foreign officers.....	87
Concerning Baron Steuben.....	88
Alien and Sedition laws necessary here.....	89
There is no need of encouraging immigration.....	90
Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence.....	91
Dreads civil discord ensuing here from demigogic leaders and revolutionary foreigners.....	92

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JOHN ADAMS

29 June, 1780

In a letter to the President of Congress, written from Paris, 29th June, 1780, he wrote:—

“I would, therefore, beg leave to propose to appoint a consul without loss of time to reside at Nantes, and to him consign all vessels from the United States. I think it should be an American, some merchant of known character, abilities, and industry, who would consent to serve his country for moderate emoluments. Such persons are to be found in great numbers in the United States. There are many applications from French gentlemen. But I think that from a want of knowledge of our language, our laws, customs, and even the humors of our people, for even these must be considered, they never would be able to give satisfaction or to do justice. Besides, if it is an honor, a profit, or only an opportunity to travel and see the world for improvement, I think the native Americans have a right to expect it; and further, that the public have a right to expect that whatever advantages are honestly to be made in this way should return sometime or other to America, together with the knowledge and experience gained at the same time.”

*“The Works of John Adams,” by his grandson,  
Charles Francis Adams, 1856, Vol. VII, page  
209.*

JOHN ADAMS

5th September, 1783

In a letter to the President of Congress, written from Paris, 5th September, 1783, he says:—

“Our country has but lately been a dependent one, and our people, although enlightened and virtuous, have had their minds and hearts habitually filled with all the passions of a dependent and subordinate people; that is to say, with fear, with diffidence, and distrust of themselves, with admiration of foreigners, &c. Now, I say, that it is one of the most necessary and one of the most difficult branches of the policy of congress to eradicate from the American mind every remaining fibre of this fear and self-diffidence on one hand, and of this excessive admiration of foreigners on the other.”

*“The Works of John Adams,” by his grandson,  
Charles Francis Adams, 1856, Vol. III, page  
144.*

JOHN ADAMS

4th March, 1797

In his inaugural speech to both Houses of Congress, 4th March, 1797, he said:—

“\* \* \* if a love of science and letters, and a wish to patronize every rational effort to encourage schools, colleges, universities, academies, and every institution for propagating knowledges, virtue, and religion among all classes of the people, not only for their benign influence on the happiness of life in all its stages and classes and of society in all its forms, but as the only means of preserving our constitution from its natural enemies, the spirit of sophistry, the spirit of party, the spirit of intrigue, profligacy, and corruption, and the pestilence of foreign influence, which is the angel of destruction to elective governments \* \* \* can enable me in any degree to comply with your wishes, it shall be my strenuous endeavor that this sagacious injunction of the two Houses shall not be without effect.”

*“The Works of John Adams,” by his grandson,  
Charles Francis Adams, 1856, Vol. IX, page  
108.*



JOHN ADAMS

16th May, 1797

In his speech to both Houses of Congress on 16th May, 1797, he said:—

“It must not be permitted to be doubted, whether the people of the United States will support the government established by their voluntary consent, and appointed by their free choice; or whether, by surrendering themselves to the direction of foreign and domestic factions, in opposition to their own government, they will forfeit the honorable station they have hitherto maintained.”

*“The Works of John Adams,” by his grandson, Charles Francis Adams, 1856, Vol. IX, page 118.*

JOHN ADAMS

2 May, 1798

In his address to the citizens of Baltimore, and Baltimore County, Maryland, of 2nd May, 1798, he says:—

“Republics are always divided in opinion, concerning forms of governments, and plans and details of administration. These divisions are generally harmless, often salutary, and seldom very hurtful, except when foreign nations interfere, and by their arts and agents excite and ferment them into parties and factions. Such interference and influence must be resisted and exterminated, or it will end in America, as it did anciently in Greece, and in our own time in Europe, in our total destruction as a republican government and independent power.”

*“The Works of John Adams,” by his grandson, Charles Francis Adams, 1856, Vol. IX, page 186.*

JOHN ADAMS

25th June, 1798

In his address to the Inhabitants of Arlington and Sandgate, Vermont, 25th June, 1798, he said:—

“If you have long seen foreign influence prevailing and endangering the peace and independence of our country, so have I. \* \* \*

If you have no attachments or exclusive friendship for any foreign nation, you possess the genuine character of true Americans.”

*“The Works of John Adams,” by his grandson, Charles Francis Adams, 1856, Vol. IX, page 202.*

JOHN ADAMS

13th August, 1799

In a letter to T. Pickering, Secretary of State, written from Quincy, 13th August, 1799, he says:—

“At the time when we were inquiring for an agent to conduct the affairs of the United States before the commissioners at Philadelphia, Mr. Cooper wrote to me a solicitation for that appointment, and Dr. Priestley wrote me a letter strongly recommending him. Both made apologies for his reputation as a democrat, and gave intimation of a reformation. I wondered that either could think it possible that the people of the United States could be satisfied or contented to intrust interests of such magnitude to an Englishman, or any other foreigner. I wondered that either should think it compatible with my duty, to prefer a stranger to the great number of able natives, who wished for this trust. But so it was. \* \* \*

Having long possessed evidence the most satisfactory to my mind, that Collet is a pernicious and malicious intriguer, I have been always ready and willing to execute the alien law upon him. We are now about to enter on a negotiation with France, but this is no objection against expelling from this Country such an alien as he is. On the contrary, it is more necessary to remove such an instrument of mischief from among our people, for his whole time will be employed in exciting corrupt divisions, whether he can succeed or not. As to Letombe, if you can prove ‘that he paid the bribes ordered by the French Minister, Adet,’ or any thing like it, he ought to be sent

away too. But perhaps it would be better to signify that it is expected that he go, than to order him out at first by proclamation. There is a respect due to public commissions, which I should wish to preserve as far as may be consistent with safety.

The alien law, I fear, will upon trial be found inadequate to the object intended, but I am willing to try it in the case of Collot."

*"The Works of John Adams," by his grandson,  
Charles Francis Adams, 1856, Vol. IX, page 13.*

JOHN ADAMS

14th August, 1800

In a letter to J. Marshall, Secretary of State, written from Quincy, 14th August, 1800, he wrote:—

"\* \* \* relative to the consulate of Madeira. If there is a necessity of removing Mr. John Marsden Pintard, a native American and an old consul, why should we appoint a foreigner in his stead? Among the number of applications for consulates, cannot we find an American capable and worthy of the trust? Mr. Lamar is a partner in a respectable house, but it is said to be an English, or rather a Scotch house. Why should we take the bread out of the mouths of our own children and give it to strangers? We do so much of this in the army, navy, and especially in the consulships abroad, that it frequently gives me great anxiety."

*"The Works of John Adams," by his grandson,  
Charles Francis Adams, 1856, Vol. IX, page 77.*

JOHN ADAMS

25th July, 1800

In a letter to S. Dexter, Secretary of War, written from Quincy, 25th July, 1800, he wrote:—

“I am very much pleased with your plan for executing the existing laws for the instruction of the artillerists and engineers. \* \* \*

I wish you may easily find teachers. What think you of Captain Barron for one? Every one speaks well of Mr. Bureau de Pusy. But I have an invincible aversion to the appointment of foreigners, if it can be avoided. It mortifies the honest pride of our officers, and damps their ardor and ambition. I had rather appoint the teachers, and form the schools, and take time to consider of an engineer.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>This is the foundation of the military academy at West Point.

“*The Works of John Adams,*” by his grandson, Charles Francis Adams, 1856, Vol. IX, page 65.

JOHN ADAMS

31 March, 1801

In a letter to Benjamin Stoddert, written from Quincy 31 March, 1801, he says:—

“A group of foreign liars, encouraged by a few ambitious native gentlemen, have discomfited the education, the talents, the virtues, and the property of the country.”

“*The Works of John Adams,*” by his grandson, Charles Francis Adams, 1856, Vol. IX, page 582.

NOTE: The reference is to Mr. Jefferson having been elected President by the foreign vote. (See pages 33, 34, and 45.)

JOHN ADAMS

1809

In "letter XII" of his correspondence originally published in the Boston Patriot in 1809, he says:—

"My worthy fellow-citizens! Our form of government, inestimable as it is, exposes us, more than any other, to the insidious intrigues and pestilent influence of foreign nations. Nothing but our inflexible neutrality can preserve us."

*"The Works of John Adams," by his grandson, Charles Francis Adams, 1856, Vol. IX, page 277.*

JOHN ADAMS

22nd January, 1825

In a letter to Thomas Jefferson written from Quincy, 22 January, 1825, he says:—

"Your university is a noble employment in your old age, and your ardor for its success does you honor; but I do not approve of your sending to Europe for tutors and professors. I do believe there are sufficient scholars in America, to fill your professorships and tutorships with more active ingenuity and independent minds than you can bring from Europe. The Europeans are all deeply tainted with prejudices, both ecclesiastical and temporal, which they can never get rid of."

*"The Works of John Adams," by his grandson, Charles Francis Adams, 1856, Vol. X, page 414.*

JOHN ADAMS

16th April, 1801

In a letter to Christopher Gadsden, written from Quincy, Mass., 16th April, 1801, he wrote:—

“Foreign meddlers,’ as you properly denominate them, have a strange, a mysterious influence in this country. Is there no pride in American bosoms? Can their hearts endure that Callender, Duane, Cooper, and Lyon, should be the most influential men in the country, all foreigners and all degraded characters? \* \* \* The plan of our worthy friends, John Rutledge, relative to the admission of strangers to the privileges of citizens, as you explain it, was certainly prudent. Americans will find that their own experience will coincide with the experience of all other nations, and foreigners must be received with caution, or they will destroy all confidence in government.”

*“The Works of John Adams,” by his grandson, Charles Francis Adams, 1856, Vol. IX, page 584.*

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

14th January, 1797

In a letter written from The Hague to John Adams, he wrote:—

“The President, indeed, has told us, and I am profoundly convinced of the justice and importance of the advice, that we ought not to involve ourselves at all in the political systems of Europe, but to keep ourselves always distinct and separate from it. But even to effect this, constant and early information of the current events and of the political projects in contemplation is no less necessary than if we were directly concerned in them. It is necessary for the discovery of the efforts made to draw us into the vortex, in season to make preparations against them. From one of the quotations in this letter, it is observable that France very formally considers the United States as forming a weight in the balance of Europe. France must, therefore, necessarily conduct itself towards us upon this supposition. Britain will with equal certainty do the same. It behooves us to be the more cautious and vigilant to counteract all their intrigues and exertions on either side to make us the instruments or the victims of their conquering or plundering ambition.”

*“The Writings of John Quincy Adams,” edited by Worthington C. Ford, Vol. II, page 88.*

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

9th April, 1799

In a letter to William Vans Murray, he wrote:—

“I have likewise, in a paper of 5 February, an excellent address from the minority in the Virginia House of Delegates to the people of the State, upon the resolutions of the majority against the Alien and Sedition Laws. A sober, temperate and unanswerable argument, signed by fifty-eight members, which proves that good sense and honesty have not wholly abandoned the Ancient Dominion, however they may be out of favor.”

“*The Writings of John Quincy Adams,*” edited by Worthington C. Ford, Vol. II, page 403.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

8th February, 1816

In a letter to James Monroe, Secretary of State, written from London, he wrote:—

“Copies have been transmitted to you of the note I have addressed to Lord Castlereagh, concerning a discrimination made in the ports of Ireland between British and American vessels in regard to the number of passengers which they are allowed to take in proportion to their tonnage upon voyages to the United States, of his answer and of my reply. As no answer to this has been returned and no determination of the government upon my application had been known to me, I spoke of these papers, but he avoided any explicit assurance concerning it. He said that the regulation had perhaps been made before the convention had been concluded. ‘But (said he) we might question the application of it to the case, as the convention was not intended to interfere in any restrictions under which we may think proper to prevent emigration from Ireland.’ I assured him that my intention has not been to object to the regulation as a restriction upon emigration; *that*,<sup>1</sup> I was aware, must be exclusively the consideration of this government. We had nothing to say about it. It was the discrimination between the shipping of the two countries of which I had complained. I presumed that an order to the port office would remove the distinction. He said he did not know that. It might be by act of

<sup>1</sup> Italics his.

Parliament, and they might question our right to consider passengers as articles of merchandize. They might regard the discrimination itself as a mode of restriction upon emigration. 'You do not want our people' (said he), to which I readily assented, observing that our increase of native population was sufficiently rapid so far as mere public policy was concerned. We *invited*<sup>1</sup> no foreigners. We left all to individual option. 'No (he repeated), our people and our seamen—you really do not want them.' I observed that if that were the case, this country should rather be under obligation to us for relieving it of such unprofitable subjects. He did not assent to this conclusion, and left me uncertain whether the regulation in question would be removed or retained."

<sup>1</sup> Italics his.

"*The Writings of John Quincy Adams*," edited by Worthington C. Ford, Vol. V, page 509.

## JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

19th June, 1823

In a letter written from Washington to Charles Jared Ingersoll, he wrote:—

"There is however a philosophical point of view in which this *comparative*<sup>1</sup> state of things may be exhibited, which might present very interesting results, but which you or I could scarcely treat in a popular discourse without being liable to the charge of partiality, and which would be closely proximate to and perhaps inseparable from considerations of a character somewhat invidious. All our institutions partake of the nature of our government. All have a tendency to the level. Our *average*<sup>1</sup> of intellect and intellectual power is higher than in any part of Europe, but the range above and below the horizontal line is not so great. In the physical and mathematical sciences, in the fine arts, and in the literature of imagination, we are far below the standards of England, France, Germany, and perhaps Italy, and very disadvantageously so, inasmuch as speaking the language of England we cannot contribute a tolerable proportion to her literature. Our great superiority is in political science, government and political morality. The European and South American nations which have received and are acting under the impulse given by us seem destined only to illustrate that superiority. They have all caught from us the infection of making constitutions, and not one of them

<sup>1</sup> Italics his.



has yet been able to make a constitution which will work to secure the enjoyment of liberty, property, and peace. Their constitutions result in nothing but civil war. In forty years we have not had one execution for treason, with a population multiplied from three to ten millions. The Europeans improve upon our theories till they become impracticable. In 1793 France set herself and the world on fire for a legislature in a single assembly. In 1823 Spain is doing the same thing. They are unable to form the conception of a legislature in two branches without privileged orders. We have reduced it universally to practice. The influence of our example has unsettled all the ancient governments of Europe. It will overthrow them all without a single exception. I hold this revolution to be as infallible as that the earth will perform a revolution around the sun in a year. But whether Europe will ever establish governments capable of securing to individuals all the benefits of good government, almost without use of Force, and altogether without violence, is doubtful. If ever, certainly not within half a century."

*"The Writings of John Quincy Adams," edited by Worthington C. Ford, Vol. VII, page 487.*

## FISHER AMES

18th December, 1798

In a letter to Christopher Gore on the Alien Law he says:—

"The *salus Reipub.* so plainly requires the power of expelling or refusing admission to aliens, and the rebel Irish and negroes of the West Indies so much augment the danger, that reason, one would think, was disregarded by the Jacobins, too much even to be perverted."

*"Works of Fisher Ames," edited by his son, Seth Ames (1856), Vol. I, page 247.*

FISHER AMES

31st October, 1803

In a letter on the Purchase of Louisiana to Thomas Dwight, from Dedham, Mass. says incidentally:—

“\* \* \* as to principles, the others would as soon obey and give them effect, as the \* \* \* *omnium gatherum* of savages and adventurers, whose pure morals are expected to sustain and glorify our republic.”

“*Works of Fisher Ames,*” edited by his son, Seth Ames (1856), Vol. I, page 329.

FISHER AMES

12th January, 1807

In a letter to Timothy Pickering, on the Dangers of Popular Licentiousness, from Dedham, Mass., he says:—

“You describe our dangers and disgraces with so just a discernment of their causes, and with so much feeling for the public evils that will be their consequences, that I am ready to acquit former republics from a good deal of the reproach that has survived their ruin—the reproach of wanting sense to see it, when it was obvious and near. Probably, however, we shall yet find evidence enough in the works of their great writers, to prove that the wise and good among their citizens did foresee their fate, and would have resisted it, if they could; but that a republic tends, experience says, irresistibly towards licentiousness, and that a licentious republic, or democracy, is of all governments that very one in which the wise and good are most completely reduced to impotence.”

“*Works of Fisher Ames,*” edited by his son, Seth Ames (1856), Vol. I, page 385.

NOTE: Aristotle's “Politikon” (Books III and IV) are illuminating on the above thoughts.

## FRANKLIN

(1751)

In his paper entitled "Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind and the Peopling of Countries"; we being then still colonists of Great Britain; he wrote:—

"21. The importation of foreigners into a country that has as many inhabitants as the present employments and provisions for subsistence will bear, will be in the end no increase of people, unless the new comers have more industry and frugality than the natives, and then they will provide more subsistence, and increase in the country; but they will gradually eat the natives out. Nor is it necessary to bring in foreigners to fill up any occasional vacancy in a country for such vacancy (if the laws are good, see secs. 14, 16) will soon be filled by natural generation. Who can now find the vacancy made in Sweden, France, or other warlike nations, by a plague of heroism forty years ago; in France, by the expulsion of the Protestants; in England, by the settlement of her colonies; or in Guinea, by one hundred years' exportation of slaves, that has blackened half America? The thinness of inhabitants in Spain is owing to national pride and idleness, and other causes, rather than to the expulsion of the Moors, or to the making of new settlements.

22. There is, in short, no bound to the prolific nature of plants or animals, but what is made by their crowding and interfering with each other's means of

subsistence. Were the face of the earth vacant of other plants, it might be gradually sowed and overspread with one kind only, as, for instance, with fennel; and were it empty of other inhabitants, it might in a few ages be replenished from one nation only, as, for instance, with Englishmen. Thus, there are supposed to be now upwards of one million English souls in North America (though it is thought scarce eighty thousand has been brought over sea), and yet perhaps there is not one the fewer in Britain, but rather many more, on account of the employment the colonies afford to manufacturers at home. This million doubling, suppose but once in twenty-five years, will in another century be more than the people of England, and the greatest number of Englishmen will be on this side the water. What an accession of power to the British empire by sea as well as land! What increase of trade and navigation! What numbers of ships and seamen! We have been here but little more than one hundred years, and yet the force of our privateers in the late war, united, was greater, both in men and guns, than that of the whole British navy in Queen Elizabeth's time. How important an affair then to Britain is the present treaty for settling the bounds between her colonies and the French, and how careful should she be to secure room enough, since on the room depends so much the increase of her people.

23. In fine, a nation well regulated is like a polypus. Take away a limb, its place is soon supplied; cut it in two, and each deficient part shall speedily grow, out of the part remaining. Thus, if you have room and subsistence enough, as you may, by divid-

ing, make ten polypuses out of one, you may of one make ten nations, equally populous and powerful, or rather increase a nation tenfold in numbers and strength.

And since detachments of English from Britain, sent to America, will have their places at home so soon supplied and increase so largely here, why should the Palatine boors be suffered to swarm into our settlements, and, by herding together, establish their language and manners, to the exclusion of ours? Why should Pennsylvania, founded by the English, become a colony of aliens, who will shortly be so numerous as to Germanize us, instead of our Anglifying them, and will never adopt our language or customs any more than they can acquire our complexion?

24. Which leads us to add one remark, that the number of purely white people in the world is proportionably very small. All Africa is black or tawny; Asia chiefly tawny; America<sup>1</sup> (exclusive of the new comers) wholly so. And in Europe, the Spaniards, Italians, French, Russians, are generally of what we call a swarthy complexion; as are the Germans also, the Saxons only excepted, who, with the English, make the principal body of white people on the face of the earth. I could wish their numbers were increased. And while we are, as I may call it, scouring our planet, by clearing America of woods, and so making this side of our globe reflect a brighter light to the eyes of inhabitants of Mars or Venus, why should we, in the sight of superior beings, darken its people? Why increase the sons of Africa by plant-

<sup>1</sup> *I. e.*, aboriginal America—the reference is to the Indians.

ing them in America, where we have so fair an opportunity, by excluding all blacks and tawnys, of increasing the lovely white and red? But perhaps I am partial to the complexion of my country, for such kind of partiality is natural to mankind?"

*"The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin," compiled and edited by John Bigelow, Letter-Press Edition, 1887, Vol. II, page 231.*

FRANKLIN

9th May, 1753

In a letter to Peter Collinson, written from Philadelphia, he says:—

\* \* \* \* \*

I am perfectly of your mind, that measures of great temper are necessary with the Germans; and am not without apprehensions, that, through their indiscretion, or ours, or both, great disorders may one day arise among us. Those who come hither are generally the most stupid of their own nation, and, as ignorance is often attended with credulity when knavery would mislead it, and with suspicion when honesty would set it right; and as few of the English understand the German language, and so cannot address them either from the press or the pulpit, it is almost impossible to remove any prejudices they may entertain. Their clergy have very little influence on the people, who seem to take a pleasure in abusing and discharging the minister on every trivial occasion. Not being used to liberty, they know not how to make a modest use of it. And as Holben says of the young Hottentots, that they are not esteemed men until they have shown their manhood by *beating their mothers*,<sup>1</sup> so these seem not to think themselves free, till they can feel their liberty in abusing and insulting their teachers. Thus they are under no restraint from ecclesiastical government; they behave, however, submissively enough at present to the civil government, which I wish they may continue to do,

<sup>1</sup> Italics his.

for I remember when they modestly declined intermeddling in our elections, but now they come in droves and carry all before them, except in one or two countries.<sup>1</sup>

Few of their children in the country know English. They import many books from Germany; and of the six printing-houses in the province, two are entirely German, two half German half English, and but two entirely English. They have one German newspaper, and one half-German. Advertisements, intended to be general, are now printed in Dutch and English. The signs in our streets have inscriptions in both languages, and in some place only German. They begin of late to make all their bonds and other legal instruments in their own language, which (though I think it ought not to be) are allowed good in our courts, where the German business so increases that there is continued need of interpreters; and I suppose in a few years they will also be necessary in the Assembly, to tell one-half our legislators what the other half say.

In short, unless the stream of their importation could be turned from this to other colonies, as you very judiciously propose, they will soon so outnumber us that all the advantages we have will, in my opinion, be not able to preserve our language, and even our government will become precarious. The French, who watch all advantages, are now themselves making a German settlement, back of us, in the Illinois country, and by means of these Germans they may in time come to an understanding with ours; and, indeed, in the last war,<sup>2</sup> our Germans

<sup>1</sup> He is writing of Pennsylvania. <sup>2</sup> The French-Indian War.

showed a general disposition, that seemed to bode us no good. For, when the English,<sup>1</sup> who were not Quakers, alarmed by the danger arising from the defenceless state of our country, entered unanimously into an association, and within this government and the Lower Counties raised, armed, and disciplined near ten thousand men, the Germans, except a very few in proportion to their number, refused to engage in it, giving out, one amongst another, and even in print, that, if they were quiet, the French, should they take the country, would not molest them; at the same time abusing the Philadelphians for fitting out privateers against the enemy, and representing the trouble, hazard, and expense of defending the province, as a greater inconvenience than any that might be expected from a change of government. Yet I am not for refusing to admit them entirely into our colonies. All that seems to me necessary is, to distribute them more equally, mix them with the English, establish English schools where they are now too thick settled, and take some care to prevent the practice, lately fallen into by some of the shipowners, of sweeping the German gaols to make up the number of their passengers. I say I am not against the admission of Germans in general, for they have their virtues. Their industry and frugality are exemplary. They are excellent husbandmen, and contribute greatly to the improvement of a country.

<sup>1</sup> *I. e.*, English Colonists.

*"The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin," compiled and edited by John Bigelow, Letter-Press Edition, 1887, Vol. II, page 291.*

B. FRANKLIN

ARTHUR LEE

JOHN ADAMS

20th July, 1778

In a letter to the Commissioners to the President of Congress, written from Passy, 20 July 1778:—

"If Congress should think proper to appoint consuls, we are humbly of opinion, that the choice will fall most justly, as well as naturally, on Americans, who are, in our opinion, better qualified for this business than any others."

*"The Works of John Adams,"* by his grandson, Charles Francis Adams, 1856, Vol. VII, page 20.

## FRANKLIN

1789

In an article on "On Sending Felons to America" from the Pennsylvania Gazette, written in 1789, he said:—

"We may all remember the time when our mother country, as a mark of her parental tenderness, emptied her gaols into our habitations, '*for the BETTER<sup>1</sup> peopling,*' as she expressed it, '*of the colonies.*' It is certain that no due returns have yet been made for these valuable consignments. We are therefore much in her debt on that account; and as she is of late clamorous for the payment of all we owe her, and some of our debts are of a kind not so easily discharged, I am for doing however what is in our power. It will show our good-will as to the rest. The felons she planted among us have produced such an amazing increase, that we are now enabled to make ample remittance in the same commodity. And since the wheel-barrow law is not found effectually to reform them, and many of our vessels are idle through her restraints on our trade, why should we not employ those vessels in transporting the felons to Britain?"

I was led into this thought by perusing the copy of a petition to Parliament, which fell lately by accident into my hands. It has no date, but I conjecture from some circumstances, that it must have been about the year 1767 or 1768. (It seems, if presented, it had no effect, since the act passed.)

\* \* \* \* \*  
<sup>1</sup> Italics and capitals his.

On second thoughts, I am of opinion, that besides employing our own vessels, as above proposed, every English ship arriving in our ports with goods for sale, should be obliged to give bond, before she is permitted to trade, engaging that she will carry back to Britain at least one felon for every fifty tons of her burthen. Thus we shall not only discharge sooner our debts, but furnish our old friends with the means of '*better peopling,*' and with more expedition, their promising new colony of Botany Bay."

"*The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin,*" compiled and edited by John Bigelow, Letter-Press Edition, Vol. X, page 119.

## FRANKLIN

4th January, 1793

In his reply to Messrs. Henry Royle, Thomas Helt, Joseph Heathcote, John Rowbotham, and John Schofield, Manufacturers at Hatherton, near Stockport (England), writing from Passy (France) he said:—

“There is no doubt but that a body of sober, industrious, and ingenious artisans (English), men of honest and religious principles, such as you and your friends are described to be, would be a valuable acquisition to any country; and I am certain you would meet with a kind and friendly reception in Pennsylvania, and be put into possession of all the rights and privileges of free citizens; but neither that government nor any other in America that I know of has ever been at any public expense to augment the number of its inhabitants. All who are established there have come at their own charge. The country affords to strangers a good climate, fine, wholesome air, plenty of provisions, good laws, just and *cheap*<sup>1</sup> government, with all the liberties, civil and religious, that reasonable men can wish for. These inducements are so great, and the number of people in all nations of Europe who wish to partake of them is so considerable, that if the States were to undertake transporting people at the expense of the public, no revenues that they have would be sufficient. Having therefore no orders or authority either from the

<sup>1</sup> Italics, his.

Congress or the State of Pennsylvania to procure settlers or manufacturers by engaging to defray them (sic), I cannot enter into the contract proposed in your second article. The other articles would meet with no difficulty. Men are not forced there<sup>1</sup> into the public service, and a special law might easily be obtained to give you a property for seven years in the useful inventions you may introduce.”

<sup>1</sup> America—he was writing in France.

“*The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin,*” compiled and edited by John Bigelow, Letter-Press Edition, 1887, Vol. VII, page 345.



## CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN

11th March, 1801

In a letter to John Adams, written from Charleston, 11th March, 1801, he wrote:—

“God grant that the recollection of your ungrateful treatment may not deter truly firm, virtuous men from venturing their names to be held up to the public on such elections! I am not without my suspicions, that foreign meddlers must have had this deep political slyness in view.

Many of our new-comers cajoled and imposed upon by emissaries from without, and egged on by a numerous or rather innumerable tribe of young law-followers amongst ourselves, especially in the circuits, have brought on a strange renversement in our State. Our old-standers and independent men of long well-tried patriotism, sound understanding, and good property, have now in general very little influence in our public matters. Our too easy admittance of strangers has entangled us in this evil, and when or where it will end, God only knows!

But here, my dear Sir? I must confess my own credulity and shortsightedness, who was amongst the most zealous in that over-hasty and not sufficiently guarded step, which we now have good reason to lament as big with innumerable mischiefs. Our worthy deceased friend John Rutledge, looking farther, was for giving them every reasonable protection and encouragement, but for admitting only their sons born amongst us into such complete citizenship

as to vote either at State or Congress elections; and when unsuccessful in this point, was then for extending the time to ten years at least. Had even this been carried, it would have given new-comers full time to look so deliberately about them, as greatly to have deterred and hindered all designing tamperers and deceivers in most of their infernal views and mischievous suggestions; and much better, in all probability, would this have been for the peace, safety, and lasting political security of both.”

“*The Works of John Adams, by his grandson, Charles Francis Adams, 1856, Vol. IX, page 578.*”

NOTE: The references of this letter are to Mr. Jefferson's election to the Presidency by the foreign vote. (See pages 22, 33, 34, and 45.)

## GENERAL GREENE

28th May, 1777

In a letter among Washington's papers written on the 28th May 1777 General Greene wrote:—

“A good nursery of officers, nursed by experience, firmly attached to the interest of the country, is a great security against foreign invaders. The only tie that we have upon foreigners, is the sentiment of honor, too slender for the happiness of a country to depend upon,—while officers created among the people are bound, not only by the ties of honor, but by that of interest and family connection.”

*“The Writings of George Washington,” collected and edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford, 1889, Vol. V, page 406.*

NOTE: Presumably this letter was written to Washington, though this does not affirmatively appear.

## HAMILTON

5th February, 1775

In his paper entitled “The Farmer Refuted” he wrote:—

“Is there no difference between one system of laws and another? Are not some more favorable and beneficial to the subject, better calculated to preserve his life and personal liberty than others? It is evident they are. Suppose, instead of the present system established among us, the French laws were to be introduced for the good of all the colonies, should we have the same security for our lives which we now have? I presume we should not. I presume, also, that a revolution in our laws might and would gradually take place.”

*“The Works of Alexander Hamilton,” edited by Henry Cabot Lodge, Collector's Federal Edition, Vol. 1, page 119.*

HAMILTON

5th February, 1775

In the paper entitled "The Farmer Refuted" he wrote:—

"It (Great Britain) is rather overstocked with inhabitants; and were it not for its extensive commerce, it could not maintain near the number it does at present. This is acknowledged on all hands. None but yourself would hazard the absurdity of a denial. The emigrations from Great Britain, particularly from the north part of it, as well as the most authentic accounts, prove the contrary of your presentations. Men are generally too much attached to their native country to leave it, and dissolve all their connections, unless they are driven to it by necessity. The swarms that every year come over to America, will never suffer any reasonable man to believe, upon the strength of your word, that the people in Scotland, or Ireland are even in tolerable circumstances."

*"The Works of Alexander Hamilton," edited by Henry Cabot Lodge, Collector's Federal Edition, Vol. 1, page 150.*

HAMILTON

17th July, 1793

In an article from the *Gazette of the United States*, "Pacificus," No. VI, he wrote:—

"The information which the address of the convention contains ought to serve as an instructive lesson to the people of this country. It ought to teach us not to overrate foreign friendships, and to be upon our guard against foreign attachments. The former will generally be found hollow and delusive; the latter will have a natural tendency to lead us aside from our own true interest, and to make us the dupes of foreign influence. Both serve to introduce a principle of action which in its effects, if the expression may be allowed, is anti-national. Foreign influence is truly the Grecian horse to a republic. We cannot be too careful to exclude its entrance. Nor ought we to imagine that it can only make its approaches in the gross form of direct bribery. It is then most dangerous when it comes under the patronage of our passions, under the auspices of national prejudice and partiality."

*"The Works of Alexander Hamilton," edited by Henry Cabot Lodge, Collector's Federal Edition, 1904, Vol. IV, page 481.*

## HAMILTON

7th December, 1796

In his first draft of Washington's speech to Congress he wrote:—

“To render the people of this country as homogeneous as possible, must tend as much as any other circumstance to the permanency of their union and prosperity.”

“*The Works of Alexander Hamilton,*” edited by Henry Cabot Lodge, *Collector's Federal Edition, 1904, Vol. VIII, page 217.*

## HAMILTON

6th October, 1799

In a letter to Col. Moore he says:—

“Particular attachment to *any foreign nation*<sup>1</sup> is an exotic sentiment which, where it exists, must derogate from the exclusive affection due to our own country.”

<sup>1</sup> Italics his.

“*The Works of Alexander Hamilton,*” edited by Henry Cabot Lodge, *Collector's Federal Edition, 1904, Vol. VII, page 148.*

## HAMILTON

7th January, 1802

In the seventh of his papers entitled "Examination of Jefferson's Message to Congress of December 7th, 1801" he wrote:—

"The next most exceptionable feature in the message, is the proposal to abolish all restriction on naturalization, arising from a previous residence. In this the President is not more at variance with the concurrent maxims of all commentators on popular governments, than he is with himself. The 'Notes on Virginia' are in direct contradiction to the message, and furnish us with strong reasons against the policy now recommended. The passage alluded to is here presented. Speaking of the *population*<sup>1</sup> of America, Mr. Jefferson says: 'Here I will beg leave to propose a doubt. The present desire of America, is to produce rapid population, by as great *importations of foreigners* as possible. *But is this founded in good policy?* Are there no inconveniences to be thrown into the scale, against the advantage expected from a multiplication of numbers, by the *importation of foreigners?* It is for the happiness of those united in society, to harmonize as much as possible, in matters which they must of necessity transact together. Civil government being the sole object of forming societies, its administration must be conducted by common consent. Every species of government has its specific principles. Ours, perhaps, are more peculiar

<sup>1</sup> All italics his.

than those of any other in the universe. *It is a composition of the freest principles of the English Constitution, with others, derived from natural right and reason. To these, nothing can be more opposed than the maxims of absolute monarchies. Yet from such, we are to expect the greatest number of emigrants. They will bring with them the principles of the governments they leave, imbibed in their early youth; or if able to throw them off, it will be in exchange for an unbounded licentiousness, passing as is usual, from one extreme to another. It would be a miracle were they to stop precisely at the point of temperate liberty. Their principles with their language, they will transmit to their children. In proportion to their numbers, they will share with us in the legislation. They will infuse into it their spirit, warp and bias its direction, and render it a heterogeneous, incoherent, distracted mass. I may appeal to experience, during the present contest, for a verification of these conjectures; but if they be not certain in event, are they not possible, are they not probable? Is it not safer to wait with patience for the attainment of any degree of population desired or expected? May not our government be more homogeneous, more peaceable, more durable? Suppose twenty millions of republican Americans, thrown all of a sudden into France, what would be the condition of that kingdom? If it would be more turbulent, less happy, less strong, we may believe that the addition of half a million of foreigners, to our present numbers, would produce a similar effect here.'* Thus wrote Mr. Jefferson in 1781.—Behold the reverse of the medal. The message of the President contains the following

sentiments: 'A denial of citizenship under a residence of fourteen years, is a denial to a great proportion of those who ask it, and controls a policy pursued from their first settlement, by many of these States, and still believed of consequence to their prosperity. And shall we refuse to the unhappy fugitives from distress, that hospitality which the savages of the wilderness extended to our fathers arriving in this land? Shall oppressed humanity find no asylum on this globe? Might not the general character and capabilities of a citizen, be safely communicated to every one manifesting a bona-fide purpose of embarking his life and fortune permanently with us?'

But if gratitude can be allowed to form an excuse for inconsistency in a public character—in *the man of the people*—a strong plea of this sort may be urged in behalf of our President. *It is certain*, that had the late election been decided entirely by native citizens, had foreign auxiliaries been rejected on both sides, the man who ostentatiously vaunts that *the doors of public honor and confidence have been burst open to him*, would not now have been at the head of the American nation.<sup>1</sup> Such a proof, then, of virtuous discernment in the oppressed fugitives had an imperious claim on him to a grateful return, and, without supposing any very uncommon share of *self-love*, would naturally be a strong reason for a revolution in his opinions.

The pathetic and plaintive exclamations by which the sentiment is enforced might be liable to much criticism, if we are to consider it in any other light than as a flourish of rhetoric. It might be asked in return, Does the right to *asylum* or *hospitality* carry

<sup>1</sup> See pages 22, 33, and 34.

with it the right to *suffrage and sovereignty*? And what, indeed, was the courteous reception which was given to our forefathers by the savages of the wilderness? When did these humane and philanthropic savages exercise the policy of incorporating strangers among themselves on their first arrival in this country? When did they admit them into their huts, to make part of their families? and when did they distinguish them by making them their sachems? Our histories and traditions have been more than apocryphal, if any thing like this kind and gentle treatment was really lavished by the much-belied savages upon our thankless forefathers. But the remark obtrudes itself. Had it all been true, prudence requires us to trace the history further and ask what has become of the nations of savages who exercised this policy, and who now occupies the territory which they then inhabited? Perhaps a lesson is here taught which ought not to be despised.

But we may venture to ask, What does the President really mean by insinuating that we treat aliens coming to this country with inhospitality? Do we not permit them quietly to land on our shores? Do we not protect them, equally with our own citizens, in their persons and reputation, in the acquisition and enjoyment of property? Are not our courts of justice open for them to seek redress of injuries? and are they not permitted peaceably to return to their own country whenever they please, and to carry with them all their effects? What, then, means this worse than idle declamation?

The impolicy of admitting foreigners to an immediate and unreserved participation in the right of

suffrage, or in the sovereignty of a republic, is as much a received axiom as anything in the science of politics, and is verified by the experience of all ages. Among other instances, it is known that hardly any thing contributed more to the downfall of Rome than her precipitate communication of the privileges of citizenship to the inhabitants of Italy at large. And how terribly was Syracuse scourged by perpetual seditions, when, after the overthrow of the tyrants, a great number of foreigners were suddenly admitted to the rights of citizenship? Not only does ancient, but modern, and even domestic, story furnish evidence of what may be expected from the dispositions of foreigners when they get too early a footing in a country. Who wields the sceptre of France, and has erected a despotism on the ruins of her former government? *A foreigner*. Who rules the councils of our own ill-fated, unhappy country? and who stimulates persecution on the heads of its citizens for daring to maintain an opinion, and for daring to exercise the rights of suffrage? *A foreigner!*<sup>1</sup> Where, then, is the virtuous pride that once distinguished Americans? where the indignant spirit, which, in defence of principle, hazarded a revolution to attain that independence now *insidiously* attacked?"

<sup>1</sup>This would seem to refer to Mr. Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, and yet the latter part of the question is so unlike Mr. Gallatin that we are almost forced to suppose that it is a fling at some one else who cannot be now identified.

"*The Works of Alexander Hamilton,*" edited by Henry Cabot Lodge, *Collector's Federal Edition, Vol. VIII, pages 284-288.*

## HAMILTON

12th January, 1802

In his "Examinations of Jefferson's Message to Congress of December 7th, 1801," he says (in Paper VIII) :—

"Resuming the subject of our last paper, we proceed to trace still further the consequences that must result from a too unqualified admission of foreigners to an equal participation in our civil and political rights.

The safety of a republic depends essentially on the energy of a common national sentiment; on a uniformity of principles and habits; on the exemption of the citizens from foreign bias, and prejudice; and on that love of country which will almost invariably be found to be closely connected with birth, education, and family.

The opinion advanced in the 'Notes on Virginia'<sup>1</sup> is undoubtedly correct, that foreigners will generally be apt to bring with them attachments to the persons they have left behind; to the country of their nativity, and to its particular customs and manners. They will also entertain opinions on government congenial with those under which they have lived; or, if they should be led hither from a preference to ours, how extremely unlikely is it that they will bring with them that *temperate love of liberty*,<sup>2</sup> so essential to real republicanism? There may, as to particular individuals, and at particular times, be occasional ex-

<sup>1</sup> Jefferson's "Notes on Virginia."

<sup>2</sup> Italics his.

ceptions to these remarks, yet such is the general rule. The influx of foreigners must, therefore, tend to produce a heterogeneous compound; to change and corrupt the national spirit; to complicate and confound public opinion; to introduce foreign propensities. In the composition of society, the harmony of the ingredients is all-important, and whatever tends to a discordant intermixture must have an injurious tendency.

The United States have already felt the evils of incorporating a large number of foreigners into their national mass; by promoting in different classes different predilections in favor of particular foreign nations, and antipathies against others, it has served very much to divide the community and to distract our councils. It has been often likely to compromise the interests of our own country in favor of another. The permanent effect of such a policy will be, that in times of great public danger there will be always a numerous body of men, of whom there may be just grounds of distrust; the suspicion alone will weaken the strength of the nation, but their force may be actually employed in assisting an invader.

In the infancy of the country, with a boundless waste to people, it was politic to give a facility to naturalization; but our situation is now changed. It appears from the last census that we have increased about one third in ten years; after allowing for what we have gained from abroad, it will be quite apparent that the natural progress of our own population is sufficiently rapid for strength, security, and settlement. By what has been said, it is not meant to contend for a total prohibition of the right of citi-

zenship to strangers, nor even for the very long residence which is now a prerequisite to naturalization, and which of itself goes far towards a denial of that privilege. The present law was merely a temporary measure adopted under peculiar circumstances, and perhaps demands revision. But there is a wide difference between closing the door altogether and throwing it entirely open; between a postponement of fourteen years, and an immediate admission to all the rights of citizenship. Some reasonable term ought to be allowed to enable aliens to get rid of foreign and acquire American attachments; to learn the principles and imbibe the spirit of our government; and to admit of a probability at least, of their feeling a real interest in our affairs. A residence of not less than five years ought to be required.

If the rights of naturalization may be communicated by parts, and it is not perceived why they may not, those peculiar to the conducting of business and the acquisition of property, might with propriety be at once conferred, upon receiving proof, by certain prescribed solemnities, of the intention of the candidates to become citizens; postponing all political privileges to the ultimate term. To admit foreigners indiscriminately to the rights of citizens, the moment they put foot in our country, as recommended in the message, would be nothing less than to admit the Grecian horse into the citadel of our liberty and sovereignty."

*"The Works of Alexander Hamilton," edited by Henry Cabot Lodge, Collector's Federal Edition, Vol. VIII, pages 288-291.*



## HAMILTON

18th January, 1802

In his "Examination of Jefferson's Message to Congress of December 7, 1801" he says (in Paper No. IX) :—

"In the recommendation to admit indiscriminately foreign emigrants to the privileges of American citizens, on their first entrance into our country, there is an attempt to break down every pale which has been erected for the preservation of a national spirit and a national character, and to let in the most powerful means of perverting and corrupting both the one and the other."

*"The Works of Alexander Hamilton," edited by Henry Cabot Lodge, Collector's Federal Edition, Vol. VIII, page 292.*

## PATRICK HENRY

8th January, 1799

In a letter to Archibald Blair, written from Red Hill, Charlotte, 8th January 1799, he says :—

"This virtue, morality, and religion is the armor, my friend, and this alone, that renders us invincible. These are the tactics we should study. If we lose them, we are conquered, fallen indeed \* \* \* so long as our manners and principles remain sound, there is no danger. But believing as I do that these are in danger, that infidelity in its broadest sense, under the name of philosophy, is fast spreading, and that \* \* \* everything that ought to be dear to man is covertly but successfully assailed, I feel the value of those men amongst us who hold out to the world the idea, that our continent is to exhibit an originality of character; and that instead of that imitation and inferiority, which the countries of the old world have been in the habit of exacting from the new, we shall maintain that high ground upon which nature has placed us, and that Europe will alike cease to rule us and give us modes of thinking."

*"Patrick Henry; Life, Correspondence and Speeches," by William Wirt Henry, 1891, Vol. II, page 591.*

JOHN JAY

25th July, 1787

In a letter to George Washington, written from New York, he wrote:—

“Permit me to hint whether it would not be wise and reasonable to provide a strong check to the admission of foreigners into the administration of our national government, and to declare expressly that the command-in-chief of the American army shall not be given to nor devolve on any but a natural-born citizen.”

*“The Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay,”* edited by Henry P. Johnston, Letter-Press Edition, 1891, Vol. III, page 250.

JOHN JAY

19th January, 1796

In a letter to Robert Goodloe Harper (a member of Congress), written from New York 19th January, 1796, he says:—

“It certainly is chiefly owing to institutions, laws, and principles of policy and government, originally derived to us as British colonists, that, with the favour of Heaven, the people of this country are what they are.”

*“The Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay,”* edited by Henry P. Johnston, Letter-Press Edition, 1890, Vol. IV, page 200.

JOHN JAY  
13th May, 1798

In a letter to Timothy Pickering, written 13th May, 1798, he wrote:—

“It is said that the Naturalization Act is to be revised and amended. Permit me to suggest an idea which I have for many years deemed important. We doubtless may grant to a foreigner just such a portion of our rights and privileges as we may think proper. In my opinion it would be wise to declare explicitly, that the right and privilege of being elected or appointed to, or of holding and exercising any office or place of trust or power under the United States, or under any of them, shall not hereafter be granted to any foreigner; but that the President of the United States, with the consent of the Senate, be nevertheless at liberty to appoint a foreigner to a military office.”

*“The Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay,”* edited by Henry J. Johnston, Letter-Press Edition, 1890, Vol. IV, page 241.

JEFFERSON  
— June, 1776

In his proposed Virginia Constitution he wrote:—

“The Administrator<sup>1</sup> \* \* \* shall not possess the prerogative \* \* \* of making denizens.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “Governor.”

<sup>2</sup> “Citizens.”

*“The Writings of Thomas Jefferson,” Ford Edition, Vol. II, pages 18–19.*

## JEFFERSON

1782

In his "Notes on Virginia" (Query VIII) he writes:—

"During the infancy of the colony, while numbers were small, wars, importations, and other accidental circumstances render the progression (of population) fluctuating and irregular. By the year 1654, however, it becomes tolerably uniform, importations having in a great measure ceased from the dissolution of the company, and the inhabitants became too numerous to be sensibly affected by Indian wars. Beginning at that period, therefore, we find that from thence to the year 1772, our tythes had increased from 7209 to 153,000. The whole term being 118 years, yields a duplication once in every  $27\frac{1}{4}$  years. The intermediate enumeration taken in 1700, 1748, and 1759, furnish proofs of the uniformity of this progression. Should this rate of increase continue, we shall have between six and seven millions of inhabitants within 95 years. If we suppose our country to be bounded, at some future day, by the meridian of the mouth of the great Kanhaway, (within which it has been before conjectured, are 64,491 square miles) there will then be 100 inhabitants for every square mile, which is nearly the state population of the British islands.

Here I will beg leave to propose a doubt. The present desire of America is to produce rapid population by as great importations of foreigners as possible. But is this founded in good policy? The ad-

vantage proposed is the multiplication of numbers. Now let us suppose (for example only) that, in this state, we could double our numbers in one year by the importation of foreigners; and this is a greater accession than the most sanguine advocate for immigration has a right to expect. Then I say, beginning with a double stock, we shall attain any given degree of population only 27 years, and 3 months sooner than if we proceed on our single stock. If we propose four millions and a half as a competent population for this state, we should be  $54\frac{1}{2}$  years attaining it, could we at once double our numbers; and  $81\frac{1}{4}$  years, if we rely on natural propagation, as may be seen by the following table:

	PROCEEDING ON OUR PRESENT STOCK	PROCEEDING ON A DOUBLE STOCK
1781 . . . . .	567,614	1,135,228
1808 $\frac{1}{4}$ . . . . .	1,135,228	2,270,456
1835 $\frac{1}{2}$ . . . . .	2,270,456	4,540,912
1862 $\frac{3}{4}$ . . . . .	4,540,912	

In the first column are stated periods of  $27\frac{1}{4}$  years; in the second are our numbers at each period, as they will be if we proceed on our actual stock; and in the third are what they would be, at the same periods, were we to set out from the double of our present stock. I have taken the term of four million and a half of inhabitants for example's sake only. Yet I am persuaded it is a greater number than the country spoken of, considering how much inarable land it contains, can clothe and feed without a material change in the quality of their diet. But are there no inconveniences to be thrown into the scale against

the advantage expected from a multiplication of numbers by the importation of foreigners? It is for the happiness of those united in society to harmonize as much as possible in matters which they must of necessity transact together. Civil government being the sole object of forming societies, its administration must be conducted by common consent. Every species of government has its specific principles. Ours perhaps are more peculiar than those of any other in the universe. It is a composition of the freest principles of the English constitution, with others derived from natural right and natural reason. To these nothing can be more opposed than the maxims of absolute monarchies. Yet from such we are to expect the greatest number of emigrants. They will bring with them the principles of the governments they leave, imbibed in their early youth; or, if able to throw them off, it will be in exchange for an unbounded licentiousness, passing, as is usual, from one extreme to another. It would be a miracle were they to stop precisely at the point of temperate liberty. These principles, with their language, they will transmit to their children. In proportion to their numbers, they will share with us the legislation. They will infuse into it their spirit, warp and bias its directions, and render it a heterogeneous, incoherent, distracted mass. I may appeal to experience, during the present contest, for a verification of these conjectures. But, if they be not certain in event, are they not possible, are they not probable? Is it not safer to wait with patience 27 years and three months longer, for the attainment of any degree of population desired or expected? May not

our government be more homogeneous, more peaceable, more durable? Suppose 20 millions of republican Americans thrown all of a sudden into France, what would be the condition of that kingdom? If it would be more turbulent, less happy, less strong, we may believe that the addition of half a million of foreigners to our present numbers would produce a similar effect here. If they come of themselves they are entitled to all of the rights of citizenship; but I doubt the expediency of inviting them by extraordinary encouragements. I mean not that these doubts should be extended to the importation of useful artificers. The policy of that measure depends on very different considerations. Spare no expense in obtaining them. They will after a while go to the plough and the hoe; but, in the mean time, they will teach us something we do not know. It is not so in agriculture. The indifferent state of that among us does not proceed from a want of knowledge merely; it is from our having such quantities of land to waste as we please. In Europe the object is to make the most of their land, labor being abundant; here it is to make the most of our labor, land being abundant."

*"The Writings of Thomas Jefferson," Ford Edition,  
Vol. III, page 188.*

JEFFERSON

1782

In his "Notes on Virginia," in Query XIX he wrote:—

"The mobs of great cities add just so much to the support of pure government, as sores do to the strength of the human body. It is the manners and spirit of a people which preserve a republic in vigour. A degeneracy in these is a canker which soon eats to the heart of its laws and constitution."

*"The Writings of Thomas Jefferson," Washington Edition, Vol. VIII, page 406.*

*"The Writings of Thomas Jefferson," Ford Edition, Vol. III, page 269.*

JEFFERSON

24th January, 1786

Writing from Paris in answer to questions propounded by M. de Meunier, he says:—

"By the close of the year 1785 there had probably passed over about 50,000 emigrants. Most of these were Irish. The greatest number of the residue were Germans. Philadelphia receives most of them, and next to that, Baltimore & New York."—

*"The Writings of Thomas Jefferson," Washington Edition, Vol. IX, page 284.*

*"The Writings of Thomas Jefferson," Ford Edition, Vol. IV, page 140.*

JEFFERSON

20th June, 1791

In writing to Washington (then President) from Philadelphia, he says:—

“The papers from the free people of color in Grenada \* \* \* I apprehend it will be best to take no notice of. They are parties in a domestic quarrel, which, I think, we should leave to be settled among themselves. Nor should I think it desirable, were it justifiable, to draw a body of sixty thousand free blacks and mulattoes into our country.”

“*The Writings of Thomas Jefferson,*” *Ford Edition,*  
*Vol. V, page 342.*

JEFFERSON

29th April, 1795

In a letter to M. de Meunier from Monticello—showing that all employments were then still open to Americans—he writes:—

“Our public economy also is such as to offer drudgery and subsistence only to those entrusted with its administration, a wise & necessary precaution against the degeneracy of the public servants. In our private pursuits it is a great advantage that every honest employment is deemed honorable. I am myself a nail-maker. \* \* \* My new trade of nail-making is to me in this country what an additional title of nobility or the ensigns of a new order are in Europe. \* \* \* But I think I have observed that your countrymen who have been obliged to work out their own fortunes here, have succeeded best with a small farm. Labour indeed is dear here, and rents are low & on the whole a reasonable profit & comfortable subsistence results. It is at the same time the most tranquil, healthy, & independent.”

“*The Writings of Thomas Jefferson,*” *Ford Edition,*  
*Vol. VII, page 13.*

## JEFFERSON

May, 1797

In a letter to Elbridge Gerry written from Philadelphia, he wrote:—

“I do sincerely wish that we could take our stand on a ground perfectly neutral and independent towards all nations. It has been my constant object through my public life; and with respect to the English and French, particularly, I have too often expressed to the former my wishes, and made to them propositions, verbally and in writing, officially and privately, to official and private characters, for them to doubt of my views, if they would be content with equality. Of this they are in possession of several written and formal proofs, in my own hand-writing. But they have wished a monopoly of commerce and influence with us; and they have in fact obtained it. When we take notice that theirs is the workshop to which we go for all we want; that with them centre either immediately or ultimately all the labors of our hands and lands; that to them belongs, either openly or secretly, the great mass of our navigation; that even the factorage of their affairs here, is kept to themselves by fictitious citizenships; that these foreign and false citizens now constitute the great body of what are called our merchants, fill our seaports, are planted in every little town and district of the interior country, sway everything in the former places, by their own votes, and those of their dependents, in the latter, by their insinuations and the in-

fluence of their ledgers; that they are advancing rapidly to a monopoly of our banks and public funds, and thereby placing our public finances under their control; that they have in their alliance the most influential characters in and out of office; when they have shown that by all these bearings on the different branches of the government, they can force it to proceed in whatever direction they dictate, and bend the interests of this country entirely to the will of another; when all this, I say, is attended to, it is impossible for us to say we stand on independent ground, impossible for a free mind not to see and to groan under the bondage in which it is bound. If anything after this could excite surprise, it would be that they have been able so far to throw dust in the eyes of our own citizens, as to fix on those who wish merely to recover self-government the charge of serving one foreign influence because they resist submission to another. But they possess our printing presses, a powerful engine in their government of us. At this very moment they would have drawn us into a war on the side of England, had it not been for the failure of her bank. Such was their open and loud cry, and that of their gazettes, till this event. After plunging us into all the broils of the European nations, there would remain but one act to close our tragedy, that is, to break up our Union; and even this they have ventured seriously and solemnly to propose and maintain by arguments in a Connecticut paper. I have been happy, however, in believing from the stifling of this effort, that that dose was found too strong, and excited as much repugnance there as it did horror in other parts of our country,



and that whatever follies we may be led into as to foreign nations, we shall never give up our Union, the last anchor of our hope, and that alone which is to prevent this heavenly country from becoming an arena of gladiators. Much as I abhor war, and view it as the greatest scourge of mankind, and anxiously as I wish to keep out of the broils of Europe, I would yet go with my brethren into these, rather than separate from them. But I hope we may still keep clear of them, notwithstanding our present thralldom, and that time may be given us to reflect on the awful crisis we have passed through, and to find some means of shielding ourselves in future from foreign influence, political, commercial, or in whatever other form it may be attempted. I can scarcely withhold myself from joining in the wish of Silas Deane, that there were an ocean of fire between us and the old world."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the draft of the letter this paragraph was changed to the form above printed. Before the alteration it read: "I shall never forget the prediction of the Count de Vergennes, that we shall exhibit the singular phenomenon of a fruit rotten before it is ripe, nor cease to join in the wish of Silas Deane, that there were an ocean of fire between us and the old world. Indeed, my dear friend, I am so disgusted with this entire subjection to a foreign power, that if it were in the end to appear to be the wish of the body of my countrymen to remain in that vassalage, I should feel my unfitness to be an agent in their affairs, and seek in retirement that personal independence without which this world has nothing I value. I am confident you set the same store by it which I do; but perhaps your situation may not give you the same conviction of its existence."—*Ford Edition, Vol. VII, page 123.*

*"The Writings of Thomas Jefferson," Washington Edition, Vol. IV, page 172.*

*"The Writings of Thomas Jefferson," Ford Edition, Vol. VII, page 121.*

## JEFFERSON

24th November, 1801

In a letter to James Monroe (then Governor of Virginia) from Washington, he wrote:—

"The same question to ourselves would recur here also, as did in the first case: should we be willing to have such a colony in contact with us? However our present interests may restrain us within our own limits, it is impossible not to look forward to distant times, when our rapid multiplication will expand itself beyond those limits, & cover the whole northern, if not the southern continent, with a people speaking the same language, governed in similar forms, & by similar laws; nor can we contemplate with satisfaction either blot or mixture on that surface."

*"The Writings of Thomas Jefferson," Ford Edition, Vol. VIII, page 104.*

## JEFFERSON

12th September, 1817

In a letter to George Flower from Poplar Forest, Virginia, he wrote:—

“I sincerely wish that your proposition to ‘purchase a tract of land in the Illinois on favorable terms, for introducing a colony of English farmers,’ may encounter no difficulties from the established rules of our land department. \* \* \* For although as to other foreigners it is thought better to discourage their settling together in large masses, wherein, as in our German settlements, they preserve for a long time their own languages, habits, and principles of government, and that they should distribute themselves sparsely among the natives for quicker amalgamation. Yet English emigrants are without this inconvenience. They differ from us little but in their principles of government, and most of those (merchants excepted) who come here, are sufficiently disposed to adopt ours. What the issue, however, of your proposition may probably be, I am less able to advise you than many others; for during the last eight or ten years I have no knowledge of the administration of the land office or the principles of its government. Even the persons on whom it will depend are all changed within that interval, so as to leave me small means of being useful to you. Whatever they may be, however, they shall be freely exercised for your advantage, and that, not on the selfish principle of increasing our own population at the expense

of other nations, for the additions to that from emigration are but as a drop in a bucket to those by natural procreation \* \* \*

*“The Writings of Thomas Jefferson,” Washington Edition, Vol. VII, page 83.*

RUFUS KING

20th January, 1797

In a letter to General Pinckney, written from London, January 20th, 1797, he says:—

“Principles more and more national appear in every quarter of the Union, strong marks of displeasure on the subject of foreign influence and foreign interferences in our affairs are likewise seen in the different News Papers; so that I think it will be soon perceived that we are neither *Greeks*<sup>1</sup> nor *Trojans*, but truly Americans.”

<sup>1</sup> Italics his.

“*The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King,*” edited by his grandson, Charles R. King, M.D., 1894–1900, Vol. II, page 134.

RUFUS KING

June 14th, 1798

In a letter to the Secretary of State (No. 78) written from London, England, June 14th, 1798, he said:—

“In case the Rebellion is suppressed \* \* \* thousands of the fugitives will seek an asylum in our Country. Their principles and habits would be pernicious to the order and industry of our people, and I cannot persuade myself that the Malcontents of any character or country will ever become useful citizens of ours. It is my duty seasonably to apprise you of the probability of this Emigration; but it belongs to others to decide what the safety and welfare of the Country may require to be done, should it actually take place.”

“*The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King,*” edited by his grandson, Charles R. King, M.D., 1894–1900, Vol. II, page 348.

RUFUS KING

July 19th, 1798

In a letter to Col. Pickering, written from London, England, July 19th, 1798, he wrote:—

“As I have intimated to you would probably be the case, I perceive that numbers of the disaffected \* \* \* will be expelled and that they will be disposed to plant themselves among us. It was the practice of the Emigrants from Scotland to bring with them Certificates from the religious Societies to which they belonged, of their honesty, sobriety, and generally of their good Character! Why should we not require some such Document from all Emigrants, and it would be well to add to the Testimonial that the person to whom it was granted was not expelled from his Country and had not been convicted of any crime. I am, I confess, very anxious upon this subject. The contrast between New England and some other Parts of the U. S. is in my view a powerful admonition to us to observe greater caution in the admission of Foreigners among us. If from the emigrations of past time we have suffered inconvenience and our true national character has been disfigured, what are we to expect from the Emigrants of the present Day? \* \* \*”

*“The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King,” edited by his grandson, Charles R. King, M.D., 1894-1900, Vol. II, page 371.*

RUFUS KING

July 28th, 1798

In a letter to the Secretary of State (No. 87) written from Margate, England, July 28th, 1798, he wrote:—

“\* \* \* the Rebellion is at an end, a general amnesty with a few exceptions will soon be proclaimed many of the inferior chiefs will be permitted to go into exile. I have before intimated the probability of such a measure, and hope the President will have power to exclude from our country all such foreigners whose residence among us would be dangerous.”

*“The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King,” edited by his grandson, Charles R. King, M.D., 1894-1900, Vol. II, page 373.*

## RUFUS KING

August 3rd, 1798

In a (private) letter to Col. Pickering, written from London, England, August 3rd, 1798, he says:—

“\* \* \* It appears from the accounts from \* \* \* that nearly 100 persons, including Lawyers, Physicians, Merchants, and others, who have been engaged as Chiefs in the late Rebellion are to go into Exile for Life. A Bill for this Purpose has been brought. \* \* \* Although I do not know it to be the intention of the Exiles, I have many reasons to suspect that they expect to find an asylum among us.

“I do my duty in apprising you of the probability of the Measure, it belongs to others to make those Regulations that will enable the President to take care of the public safety. \* \* \*”

*“The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King,” edited by his grandson, Charles R. King, M.D., 1894–1900, Vol. II, page 638.*

## RUFUS KING

13th September, 1798

In a letter to the Secretary of State (No. 98) written from Margate, England, September 13th, 1798, he says:—

“The Reports of the Secret Commission \* \* \* which I send you, fully disclose the principles and views of the Leaders of the Rebellion. These are so comfortable to those which have prevailed in \* \* \* so false and so utterly inconsistent with any practicable or settled form of Government, that I have taken occasion to express my wishes that the United States might not be selected as the Country to which any of the State Prisoners should be permitted to retire.”

*“The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King,” edited by his grandson, Charles R. King, M.D., 1894–1900, Vol. II, page 413.*

JAMES LAURENS

25th March, 1778

In a letter to his father, of 25th March, 1778, he says:—

“The Congress have I think very wisely resolved against employing any more foreigners unless they are forced to it by the special contracts of their ambassadors, or very pointed recommendations.”

*“The Writings of George Washington,” collected and edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford, Letter-Press Edition, 1889, Vol. VI, page 448.*

MADISON

27th August, 1782

In a letter to Edmund Randolph,<sup>1</sup> written from Philadelphia, he wrote:—

“Your favor of the sixteenth came duly to hand yesterday. The hints which it gives with regard to merchandize imported in returning flags, and the intrusion of obnoxious aliens through other States, merit attention. The latter subject has, on several occasions, been mentioned in Congress, but, I believe no committee has ever reported a remedy for the abuse.”

<sup>1</sup> From the Madison Papers (1840).

*“The Writings of James Madison,” edited by Gaillard Hunt, Letter-Press Edition, 1900, Vol. I, page 226.*

## MADISON

22nd February, 1819

In a letter to Richard Peters, he says:—

“Our kind reception of emigrants is very proper, but it is dictated more by benevolent than by interested considerations, tho some of them seem to be very far from regarding the obligations as lying on their side. \* \* \* According to the general laws of Europe, no emigrant ceases to be a subject. With this double aspect, I believe it cannot be doubted that naturalized Citizens among us have found it more easy than native ones to practice certain frauds. I have been led to think it worthy of consideration whether our law of naturalization might not be so varied as to communicate the rights of Citizens by degrees, and in that way, preclude or abridge the abuses committed by naturalized merchants particularly Ship owners. The restrictions wd. be felt it is true by meritorious individuals, of whom I could name some & you doubtless more, but this always happens in precautionary regulations for the general good.” (MAD. MSS.)

“*The Writings of James Madison,*” edited by Gailard Hunt, *Letter-Press Edition, 1904, Vol. VIII, page 424.*

## GOUVENEUR MORRIS

From Madison’s notes at the Constitution Convention of the addresses made by Gouverneur Morris and others:—

(He said that) “the lesson we are taught is that we should be governed as much by our reason, and as little by our feelings, as possible. What is the language of reason on this subject? That we should not be polite at the expense of prudence. \* \* \* He ran over the privileges which emigrants would enjoy among us, though they should be deprived of that of being eligible to the great offices of Government; observing that they exceeded the privileges allowed to foreigners in any part of the world; and said that, as every Society from a great Nation down to a Club had the right of declaring the conditions on which new members should be admitted, there could be no room for complaint.”

“*The Writings of James Madison,*” edited by Gailard Hunt, *Letter-Press Edition, 1904.*

WASHINGTON

7th July, 1775

General Order to the Army of the above date:—

“The General has great Reason (to be); and is highly displeas'd, with the Negligence and Inattention of those Officers, who have plac'd as Centries, at the outposts, Men with whose Characters they are not acquainted. He therefore orders, that for the future, no Man shall be appointed to those important Stations, who is not a Native of this Country, or has a Wife, or Family in it, to whom he is known to be attached. This order is to be consider'd as a standing one and the Officers are to pay obedience to it at their peril.”

“*The Writings of George Washington,*” collected and edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford, 1889, Vol. III, page 6.

WASHINGTON

10th July, 1775

In the *Gaines Mercury* of July 24th, 1775, there appears the following:—

“On 10 July (1775) General Gates issued an order to be observed by the recruiting officers, who were immediately sent upon that service:— \* \* \* You are not to enlist any person who is not an American born, unless such person has a wife and family, and is a settled resident in this country.’ ”

“*The Writings of George Washington,*” collected and edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford, 1889, Vol. III, page 17.

NOTE:—Professor Garis in his recent work “Immigration Restriction” (page 22) ascribes this order to Washington, and Ford supplies it as a foot-note to a letter written by Washington to the President of Congress from the Camp at Cambridge of the same date as the order. (See Ford, 1889, Vol. III, page 8.)

From the tenor of the letter to the President of Congress it would appear that Washington was responsible for the order.



WASHINGTON

30th April, 1777

In a letter to Col. Alexander Spotswood, written from Morristown, 30 April, 1777, he says:—

“I want to form a company for my guard. In doing this I wish to be extremely cautious, because it is more than probable, that, in the course of the campaign, my baggage, papers, and other matters of great public import, may be committed to the sole care of these men. This being premised, in order to impress you with proper attention in the choice, I have to request, that you will immediately furnish me with four men of your regiments; \* \* \* I think it (*fidelity*) most likely to be found in those, who have family connexions in the country. You will therefore send me none but natives, and men of some property, if you have them.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The same letter was sent to various other Colonels.

*“The Writings of George Washington,” collected and edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford, Letter-Press Edition, 1889, Vol. V, page 349.*

NOTE: Doubtless the origin of the legendary phrase: “Put none but Americans on guard to-night.”

WASHINGTON

31st May, 1777

In a letter to the President of Congress written from Middlebrook, he wrote:—

“I would only observe, without insinuating the most distant shadow of distrust of Monsieur Ducoudray’s honor, candor, or integrity, that, on the general maxims of prudence and policy, it may be questioned with much propriety, whether so important a command as that of the artillery should be vested in any but a native, or one attached by the ties of interest to these States.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read in Congress June 2d. Referred to the Board of War.

*“The Writings of George Washington,” collected and edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford, 1889, Vol. V, page 402.*

## WASHINGTON

19th June, 1777

In a letter to Colonel Baylor, written 19th June, 1777, he wrote:—

“You should be extremely cautious in your enquiries into the character of those who are not natives who offer to enlist. Desertions among men of that class have been so frequent that unless you find ’em on examination to be of good & unsuspecting conduct, they should not be taken by any means. Otherwise, most probably, they will deceive you—add no strength to our arms, but much expence to the Public account and upon first opportunity will join the Enemy.”

*“The Writings of George Washington,” collected and edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford, 1889, Vol. V, page 441.*

## WASHINGTON

24th July, 1778

In a letter to Henry Laurens, written from Camp, near White Plains, 24th July, 1778, he wrote:—

“I will further add, that we have already a full proportion of foreign officers in our general councils; and, should their number be increased, it may happen upon many occasions, that their voices may be equal if not exceed the rest. I trust you think me so much a citizen of the world, as to believe I am not easily warped or led away by attachments merely local or American; yet I confess I am not entirely without ’em, nor does it appear to me that they are unwarrantable, if confined within proper limits. Fewer promotions in the foreign line would have been productive of more harmony, and made our warfare more agreeable to all parties. The frequency of them is the source of jealousy and of disunion.”

*“The Writings of George Washington,” collected and edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford, Letter-Press Edition, 1889, Vol. VII, page 121.*

## WASHINGTON

24th July, 1778

In a letter to Gouverneur Morris, written from White Plains, 24 July, 1778, he says:—

“Baron Steuben, I now find, is wanting to quit his inspectorship for a command in the line. This will be productive of much discontent to the brigadiers. In a word, although I think the Baron an excellent officer, I do most devoutly wish, that we had not a single foreigner among us, except the Marquis de Lafayette, who acts upon very different principles from those which govern the rest.”

*“The Writings of George Washington,” collected and edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford, 1889, Vol. VII, page 116.*

## WASHINGTON

22nd November, 1789

In a letter to Alexander Spotswood, written from Philadelphia, he wrote:—

“But I will take the liberty of advising such as are not ‘thoroughly convinced,’ and whose minds are yet open to conviction, to read the pieces and hear the arguments, which have been adduced in favor of as well as those against, the constitutionality and expediency of those laws,<sup>1</sup> before they decide; and consider to what lengths a certain description of men in our country have already driven, and seem resolved further to drive matters, and then ask themselves if it is not time and expedient, to resort to protecting laws against aliens (for citizens you certainly know are not affected by that law), who acknowledge no allegiance to this country, and in many instances are sent among us (as there is the best circumstantial evidence to prove) for the express purpose of poisoning the minds of our people, and to sow dissensions among them, in order to alienate their affections from the government of their choice, thereby endeavoring to dissolve the Union, and of course the fair and happy prospects, which were unfolding to our view from the revolution.”

<sup>1</sup> The Alien and Sedition Laws.

*“The Writings of George Washington,” collected and edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford, 1889, Vol. XIV, page 122.*

## WASHINGTON

15th November, 1794

In a letter to John Adams written Saturday, 15th, 1794, he wrote:—

“My opinion, with respect to emigration, is that except of useful mechanics and some particular descriptions of men or professions, there is no need of encouragement, while the policy or advantage of its taking place in a body (I mean the settling of them in a body) may be much questioned; for, by so doing, they retain the Language, habits, and principles (good or bad) which they bring with them.”

*“The Writings of George Washington,” collected and edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford, 1889, Vol. XII, page 489.*

## WASHINGTON

17th September, 1796

From the Farewell Address to the People of the United States (September 17th, 1796) he said:—

“Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens, the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly*<sup>1</sup> awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican Government.”

<sup>1</sup> Italics his.

*“The Writings of George Washington,” collected and edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford, 1889, Vol. XII, page 315.*

## WASHINGTON

15th January, 1799

In a letter to Patrick Henry (Confidential), written from Mount Vernon, he wrote:—

“Vain will it be to look for peace and happiness, or for the security of liberty or property, if civil discord should ensue. And what else can result from the policy of those among us, who, by all the measures in their power, are driving matters to extremity, if they cannot be counteracted effectually? The views of men can only be known, or guessed at, by their words or actions. Can those of the *leaders*<sup>1</sup> of opposition be mistaken, then, if judged by this rule? That they are followed by numbers, who are unacquainted with their designs, and suspect as little the tendency of their principles, I am fully persuaded. But, if their conduct is viewed with indifference, if there is activity and misrepresentation on one side, and supineness on the other, their numbers accumulated by intriguing and discontented foreigners under proscription, who were at war with their own governments, and the greater part of them, *all*<sup>1</sup> governments, they will increase, and nothing short of Omniscience can foretell the consequences.”

<sup>1</sup> Italics his.

“*The Writings of George Washington,*” collected and edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford, 1889, Vol. XIV, page 139.