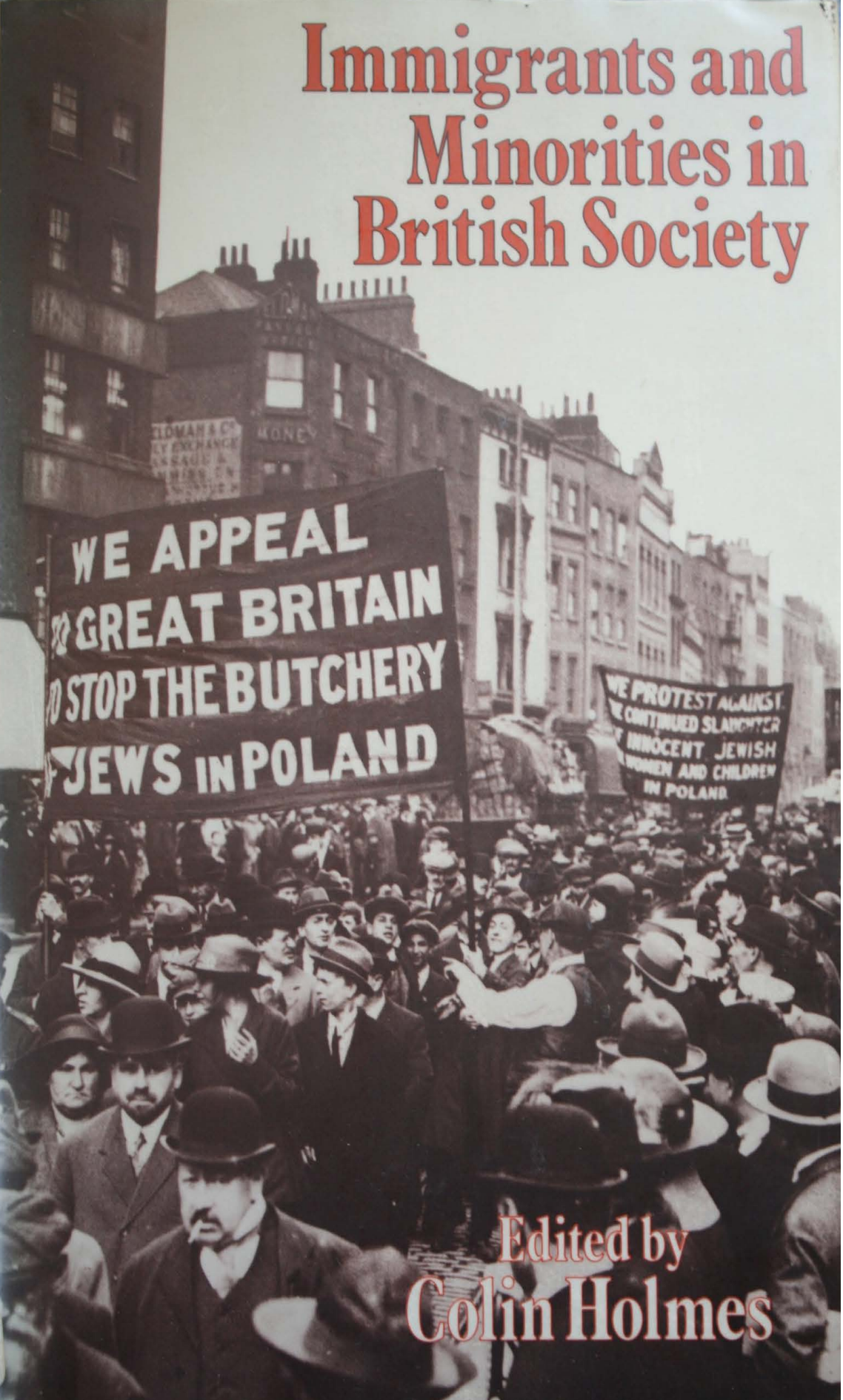
Immigrants and Minorities in British Society



Edited by
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Editorial Note

A number of people have helped me in my editorial capacity and this note can be taken as a recognition of their work. In this sense I am grateful to Jan Heller who generously gave me some of his time and made many useful suggestions and to Beryl Moore, Sheila Clarke, Beverley Eaton and Denise Wilson who typed the manuscript and kept to all the schedules. I am also indebted to Victor Gilbert for his meticulous work on the index.

COLIN HOLMES

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1 Introduction: Immigrants and Minorities in Britain

by Colin Holmes

An historian concerning himself with immigration into America is likely to be embarrassed by the rich and plentiful nature of his source material. The same would hardly be true for anyone studying the history of immigration into Britain and the formation here of racial and ethnic minorities, visible on account of their physical and/or cultural traits and sharing a consciousness related to these characteristics.[1] There are, of course, a variety of contact situations which can occur between racial and ethnic groups and in the British case attention has been generously bestowed upon migrant superordination situations in which the migrating group was superior in terms of organisation and technology to the indigenous population.[2] In short, an emphasis has been placed upon the experiences of colonialism or imperialism. Even so, many studies which concentrated on such matters and the relationships which ensued between the British and a wide variety of other peoples passed quickly over the nature of the ideas which justified and rationalised even if they did not cause this process of domination and expansion.[3] We are only just starting to discover the different attitudes which emerged in the course of this particular form of contact.

British experience of 'strangers' through the immigration and settlement of racial and ethnic groups has received far less attention than colonial and imperial contact. Yet it has been pointed out that 'the British are clearly among the most ethnically composite of the Europeans'[4] and there is an abundance of material from Roman times to the present day to indicate how mixed British society is and the various infusions it has experienced. Some immigrants like Marx, Mazzini and Stepniak came as political refugees, others like Somersett arrived as slaves, visible reminders of an expanding metropolitan influence, and still others, such as the German influx of the late nineteenth century, entered as businessmen or workers, eager to employ their capital, entrepreneurial talent or labour in a different setting.[5] Individuals or groups often stayed in Britain, put down their social roots and remained as members of distinctive minorities

or, in some instances, merged themselves over time with varying degrees of success into the warp and weft of British life.

The impact of such newcomers on British society has undoubtedly been significant. If we examine the economic or material contribution which they have made in modern times we might refer to the financial activity of the Huguenots as well as their involvement in the London silk industry,[6] the Jewish role in the development of merchant banking, textiles and stores,[7] and the importance of Asian and West Indian labour to certain sectors of the contemporary British economy.[8] If we consider these in conjunction with the enrichment of British life in terms of artistic sponsorship[9] and achievement,[10] as well as various contributions to political life, it is soon apparent that a wide range of influences needs to be acknowledged.[11]

Some of this activity, it needs to be recognised, has not been universally welcomed. Success in business could arouse the hostility of those who regarded themselves as exploited by the capitalist system, and if particular capitalists were also racially or ethnically visible a double-edged weapon could be used against them. And when, as was sometimes the case, they operated in high risk-high reward situations or on the fringes of respectable activity, hostility could be intensified even further. At times workers from immigrant and minority backgrounds also encountered opposition, some of which resulted from a conflict of interests which did not turn upon racial or ethnic origin,[12] while some reflected an antipathy or prejudice against newcomers, in situations where it was difficult if not impossible, to allot responsibility for particular social problems and conditions.[13] It was not unknown, of course, for such hostility to be seized upon and exploited for political purposes.[14]

Several 'early' studies were written on some of the above themes. The years of Jewish immigration from the Russian Empire saw the publication of William Cunningham's *Alien Immigrants to England*, in 1897, and, influenced by wartime conditions and attitudes, the early German immigrants were discussed in I. D. Colvin's *The Germans in England, 1066-1598*, which appeared in 1915. In addition, M. Dorothy George's study of *London Life in the XVIIIth Century* (London, 1925) contained a number of illuminating sidelights on immigrants and immigrant activity in London and among later work Cecil Roth's *A History of the Jews in England* (Oxford, 1941) and Kenneth Little's *Negroes in Britain: A Study of Racial Relations in English Society* (London, 1947), constituted important pioneer studies of Jewish and Negro minorities.

But historians have often shown a preference for ploughing well-worn furrows and even though a consideration of issues involving immigrants and minorities falls clearly within the province of social history[15] and many of the more exciting historical advances of recent years have taken place within this particular area of the discipline, an interest in such matters took some time to develop.[16] History, like any other form of human

activity, reflects in part its own age, although necessarily absorbing images from the past and creating ideas for future development, and it might be suggested that it has taken the recent Indo-Pakistani and West Indian immigration into Britain to provide the necessary stimulus to the study of earlier immigrants and minorities. Against such a background the history of Britain's black community was the subject of James Walvin's work on *The Black Presence: A Documentary History of the Negro in England, 1555-1860* (London, 1971) and, more importantly, his *Black and White: The Negro in English Society, 1555-1945* (London, 1973), which were designed to remedy the fact that the history of black society in England had been almost totally ignored.[17] About the same time, Little's earlier study of Negroes in British society was re-issued.[18] But the impact of immigration was wider than this. It succeeded in stimulating studies beyond those concerned with the history of Britain's black community and turned attention towards the past experience of other groups, particularly the Jewish immigration from the Russian Empire which occurred between 1880 and 1914.[19] Before such interest was fashionable, Lloyd P. Gartner's work, *The Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870-1914*, had appeared in 1960 and filled an important gap in Jewish and immigration history. Later, under the specific influence of the contemporary immigration debate, Paul Foot wrote his polemical and challenging essay on *Immigration and Race in British Politics* (Harmondsworth, 1965) and John A. Garrard produced *The English and Immigration, 1880-1910: A Comparative Study of the Jewish Influx* (London, 1971) in which, like Foot, he was concerned to argue that parallels of protest existed between the receiving society's attitudes towards coloured and Jewish immigrants. Among later publications Bernard Gainer's *The Alien Invasion: The Origin of the Aliens Act of 1905* (London, 1972), covered the same ground as Garrard but with different emphases, and aspects of Jewish radical politics were discussed in William J. Fishman's *East End Jewish Radicals, 1875-1914* (London, 1975).

Some of the lacunae in immigrant history were therefore filled in the 1960s and early 1970s and the same period also saw the appearance of J. A. Jackson's *The Irish in Britain* (London, 1963), which attempted a general survey of Irish immigrants from an historical and sociological point of view, a theme which had previously been neglected by social scientists.[20] Little reminder is needed that this has been followed by a large batch of more detailed specific studies concerned with many different aspects of the Irish presence in Britain.[21] Finally, the immigration which played such an important role in directing attention to earlier historical situations was itself covered in a mass of publications, which reflected different and differing viewpoints, by what became popularly known as the 'race relations industry'—an industry which underwent a sharp ideological fragmentation in the early 1970s.[22]

The present volume is an attempt to add to and extend our under-

standing of the historical place of immigrants and minorities in Britain. It makes no claim to be all-embracing. It is chiefly restricted to more recent history and is concerned mainly, although not exclusively, with the nature of various response patterns discernible within British society. In its structure it moves from the general to the specific. For some time there has been a need for a survey of 'Britons old and new' and this is what V. G. Kiernan provides in the second chapter. In this he reveals the wide geographical, ethnic and racial origins of those who entered the country whether for temporary or permanent settlement. But the essay does more than indicate the diversity of the additions to British society. It assesses the nature of the contributions which the newcomers made and gauges the responses of the receiving society, bearing in mind that in a stratified society these could vary sharply according to different perceptions of self-interest. Once this detail is provided it is possible to concentrate upon certain more specific themes and these appear in Part II of the book. Some reference is needed to the contribution to British society made by newcomers and here attention is focused upon the role of Germans in the development of the British economy from the fifteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries and the changes which can be traced to their influence. Some of the Germans came as immigrants, involved themselves in British life and then moved on, whereas others came, settled and merged themselves into society. This was not something which had ceased by the mid-nineteenth century: Germans were to continue this involvement, and it is a process about which more needs to be known.

The emphasis in Chapter 3 is upon the economic consequences of German immigration into Britain rather than upon the reactions which this immigration produced in British society. Yet a consideration of response patterns and host perceptions of newcomers are important aspects in the study of immigrant and minority groups which cannot be ignored and which, in fact, have tended to capture attention. The two chapters which follow are concerned with issues of this kind. One of them concentrates upon stereotypes of the Irish and involves an analysis of the contradictory strands within the social and national prejudices of the English middle and upper classes and their distortion of the social conditions which they were meant to describe. In the course of this the temptation to write about English attitudes as a form of anti-Celtic Anglo-Saxon racism—a temptation to which some American writers have succumbed—comes under attack. It is suggested that an approach along these lines is distorting and unrewarding and it is argued instead that Englishmen drew from their experience of the Irish and Ireland a stereotype of Irish character with good points and bad and invoked the good or the bad according to temperament, moment or mood. This was a process which did not make for consistency. Following on from this attention is switched from the Irish to the Chinese, about whose history in Britain we know very little. A recently completed survey of the present-day

Chinese community in London carries the briefest kind of historical introduction to the Chinese in British society, from which no one would be aware of the hostility which developed towards the Chinese in Liverpool and Cardiff in 1906 and 1911.[23] It is these instances of racial friction and tension which are placed under scrutiny here, in the course of which, sectional responses are balanced against wider reactions.

The two remaining chapters also discuss the perceptions and reception of immigrant and minority groups. But their emphases are different from the preceding contributions. In spite of the fact that an increasing amount of reference has been made to Jews in British society there has been little detailed work so far on individual expressions of anti-semitism, which traces main thought patterns, categorises them and assesses their function and wider interconnections, and it is in the light of this that an analysis is undertaken in Chapter 6 of the attitudes towards Jews which J. A. Hobson adopted in a number of situations which captured his attention from the 1880s down to 1914. It has already been suggested that much of what is written about immigrants and minorities relates to the hostility with which they have to contend, and, as already emphasised, it should be clear that the present volume is no exception, but the stress in the final contribution, 'The vitality of a tradition', is upon the important but relatively more neglected question of how this was contained or minimised. More specifically, it is directed towards an explanation of why it was that the 'fascist' tradition of hostility towards immigrants and racial and ethnic minorities, and the wider values implicit in that stand, were rejected by the inhabitants of Stepney, a traditional centre of immigration, and the consequences which followed from such a rejection.

The chapters are intended to cover a number of significant issues which have previously been neglected or are open to new interpretations, and in view of George Rudé's comments in *The Times Literary Supplement* on 26 September 1975, it might be said that in each case the author has played the role of the lone wolf in pursuing his theme and has not been subject to major editorial restraints. The contributors have not received questionnaires to ensure they stayed within strict editorial guidelines. They have not been coerced by the dictates of a common plan. They have written within the area of the study according to their own predilections as historians or social scientists. They are individually responsible for their judgements and emphases.

So far we have discusssed work which has already been completed on various aspects of the history of immigrant and minority groups in Britain and the studies which are contained in the present volume. It might now be appropriate to make some selective references to areas of the subject which still remain neglected.

First of all, there is room for some comparative historical analysis of the international pattern of migration movements. For instance, it would be of interest to analyse the nature of nineteenth-century migration from

Britain towards the open spaces of the United States, South America and the British colonies, and consider this against more contemporary shifts, especially since the Second World War, when we have witnessed a movement of population from the old Empire to the metropolitan country, as a result of which the legacy of imperialism is visibly represented in Britain by groups whose presence here is inseparable from an earlier British expansion overseas.[24] It might also be instructive to compare and contrast the characteristics of the short-term movement of population in search of employment, as in the case of the historical immigration of the Irish into Britain, and the contemporary *gastarbeiter* phenomenon in Europe, so well described by Stephen Castles and Godula Kosack in *Immigrant Workers and Class Structure in Western Europe* (London, 1973).

Once migration has occurred, whether to Britain or elsewhere, it has led to the concentration of settlement, if only in the short term, with the result that the dynamics of host-immigrant relations and the development and influence of immigrant groups can often best be studied in a local context. It has to be admitted that Britain has never developed ghettos on the same scale as Harlem or San Francisco's Chinatown, but certain areas have continually attracted immigrants and become centres of immigration. Liverpool, for example, has accommodated Africans, Chinese and Jews as well as a traditionally large Irish element, but a general history of immigrants in Liverpool concentrating on numbers, social structure, varieties of cultural life, and their complex range of relationships with the receiving society has never been attempted. We are still waiting for a similar type of study—whether short term or long term in character—of the East End of London, which over time has witnessed the arrival of Huguenot, Irish and Jewish immigrants as well as migrants from the country who came to seek their fortunes in the capital.[25] In the case of East London, of course, Chaim Bermant's recent work, *Point of Arrival: A Study of London's East End* (London, 1975), provides a useful starting point for such a study. In short, scope exists for detailed studies of immigrant areas which provide a specific location for the working out of many of the themes associated with immigrant history.

Apart from the historical character of immigration movement and the formation of immigrant areas, more could also be said specifically about social reactions and responses to the presence of immigrant and minority groups and the contributions made by these groups to British society. It is with such an awareness British attitudes towards the Chinese minority are discussed in Chapter 5 but the analysis is deliberately limited in scope and the possibility still remains for a wider study of British perceptions of the Chinese within the context of a concern about the 'yellow peril'.[26] Historical responses to other groups are also under-studied. Gypsies, for example, have recently been the subject of serious and popular sociological analyses, but among historical works the account by Donald Kenrick and

Grattan Puxon in *The Destiny of Europe's Gypsies* (London, 1973) is written very much with the holocaust period in view and makes no significant references to the history of Britain's gypsy population, and this is not remedied in Farnham Rehfisch's *Gypsies, Tinkers and Travellers* (London, 1975). It is, in fact, not without interest that probably the best account of historical reactions towards gypsies in Britain—and even this is restricted in scope and inaccurate in some matters of detail—is in E. B. Trigg's 'Magic and Religion among the Gypsies of Britain' (DPhil Oxford, 1967), a thesis written outside the history faculty. Ignorance also surrounds the reception of the Italian immigration of the late nineteenth century. This was merely one aspect of an international movement which led to the establishment of Italian communities in different parts of the world but whereas British reactions captured the interest of contemporaries, this has not been pursued by historians.[27] Details about the size, structure, location and inner life of the Italian community in Victorian and Edwardian England and the changes which resulted from its various contacts with British society are also largely unknown. We are similarly uninformed about minority group attitudes towards immigration. Although passing reference has been made in several studies, there is as yet no full-length account of Anglo-Jewish responses and behaviour towards Jewish immigration between 1880 and 1914[28] and possibilities still exist for a detailed analysis of Anglo-Jewish reactions to present-day immigration from Asia and the West Indies and the formation of new minority groups in Britain.[29] Such work would for the most part concentrate upon group responses, but it would also offer scope for a detailed consideration of individual attitudes located in the context of the society from which they emerged. Finally, we need to know more about the contributions which specific immigrant or minority groups have made to British society. How important was the role played by German clerks in British commercial houses in the late nineteenth century? How significant was the overall German contribution to British commerce and banking at this time? What influence have immigrants and their descendants exercised upon recent British cultural life?[30] Even an unavoidably restricted survey of this kind, concentrating only upon selective aspects of more recent history, shows how much scope exists for further work.

In most of these areas we are still short of basic information and ample opportunity exists for the work of idiographic historians. Milk has to come before cream, we are often told. Indeed, there are sociologists who would regard the gathering of facts as the proper role of the historian, facts which might then be presented to sociologists and used by them as representatives of a generalising discipline within the social sciences.[31] But there is no reason why all historians should have the scope and nature of their discipline defined for them by sociologists or other social scientists, particularly when they consider the quality of some of the historical analyses with which these disciplines have been prepared to support their

theories. Contemporary social science has, of course, produced a plethora of concepts in the field of immigrant and minority studies which reflect a variety of ideological viewpoints.[32] But abundance can spell danger and the historian who wishes to consider these findings needs a discriminating eye and to be generally aware of the distortions which can arise through attempts to judge all historical detail in the light of present-day knowledge and attitudes.[33] Nevertheless, there is no need for him to turn his back upon contemporary social science and the insights it offers, provided that his work remains firmly based on historical evidence and related to its appropriate social context. If these factors are taken into account and analysis is undertaken on a comparative basis, with the experience of an immigrant or minority group being related to that of other similar groups in the same society during the same period, to its own experience at different times in that society, as well as to its concurrent position in other countries, it should be possible to arrive at a body of historical concepts and historically grounded social theory relevant to the history of immigrant and minority groups. Such findings would also provide a useful collection of insights for social scientists concerned with contemporary issues. In engaging in this exercise the historian would be deserting his traditional, idiographic role, as well as his slightly more adventurous role as a consumer of social science insights, and be treading the way towards history as a branch of theory.[34] Time will tell whether he is prepared to make this journey.

In conclusion: we have tried to discuss some important themes in the recent history of immigrants and minorities in Britain. We have written about response patterns within the receiving society as well as the contributions of immigrants and minorities to that society. We have tackled some previously unworked themes and reworked others. We have displayed some of the variety of approaches which exist towards the subject. We have already indicated that much still remains to be done and we hope that in their different ways historians will work towards a greater understanding of certain outstanding fundamental issues. For example: what were the historical circumstances which brought particular immigrant groups to Britain? What has Britain learned or absorbed from its different immigrants and minorities? What special social contributions can be traced to such groups? Did British response attitudes towards immigrants and minorities present any recognisable patterns? What kind of conditions influenced the creation of attitudes and actions? What governed the ways in which immigrants and minorities were perceived? What were the tensions which could lead to scapegoating? What role did the immigrant or minority group play in creating conflict situations? What were the factors which, by contrast, guaranteed the acceptance of immigrant and minority groups? What resulted in such groups being tolerated even if they were not accepted?[35] What did immigrant and minority groups absorb from Britain? What changes were effected over time in their

life-styles? What were the major response patterns of immigrants and minorities to their situation? Can we find evidence of avoidance, acceptance or aggression or a mixture of these? And, since immigrant and minority groups are not homogeneous social entities, do we encounter different responses even under similar circumstances? It is to questions of this kind that historians should be posing further questions or providing some answers.

CHAPTER 1: NOTES

1 On the difficulty of defining 'minority', see G. E. Simpson and J. M. Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities* (3rd edn, New York, 1965), pp. 16-18.
2 S. Lieberson, 'A societal theory of race and ethnic relations', *American Sociological Review* (henceforth *ASR*), vol. 26 (1961), pp. 902-10, particularly p. 904 refers to different types of contact situations.
3 Christine Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race* (London, 1971), p. x.
4 J. Geipel, *The Europeans. An Ethnohistorical Survey* (London, 1969), pp. 163-4.
5 See Chapter 2 in the present volume.
6 Samuel Smiles, *The Huguenots* (new and rev. edn, London, 1880), pp. 251 *ff*. See also I. Scouloudi, 'Alien immigration into and alien communities in London 1558-1640' (MSc London, 1936), and Alice Clare Carter, *Getting, Spending and Investing in Early Modern Times* (Assen, 1975), for Huguenot financial activity.
7 Stephen Aris, *The Jews in Business* (London, 1970).
8 For an overview of recent trends see *Colour and Citizenship*, ed. E. J. B. Rose *et al.* (London, 1969), pp. 149-81.
9 C. C. Aronsfeld, 'Jewish patrons of British music', *Jewish Chronicle* 21 October 1955.
10 Recent contributions are referred to in Christopher Booker, *The Neophiliacs* (London, 1970), pp. 93-5.
11 Geoffrey Alderman is currently working on the part played by Jews in British politics since Emancipation.
12 For some perceptive general remarks around this theme see Edna Bonacich, 'A theory of ethnic antagonism: the split labor market', *ASR*, vol. 37 (1972), pp. 547-59.
13 Michael Banton, *Race Relations* (London, 1967), pp. 298-9 discusses the distinction between prejudice and antipathy.
14 See Paul Foot, *Immigration and Race in British Politics* (Harmondsworth, 1965), pp. 87 *ff*. for an analysis of the way in which matters relating to Jewish immigration at the turn of the century could be exploited for political purposes.
15 H. J. Perkin, 'Social History' in *Approaches to History*, ed. H. P. R. Finberg (London, 1962), pp. 64, 70.
16 See the inaugural lecture by D. C. Coleman, *What Has Happened to Economic History?* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 22-3 for an indication of some of these advances. Sociology was equally slow in taking up the study of race relations to which, it might be thought, immigration from the old Commonwealth would have provided a spur. See Michael Banton, 'The future of race relations in Britain: the establishment of a multi-disciplinary research unit', *Race*, vol. XV (1973), pp. 224-5.
17 James Walvin, *Black and White: The Negro in English Society, 1555-1945* (London, 1973), p. 218.
18 Kenneth Little, *Negroes in Britain: A Study of Racial Relations in English Society* (with a new Introduction by Leonard Bloom) (London, 1972).

19 See the remarks by Bernard Gainer in *Victorian Studies,* vol. XVI (1972), p. 118, where he refers to the growing interest in immigration as a consequence of the experience of black immigration, as well as noting the previous absence of interest in such matters.
20 See the review in *Race,* vol. V (1964), p. 99.
21 See references below pp. 109-10.
22 See A. Sivanandan, *Race and Resistance—the IRR story* (London, 1974), for one version of the situation.
23 The metropolitan survey of the Chinese is in Ng Kwee Choo *The Chinese in London* (London, 1968). In an earlier survey of minorities on Teeside, Sydney Collins in *Coloured Minorities in Britain* (London, 1951) had made reference to the Chinese minority in the north-east. The basis for a detailed analysis of British Labour's responses to Chinese competition has been laid in J. P. May, 'The British working class and the Chinese 1870-1911, with particular reference to the seamen's strike of 1911' (MA Warwick, 1973).
24 Quoted in Robert Moore, *Racism and Black Resistance* (London, 1975), p. 5.
25 Such studies can have a relevance outside the area of immigration studies. Leonard Bloom in his introduction to Little, op. cit., p. 7, has written: 'A question unanswerable in the 1940s and just beginning to be posed again is: how far is the history of a coloured quarter such as that of Cardiff a paradigm for the future of urban development as a whole? It is astonishing—even regrettable—that there have been no longitudinal studies of, for example, Liverpool's District 6 or of Southall or Islington which might (when compared and contrasted with Cardiff) offer a first approximation to an answer. One of the few studies of immigrant communities which in effect extends the ecological-sociological analysis that Little inaugurated is Jones's monograph on Birmingham.' The last reference is to P. N. Jones, *The Segregation of Immigrant Communities in the City of Birmingham, 1961* (University of Hull Occasional Papers in Geography no. 7). It might be appropriate here to mention that the Research Unit on Ethnic Relations at the University of Bristol is in the process of making a number of detailed studies of immigration into Leeds.
26 Any such analysis could build upon H. Gollwitzer, *Die Gelbe Gefahr: Geschichte eines Schlagworts—Studien zum imperialistischen Denken* (Göttingen, 1962), pp. 47-67.
27 See R. F. Foerster, *The Italian Emigration of Our Times* (Cambridge, Mass., 1919), p. 205.
28 Though a study is being made of this by Deborah Franklin of Edinburgh University.
29 Lesley Miriam Waldenberg, 'The history of Anglo-Jewish responses to immigration and racial tension 1950-70' (MA Sheffield, 1973), touches in a selective and outline way on this contemporary issue.
30 Some consideration is given to this in Perry Anderson, 'Components of the national culture' in *Student Power,* ed. Alexander Cockburn and Robin Blackburn (Harmondsworth, 1969), pp. 214-84.
31 See John Rex and Robert Moore, *Race, Community and Conflict: A Study of Sparkbrook* (London, 1967).
32 Some indication of differences in Britain is given in John Rex, 'The future of race relations research in Britain. Sociological research and the politics of racial justice', *Race,* vol. XIV (1973), pp. 481-8.
33 Michael Banton, 'The concept of racism' in *Race and Racialism,* ed. Sami Zubaida (London, 1970), pp. 22-4. A similar stand, although in a different situation, is in E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York, 1963), p. 12.
34 On the importance of this comparative type of approach see John Higham, 'Anti-semitism in the gilded age. A re-interpretation', *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* vol. XLIII (1956-7), p. 569. Gareth Stedman Jones, 'History: the poverty of empiricism' in *Ideology in Social Science,* ed. Robin Blackburn (London, 1972), pp. 96-115, has some perceptive and relevant comments on 'history' and 'theory'.
35 The abortive Morrell Studies in Toleration might have told us a good deal about this.

2 Britons Old and New

by V. G. Kiernan

I

Wherever *homo sapiens* made his first and on the whole regrettable appearance, it was not in Britain; all our ancestral stocks came from somewhere else. Until a few thousand years ago this country was physically joined to the continent, and could be reached on foot; while in historic times the periods when it was politically combined with some part of the continent, as inferior or superior, may add up to something like a millennium. It has always been close enough to Europe to receive easily from it, separate enough to mould all old and new elements into novel patterns. Through the ancient epoch of folk-wandering it lay at the terminus of the long Euro-Asian road from the east, the main highway of migration. Much concerning all the early comings must remain nearly as mysterious as the one represented by the Celtic ghosts who were ferried over with muffled oars to Britain, as the realm farthest west, where the sun went down, and therefore, the abode of the dead.[1] But if ever a last trump is heard over this island a very miscellaneous multitude will be ready to rise from sleep.

Family names like Spain, Brabant, Ireland—or French, German, Fleming—are reminders of mixed origins. 'The British are clearly among the most ethnically composite of the Europeans.'[2] They have always had a hazy awareness of this, and have often looked back with satisfaction on one strand or another of their ancestry. Milton cherished an old belief that Britons were descended from a Brutus, great-grandson of Aeneas of Troy, who landed at Totnes in Devonshire and founded London.[3] Englishmen have prided themselves on descent from more flesh-and-blood newcomers like the Huguenots, who left their homes for the sake of conscience, or, better still, from Normans who left home in quest of plunder and power. On the whole they comfortably take it for granted that they are heirs to the good qualities of all, with none of the bad. It is more realistic to recognise that all immigrations have had some worse as well as better consequences.

Four centuries of Roman occupation brought few Romans to Britain, but many heterogeneous outsiders, traders and other colonists and,

probably most numerous, soldiers from anywhere in the empire who remained, after their years of service, with citizen status. In the garrisons of Hadrian's wall and the Cumberland and Pennine forts in its rear can be counted detachments from Gaul, Spain, Germany, the Balkans, Asia Minor, Africa; a Dalmatian cohort defended Hardknott pass among the Lakes.[4] To the Anglo-Saxons who took Rome's place the Britons were 'Welsh', *foreigners* in their own land, a designation scattered across Europe from Wales and Cornwall to Wallachia. Slowly an amalgamation of peoples took place, and a haphazard, much-interrupted drift towards nationhood. East Anglia takes its name from a district of Slesvig known from its shape as the 'fish-hook',[5] and in the form *England* this was coming to be attached to the whole country, which in Latin still went by its title as a Roman province. Alfred the Great's grandson Athelstan, crowned in 925, called himself on his coins *'Rex totius Britanniae'*.

Despite the stormy years of Danish irruption and partial occupation of the north, the country survived and its upper classes, at least, prospered. 'The last Old English kings had a highly-trained clerical staff which the wealth of England had allowed them to recruit from the best brains of Europe.'[6] London, though already distinctly the national capital, was rising in importance largely through its nearness to the continent, and was a gateway for foreign entry. Native ill-will grew against these interlopers and against the mounting Norman influence at the court of Edward the Confessor. If the Norman conquest which followed brought new trades, ideas, cathedral-building arts, all these were paid for—like Peter the Great's foreign-built palaces and armies—by the degradation of a peasantry forced down into serfdom. And if it so often appears in the following centuries that England was still a backward place, chronically in need of new blood from abroad, much of this retardation can be ascribed to the barbarising effect of the conquest.

II

A very mixed lot followed the Conqueror's banner. His invasion was carried out in partnership with Flanders (including much of the later Holland), whose Count Baldwin V was his father-in-law. Flemish ships helped to transport the expedition, Flemish knights won important fiefs. Normandy's western neighbour Brittany too supplied a quota of free-booters. It is a good illustration of the to-and-fro movement there has always been across these narrow seas that Brittany owed parts of its Celtic population to Britons quitting Cornwall after the Saxon entry, while long before that the tribe of the Veneti removed from Brittany to Cornwall when Caesar was subduing Gaul.

Saxons and Danes had been peasants seeking land to plough; the newcomers had different ambitions. London with its foreign ingredient

capitulated promptly, and many from towns like Rouen and Caen now settled there.[7] In 1066 Norwich had a population, English and Danish, of about 5,500: in 1086 at the time of Domesday Book this had only recovered to 5,000, among whom were Flemings and Bretons and the forty-one French and eighty-three other burgesses of the 'French borough' set up by Ralf, Earl of East Anglia.[8] It was government policy to plant colonies at strategic points, as the Romans had done. Nottingham too had one, which 'preserved its separate existence and special customs for centuries'[9]—a fact which must have some bearing on the saga of Robin Hood and the Sheriff of Nottingham. When Nasmyth started his engineering works at Manchester he found the town 'the centre of a population gifted with mechanical instinct', handed down, he gathered, from the days of Norman armourers collected there by Hugo de Lupus, chief weapon-maker to the Conqueror.[10]

William's son Rufus built walls and a castle and planted settlers at Carlisle, and in 1107 his successor Henry I established Flemings at points in Pembroke, where they gave him a grip on the coast facing Ireland; this remote county came to be known as 'Little England beyond Wales'. In addition, 'Flemish clerks came to play a regular, if often unpopular, part in most English administrations',[11] and resentment at their share in the foreign domination went on for long enough. 'Death to the Flemings' was a watchword of many rebel bands. For very much longer still, plebian ill-humour found expression in a tenacious conviction that a 'Norman yoke' lay on England, that its people were still under a foreign heel.[12] Social consciousness has often owed much to this sort of dogged dislike of a ruling class as an alien intruder, long after it has ceased to be really foreign. Communities resemble women in resenting ill-usage from outsiders which they acquiesce in by force of habit from their own kith and kin. In Scotland intrusions of the same kind took place under a monarchy, originally Celtic, but by the end of the eleventh century Anglo-Normanised. To strengthen its power it brought in Anglo-Norman and Flemish adventurers to form a baronage, a curse to Scotland from then on; while the Lowland towns were at first, as in Ireland and much of northern and eastern Europe, mainly foreign settlements. Many English came; Dumfries started as a colony of the ubiquitous Flemings.

In 1066 something like two millennia of invasions, with a partial lull under the Roman shield, came to an end, except for sporadic incursions. Immigration from now on was a matter of peaceful entry, and had to fit into a more or less orderly society under unified control. There must always have been a trickle (in both directions) of fugitives from justice, or injustice. Others were escaping from local dearths or epidemics or wars. All such calamities must have helped to provide recruits for the oldest profession, always likely to include foreign contingents. In the days, or nights, of Richard II the long-celebrated brothels of Southwark were owned by Mayor Walworth, and were leased from him by Flemish

women,[13] which gave Wat Tyler's men in 1381 a double motive for attacking them.

Most often immigrants came in groups, or were joining communities already established. They might be invited or sponsored by the government, which would in any case wish to see them placed under proper regulation. Indeed, it might be said that patronising and utilising foreigners was one of the prime functions of the monarchy, and helped to expand its sphere of influence. Itself for a long time an exotic, this government was well fitted to siphon newcomers into the life of the country. Plantagenet rulers frequently employed foreign councillors, churchmen and, most obnoxious of all to their subjects, professional soldiers. Prolonged attempts to gain possession of French provinces, or all France, created fresh links. More Gascons may have been brought into England through them than Englishmen into Gascony, and often they stayed.

Among all incomers the Jews stood out as the most distinct body, and as doubly alien. Their advent was for the most part a consequence of the Norman conquest. They were French, 'and French the Jews in England remained',[14] except in not being Christian. In the fashioning of feudal Europe it is possible to describe the Jews as 'agents of civilization',[15] but as seen by the victims of the process they were likelier to appear agents of tyranny. At various times during their sojourn in England they were mulcted by John, hard up for funds in his efforts to recover Normandy; they had to pay part of the cost of the conquest of Wales; that of the third crusade was largely plundered from them. Jewish money was lent to Strongbow for the first incursion into Ireland.[16] Jews thus continued to be very markedly instruments of feudal imperialism, though their gains from it must have been far smaller than their losses. It was characteristic of their position that at Norwich, where they were not confined to a ghetto, they mostly clustered together under the castle on its lofty mound, that monument of Norman pride and English subjection. They were 'regarded as part of the royal domain',[17] and could survive only by virtue of this shelter. Segregation helped to preserve their communal life and institutions; their miniature republics, with councils and law courts of their own, were a model that their urban neighbours may be supposed to have learned something from, and under happier conditions might have learned more.

In 1130 London Jews were heavily fined because, it seems, Jewish physicians failed to cure a Christian client. At this rate medical science would be almost as hazardous to practitioner as to patient. But finance was increasingly the main Jewish occupation; in commerce Christian competition was stiffer, whereas it took Christians some time to find ways of dodging their own ban on usury. Few Jews achieved wealth; 'many of them were obscure people, despised, in constant danger, living precariously as small money-lenders and receivers of stolen goods'.[18] To the upper classes they were a necessary evil, contemptible as the least warlike in a

military society. In a land bitterly divided by race, and for a hundred years or so by blood and speech, they made, as in so many other corners of history, convenient scapegoats. East Anglia was remarkable for its anti-Jewish temper,[19] and it was likewise a region where the Norman heel was heavy. By Jew-baiting demagogy a largely foreign Church hierarchy could hope to win the trust of its English flock; the gradual mingling of Norman and Saxon must have owed something to it. That the ritual murder story about the boy William at Norwich in 1144 was the first such tale to get afloat in Europe is a measure of the degree of social tension. Atrocity charges against aliens habitually turn on crimes against children or women. Another case, that of the boy Hugh of Lincoln, made even more stir.

Royal protection came under increasing strain from fanaticism stirred up by the Crusades. 'At no other time in the blood-stained record of the Middle Ages were the English horrors of 1189-90 surpassed.'[20] From 1218 Jews were compelled to wear a special badge. There was another climax in 1262 when 700 London Jews were said to have been massacred by rioters and their property plundered. Conversions were still encouraged, proof that anti-Jewish feeling was social and religious, not yet racial—at least on the official level, though as in Spain and elsewhere the reactions of the man in the street may always have been more primitive. Politically it was an object of the baronial party, resisting encroachments by the crown, to deprive it of the resources it drew from the Jews, as well as of the foreign soldiery these resources partly paid for. Never-ending royal exactions were crippling them as effectively as their enemies could wish. Only seventeen Jewish families were left in Norwich, and perhaps barely 3,000 Jews in the country,[21] when in 1290 Edward I confiscated their bonds and most of their other belongings and banished them. This was in appearance a concession to public opinion, in fact its motive was simply the king's pressing need for money.[22] Three centuries later it still came naturally to Falstaff to clinch his tale of the men in buckram with 'I am a Jew else, an Ebrew Jew!'

III

Finance was now for long in the hands of other foreigners, 'Caursines' from Cahors, 'Lombards' from north Italy. There was a riot in London against the Lombards in 1357.[23] As individuals such dealers came and went, as groups they constituted a foreign presence which persisted. So did the merchants of that loose trading association of towns, mainly German, the Hansa. Its 'Steelyard' or London depot was on the river, near Blackfriars; here in earlier days the merchants lived in austere seclusion, forbidden to marry native women or admit them to the premises. They enjoyed what would later be called extraterritorial rights, managing their affairs through their own aldermen and guildhall. Their privileges

inspired jealousy among their English rivals, and they were nearly as much dependent as the Jews had been on royal favour, which they had to make sure of by well-timed loans and, it was rumoured, well-placed gifts to men of influence.

Those who came to stay for good were mostly from overcrowded Flanders, whose towns were foremost in the weaving industry which England with its sheep and wool was eager to develop. A craftsman is seldom likely to remove to such a distance as a merchant, and it was of great moment for English progress, primarily in the south-east, that this area lay so close to the Netherlands and to the adjacent parts of northern France. Together these three regions formed in many ways a single whole, the nucleus of that north-west Europe which was ultimately to take the lead in world progress. Physically their peoples were not marked off from one another by any obtrusive peculiarities. Assimilation, often through intermarriage, could be fairly easy. It is well to remember on the other hand that intermarrying between foreign men and local women is always liable to cause hostile reactions: it may sharpen the sense of alien intrusion, especially among those men who feel they have been deprived of wives. This was indeed a grievance of the London 'prentices who rioted in 1517. London's size and geographical position gave it, as always, a major share of the influx. East Anglia was the other biggest recipient. Much of this eastward bulge was cut off from the midlands by stretches of fen, and was more easily reached from across the sea.[24]

Besides the technical innovations they brought with them, the migrants enriched economic organisation, it would seem in two contradictory ways. Centres like Ghent were throwing up early forms of capitalism; it was from the heavy hand of an employer that craftsmen who left home were sometimes fleeing, and they appear to have carried with them forms of craft unions which they reproduced in England as their safeguard in a new environment. This was likely to set the ruling mercantile groups in London and elsewhere against them: hence they too, like so many others, needed the royal countenance, which they secured by paying for special charters, but their craft guilds provided a model for English artisans to copy.[25] There must have come besides with these weavers some germs of the religious heresies, moods of social protest, generated in their homeland by class strife; the nickname 'Lollard' bestowed on Wycliffe's followers, who were numerous in East Anglia, came from a Dutch word used of sectaries in the Netherlands. At the same time, the capitalism nascent there might itself cross the sea. Edward III's statute of 1337 held out a general welcome and offered tax exemptions. Employers who took advantage of this, bringing their workmen in their train, may well have been 'the pioneers of capitalistic production in England', and by the late fourteenth century such Flemings as John Kemp or Thomas Blanket were 'the earliest "captains of industry" whom we can identify by name in this country'.[26] Later immigration nourished capitalism's further growth.[27]

Various other strangers with special abilities were being encouraged, as assets to national development and royal revenue. In the mid-fourteenth century a team of miners from Bohemia were invited to England, and a German named Tillmann was managing silver and lead mines at Alston in the Lake District:[28] mining was always a central-European speciality. From early in the next century Germans and Netherlanders were employed as cannon-founders; about 1440 Hollanders were installed at Winchelsea to make salt; Dutch methods were giving fresh life to the brick industry, and by the end of that century Dutch beer was supplanting ale, and Dutch brewers were prospering.[29] Linen was another novelty from the Netherlands. Directly or indirectly some of these products competed with native wares, and made for animosities. As usual ill-feeling was a hotchpotch of rational and irrational, far commoner in history than any well-defined class consciousness.

It was a factor from the late fourteenth century in London politics. London craftsmen disliked competition from the provinces, as well as from aliens in their own vicinity, whereas the wealthy drapers, wanting a national market, welcomed both.[30] In 1450 Jack Cade tried to play on anti-foreign sentiment in the capital.[31] An artificers' petition of 1463-4 bewailed 'the grete nombre and multitude of Aliens and Straungers of dyvers nations . . . havying and settyng a werke grete nombre of people in their houses of their owne nations, and noon other . . .'.[32] In 1470 during the Wars of the Roses, a century after the example set by Wat Tyler, a force of Kentishmen invading the city attacked Flemish and German houses. A statute of 1484 imposed restrictions on businessmen of alien origin, notably on their employment of foreign workmen or apprentices. Nine years later there was a mob attack on the Steelyard, and on the 'Evil Mayday' of 1517 a mob of 'prentices sacked dwellings of French and Flemish artisans. At bottom what was happening was that industrial advance, hastened by the supply of foreign labour and methods, was making it harder for apprentices to rise to the status of masters. 'The real evil', as Unwin wrote—in 1908, when London was once again in an uproar about cheap foreign labour—'for which the innocent alien was made the scapegoat was . . . that massing of unorganised labour which is popularly known as the "sweating system" '.[33] In other words this Mayday was, long before 1 May became Labour Day, an elemental protest against encroaching capitalism.

But it was covertly seconded by citizens higher up the scale, who had quite other aims in view; who wanted, in fact, not to halt the coming of capitalism but to make sure of being the capitalists themselves. A precocious 'national bourgeoisie' was taking shape. Unwin pointed out that London aldermen down to the thirteenth century were frequently of Italian, Gascon, Jewish derivation, and retained close links with other lands, but that a process of fusion was vigorously at work.[34] Business interests of native or assimilated groups found expression under Henry VI

in the anonymous *Libel of English Policy*, which abounded in anti-foreign declamation and charged aliens with playing the spy as well as draining the national wealth. These interests and popular excitement converged against the Hansa, above all, as an embodiment of collective foreign privilege. It lost its special advantages in 1556 and 1579; in 1589 the Steelyard, that bone so long stuck in London's throat, at last came to an end.

IV

Roughly between 1540 and 1660 England was going through an age of profound change, leading from a Reformation to a sort of bourgeois revolution. In the course of it the country was growing more fully into a nation. This process continued to owe much to the irritant of dislike of foreigners; yet contradictorily, the fact that England was fast evolving into a nation enabled it to assimilate new arrivals, generation by generation, as the East European or Asian state never could, and turn them into Englishmen.

One aspect of the transformation undergone in this period was a further shuffling up of peoples within the British Isles, along with their virtual incorporation into a single state. Attempts to impose a hegemony over the islands had begun long since. Ireland was first assailed in 1189, and by 1400 there were Irish pockets in London and west-coast ports. Wales was more thoroughly subdued, but an Act of 1400 prevented Welshmen from becoming citizens of any English town, except by special legal process. They were colonial subjects, not brothers. Scots in England after the failure of Edward I's attempt at conquest were still very distinctly aliens, and with perpetual border warfare they were visitors to be kept at arm's length. No Scot could enter York without leave, and in 1501 hammers were placed at each of the Bars for them to knock with for admission.[35] Relations were improved by both countries turning Protestant, without taking on any great warmth. There were 'Skottishe pipers' at the Essex assizes in 1594:[36] a Scots heir to the throne was in the offing now. When he took his seat on it in 1603 he and his Scots favourites did nothing to make their compatriots more acceptable. There was lengthy wrangling with Parliament over James's desire to create a common nationality at least for the benefit of *post nati*, or those born after his accession in England, until this principle was endorsed by the judges in 'Calvin's case'.

Meanwhile Wales had been incorporated into England by the Acts of 1536 and 1543. There were wider opportunities now for English-speaking Welshmen, some of whom were trying their luck in England. One Denbigh family which adopted by marriage the name of Myddleton held a variety of posts under Tudor rulers, and three brothers from it captained early East India Company voyages.[37] A contrasting figure, symbolic of a dying past, was the Welsh minstrel executed in England in 1541 for

chanting a prophecy of evil omen to the king. Inside Wales feuding and fighting went on for a long time yet, and gave its inhabitants a reputation little to the advantage of those in England, where the jingle 'Taffy was a Welshman, Taffy was a thief', pursued them. Ireland remained Catholic, and therefore grew more, not less, incompatible with its neighbour. In Elizabeth's later years English invasion and famine dislodged a swarm of the destitute, so many of whom flocked to London that steps were taken to repatriate them.[38]

More extraordinary than any visitants from the Celtic borderlands were some from other continents, few in numbers, but highly noticeable. At every stage of English history there have been some such outlandish folk catching the limelight and enabling more humdrum entrants to make their way more easily. First to appear were the gypsies, straggling into the Western countries and then Britain from early in the fifteenth century. Many guesses were current about their birthplace; their own pretentious account of themselves was that they were natives of Egypt, Christians on pilgrimage. Wanderers instead of settlers, of dubious faith and unsavoury morals, they were soon in trouble. With their buffoonery, palmistry, fortune telling, they took their place with other strolling entertainers, but they were accused of picking pockets as well. Rumour multiplied them, and they were supposed, without much foundation, to move about in large bands. Fifteen 'Egyptians' were indeed laid by the heels at one stroke in August 1566 at Great Chesterford.[39]

In 1651 during the Cromwellian occupation of Scotland a report from Dundee state that 'There are about an hundred people of severall nations, call'd heere by the name of Egyptians, which doe att this day ramble uppe and downe . . . and cheate and cozen the country'.[40] From the outset the more disorderly condition of Scotland, and of the English side of the border too, encouraged their less legitimate propensities, though its backwardness also left more room for their useful functions as tinkers and potters. Up north, with a more unshackled life, they could preserve more of their artistic gifts, and be better than mere buffoons. We hear of their annually performing plays at Roslin, near Edinburgh, and being lodged in the castle.[41] As against this, they were often accused not only of robbery but of living among themselves in a state of indiscriminate free love, even incest. Similar tales were told of the sixteenth-century Anabaptists. Any group living outside ordinary boundaries and conventions is apt to be suspected of sexual deviations, for the family is the ordinary man's standard of civilisation.

Another new species the waves were bearing to Britain's shores was still more startlingly unfamiliar. By about 1550 there were black faces in England, though not, it is likely, many hundreds. They were brought in mostly as slaves; some were then given freedom, or took it by deserting. There was learned debate over what made their skins so dark.[42] Government did not concern itself with such speculative matters, but in 1596 it

wrote to the mayors of London and other towns that too many 'blackamoores' were being introduced, 'considerynge how God had blessed this land with great increase of people . . .'.[43] In 1601 a proclamation ordered their expulsion, one ground being that most of them were pagans. Some appear to have remained clandestinely, and, obscure as the record is, it must be taken into account as part of what shaped Othello's reception in the Globe theatre.

By far the noisiest excitement was stirred up, near the close of this period, by a third phenomenon, a new Jewish community.[44] Its members or their parents or grandparents were exiles from Spain and Portugal, coming by way of Holland. Their spokesman Menasseh furnished a statement that most of them did not live by usury, and that they disapproved of excessive rates of interest.[45] In spite of this, indignation ran very high in 1655 over the proposal to readmit them, which even Cromwell could not get accepted fully and formally. Jews had entered after 1066 in the train of a conqueror, and were returning by the grace of a dictator. In Puritan eyes their Old Testament annals might invest them with an aura, but conservatism was strenuous, and not confined to mob clamour. London businessmen were opposed to any reception of these competitors, more threatening than ordinary foreigners because of their network of international connections. All the same, after the Restoration the Jews were quietly allowed to stay. Pepys visited their synagogue in 1663 and recorded his disgust at the 'disorder, laughing, sporting, and no attention, but confusion in all their service';[46] he may be suspected of annoyance at finding the women hidden behind a lattice. William Penn declared that his Red Indians looked to him so much like Jews that they might well belong to the lost tribes of Israel—'a man would think himself in Dukes Place or Berry Street in London when he seeth them'.[47]

All this time England had been absorbing European immigrants in greater numbers than ever before. It was not the only country where men were trying to find new homes: this epoch saw legions up and down Europe turned adrift by chronic warfare, economic dislocation, political or religious repression. England and the British Isles as part of this cauldron were both gainers and losers. They lost population mostly from their economically sluggish periphery, and gained mostly in the advanced south-east: regional imbalance was accentuated. It was the climax of centuries of smaller-scale immigration, and may have made possible what has been called England's 'first industrial revolution', along with a further consolidation of capitalism. Foreign craftsmen can be seen as the chief authors of an 'industrial renaissance' affecting every branch of production.[48]

Traditional policies continued—they were imitated with less success by Scotland[49]—of admitting or importing whatever talents were deemed requisite by those in a position to decide. Cromwell's open door for the Jews was an example: he looked forward to an expansion of trade through

their agency, and, it may be, to loans for his government on easier terms. Foreign techniques could scarcely be acquired except by foreigners being brought in. Official interest was keenest in the military and industrial fields. Edward IV had settled 300 Flemish armourers in Yorkshire to make hand-guns.[50] Other armourers followed from Italy, Germany, France, the Netherlands. Stefan von Haschenperg from Moravia built for Henry VIII the citadel at Carlisle, and extended the castle. A German engineer, John Rosworm, defended Manchester against the Royalists in 1642. Elizabeth's ministers sent for Italian makers of alum, required for the finishing of cloth, as well as German metal-workers to impart their knowledge of smelting. Aliens as well as Englishmen were granted monopoly patents by Burleigh with a view to the creation of new industries.[51] Monopolies were becoming a serious public grievance, because they raised prices, and when they were bestowed on outsiders two dislikes converged.

In mining, the sixteenth century was one of improving technique and equipment. There were Breton and Dutch miners working tin and copper in Cornwall, Frenchmen elsewhere working lead and iron,[52] but Germans kept their traditional superiority. About 1565 the old mines near Keswick began to be worked again, on up-to-date lines, by a band from Tyrol and Styria, led by Daniel Höchstetter whose father had been Master of the Mines before him. They were badly received by the Dales-folk, and had to seek safety for a while by living on an island in the lake.[53] They built copper-smelting works at Keswick and Newlands, and extended their delvings to Coniston. There from about 1600 their names stand in the parish register, melting little by little into English shapes: Puchberger evolved into Puthparker.[54] Various of them flourished and founded or entered county families, like the Tullies whose charming 1689 house now forms part of Carlisle museum.

In management of water the Dutch enjoyed the same supremacy as the Germans underground. A medieval mill near East Linton in the Lothians was rebuilt early in the seventeenth century by a laird whose Dutch wife managed to get a secret design smuggled out of her homeland.[55] A little before this, a Dutchman constructed an impressive pump near London Bridge to conduct Thames water into houses by means of lead pipes.[56] It must have put some water-carriers out of work, as the spread of piping in European towns was to go on doing for a long while. But the grand field of action was the draining of marshes. In the 1620s the Isle of Axholme in Lincolnshire was being drained by Vermuyden, who lived to be Sir Cornelius, with Netherlanders in his labour force of whom 200 families settled down there.[57] This roused loud, even riotous protest. In 1637 the Earl of Bedford with a dozen partners embarked on a big project in Fenland, with Vermuyden in charge; his labourers included a colony of French Protestants.[58] As so often before and after, foreigners were being summoned by the ruling class for its own benefit: in the long run their

achievements might be good for the nation, but common people at the time had their own reasons for dissatisfaction. To the Fen-dwellers all this was undermining their mode of life and livelihood, and they resorted to acts of sabotage in their attempts to stop it.

Tudor politics afforded room for some adventurers of the type depicted in Elizabethan melodramas about Italy, such as the mysterious 'Captain Jacques', or Jacomo di Francisci, obscurely connected with Christopher Hatton; a 'violent and dangerous man', said to have been born in Antwerp of Italian parentage.[59] Sir Horatio Palavicino had a more reputable career in government service. For scholars, England could be a rewarding and relatively peaceful haven. Emanual van Meteren or 'Demetrius', a Netherlander who made his home in London in spite of some friction with officialdom, and died there in 1612, was historian as well as trader.[60] Heinrich Oldenburg, consul for his native town of Bremen, was another who stayed; he was active in the Royal Society, and could keep it in touch with savants abroad until his death in 1678. In attitudes to foreign men of learning an antithesis may be observed between Bacon's *New Atlantis* of 1626, with its *ancien régime* fear of unsettling influences, and *The Advancement of Learning* written by John Hall in 1649 under the Commonwealth, and breathing a sanguine liberalism. Hall wanted the universities to 'attract knowing men from abroad' to fill their gaps—as the Dutch by doing 'have in a manner monopolized all the sparkling wits of Europe'.[61] An instance of the sort of individual he had in view was the Samuel Hartlib, son of a merchant of Poland, who wrote on agriculture and inspired, though it now seems he did not write, one of the many Utopian tracts of the time, *Macaria* (1641).[62]

Art has habitually been regarded as an only half-respectable occupation, and as such suitable for foreigners. England abounded in writers and musicians, but its visual arts lagged far behind. A procession of portraitists flocked to make good the deficiency, headed by Hans Holbein of Augsburg, who died in London in 1543. Van Dyck, born at Antwerp, came to rest in England in 1632, and found there a wife, a knighthood, and in 1641 a grave. Lely arrived in that same year. About him and others like Kneller critical opinion has been divided, and it is permissible to hold that their influence was unwholesome, or that it had a stifling effect on native talent.[63]

V

Sundry artists reached these shores as refugees, like Gheeraerdts who left Bruges as a boy with his father in 1568; it has been said that one consequence of the St Bartholomew massacre was 'the first return to British art of regular European influence' after the middle ages.[64] No doubt motives were often mixed, in all walks of life, and hope of material betterment might predominate. When an inquiry was made in 1571,

about a quarter of the foreigners in London admitted that they had come simply to make a living.[65] We may recall the pair of Flemings in Thomas Deloney's novel who, driven from home by floods, took jobs wanted by no one else as London catchpoles, or constables, and were pitiably nervous when they had to make an arrest.[66] But persecution was the sharpest incentive, and it added a larger middle-class contingent to the artisans who as always formed the majority. By the middle of the sixteenth century a swarm of Protestants from Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands and Spain were to be found in London. Among members of an Italian congregation were the Florio whose son translated Montaigne, and the Gentile whose son became professor of civil law at Oxford.[67] There were some from lands as distant as Poland and Hungary, but it was the revolt of the Netherlands against Spain, and Alva's reign of terror in that old breeding ground of emigrants and new Englishmen, that set in motion far the biggest flow. It came from the southern provinces, where the Spanish army kept its hold while the north won independence, and now more than in former times from both southern linguistic divisions, the Walloon (a name of the same derivation as 'Wales') as well as the Flemish.

A country receiving useful immigrants, as England was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is getting for nothing skill or strength that other lands have had the expense of producing. In a mainly agricultural population of 5 or 6 million, an influx of possibly 50,000 or more even before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes would represent a significant addition to the industrial labour force, even though not all were bread-winners. In general the result was to strengthen the propertied classes, as an exodus from the Spanish Netherlands to Holland was doing there too. It could do so in two ways, by swelling the ranks both of employers and of wage earners. Netherlanders often came in bodies, masters and workmen together, as they had sometimes done in older times. Artisans coming on their own, and for the most part destitute, would often be compelled to work for English masters, at whatever wages they were offered. Their services would be the more valuable because so much of the early proletariat of England, as of all Europe in that age of crumbling feudal society, preferred vagrancy or beggary, and was—or might seem to its betters—unemployable.

It was well for the homeless strangers that there was a national government here, firm and energetic enough to find room for them. Special arrangements had to be made to fit them into an elaborate system of industrial regulation and inspection.[68] Religion could enlist fellow-feeling, and the presence of so many devotees, the majority Calvinist, must have added to the radical ferment in English Protestantism. Still, in the Tudor age the mass of Englishmen were only slowly turning away from Catholicism. To many of them all outlanders would look much the same, whether fleeing from Inquisition or from hunger, and there was plenty of hunger in England, and little wish for more mouths to come and share

what bread was to be had. Conflicting emotions find vent in *The Book of Sir Thomas More*, the play Shakespeare is believed to have had a hand in. Migrants are seen as parasites, taking away the Englishman's livelihood and his women, but protected by the laws. 'It is hard when Englishmens pacience must be thus jetted on by straungers and they dare not to revenge their owne wrongs.' But there is also human sympathy at the thought of:

> wretched straingers
> Their babies at their backs, and their poor lugage
> Plodding to th' ports and coasts for transportation.

This play never reached the stage, and censorship, nervous of public disturbances, may explain why the theme of immigration—which Dekker turned to comic purposes in his *Shoemakers' Holiday*—does not bulk larger in Elizabethan drama; also why the playwright Thomas Kyd was arrested for his anti-foreign pamphlets.[69]

Refugees were predominantly townsmen, like all incomers from the Danes to the nineteenth century; in England the usual psychological gulf between countryside and town was widened by the foreign admixture the town was constantly receiving. There seems to have been recognition that it would be unwise to let too many aliens pile up in a few localities. Moreover, the wider they could be dispersed the better known their craft methods would come to be. Norwich's first printer was an Antony de Solempne.[70] Herring curing, the foundation of Holland's prosperity, was started at Yarmouth. Flemish weavers earned a living as far west as Glastonbury and as far north as Kendal, French lace-makers in Northants; Flemings gave Sheffield its first start in iron working, and Newcastle—where there were also iron-workers from Liége—in glass blowing. However, official machinery was inadequate for a systematic programme of dispersal, and piling up did take place, at and near the points of entry, and fanned lurking bitterness. The heaviest accumulation was in London —'the world's asylum', as Samuel Smiles proudly called it: 'the refuge of the persecuted of all lands . . . one of the most composite populations to be found in the world'. He quotes a byword current in Henry VIII's time, 'Tottenham is turned French'; a district in Bermondsey came to be called 'The Borgeny', or 'Petty Burgundy'.[71] In 1571 the mayor reported 4,631 aliens, in the City alone; by 1583 there were said to be 5,000; in 1621, this total had doubled. Doubtless many always went unreported, still more in the mushrooming slum-suburbs. A powerful commission was set up in 1621 to study the statutes relating to aliens, and allegations that they were being evaded;[72] it was decided that there must be an annual registration.

A report spoke of English craftsmen ruined by labour-saving devices invented by their foreign competitors; 'being here', it said of the latter, 'theire necessity became the mother of theire ingenuitie . . .'.[73] It would be interesting to know how many of their technical innovations were indeed

devised in this country, rather than introduced ready-made. Any forced diaspora is likely either to demoralise or to call forth dormant capabilities. In 1622 the clockmakers urged that outsiders ought only to be allowed to work for English masters; a few years later they formed the Company of Clockmakers to protect their interests.[74] Another protest in 1622 came from the Goldsmiths' Company, also alarmed for the banking side of their business.

Outside the capital the chief concentrations were, as in earlier times, on the nearby south coast and in East Anglia, and it was here that problems of adjustment were most acute. 'Sandwich became almost transformed into a Flemish town', with windmills and Delft pottery and other crafts; many of the old townsfolk evidently felt that all this was doing them no good.[75] There was tension at Norwich too. Craft guilds objected to their rivals, and the first new settlers were forced to move away into Yorkshire; the Duke of Norfolk then rescued the town from stagnation by sponsoring a fresh settlement of Flemings and Walloons. It was an illustration of how differently plebeian and patrician might look at things. By 1579 foreigners represented a third of the population, and there must have been severe pressure on housing and whatever other amenities the town afforded.

Colchester was another focal point. By the first decade of the seventeenth century it had 1,300 settlers, and a Goat and Boots inn whose name is traced to the vogue of Mercury, *der Goden Boode*, messenger of the gods and patron of travellers, on Dutch inn signs.[76] Among them were wealthy clothiers, a number of whose fine houses still picturesquely stand. After the Royalist defence of the town against Fairfax's army in 1648 the 'Dutch'—foreigners of any kind, perhaps—were made to pay half the fine of £12,000, the Tayspill family alone £1,500.[77] This may suggest that they were still sufficiently disliked to be made scapegoats.

A circumstance in their favour was that this was a time when clothing towns were having to struggle to keep going. By 1500 'the greatest part of the weaving industry had already migrated into the country',[78] where water power could be utilised for fulling and cheap labour exploited by traders. Weavers from abroad were opponents in one sense, but in another, as fellow-townsmen with fresh ideas, they were helpful allies against the village. Their advent made for changes in the cloth industry 'that may properly be called revolutionary', and shifted its main base from the West Country to East Anglia.[79] English workers might be roused by their new neighbours from the habits of routine bred by years of apprenticeship, and in picking up new methods from them would hit on fresh ones of their own.

But it was a frequent objection, at Norwich for instance, that the interlopers kept their technical secrets jealously to themselves. Altogether assimilation seems to have been slow. Refugees, oftener than migrants merely seeking work, were likely to bring their families with them, and to be anchored by them to their own social customs. Their separate churches

worked powerfully towards preserving a community spirit, partly by tending to hinder marriage outside the fold, and by serving as centres of poor relief or mutual assistance. For government they were convenient channels, though in the Laudian era the bishops were trying to make settlers, or at least their children born on English soil, attend parish service like everyone else. This form of compulsory assimilation was probably inspired by fear of foreign chapels strengthening the desire of Puritan sectaries to quit the Anglican fold. Some uprooted themselves once again and removed to Holland, rather than submit. One of Parliament's articles of impeachment against Laud was his 'malice and disaffection' towards their churches.[80]

During the French civil wars of the later sixteenth century a host of Protestants had taken refuge in England, most of them only temporarily. It was 2,000 years since the Parisii from the Marne valley settled in east Yorkshire and practised their own religious rites there. In the 1680s Louis XIV's atavistic proscription of the Huguenots may have given Britain well over 100,000 new inhabitants, mostly from northern France, the Normandy and Brittany whence so many earlier mutants hailed. On the whole their reception was surprisingly smoothly managed. England was by now far more thoroughly Protestant, while the propertied classes were more securely in the saddle. A relief committee was set up, and money collected all over the country. A good many of the fugitives moved on elsewhere, as far as America. They belonged to a wider, more modern world than their forerunners. They had always been a dual community, townsmen with an admixture of some higher and numerous small gentry and their dependants, who could make an appreciable addition to the forces with which William of Orange landed in 1688 and won the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. William kept them in service, and there were five Huguenot regiments down to the mid-eighteenth century, despite parliamentary opposition, while a Gascon gentleman named Ligonier rose to field-marshal and earl.[81]

Huguenots of the gentry class, having taken part in the subjugation of Ireland, found it a more congenial realm to establish themselves in than England. They could win estates as well as take revenge on Catholics. A Marquis de Ruvigny was soon metamorphosed into Earl of Galway, and would have been made Lord Lieutenant, it was thought, but for 'insular antipathies' against such promotion for a foreigner.[82] There was some irony in the share taken by these victims of intolerance in a brutal conquest which scattered another host of refugees abroad, many of them to France. From then on they were to represent an important section of the Protestant ascendancy. There was a better Huguenot contribution to the economy of Ireland, but principally in Ulster, where settlers were brought over to get a linen industry going.

In England the Huguenots flocked still more than their precursors to London, where by 1718 they had thirty-five churches. They made some-

thing like a new town of their own on the open space of Spitalfields. It is described as neat, cheerful, thriving, not at all a shantytown but rather an object-lesson to old grimy London. Its prosperity was based on the silk weaving cited by Adam Smith as an example of an industry set up by migrants, using a foreign material, and producing largely for distant markets.[83] Other specialised products were clocks and instruments, ornaments, cutlery; improvements took place in the making of glass and of paper, two crafts whose vocabulary was to retain many terms culled from French, with some from Flemish.[84] As always we must reckon with the losses inflicted on older-fashioned competitors, to whom national progress in the abstract would be cold comfort. There was loss also for the old independence of the artisan. Like earlier generations of incomers they were feeding the growth of capitalism; and the effect could be more rapid now because England had gone through a political upheaval, and large-scale enterprise was already gaining ground. Guild regulations broke down; by about 1750 many London Companies were abolishing restrictions on employment of foreigners.[85] At the same time these immigrants may have provided the rudiments of an antidote; mutual aid practised by Huguenots or even by earlier refugees has been seen as the starting point of the Friendly Society, and so an ancestor of the trade union.

Thus while in Ireland Huguenots helped to build a neo-feudal society dominated by absentee landlordism, in England they helped to keep things moving in an opposite direction. Their reinforcement to Non-conformity may well have made a moral as well as economic weight in counteracting the relapse into old profligate aristocratic habits which followed the compromise of 1660 between an older and a newer ruling class. Numbers of Huguenots from the middling ranks worked their way to solid professional or commercial positions, and founded middle-class families of good standing; not a few shone as merchants or financiers among the luminaries of the City. In foreign commerce their connections with fellow-Huguenots scattered over Protestant Europe must have stood them in good stead, as those of the Jews with their co-religionists did. Side by side with them were scions of families from the Low Countries, such as Sir John Houblon, first governor of the Bank of England, and many others of continental extraction. Together this 'sizeable colony of foreign bankers, investors and speculators' played a leading part in 'what has been called England's financial revolution and what Tory contemporaries mistrustfully described as "Dutch finance"'.[86] Here was another prime cogwheel in the transformation of the country by capitalism; its managers were often viewed, like Scotsmen, as grasping and pushing. They had a stake, too, in the overseas expansion now in progress; Huguenots figured among shareholders and agents of the East India Company. Memorials of one story of Huguenot success are the portraits of the Fonnereau family in Christchurch Mansion at Ipswich (a town with a colony of French linen-

weavers), which they bought from an Earl of Hereford in 1732. Their founder, Zacharie, left Rochelle for London in 1685; his son Claude flourished in the London-Hamburg trade, acquired several estates, and had three sons in Parliament.

As Smiles pointed out, not only unbending Calvinists but many intellectuals attached to freedom of the mind were constrained to leave France by the Catholic obscurantism of the 1680s; among those who crossed the English Channel were several pioneers of the experiments which were to lead to the steam engine.[87] Huguenots set up schools, served as tutors, wrote works that helped to keep England in touch with the march of mind on the Continent.[88] Huguenot names attained distinction in the universities and the Royal Society, or, like Romilly's, in the law. Instead of simply swelling religious zealotry, as it would have done had it come earlier, the late Huguenot arrival thus promoted England's intellectual as well as economic growth, two processes with many interconnections.

VI

After this date there was for two centuries no further massive inflow from outside the British Isles, which were sending out, chiefly to America, far more people than they received. National consciousness went on deepening. Ever since the fifteenth century the terms *stranger* and *foreigner* had been taking on more clearly demarcated meanings, and how easily a foreigner ought to be allowed to become a Briton was always a matter of dispute. Aliens had regularly entered without hindrance, passports being unknown, but as aliens they enjoyed scarcely any legal rights, and might be summarily expelled. Flemings were ordered out in 1271, Bretons in 1415, foreigners in general, with stated exceptions, in 1554. Two procedures by which a recognised status could be secured were known from the thirteenth century, endenization by royal patent and naturalisation by Act of Parliament. 'Denizens', or permanent residents, might still be discriminated against in various ways, particularly by higher tax-assessments; but denizen status was easier to come by, and applications for it multiplied as restrictions on aliens grew heavier. It was granted in a single year, 1544, to 2,965 individuals. In 1709, after several proposals for a general offer of citizenship had been snuffed out, a Protestant Naturalisation Act was passed. Trade jealousies, Anglican narrow-mindedness, political suspicions, worked together, and in 1712, with a Tory ministry back in office, the Act was repealed. One argument in favour of reviving it was that foreign workers would usefully 'compete with our pampered working classes' and force wages down. An opponent argued that, on the contrary, English laziness would soon infect newcomers; also—a striking anticipation of later thinking—that mixing of blood would 'produce a degenerated Offspring . . . an effete and dastardly Brood'.[89]

Among the vulgar, victorious wars and colonial expansion were fostering

a type of patriotism bound to react against foreigners here as well as abroad, while it consoled the poor for their dispossession by the rich and their reduction to a wage-earning proletariat. 'But Lord!' Pepys exclaimed in 1662, after watching the reception of a Russian envoy and his train, fine handsome men in fur caps to see the absurd nature of Englishmen, that cannot forbear laughing and jeering at every thing that looks strange.'[90] Defoe satirised the 'True-born Englishman' for looking down on Scots or aliens, himself a medley of everything from Roman to 'Norwegian Pirates, Buccaneering Danes'.[91] Goldsmith contemplated the London scene through Irish eyes, and found the populace full of 'superior pride, impatience, and a peculiar hardness of soul', brutish towards one another and inevitably therefore to strangers. 'Foreigners . . . find themselves ridiculed and insulted in every street.'[92] Such rough tuition must have done something to hasten assimilation, by making immigrants want to change their manners and names and drop their past as quickly as might be. It may have gone far towards snuffing out some minor colonies, like the one that gave Greek Street in Soho its name.

New arrivals in the eighteenth century were a scattering of small groups, or individuals, rather than communities. There were Moravian missionary centres in London and near Leeds, harbingers among many others of the religious revival. Charles Edward, son of the Chevalier Dennis de Cretlogon, was one of London's foremost Evangelical preachers and writers. Music's native roots in England were perishing from too much change and 'progress', the degrading of the villagers into a race of helots. Handel was the grand substitute; among a bevy of other musicians later on was 'the English Bach', Johann Christian.[93] An Italian composer who settled here, Clementi, ran an early music business. Printing of music owed something also to a Henry Fougt, said to be from Lapland.[94] Another musician was the German-born Johann Peter Salomon, who fairly earned his tomb in Westminster Abbey by his Philharmonic Concerts which brought Haydn to London. By this time painting was a mature English art, yet it still drew in auxiliaries like Gerrard the portraitist, or Loutherbourg, from Strasburg, Garrick's scene-painter, followed by the Swiss Fuseli. In a random list of early Royal Academicians eleven out of thirty-four names are foreign, among them that of 'Tan-chet Gua, a Chinese artist'; in another, of twenty-three engravers, nine names are foreign.[95] Sculpture was as much indebted to newcomers—Rysbrack, Scheemakers, Roubiliac—as painting had been formerly.[96] Grinling Gibbons was born at Rotterdam in 1648. Nollekens, that extraordinary character, was born in London, with tangled semi-foreign connections that may account for some of his eccentricities.

'A man *must* have his biscuit!' protested the Boswellian duke when a friend hinted that four Italian confectioners in his kitchen might be superfluous. At Knole the third Duke of Dorset had an Italian mistress, Gianetta Baccelli, whose frankly displayed charms, cooled into marble,

still grace the mansion; while a Chinese pageboy of the household, by Reynolds, keeps company in the crimson drawing-room with Goldsmith and Johnson. A French valet was an item a wealthy traveller might bring home from the grand tour. A great person might be supposed to require a confidential myrmidon at times, more reliable if, like so many privy councillors of kings in bygone days, he was a foreigner. In the popular mind he might be invested with similar shady attributes, and novelists made good use of characters like the inscrutable manservant Dominic in *Felix Holt*, or the villainous French maid Hortense in *Bleak House*. An occasional Nabob returning from India had a native attendant with him, like William Hickey's Munnoo, baptised as William Munnew. Such attendants were the prototypes of characters like Major Jenkyns's Hindu valet who fluttered the ladies of Cranford and put Miss Matilda in mind of Bluebeard, or the sinister Indian retainer in Stevenson's *Master of Balerno*. A very few strangers are enough to make a marked impression, if they look sufficiently strange.

In a churchyard near Bristol Scipio Africanus, black servant of the Earl of Suffolk and Bristol, was buried in 1720. Another 'faithful Negro' whose epitaph survives was more modestly christened Jambo.[97] If Boswell had a Bohemian servant, Joseph Ritter, on the tour of the Hebrides, Johnson had a Negro servant at home named Frank, whose merits must have had a share in making him, unlike his friend, a firm anti-slavery man. An African lackey was a fashionable appendage of a rich mansion, a vogue copied by the stage. Wycherley's old merchant, long in Spain, has returned with Castilian manners and 'a little Blackamoor', who in a comic scene gives a young man lessons in Spanish deportment and gravity.[98] Sale by auction was advertised at Lichfield in 1771 of 'A Negro Boy from Africa, supposed to be about Ten or Eleven years . . . of a mild Disposition, friendly, officious, sound, healthy, fond of Labour, and for Colour an excellent fine Black'.[99] A very deep hue would seem to have been prized, in slaves as in ebony. London had a black brothel, with aristocratic patrons.[100]

Planters returning from the West Indies or Virginia often brought slaves to wait on them during the long voyage, and then at home. Once here, they often ran away, and an alarm was raised about the prospect of English blood being contaminated, 'till the whole nation resembles the *Portuguese* and *Moriscos* in complexion of skin and baseness of mind'.[101] Since warnings had been sounded against miscegenation even with Protestant Europeans, this argument was to be expected. Portuguese and Spanish decadence was a fact staring Western Europe in the face, and the mixtures of blood so visible in the Peninsula and in Latin America supplied a facile explanation. At the same time conquest in India was fortifying a conviction of the natural inferiority of all coloured races. Granville Sharp pointed to a more tangible danger, of British labourers finding their low wages further reduced by servile competition.[102]

Whether slavery in England was legal remained a doubtful point until the Mansfield judgement of 1772, which virtually—though not altogether designedly—put an end to it. A parallel case in 1777 rid Scotland of slavery more straightforwardly.[103] Free Africans could now circulate more openly. A regiment stationed in Scotland at the end of the eighteenth century had a Negro drummer, with a reputation as a pugilist.[104] 'A merry African from Longtown', north of Carlisle, was one of many waifs and strays who drifted through Grasmere and into Dorothy Wordsworth's journal.[105] Africans and Irish both appeared able to be cheerful on very little, a faculty not likely to win them much esteem in a country given over to getting and spending.

VII

'The Irish mix better with the English than the Scotch do,' Johnson remarked to Boswell over a dinner at the Mitre; 'their language is nearer to English. . . . Then, Sir, they have not that extreme nationality which we find in the Scotch.'[106] Ireland had no past as a nation to look back on, Scotland lost its national existence as late as the Union of 1707. Irishmen who mixed well in England and got on were likely to be Protestants, members or adherents of the Ascendancy, or turned Protestant for the sake of a career. They could show a far brighter galaxy of talents than the Scots in England, but in nearly all of them something morbid or erratic mingled with their brilliance. Humbler Irish folk in London occupied a wild, lawless quarter,[107] and scraped a living at the vocations open to them, most often as porters and as prostitutes.

Scots in England were of many sorts. Among them were Highlanders from the landowning classes, who had often acquired an education even in medieval times, and who were flocking south now to become 'merchants, lawyers, officers and politicians'.[108] Medicine, an Edinburgh speciality, provided other openings. Education was less bad as well as more accessible in Scotland, whose graduates therefore might well start with a lead. A number of them were among the early owners of cotton mills in England.[109] Others were content to roam highway and byway as peddlars, like Wordsworth's philosopher in *The Excursion*; in Manchester at the beginning of this century 'Scotsman' could still mean a hawker peddling wares from door to door. There were a good many gardeners, like Scott's Andrew Fairservice at Osbaldistone Hall: Scotland was learning to make better use of its soil, and its gardeners were in demand. So were its bailiffs, for the management of English or Irish estates, cousins of those other Scots who were sent out to manage England's colonial empire. They came from a more feudal society, and were forever talking, Cobbett remarked, about 'how good and obedient the labourers are in Scotland', with no Poor Law to spoil them; when he visited their homeland he discovered that 'The labourer is wholly at the mercy of the master', which explained why

'English scoundrels' were so ready to hire Scots bailiffs, usually sons of farmers 'recommended to the grinding ruffians of England by the grinding ruffians in Scotland'.[110] 'As hard-hearted as a Scot of Scotland' had long been a proverbial saying.[111]

A Celtic trickle was swollen into a torrent by the Industrial Revolution. In Britain this drew on foreign labour much less than in other countries later, France especially. Britain was in the forefront of technology now, and had its own skilled workers; of unskilled, apart from its own growing population, it had a very large reservoir in the Celtic regions. Of high importance was the factor of mobility. Englishmen still moved away reluctantly, and as a rule only by short stages, from their homes to where they were wanted; these Celts had no choice, but were coerced by social oppression or natural calamity into the folk-wandering of the nineteenth century. North Wales formed a tributary of the Lancashire mills.[112] A good proportion of the workers in all Clydeside industry came to be of Highland origin, and may have gratified employers, it has been surmised, by showing the same docility as most clansmen did in submitting to the clearances which drove them out of their glens.[113] Irishmen too were being drawn in; two branches of a long-divided race were meeting, but with little to unite them, and with religion and the contest for jobs to divide. Shiploads from across the Irish Sea could be brought in by employers to break strikes, as on the Lanark coalfield in 1837; here was the underlying cause of communal hatred between Protestant and Catholic. A host of the destitute were flung on Scotland by the great famine of 1845, and by 1850 a quarter of the industrial population of the country was said to be Irish. In 1851 the proportion in Glasgow was given as 18 per cent; in reality it was far higher, because all born in Scotland were recorded as Scots.[114]

Hugh Miller lamented the degraded condition of Scottish towns under the hungry inrush from the Highlands and Ireland.[115] How foreign the Irish were in England, when they made their appearance in multitudes and in rags and dirt, may be gleaned from the term *Milesian* often attached to them on account of a supposed Iberian origin. They had a much more outlandish look than the settlers of former days from northern France or the Netherlands. Yet far less effort was made to assist them, or even to make selfishly rational use of them. Inevitably many remained paupers, snatching from the native poor their birthright of husks. On the north-west coast Whitehaven with its new mines, and Carlisle, were prospering, but it was alleged that this was saddling them with a burdensome weight of poor Irish and Scots.[116] In reality England was having to pay for reducing Ireland and the Highlands to misery for the benefit of absentee landlords; but the average ratepayer was unlikely to take this broad view of the question.

Rough manual labour was the Irishman's chief contribution to the Industrial Revolution, which demanded a vast amount of toil outside the factory, especially for its infrastructure of canals and then railways. When

the great contractor Thomas Brassey was building the Lancaster-Carlisle railway over Shap Fell a third of his men were Irish, a third Scottish, a third English. No fraternity was to be expected, and the Irish were detested for their willingness to take lower pay. In 1846 frictions and brawls turned into serious rioting at Penrith, which spread to Kendal.[117] In England as well as Scotland blacklegs were often called in from Ireland; at times from Scotland and Wales also. In the long run there would be a tendency, as in America with its mass immigration later on, for native workers of the better-qualified types to rise in the scale, while the newcomers took the lower and worse-paid positions. To some considerable degree the 'aristocracy of labour' must have been one of nationality as well as class.

It was on the face of it a risky experiment to bring into a land they had so little cause to love such a legion of the disinherited. London was not the only city where 'the Irish made a very significant contribution to . . . radical politics'.[118] Yet on balance their presence may have done more to divide and weaken, in politics as in industry. Kingsley had much to say in *Alton Locke* about the Hibernian element in Chartism, which he depicted as responsible for its physical-force ideas and as anarchistic; Chartism collapsed in 1848, on his showing, because fear of looting by these 'savages', and 'national hatred', rallied the middle class behind the government.[119] Many things impeded assimilation. As James Connolly saw, these painfully uprooted peasants were apt, whether in Britain or in America, to turn hurtfully in on themselves, rejecting contact with other groups.[120] A Catholic priest told the Factory Commissioners at Manchester in 1833 that Irish workers kept to themselves, not mixing with others.[121] It was another harmful thing, in Britain as in Ulster, that their church wanted to keep them apart, in order to keep them Catholic. Prejudice on the other side had the same effect. At Manchester there were anti-Irish riots, and Irish and English sometimes had to be kept apart in the mills;[122] in 1849 it was reported that 'the Irish invariably herd together. The mill-hands never associate with them, and generally look upon them in the light of helots or pariahs. . . .'[123] Borrow was disagreeably struck, in London and other large towns, by their 'dogged, sullen look'.[124]

VIII

Industrialisation drew fresh groups of capitalists from the continent to England, as well as raw labour from the Celtic colonies. 'At first the invasion of the foreign business man excited not a little distrust', we read of Manchester, but his usefulness came to be acknowledged.[125] Any active economy is likely to attract to itself complementary atoms, and there were gaps in England's equipment that foreigners could fill. They joined the ever-cosmopolitan ranks of City finance or merchant banking, or handled import and export trade like the Hansa long ago. Such functions have

always come more naturally to the outsider than those of the manufacturer; there are fewer employees to be managed, and there is a premium on familiarity with foreign parts. It is not fortuitous that Britain was to lose its supremacy in industry, the bulk of which was in native hands, but to keep it in international finance, very largely in immigrant hands.

Some Germans, among them Jews, had come to Britain in the wake of the Hanoverians, whose behaviour on the throne was no more likely to ensure a kindly reception for them than that of the early Stuarts did for the Scots. An ordinary Briton's discontents might even find vent for a long time in abuse of 'the Hanover tyrants'.[126] In lighter mood he continued for longer still to think of all Teutons as figures of fun. Thackeray remarked that things German, sausages for instance, struck him as ridiculous, and when Prince Albert made his entry 'the people bawled out songs in the streets, indicative of the absurdity of Germany in general'.[127] This was not many years before Charles Hallé, founder of the Hallé orchestra, came to England in 1848. In economic as well as in cultural life Albert's countrymen could provide links with the continent and counteract British rusticity. As early as 1794 the first president of a Commercial Society at Manchester was a C. F. Brandt. Preoccupied with internal problems, and with its empire, England continued curiously out of touch with the world it increasingly depended on for markets. Local firms often took in German partners, who supplied links with it.

Insularity and imperial pride showed in British inability to woo customers, to stoop to conquer. 'You will understand, Mr Pooter, that the high-standing nature of our firm will not admit of our bending to anybody.'[128] Germans were more supple. A Baron von Strahlendorf in the Manchester shipping trade early in this century, with a haughty enough demeanour towards his underlings, understood very well the need to humour foreign customers like the flowery-tongued South Americans he was dealing with; an English word he picked up and made much use of was *flapdoodle.*[129] As technology expanded the directors of Britain's economy revealed other deficiencies. A still heavy flood of feudal impedimenta made new adventures in empire building more congenial to them than adventures in applied science. In 1873 a German Jew, Ludwig Mond, joined with T. J. Brunner, son of a Swiss pastor who settled in Liverpool, to start what grew into Britain's largest chemical enterprise. Next year a friend and fellow-socialist of Engels at Manchester, Carl Schorlemmer, became the country's first professor of organic chemistry.

It was in the Stock Exchange that business talents of the most heterogeneous origins were to be found, all united in a cordial desire to pick one another's pockets and the public's. There were even Spaniards, for whose energies their own lethargic homeland offered too little scope, like Clemente Zulueta, naturalised in 1836, or the wealthy Fermin Trastet.[130] Jews were the acknowledged virtuosi. Already in 1753 it could be remarked that 'the Royal Exchange, the Center of Business, is always

remarkably thin on a Jewish Holyday';[131] a century later 'The Stock Exchange was strongly represented, Jerusalem was strongly represented', at a seaside resort visited by the Uncommercial Traveller.[132] Constant new additions from abroad, some from north Africa by way of Gibraltar, kept them a very distinct community. That they scarcely ever married outside their own ranks had the usual twofold effect of removing one cause of friction and one means of integration. Throughout the eighteenth century 'The Jews regarded themselves, and were regarded by others, as a foreign nation, or rather two nations':[133] the second being the result of a distinct stream of immigration, of Ashkenazim from central Europe. These made use of Yiddish for their communal concerns, as the Sephardim went on using their own ancestral tongues, Spanish and Portuguese, down to the early nineteenth century.[134] In the course of the previous century the Ashkenazim took the lead in numbers, though not yet in wealth; Sephardim were for long reluctant to intermarry with them. It was another encounter of two branches of a long-divided people.

From the first 'there was probably no country in Europe in which the Jews received better treatment'.[135] Public opinion, all the same, was wary, and on the whole unfriendly. It may have been least so in Wales, where a version of the 'British Israelite' myth of belonging to the Lost Tribes gained early currency from Bible-reading in sequestered valleys, along with a piously patriotic delusion that Welsh and Hebrew were closely akin.[136] There were few Jews in pastoral Wales, and it is easier to frame fanciful pictures, whether complimentary or (as with Shylock) the reverse, of people imagined rather than seen. In London Boswell regretted the contempt in which the posterity of Abraham were held;[137] and although Leigh Hunt never lost 'a respectful notion of the Jews as a body' that he derived in boyhood from visits to their synagogue in Duke's Place, an Easter jingle chanted by his schoolmates—

> He is risen, he is risen
> All the Jews must go to prison[138]—

must have been closer to common sentiment. Such fine Christian logic might be fading now into the limbo of the nursery-rhyme, but it was still not incapable of its own kind of resurrection. 'During the eighteenth century the popular feeling ran very high against the Jews', wrote Mayhew, who found it still lingering in his own day; they were lumped together as 'an entire people of misers, usurers, extortioners, receivers of stolen goods, cheats, brothel-keepers'—as some of them really were, he added.[139] Contrasting images of wealth and destitution ran together in the composite portrait. There were Jewish as well as Scottish peddlars,[140] following a calling for which outsiders had a natural aptitude. A useful novelty introduced by other poor Jews was the old-clothes trade.[141]

Rich Jews raised money for the government during the rebellion of

1745, and in 1753, when the total number was believed to be about 8,000, a measure was proposed to enable a few of them to purchase naturalisation by private Act without taking the usual oaths, that is without professing Christianity. It raised a tempest of opposition, with ritual murder and all the antique libels raked up once more, and had to be dropped.[142] While financial interests were largely to blame,[143] religious or pseudo-religious objections provided an illogical vent for the incoherent, inarticulate discontents of the common man under the rule of a corrupt oligarchy. Belief that Britain ought to be kept a 'Christian country' expressed, with the clumsiness of a rustic inn sign, an archaic conviction that there ought to be some moral law binding on high and low: that if Christian and non-Christian could be put on the same level, the rich were repudiating all obligations to the poor, and the brotherhood of man was at an end.

Early in the nineteenth century the community derived an importance it never had before from a fresh generation of German and other Jews, with new money-making ideas for a new age; men who performed mysteriously lucrative operations, turning paper into gold as fast as alchemists once hoped to turn lead. As often before, it was war that furnished them with opportunity, by conjuring up unfamiliar financial difficulties. The Goldsmid brothers, of a family originally from Holland, made a very good thing out of the Napoleonic Wars, by assisting a reactionary government to raise the huge sums it needed; they were closely followed by N. M. Rothschild. After the peace, it was men like these who held the key to the country's international money-dealings.

How far they were rendering any genuine service to the nation, or where the paths diverged that led to fame and fortune or to Botany Bay, could be clear, if at all, only to adepts of economic or legal science. There must have been many besides Scott, at times like the financial panic of 1825, who thought it hard that 'vagabond stock-jobbing Jews' should have the power to shake credit and ruin businesses in order to make pickings for themselves.[144] But wealth, however got, was by now its own guarantee of respectability. In 1830 Jews were admitted to the freedom of the City, in 1845 municipal office was thrown open, in 1855 Sir David Salomons was the first Jewish Lord Mayor of London. Nowhere did the English ruling elite display more frankly its loyalty to the maxim that money has no smell, than in its ready welcome of these parvenus. Lord Granville expounded its philosophy in 1869 in a letter to the queen, who was jibbing at a Liberal list of new peerages, one of them for Lionel Rothschild. 'The notion of a Jew peer is startling . . .' he admitted, 'but he represents a class whose influence is great. . . . It may be wise to attach them to the aristocracy rather than to drive them into the democratic camp.'[145] Victoria still jibbed, and it was Lionel's son who got the first seat in the Lords, in 1885.

Aristocracy was curdling into plutocracy, and as often in history an exotic ingredient furnished the catalyst. Once outsiders led the unsavoury

way, others would be ready to follow. Sons of the nobility and gentry flocked into the City. Many of its best titbits were coming from the expanding empire; a typical figure of the times was Alfred Beit, born in Hamburg in 1853, who gravitated to Britain by way of partnership with Rhodes in the British South African Company, with two dukes and a Rothschild among its shareholders and 'the South African gang in the House of Commons' to hush up its nefarious doings.[146] All that Karl Marx saw and foresaw of such things lay, we must think, behind his thunderous denunciation of Jewish hawkers of stocks and shares, as a European malady. He saw 'every tyrant backed by a Jew, as is every Pope by a Jesuit'.[147]

IX

There were many minor influxes, not without significance for some other aspects of national life. A large-scale dispersal of Frenchmen started with the royalist *émigrés* of 1789 whose departure was—very unlike that of the Huguenots a century before—a blessing to their own country and a nuisance to Europe. Among the few who remained permanently in this country some individuals, or more often their heirs, earned a name: men like Brunel the engineer and his bridge-building son, Muntz the Birmingham manufacturer and radical MP, Pugin the architect, De Lys the founder of a deaf-and-dumb institute. Multifarious fugitives were uprooted by the long wars and many convulsions of 1792-1815. One remarkable personage was the Spanish priest Joseph Blanco, scion of an Irish family named White which fled from Cromwell, who now took the name Blanco White and wrote a poignant book on Spain under a Graeco-Hispanic rendering of it, 'Leucadio Doblado'.

After 1815, a long series of Liberal or nationalist plots or risings up and down Europe each in turn dislodged some enthusiasts.[148] Political refugees replaced the religious refugees of former days, and Britain again offered asylum. A *Punch* cartoon of 1842 by John Leech showed Cockney youth making fun of a bearded exile, facetiously mistaking him for an orang-outang dressed up. But the presence of these unfortunates, like that of their forerunners, did much to fortify a sentiment, real even when muddled, of attachment to freedom and the rights of man; and admiration for heroes like Garibaldi and their struggling peoples must have fed both Irish desire for Home Rule and progressive English sympathy with it.

Most came for temporary shelter; some stayed, by choice, or by necessity, unable to return to homes they never ceased to pine for—rulers among them as well as revolutionaries, like the Napoleon III whose spies once kept watch on other banished Frenchmen in Britain. Many corners of English graveyards are for ever Poland, or Italy, or Spain. Among Italians who made their home here, it was Panizzi who planned the British Museum's new reading room. Louis Ruffini was more exceptional in

finding a domicile far away from London: he came to be 'the centre of an "Edinburgh Brotherhood" from which radiated much political and literary influence'.[149] In the same city, at 84 Great King Street, lived for a quarter-century and died in 1848 the Polish composer Felix Yanievicz, one of the founders of an earlier 'Edinburgh Festival'. Such sparks, falling here and there on the surface of British life, could do something to keep it from torpor, or from too narrowly national an outlook. There were always conservatives who viewed these sparks uneasily. Karl Marx was refused naturalisation in 1874 as an undesirable character.[150] Too many foreigners of the wilder sort might, one writer warned his countrymen, 'pollute the ancient constitutional liberalism of England with the visionary violence of Continental Socialism'.[151]

Europe was breeding far more economic than political migrants, for whom Britain would have been a more potent attraction, and its history substantially altered, if there had not been the stronger pull of North America. A high proportion of those who entered Britain from the continent left again, chiefly for the New World: in 1872 no fewer than 79,000 did so, in addition to 210,000 Britons leaving home.[152] Among British emigrants the proportion of men must as a rule have been higher than that of women, and this, by leaving a surplus of women available for marriage to newcomers, would be a factor favouring assimilation. There were on the other hand several irritants. When native labour was recalcitrant, employers frequently made haste to bring in blacklegs from the continent as well as from Ireland. In 1869 London cigar-makers were worried about Belgians in the East End, lodging with compatriots and willing to work for any wages.[153] In an economy which demanded a 'reserve army' of unemployment and misery, there would always be some who suffered from foreigners competing with them for jobs, and it suited capitalism to see resentment diverted away from it and expended on these competitors, as earlier on the Irish. Thus a music-hall song of the 1870s:

> I'd wake men from their torpor, and every foreign pauper
> That helps to make the sweater rich, and wages always low,
> I'd send aboard a ship, sir, for an everlasting trip, sir,
> And a chance give to the English, if I only bossed the show![154]

Tressell satirised this philosophy among the illiterate workmen in his novel. '"We're overrun with 'em! Nearly all the waiters and the cook at the Grand Hotel where we was working last month is foreigners . . . and then thers all them Hitalian horgin grinders, an' the blokes wot sells 'ot chestnuts . . .".'[155]

It was in interstices of the economy like these that strangers could pick up a living. There was, for instance, a Czech colony of a thousand or so in London in the early years of this century, mostly tailors and waiters, but with a school of their own and a club founded in 1909 by Count Lützow,

Bohemia's patriotic historian.[156] Italy was, except for Britain itself, the biggest emigrant country, and small numbers of Italians had been seen here for a long time, most of them waifs and strays little resembling their predecessors, Roman magistrate or Lombard banker or purple prelate. 'Itinerant chimney sweeps of tender years exploited by older men, were the first modern immigrants.'[157] These urchins, transported like convicts from the mountain airs of Piedmont to the foul flues of Britain, were also the firstlings of their unhappy trade here. In this country more than anywhere else Italians were 'circumambulent in their trades',[158] like the gypsies with whom they shared the role of strolling musician or entertainer. This was a licensed preserve where, in spite of Tressell's grumblers, anti-foreign prejudice was normally suspended. A wealthy, self-complacent nation, including its poor, is likely to welcome foreign performers of music or other tricks, suppliers of amusement for high or low: its vanity is flattered by their coming to solicit its patronage. We have a graphic description of a vagrant band of Savoyards in Scotland in the 1820s, ragged but cheerful,[159] and Cruikshank sketched Savoyard musicians among his London street-types. Joseph Grimaldi, most famous of clowns, was born in London in 1779, son of an Italian actor. Punch and Judy were first popularised by Porsini, and long remained in Italian custody; all the showmen shared a slang of their own, a kind of pidgin Italian.[160]

During the nineteenth century southern Italians came to predominate, and were at first sight unprepossessing. A stern censor classed them as 'the idle, the vicious, and the destitute, the off-scouring of their own country', with no other purpose in coming here than to live on charity.[161] A swarm of them huddled in the 'Italian quarter', of evil repute, round Saffron Hill and Hatton Garden.[162] Later in the century a new type of immigrant was making his appearance, drawn more from northern Italy, with a flair for baking, catering, domestic service, restaurant work. This made him useful to the country, but also stiffened competition in casual employments. English waiters did indeed find their jobs more precarious.[163] These hardy pioneers not only ventured as far as Ireland, where religion might be supposed to favour them, but were the first to penetrate Wales, and in Scotland had remarkable success with ice-cream and fried fish shops. By about 1900 one Leopold Giuliani owned more than sixty cafes in Scotland, and on Clydeside a substantial business group was taking shape.[164] Italians, like others, were not immune from the accidents of European history. In remote Borrowdale, in Lakeland, the Great War memorial records a Zanuzzi (as well as two Boou); but when Mussolini entered the Second World War there were riotous demonstrations against the Italians in Scotland.

A diminutive colony of Indians started with a sediment deposited on Thames-side of *lascars*, seamen hired for their cheapness, who might be Indian, Arab, Chinese; the term mirrored the haziness of all John Bull's consciousness of Asia. Later on a few educated individuals settled as

traders, doctors and so on. In retrospect their number seems surprisingly small, but they could scarcely find a congenial atmosphere in ▪ Britain where Indians were looked down on as 'natives' and, for years after the Munity, vilified. Astonishingly, ▪ Parsee called Edalji became vicar of Great Wyrley in Staffordshire; it was his son, a sedate law student, who was jailed on fabricated charges of horse-maiming, and only rescued in 1907 by Conan Doyle, doing duty for Sherlock Holmes.

Africans had been here much longer, though only one or two had emerged from anonymity. Among the progressives arrested for sedition in 1793 when Tory Britain went to war against the French Revolution was a coloured man from the West Indies, Margarot.[165] With the agitation against colonial slavery the Negro was a highly emotive symbol rather than a reality to the eye. In Britain he belonged mostly to dockland. Africans at Liverpool kept together, Dickens's Uncommercial Traveller learned, for fear of 'slights' if they went about alone. He visited ▪ saloon where a jovial black landlord presided over a scene of merriment and dancing kept up with 'childish good-humoured enjoyment'; even the white women there looked the least depraved he saw anywhere that night.[166]

Chinese dockhands, too, sometimes came ashore, or were cast adrift, in the ports, and a few hundreds slowly congregated in London. Rumours about 'Chinatown', opium dens in Sherlock Holmes stories, called up a highly coloured picture; the reality was no more than ▪ couple of streets in Limehouse, disturbed by an occasional gambling row.[167] But in sum, a swirling multitude of aliens of every species, most of them concentrated in London, appeared to nervous minds to have sprung up. It lent ▪ further touch of the grotesque to ▪ city whose monstrous growth had long since robbed it of any rational urban character and turned it into a senseless agglomeration of buildings and noises. Already in 1817 an inquiry revealed a lodging-house area in Shadwell occupied exclusively by 'foreign sailors, lascars, Chinese, Greeks and other filthy people of that description'.[168] In 1891 Cunninghame-Graham portrayed the horrid squalor of ▪ Canning Town where could be seen 'the brown Malay, the yellow Tanna Man, the fair-haired Swede, and hog-eyed Chinaman boozing amicably together like perfect Christians, each imparting to the other some of his national villainy'.[169] Dr Thorndyke strolling in Upper Bedford Place remarked that 'the Asiatic and African faces that one sees at the windows of these Bloomsbury boarding-houses almost suggest an overflow from the ethnographical galleries of the adjacent British Museum'.[170] A new would-be science, eugenics, was in the field by this time, and race and miscegenation were among its staple themes.

X

Occasional and limited checks on free entry, for political, not economic or social reasons, began during the French Wars of 1793-1815. An Act of

1836 laid down that aliens could be expelled only in wartime, except on the basis of specific charges. Even this much interference was disliked by liberals, and called forth a crop of allusions to Magna Carta.[171] When other governments complained of British laxity in harbouring miscreants, a foreign secretary observed that Alien Acts 'had always been justly regarded by the British nation with feelings of most extreme jealousy'.[172] In 1870 naturalisation was at last given regular form by a statute fixing five years' residence as the chief condition; later on good character and knowledge of English were added.

At the 1871 census the total of people in Britain born outside the empire was 157,000; by 1911 the number had risen by 428,000.[173] This only brought it to about 1 per cent of the population, but the increase seemed more portentous because most of it was due to a sudden torrential flow from far away, the Jewish Pale in Russia and Russian Poland, where Jews were under pressure amounting to persecution. Parts of the East End were rapidly transformed into a new ghetto. 'Within half an hour's walk of the City boundaries we were in a foreign country', wrote Blatchford after a visit to it.[174] It was argued that Jews were undercutting wages and pushing workers down into casual labour.[175] There was a sharper contest for dwellings, in an East End already desperately overcrowded. Like that of the Irish at the time of the famine, this menace was felt chiefly by those whose earnings were already low and precarious, and who were very liable to exaggerate it.

There were more promising human materials under the rags than in the type of Jew so warmly received in the City. A lively Yiddish press sprang up, much of it very left-wing, and a Jewish socialist society was founded by one of the refugees in 1876.[176] But there was no broad socialist movement in Britain to welcome this reinforcement, as there had been a Chartist movement to welcome the more politically minded Irish, and there were linguistic as well as social barriers. A discouraging reception quickly chilled thoughts of trade unionism and of fraternal relations with English workers, and turned Jewish militancy towards Zionism[177] and its harvest of dragon's teeth. Meanwhile there was prolonged agitation for restrictions on entry into Britain.[178] Better-off sections of labour were not much concerned about pauper immigrants, and their parliamentary mouthpieces found little to say.[179] In the bulk of the working class, however, use of foreign blacklegs had engendered 'mistrust of all foreign labour'.[180] Anxious conservatives, for their part, who instinctively thought of civilisation as a fragile, unsubstantial thing, as those isolated at the top of an artificial society are apt to do, might suffer from what Charles Booth derided as 'visions of Oriental hordes of barbarians, streaming in like Huns and Vandals'.[181] The upshot, the Act of 1905, was a half-hearted half-measure, but the feeling behind it went on spreading, and was deepened by the Great War and its spy mania. Foreign entry was at last effectively curbed by the Aliens Restriction Act of 1919. A notice that

hosts of visitors have seen hanging outside an Edinburgh office—'Firearms, dangerous drugs, and aliens'—betokened an underlying association of ideas.

Parliament might propose, but history has disposed otherwise. It brought the Jewish and other refugees from Nazism,[182] and at the end of the Second World War the Polish ex-soldiers. These were Catholics, with a strong collective character, but ill-supplied with women as well as with money. There was a current of feeling against them, partly because of their insinuating ways with women, most persuasive perhaps in Scotland where male manners have tended to be off-hand. At any rate, the Poles found wives and settled down, and their children seldom know Polish or are distinguishable from their neighbours.

Prejudice against them might have lasted longer if it had not been overlaid by controversy over race and colour. During the First World War there were fears among trade unions of coloured labour being brought in to do war work, and depressing white men's wages. 'I draw the line at the yellow man or the black man either', one spokesman declared.[183] In 1919 there were anti-Negro riots at several ports, provoked by unemployment and a proneness to violence bred by war. But entry remained open for Commonwealth subjects until 1962, and after the Second World War the area of immigrant recruitment, which had widened by degrees from the old limits just across the sea, widened dramatically to beyond the oceans. By an odd paradox the country was laying up racial problems for itself at home, as a result of its imperial place in the world, just when this place was being lost. In political terms much more was at stake now than in former days: an immigrant was to qualify before long for full voting rights, which a hundred years ago were withheld from him and from the common Englishman alike. And for decades before India and Pakistan, and then Africa, attained independence, conservative propaganda was denouncing their nationalist movements and depicting their peoples as too backward for political life.

In some ways the First World War had a good effect in shaking men and women out of parochial grooves and making outsiders look less strange;[184] the Second World War did so still more. Tourism and television have aided in a broadening of the average Briton's horizons, sufficiently to familiarise him with Western Europe—democratic or fascist—and inure him to the thought that this is the realm he belongs to. But other continents may still have for him the same questionable character that Europe once had. Meanwhile many other things have been altering. Among them all the over-riding fact is that England is, and has been realising that it is, grossly overpopulated. Morally it no longer has a confident sense of possessing a pattern of life certain to improve all who enter it once they are educated up to it. This makes it more uneasily conscious of strangers within its gates, as well as more a prey to self-doubt. It is an index of uncertainty that 'most people think others more

prejudiced than themselves' against their new fellow-citizens.[185] Out of these gropings and stumblings may come a higher social consciousness than we have yet had, or a relapse into something more primitive.

CHAPTER 2: NOTES

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PART II

3 German Immigrants in England

by Hermann Kellenbenz

I

German immigration[1] to England is a theme which has been for a long time linked with the history of the Hanse.[2] Since the eleventh century *homines imperatoris* visited English ports and in the second half of the twelfth century, in 1157, their goods and their *domus*, the Guildhall in London, obtained the special protection of King Henry II. Other privileges followed. Besides Cologne merchants, Westphalians were also represented and afterwards they were joined by merchants from the North Sea and the Baltic towns. Apart from London, merchants were also to be found in the ports of the east coast, at Ipswich, Yarmouth, King's Lynn, Boston, Hull and Newcastle. The most important of these places was Boston, which enjoyed especially close links with merchants from Lübeck. In addition, certain German ships visited the coast of France and brought wine and salt to Sandwich, Southampton or Bristol, while Plymouth and Dartmouth served as ports of call for German shipping along the Atlantic coast. From all these ports the Germans used the opportunity to journey inland to places such as Norwich and York and to the fairs at Stamford, Northampton, St Ives, Lincoln, Westminster, Canterbury and Winchester. From the fourteenth century Bremen and Prussia maintained relations with Edinburgh. We may deduce from all this the existence of a lively shipping and trading connection, with the result that apart from London, King's Lynn[3] and Boston, Germans settled in many other places from the south coast ports as far north as Dunbar, Aberdeen and Glasgow. But the largest of the German colonies was that of London with the 'Steelyard' which became increasingly important after the fairs had decayed.[4] Several of the German settlers are known individually, from thirteenth-century figures such as the aldermen Arnold Thedmar and Gerard Merbode to the merchants of the sixteenth century known through the famous portraits by Holbein: these include Georg Gisze from Danzig, Herman Hildebrand Wedigh, Derich Born and Derich Berck, all from Cologne, and Dirk Tybis from Duisburg.[5] Tin, wool and later cloth were the main goods which the Germans exported from ports in England and Scotland in

exchange for a wide variety of merchandise from Germany, Italy and the Netherlands. In the export of cloth the Hanse merchants met growing competition from the Company of Merchant Adventurers of England in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This rivalry culminated towards the end of the sixteenth century, when Queen Elizabeth I expelled the Hansards from London and for a time closed the 'Steelyard'.[6]

The Hansards were not the only ones who came to England and Scotland and settled there; others came from southern Germany and yet others from central Germany. The expansion of the upper German metal and textile trade led to new contacts with England. In the fifteenth century Nuremberg entered the English wool export trade to Italy. This was not the first Nuremberg involvement in England. As early as 1385 a man from Nuremberg owned a house in London,[7] and about 1430 a significant number of Nuremberg merchants had agencies in London where they were rivals of the Hansards. This is to be seen from the fact that the latter passed several resolutions that those from Nuremberg and Swabia should not participate in the Hansards' privileges. It may be that this foothold was lost during the troubles in the second half of the century. However, the Nurembergers returned when they had built up their mining enterprises in central Germany and were also in need of English tin and lead.[8]

II

The sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries brought new kinds of contact between the British Isles and Germany.[9] The reform movement, initiated by the action of Luther, led many Protestants to England, at first during the reign of Henry VIII and Edward VI, and it was a process which was resumed after the break in Mary's reign, as under Elizabeth I England took an active part in the attack against Catholic Spain. At that time leading German Protestants, such as Count Palatine Johann Kasimir, maintained close relations with England. And when the daughter of James I, Elizabeth, was married to Frederick of Palatinate, new contacts were added. However, most of the more prominent Protestants stayed for only a short time.

Several German printers were among those who lived in England, the most famous of whom was Peter von Trier who had his office on the south side of the Thames.[10] Soldiers also came. Henry VIII hired German mercenaries not only against France but also against the Scots, and a member of the Praun family of Nuremberg was commander of the king's bodyguard.[11] Among artists, the Augsburg painter Hans Holbein stayed in England from 1529 and completed a number of famous portraits. He died in 1543 in Whitehall Palace where he had lived.

There were also contacts with the universities. For instance, Nicolaus Kratzer from Munich, who was famous as a mathematician, became a fellow of Corpus Christi in Oxford in 1517 and remained there until his

death towards the middle of the century. German physicians also settled and developed practices, which grew out of this contact with the 'Steelyard'. Some of them became fellows of the Royal College of Physicians which was founded in 1518.

With the rise of mining and metallurgical industries in Germany, German specialists came to England. Lorenz Stauber from Nuremberg, who had good relations with the English court, was probably commissioned to encourage German mining specialists to come to England.[12] And it is possible to find those who did. In 1528 the Augsburg merchant Joachim Höchstetter was named 'principal Surveyor of all Mines in England and Ireland'. He obtained the right to search for gold, silver, copper and lead in England, Wales and Ireland. Another German, Joachim Gundelfinger, was looking for ores in Ireland during Edward VI's reign, and Burkhard Kranich was interested in lead and silver mines in Derbyshire and the western parts of England.[13] Much more important in this connection were the Company of Mines Royal and the Company of Mineral and Battery Works established in 1564 and 1565 respectively.[14] The former enterprise was linked with Daniel Höchstetter, a son of Joachim Höchstetter, and partner of the Augsburg company of Haug and Langnauer. Dr Thomas Thurland, a rector in Wiltshire and master of the Savoy Hospital, served as a kind of contact man. Höchstetter received the right to look for gold, silver, copper and mercury, and in July 1564 a group of Tyrolese miners arrived at Keswick in order to begin the work. The Company of Mineral and Battery Works was also based on the partnership of an Englishman, William Humfrey, and a German, Christoph Schütz, who was from Annaberg in Saxony. They exploited copper and silver ore and manufactured cannons and household ware from copper, in addition to which they produced iron wire. Schütz, a pupil of Agricola, introduced into England the drawing of iron wire and the use of the straining hammer. In 1566 he brought specialists in the manufacture of brass to England, but they met with technical difficulties; therefore Schütz had to limit himself to the production of iron wire.[15] At the beginning of the seventeenth century the activity of both companies declined, because the yield of the mines was much less than had been expected. However, it is worth noting that quite a number of German specialists in mining and metallurgical trades settled in the mining districts of Westmorland, Cumberland and Wales.[16] In 1590 Göttfried Box (Becx?) installed machines to make brass wire and copper plates.[17] He was probably from Aachen from where several coppersmiths emigrated for religious reasons.[18] Another immigrant was Jacob Buirette who also was interested in the introduction of the manufacture of brass wire. In 1638 he died in Edinburgh as a baronet.[19] In 1629, Matthias Hansen, another Aachen specialist, was privileged by the Company of Mineral and Battery Works to manufacture brass articles for fourteen years.[20] Another Aachen entrepreneur, Jakob Momma,[21] who collaborated with a German called Demetrius near Esher in Surrey, was

the first person to establish a factory for the drawing of brass wire. From these Germans, English apprentices learned the manufacture of brassware and thus English brass production increasingly rivalled that of Aachen, Stolberg and other continental centres.

There was a similar situation in the manufacture of sewing needles. German craftsmen, such as Elias Kruse, who specialised in the production of needles, first came to England in the middle of the sixteenth century and in 1567 Queen Elizabeth invited a German wire drawer and needle-makers from the Zwickau region to come to England.[22] Consequent upon this English needle making became a rival to that of Aachen, Iserlohn and Altena until the English finally gained superiority by developing the process of making needles by machines.

Germans also contributed to the development of other sectors of the metal trades such as cutlery. Several of them became members of the London corporation of cutlers. Thus John Counynge (Johann Kauning) who is said to have been from 'Solyng' (Solingen) became a member of the London cutlers in 1609, and so, in 1613, did Gillam Hanwick, who had worked in Brandenburg.[23] Steelmakers from Solingen and the Sauerland were especially sought after. Sir Henry Sidney facilitated the settlement of at least fifty-five steelsmiths from the Sauerland between the beginning of October 1565 and May 1566 in order to develop steelworks in Sussex and Kent.[24] Others settled in places such as Sheffield towards the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century.[25] The blades made by Peter Munster of London whose family was also from Solingen became well known.[26] The same is true for Henry Hoppie (Hoppe) and Johann Kindt, who worked for some time at Greenwich and Hounslow.[27]

Germans were active in many other fields, such as the refining of sugar[28] and in drawing designs for the manufacture of tapestries.[29] Others specialised as goldsmiths, jewellers, watchmakers or mechanics.[30] Some of them were from Nuremberg, a renowned centre of all kinds of craftsmanship, while John Spielman, from Lindau, who became a London jeweller and goldsmith, also established a paper mill at Dartford near London towards 1588.[31]

III

It might be useful to make a break here. With the Thirty Years War conditions greatly changed in Germany as they did in England under Cromwell. In Germany after the Peace of Westphalia mercantilist policy in the absolutist principalities, although in other aspects progressive, created many obstacles to economic progress as a result of the narrow-minded customs policy pursued by each of the numerous principalities and the monopolistic control over craftsmanship. An oversupply of craftsmen in certain trades was added to these factors so that many

specialists tried to find their future in foreign countries. England was among the most attractive of these. At this time England was making considerable advances in technological matters. Men like Bacon and the generations following him were extremely interested in inventions and projects, especially from the second half of the seventeenth century when the Royal Society and the Royal Institution and Society of Arts began their activities. As on the continent, the scientific societies were centres of technological interest and maintained their role throughout the eighteenth century.

Due to the close trade relations between Hamburg, Bremen and other ports with the British Isles and also to the dynastic union of the countries after the Hanoverian accession in 1714, and generally to the growing interest of German scientists and manufacturers in the process of industrialisation which was developing in England, German immigration became an important fact. Let us start by considering trading and commercial relations.

Trade remained important in spite of the existence of the Navigation Acts, with London being a major centre of German interest. For instance, Hamburg's relations with London were so close that from 1769 a shipping agreement (*Reihefahrt*) was established.[32] After London came Hull and the coal ports of Leith, Newcastle and finally Sunderland. In all these ports we find agents of the German houses, often of German origin. Two examples will suffice. In 1795 the Hamburg firm Voght & Sieveking had G. W. Soltau & Co. in London as agents[33] and in 1799 the Hamburg house of Schramm & Kerstens had close links with the London firm of Spitta, Molling & Co. which was of German origin.[34] Others also came to London. Wilhelm Heinrich Gossler, a member of one of the most important Hamburg houses, Berenberg, Gossler & Co., spent some time in London in the year 1813. In July he wrote to his brother that other Hamburgers had arrived after passing through Copenhagen and Stralsund.[35] One of those emigrants was Beneke, a specialist in insurance business.

Germans with other commercial interests came. Andreas Grote from Bremen came to England towards the middle of the eighteenth century and founded a bank in the City of London in 1776.[36] John Baring, son of a Lutheran pastor at Bremen, settled at Larkbear near Exeter as a cloth manufacturer. His son, Francis Baring, learned commerce in the London firm of Boehm and became one of the most successful bankers in the City.[37] From the German interior, too, merchants came into closer contact with the British market or tried to open overseas relations through bases in England. Peter Hasenclever from Remscheid, who specialised in the linen trade and spent some time in Cadiz and Lisbon, went to London in order to build up, with two English partners, Seton & Crofts, an enterprise in the North American colonies. While, from 1764, he spent some time in America in connection with his varied projects and enterprises which

finally failed, his family lived in Putney outside London. After a long law case against his partners he finally returned to Germany in 1773.[38] Nathan Meyer Rothschild, the son of the Frankfurt banker Amschel Meyer Rothschild, went to Manchester and settled in London in 1805.[39]

Industrial links were also established among these immigrants; those in metal trades had a good chance of making a successful career for themselves. Peter Klein, a cutler, settled in London towards the middle of the seventeenth century.[40] Caspar Kalthoff from Solingen, who specialised in making guns, lived in London from 1654 until 1666, the year of his death, and worked for the Marquess of Worcester and for Prince Rupert of the Palatinate.[41] In 1687 twenty-one Solingen craftsmen, some with their families, settled at Shotley Bridge in the county of Durham. They were backed by four English merchants who in the same year solicited a patent for the manufacture of 'hollow sword blades', a Solingen specialty developed towards the end of the sixteenth century.[42] The business of the sword-blade makers of Shotley Bridge seems to have flourished until the Peace of Ryswick, but at the beginning of the next century the Hollow Sword Blade Co. was dissolved. But, meanwhile, in 1703, another merchant group led by William Cotesworth came to an agreement with five of the German swordmakers. It was stipulated that the Germans would produce within six years thirty-seven different kinds of swords exclusively for the Hollow Sword Blade Co.[43] The business developed rather well until the end of the War of the Spanish Succession. The German group was represented by Hermann Mohl. William Mohl, his son, passed his share in the Company to Robert Oley, the son of Adam Ohlig. The management of sword production remained in the hands of the Oley family until 1832. Meanwhile some of the swordmakers of Shotley Bridge moved to Sheffield and Birmingham.[44]

There were other successful businessmen. For instance, in 1785 Johann Sebastian Claiss from Karlsruhe obtained a patent for the scales he had improved and Jacob Bernhard Haas, an instrument maker in London, received a patent in 1783 for the improved model of an air-pump and provided Matthew Boulton, among others, with barometers, hydrometers and thermometers.[45] Then in 1787 Johann Jacob Holzapfel, who was renowned for his skill in making thread-cutting tools and tools for lathes, settled in London.[46] In London there lived, for some time, too, the mechanic Andreas Friedrich Bauer who in 1806 was joined by Friedrich Koenig, the inventor of the mechanical printing press. By 1814 *The Times* was printed on such a press.[47] In 1800, Matthias Koops established a factory for the manufacture of paper from materials other than linen and cotton rags at Millbank near Westminster Bridge. He received financial support from two Englishmen, but went bankrupt in 1803.[48] It is also possible to find German interests in salt works and cotton spinning. All these specialists were sponsored either by the Crown or persons of high rank. Others attracted the attention of merchants, manufacturers or

guilds. In some instances they encountered opposition from English competitors. But where the guilds were opposed to them, it must be kept in mind that their influence had been declining since the seventeenth century.[49]

IV

Besides the merchants, craftsmen and entrepreneurs we must mention German scientists and scholars, especially those who were interested in economic and technical questions. Samuel Hartlib who lived in London from 1628 invited Peter Stahl from Strassburg in West Prussia to come to England in 1659. Stahl taught analytical chemistry in Oxford and in addition gave lectures in mining, mineralogy and metallurgy.[50] Johann Joachim Becher, well known as one of the foremost propagandists of mercantilism, spent his last years in London from 1680 and obtained several patents including one for the production of coal tar and in the field of mining engineering.[51]

Three Germans who at that time lived in London were directly or indirectly involved in the foundation of the Royal Society of London. They were Samuel Hartlib from Elbing, Heinrich Oldenburg from Bremen and Prince Rupert of the Palatinate. Hartlib was very interested in husbandry and in two publications of 1645 and 1652 he described the advanced husbandry of Brabant and Flanders.[52] Oldenburg represented his native town of Bremen in England from 1653. He became an active member of the Royal Society and edited the Review of the Society, the *Philosophical Transactions*, right from the beginning.[53] Prince Rupert, a son of the Winter-King and of Elizabeth, daughter of James I, lived in England from 1636, fighting on the side of the Royalists. Having left England in 1654 he returned after the Restoration in 1660; he had a laboratory in Windsor Castle and was occupied with many projects, and questions of science and technology, especially in the military field. From 1668 he was a governor of the Company of Mineral and Battery Works and from 1669 a governor of the Company of Mines Royal, bringing German miners to England in order to introduce their techniques and train English miners. From 1670 he was an active member of the Hudson Bay Company.[54] Another German who had some influence on the early beginnings of the Society was Theodore Haak from Neuhausen near Worms. After having lived in Oxford, he settled in London and was occupied with theological and mathematical studies. He organised meetings in experimental philosophy at Gresham College.[55] In 1662 Haak was commissioned to translate an Italian treatise on the art of dyeing into English. In 1665 the Society asked him to procure a drawing and a description of those large coaches which, transporting sixteen people, were in use between Lübeck and Hamburg. In 1667 he was engaged in writing a history of sugar refining.[56] Finally, we should mention that Peter

Stahl, to whom we have just referred, after teaching in Oxford moved to London in order to engage in experiments for the Royal Society.

There was great interest shown in the introduction of German methods of tinplate production, and German scientific knowledge on this was eagerly sought in the seventeenth century.[57] In 1676 the German alchemist C. A. Balduin came to England and became a member of the Royal Society. On this occasion he gave a report on the production of tinplate in Germany which was translated into English. Andrew Yarranton, a cloth merchant, made a trip to Saxony in 1665 in order to learn the Saxon technique of tinplate production. He was accompanied by a Bohemian metallurgical worker who had settled in England in 1624 for religious reasons.[58] When he returned he probably came with some Saxon specialists to help him in establishing a tinplate industry in England.[59] In this Yarranton was successful,[60] but only with the help of the rolling process of John Hanbury at Pontypool which was an improvement on the older process of hammering. Towards the end of the century tinplate production made considerable progress in Britain.

Germans were also involved in developments in chemistry. An assistant of Boyle, Gottfried Hanckwitz from Nienburg on the Saale, managed to produce phosphorus on a large scale which he sold all over Europe as a curiosity. For that purpose he had German contacts such as the Dresden alchemist Johan Daniel Kraft who paid a visit to the Royal Society in 1677. Because his first name as well as his family name were difficult to spell, Hanckwitz changed the Gottfried into Godfrey and later dropped the Hanckwitz altogether. After his death his laboratory came into the hands of his sons and from it the chemical firm Godfrey & Cooke developed during the nineteenth century.[61] Another field in which German ideas bore results was dyeing with Berlin blue. Probably in 1760 Louis Amelius Steigenberger from Frankfurt settled in England. In 1766 he founded a firm at London with two partners specialising in the production of Berlin blue and other colours. Soon he changed his name to Berger. It was a firm which continued to flourish.[62]

By the eighteenth century German innovators were to be found in a number of other fields, often working with the support of learned societies. In Chelsea two Germans, Rühl and Hempel, established a factory for the manufacture of crucibles, which generally had to be imported from Germany. They were assisted by the Society of Arts. They were successful in this and were commissioned to supply the Royal Mint. In Chelsea, too, lived the apothecary Johann Christian Erffurt, who manufactured crucibles for which he received a prize from the Society of Arts.[63] For that purpose he had to obtain an affidavit from six jewellers or apothecaries who had to be specialists in questions of chemistry and metallurgy. Three of them at least seem to have been of German origin.[64] Johann Seiffert, who changed his name into John Siffert, received a prize from the Society for his crucible in 1759. In 1761 Jacob Lieberich engaged

in the manufacture of crucibles of the Hesse type in Westminster; for his products he, too, was awarded a prize. Thus German scientists and craftsmen, assisted by the Society of Arts, made England independent of Germany in the manufacture of crucibles.[65] Matthew Boulton, who owned several factories in Birmingham for the manufacture of metal goods, employed a number of German specialists, among them Johann Andreas Kern from Saxony; others were from towns such as Nuremberg, Aachen and Iserlohn which had a special tradition in craftsmanship.[66]

Meanwhile, the technical superiority of England over the continent increased with the improvement of the steam engine by James Watt as well as with the inventions in the textile sector, and many Germans came to visit English factories in order to learn from the innovations. Among them we find Count Friedrich Wilhelm von Reden.[67] Through these and other contacts young Germans were induced to go to England and stay there. The Stedtfeld parson Reinhard, with whom the son of Boulton lived for some time, helped one of his acquaintances, August Streiber, through the mediation of Matthew Boulton, to obtained a post in the firm of Welch, Wilkinson & Startin who made iron articles at Birmingham. Two other friends of Reinhard, Ludwig Krumbhaar and Heinrich Stieglitz from Leipzig, became apprentices in the firm of Boulton & Watt. Stieglitz, who was a specialist in colours derived from cobalt, went to Ireland with the assistance of Boulton where he proceeded to produce cobalt oxides.[68]

Another German who spent some time in Ireland was Rudolf Erich Raspe, the author of *Baron Münchhausen's Travels*, who was from Hanover.[69] As keeper of the cabinet of coins of Landgrave Frederick II at Kassel, he had embezzled coins and fled to England in 1774 where he was helped by Matthew Boulton. However, he was excluded from the Royal Society whose member he had been from 1769. From 1782 he lived in Cornwall working for Boulton as an assay master. Then he was active in Scotland and Wales and finally went to Ireland.

We need finally in this section to refer to Friedrich Accum, Friedrich Albert Winzer and Rudolph Ackermann. In 1752 King George II called August Hermann Brande from Hanover to London where he became court apothecary. The court connections of the Brande family continued under George III.[70] Friedrich Accum, who was from Bückeburg, worked in the Brande pharmacy from 1793 where he was occupied in making sugar from beet by the Achard method.[71] Besides that he was active as a merchant in pharmaceuticals and chemicals, as well as acting as an assistant to Humphrey Davy at the Royal Institution. He finally became a professor of chemistry and mineralogy at the Surrey Institution and his book *System of Theoretical and Practical Chemistry*, published in 1803, was the first manual of general chemistry in England. His teaching ability and great experience became still more evident in two further publications in 1804 and 1810.[72] Finally, he promoted the use of gas for lighting purposes. Friedrich Albert Winzer, who changed his name to Winsor, planned the

foundation of a National Light and Heat Co. in 1807 and in 1812 founded the Gas Light and Coke Co.[73] Accum was involved in these plans and his book *A Practical Treatise on Gaslight* ran into several editions. With the publication of his *Treatise on Adulterations of Food and Culinary Poisons* in 1820, however, Accum made so many enemies that he had to leave England for Germany.[74]

Rudolph Ackermann from Stollberg in the Erzgebirge, who specialised in the construction of carriages, immigrated in 1786 to London and edited a journal called *Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce, Manufactures, Fashions and Politics.* Among other things he was interested in the use of lithography, an invention of the Bavarian, Alois Senefelder. Senefelder had obtained a privilege from the Elector Maximilian Joseph for fifteen years in 1799 and spent some time in London. From 1800 to 1805, Philipp H. André, an editor of musical literature from Offenbach, lived in London. He had bought Senefelder's invention and used it for the printing of music and cartoons. When he returned to Germany he left his business to G. J. Vollweiler from Frankfurt who had settled in London and he, too, interested himself in the improvement of the lithographical process. But he also soon left London and his business was transferred to G. Redman who from 1809 provided Ackermann with lithographs.[75] Ackermann made a trip through Germany in 1818 with a coach which had movable axles, an invention made by the Bavarian court carriage-maker Georg Lankensperger. On his return to England he took out a patent for that invention. Meanwhile, he became increasingly active as a publisher and created a market for himself in his own bookshops in Mexico and South America. Thus he was one of those Germans who, through England, became involved in overseas trade.[76]

Throughout the years of the Hanoverian dynasty London and the court always remained the main centres of attraction for Germans.[77] It was unusual, nevertheless, for about 4,000 colonists, mostly from the Palatinate and other parts of south-west Germany, to arrive in London in 1709. Agents of Queen Anne had promised to get them over to North America but difficulties began in England. About 800 families eventually settled in the counties of Limerick and Kerry where most of them were employed in agriculture and were subsidised by the Irish Parliament. When Arthur Young visited Ireland, he observed their activity. They introduced the wheeled plough, a new kind of horse-drawn vehicle, and used drills earlier than their Irish-born neighbours. Others helped in the development of the Irish linen industry. Others again settled in the Scilly Isles, and some found employment in the mines of the north.[78]

V

German trade relations with England were rather active after the Napoleonic period.[79] The Navigation Acts, however, which were not

abolished until 1857, were an obstacle to the use of German ships for this trade. Shipping continued under the control of the British flag. London remained the most important port for Hamburg's trade with England. Besides London, Hull, as the port serving the midlands and the Sheffield and Leeds regions, had good trade relations with Hamburg and the Baltic ports.[80] Bremen joined Hamburg to a lesser extent in this trade.[81] For some time Cologne tried to obtain direct shipping contacts with English ports. In 1829 F. D. Hölterhoff and the Rhine commissioner in the harbour of Cologne, H. Nollen, visited London as representatives of the Cologne merchants. They had letters of introduction to the Houses of Jameson and Aders as well as to Lobeck, Strong & Co. Both had German partners as the names show.[82] In Hull they met among others F. von Roy from Danzig, who imported goods from the Baltic.[83] The Cologne merchant Gustav Mevissen sent flax to the firm of Burghardt & Aders at Manchester and to Schunck & Souchay at Leeds.[84] In 1830, Carl Deinhard from Coblenz founded a firm in London.[85] In 1845, in Edinburgh, Wilhelm Oechelhaeuser met a fellow countryman from Siegen called Schenk, who had settled there and another German, Dr Kombst, who was a refugee.[86]

After the removal of tariffs in the Sound in 1857 the abolition of customs duties in the Stade region was due, too. On this occasion Rücker, the diplomatic representative of the three Hanse towns, received information from merchant houses in several English towns 'who export goods to the Elbe and who would therefore, if requested, take an active part in promoting the abolition of the odious Stade Duties'.[87] The London list consisted of 104 firms. There were, in addition, 78 businesses in Hull, 68 Manchester firms,[88] 46 houses in Bradford and 28 in Liverpool. Most of these houses had connections in the main ports of Hamburg and Bremen, and others in the Rhineland.[89] A considerable number of them, especially of the Manchester houses, were Jewish.[90]

Besides being engaged in trade Germans entered into the textile industry. Eduard Colbrunn from Bielefeld, visited textile firms in England, Scotland and Ireland and later obtained a position for his son in the spinning factory of Alex. Fletcher & Co. in Glasgow.[91] In 1837 Friedrich Engels from Barmen founded a firm in Manchester and also joined an enterprise in Barmen and Engelskirchen with the Ermen brothers which became known as Ermen & Engels. The factory in England, a spinning mill, was at Seedley near Pendleton, and the office in Manchester. His son, Friedrich Engels, friend of Karl Marx, spent the months of December 1842 to November 1844 and from November 1850 as an employee of the Manchester office; from 1864-9 he was even a partner in the firm of Ermen & Engels.[92]

Meanwhile specialists in the electrical and chemical industries achieved some degree of prominence. Karl Wilhelm Siemens from Lenthe near Hanover went to London in 1843 in order to introduce his brother Werner's

invention, involving the application of electricity to the processes of gilding and silvering. In 1852 he settled in London and eight years later he founded with his brother Werner a branch of the Berlin firm Siemens & Halske in Millwall Bank, London, in order to manufacture telegraphic equipment, cables and insulators. In 1867 William Siemens, as he later called himself, established a steelworks in Birmingham and the Landore-Siemens Steelworks followed in 1869. Between 1868 and 1870 the firm built the Indo-European Telegraph Line.[93] A representative of modern chemistry was August Wilhelm Hofmann, who had studied with Liebig and in 1845 became a professor at the recently founded Royal College of Chemistry and it was he who, using aniline as a raw material, created the coal-tar dye industry. His assistant, William Perkins, discovered the aniline-based dye, mauve, in 1856. In 1861 Hofmann became President of the Chemical Society. In 1864, however, he returned to Germany with the result that the decisive industrial progress in that field was made there. Ludwig Mond, on the other hand, who came to England in 1862 for the first time and settled in 1867 became one of the pioneers of the English chemical industry.

Finally, we should consider the German contribution to the service industries and in this connection we need to mention Julius Reuter, who in 1850 established an information office in Aachen which he transferred to London in 1851.[94] Several important London banking houses were founded by Germans. In 1814 Wilhelm Heinrich Göschen, son of a Leipzig bookseller and publisher, participated in the foundation of the banking house Frühling & Goschen. This firm and several others such as Frederick Huth & Co., J. Henry Schroder & Co., Kleinwort, Sons & Co. were merchant bankers.[95] A number of well-known Jews from Frankfurt or Hamburg, among whom were Speyer Brothers and Stern Brothers, might be mentioned in this connection.

VI

It is difficult to estimate the number of Germans who emigrated to England, Scotland and Ireland. Of course, most of them lived in the ports, especially in London. In 1548 according to the Italian Bernardinus Ochinus more than 5,000 Germans (including Netherlanders) were to be found in London.[96] Under Queen Mary most of the Protestants left the country, but under Elizabeth 3,838 Germans were counted in London, of whom 3,100 were permanently settled there.[97] In 1610 the population of London was estimated to be about 300,000, 10,000 of whom were foreigners, a figure which is probably too high. A large proportion of these were 'Dutch', as both Netherlanders and Germans were called.[98] Evidence of German origin tended to disappear quickly because they changed their names: Schmid became Smith, Steinhaus was transformed into Stone-house, Roth into Rudd, Spielmann into Spillman, Kirschbaum into

Cherrytree and so on.[99] New waves of immigrants came during the Thirty Years War, especially from the Palatinate, then again after 1689 following the French invasion of the Palatinate and later still during the War of Spanish Succession. Towards the middle of the eighteenth century 4,000 to 5,000 Germans (by then excluding Netherlanders) seem to have lived in London. With the accession of the House of Hanover to the throne many servants of the court, officers, soldiers and purveyors to the court, came to England.

Evidence of a thriving religious life among the early immigrants is evident as far back as the sixteenth century. A first Lutheran community was founded by the Hansards in the 'Steelyard'; a reformed community was added in 1550, but it disappeared in 1553. A German Lutheran church was built between 1671 and 1673. In 1692 a separate community became established in Westminster, which obtained its first religious home in the 'Savoy', as did a German reformed community in 1697. Prince George of Denmark, the consort of Queen Anne, had a German Lutheran court chapel in St James from 1702. In Whitechapel in the East End of London, on the initiative of Beckmann, a German sugar refiner, another German Lutheran community was founded in 1763. In Dublin a German church existed between 1698 and 1830.[100]

The Napoleonic Wars favoured immigration again, and conditions for immigration remained favourable as long as the House of Hanover reigned; England under Victoria and Albert became attractive for other reasons. During this period it was rather the liberal atmosphere of the English constitution which offered political refugees from Germany a home, first in the 1830s[101] then in the 1840s. Schapper, Bauer and their socialist associates, who were put into prison as a consequence of their participation in the Paris Revolt, left prison in 1839 and went to London where in February 1840, they founded a German Workers' Educational Association. It became a centre of agitation among the German workers living in London. There were several branches of the association which entered into contact with the Chartist movement. In 1845 these Germans, together with other immigrants from European countries as well as Englishmen, founded an international association. Thus for some time these German circles became the spiritual centre of the German socialist movement, and Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx came into contact with them.[102] After the revolutionary events of 1848-9 and after the *coup d'état* of Napoleon III towards the end of 1851, new groups of German immigrants arrived.[103] In the same year the Great Exhibition provided another opportunity to attract Germans.[104]

In conclusion we might say that precise statistics are not available for the size of the German community, even in these later years. When P. A. Nemnich, in the description of his travels published in 1800[105] writes of 30,000 Germans living in London he probably exaggerates. For to this figure we would need to add those Germans resident in other parts of

Britain, such as Hull, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds and Glasgow, and yet even after the German immigration of the late nineteenth century only 40,000 adult male Germans were interned in the First World War and the total German population of that time was estimated at around 50,000.[106]

CHAPTER 3: NOTES

1 Since the synthesis of Karl Heinrich Schaible, *Geschichte der Deutschen in England von den ersten germanischen Ansiedlungen in Britannien bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Strassburg, 1885), no comprehensive work on the Germans in England has been written. Schaible's work is rich in details, but a typical fruit of the nineteenth-century mind and, therefore, from the point of view of the second half of the twentieth century is in many aspects no longer up to date. Ian D. Colvin, *The Germans in England, 1066-1598* (London, 1915), treats only the earlier phase. A general view of the years before the First World War is given in the book *Die deutsche Kolonie in England,* ed. Anglo-German Publishing Co. (London, 1913). C. R. Hennings' *Deutsche in England* (Stuttgart, 1923) is strongly influenced by the experience of the First World War and provides only a few references in the text. A more recent study on German-English relations has been written by Walter Leifer, *Rhein und Themse fliessen zueinander, Geschichte und Gegenwart der deutsch-englischen Beziehungen* (Herrenalb/Schwarzwald, 1964). Several recent major studies, such as the books by W. Kroker, *Wege zur Verbreitung technologischer Kenntnisse zwischen England und Deutschland in der 2. Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1971), by Hans-Joachim Braun, *Technologische Beziehungen zwischen Deutschland und England von der Mitte des 17. bis zum Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Düsseldorf, 1974), and Martin Schumacher, *Auslandsreisen deutscher Unternehmer 1750-1851 unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Rheinland und Westfalen* (Cologne, 1968), give more detailed contributions to the question which is under consideration. It is the purpose of the present chapter to give the main features of German immigration to Britain from the late middle ages until the middle of the nineteenth century. Special stress is laid upon the economic aspects of such immigration.

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5 See *Hanse in Europa,* p. 398. On Cologne's relations with England see Horst Buszello, 'Köln und England (1468-1509)' in *Köln, das Reich und Europa* (Cologne, 1971), pp. 431-67.

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9 See Schaible, op. cit., pp. 581 and 98.
10 ibid., p. 130.
11 Schultheiss, op. cit., p. 82.
12 ibid., p. 81.
13 John Wiedhofft Gough, *The Rise of the Entrepreneur* (London, 1969), pp. 106-7; Braun, op. cit., p. 14; Friedrich Hassler, 'Augsburger Kaufleute und Tiroler Bergarbeiter im 16. Jahrhundert in England', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Technik und Industrie,* vol. 17 (1927), p. 80.
14 Schaible, op. cit., p. 183; Maxwell Bruce Donald, *Elizabethan Copper* (London, 1955); idem, *Elizabethan Monopolies: The History of the Company of Mineral and Battery Works from 1565 to 1604* (Edinburgh and London, 1961).
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93 Hennings, op. cit., p. 103; 'Sir William Siemens (1823-1883)', *DNB,* Vol. LII (London, 1897), pp. 240-4.
94 Clemens Brückner, *Zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Regierungsbezirks Aachen* (Cologne, 1967), p. 248.
95 Hennings, op. cit., p. 107.
96 Schaible, op. cit., p. 130. On the London colony especially, see Heinrich Dorgeel, *Die Deutsche Kolonie in London* (London and Leipzig, 1881).
97 Hennings, op. cit., p. 33.
98 Schaible, op. cit., p. 293.
99 ibid., p. 277.
100 ibid., p. 368.
101 Hennings, op. cit., p. 68.
102 M. Beer, *Allgemeine Geschichte des Sozialismus und der sozialen Kämpfe* (Berlin, 1924), p. 439.
103 Hennings, op. cit., p. 67.
104 Schumacher, op. cit., p. 175.
105 P. A. Nemnich, *Von Hamburg nach und durch England* (Stuttgart, 1800); see also Dorgeel, op. cit.
106 Hennings, op. cit., p. 123.

4 English Attitudes to the Irish in England, 1780-1900[1]

by Sheridan Gilley

'Dr Heylin says, the general character of the Irish is, That they are generally well made, strong, active, haughty of spirit, careless of their lives, patient in cold and hunger, constant in love, light of belief, greedy of glory. In a word if they are bad, you shall nowhere find worse; if they be good, you can hardly meet with better.'[2]

Few ideas are more subtly influential than a nation's understanding of its 'national character'. For 'national characters' do exist in idea, and as ideas they both describe and determine social behaviour, implying an ideal of human excellence which national loyalty commends: 'a true-born Englishman', 'un vrai français'. But no less important an aspect of 'national character' are those vices for which it indicates a tolerance. So an Englishman, by being a bully, reinforces his claim to be a typical John Bull, through that English admiration for blunt common sense which rejoices in Dr Johnson's rough repartee, and has made the bluff English squire a national hero, for all his brutality.

Yet a nation creates its own national ideals, and even the vices for which it has a tolerance have not been simply invented by its slanderous neighbours, though they are often presented in the form of a stereotype which is loathsome. The matter is more complex if the foreigner considers the national virtue a vice, as Beatrice Webb thought the charm of the Irish a reason for depopulating Ireland.[3] So conservative Englishmen recognise and resent the Frenchman's claim to sharp abstract intelligence, subversive of reverence for ancient authority, and caricature him as a revolutionary chatterbox. But if the original has undergone a Channel crossing, one can recognise behind the English conception of the Frenchman a French idea of the Frenchman, with a gift for clear abstract thought, and in like fashion behind the English conception of the Irish lies the Irish idea of the Irishman.

National stereotypes are sometimes difficult to show below the level of middle-class commentary, but something of the popular nineteenth-

century Irish understanding of the Irish can be seen in the extensive ballad literature on broadsheets printed by English presses[4] in largely Irish districts in London, and apparently sold indiscriminately to an English and Irish working-class clientele.[5] Their appeal to the Irish is incontestable, from the nature of their themes, which range from bawdy songs to sentimental ballads, from the lament of the Irish exile to the defiance of the Irish rebel. They celebrate the emigrant's success on the foreign shore, or they condole his failure in misery and rags. One finds Irish versions of the genre involving an Englishman, a Scotsman and a Welshman, against whom the Irishman proves his superior cunning; others boast of his merits and trials as a lover, with a vigour verging on the obscene. Sometimes the themes are topical. There are temperance songs advertising Father Mathew's visit to England, and mourning his death; others comment on priests who also preached the pledge, on the 'Papal Aggression' of 1850 ('THE POPE OF ROME WILL NEVER BE CONQUERED'), on Irish exploits in the Crimean War, on John Mitchell's trial and on the priesthood's wrongs. There was Father Houlton, gaoled for converting a dying Protestant young lady, Father Plunkett, accused of fathering a child, and Pat Maguire, a seminarian in the same unhappy predicament, and the Catholic interest carried over into songs about the dedication of churches to St Patrick, and the great processions on St Patrick's Day. With their strong content of Irish popular preoccupations, the broadsheet songs seem a good guide to an Irish understanding of the Irish and help us to see them as they saw themselves.

The stereotype which emerges is one of 'good-natured Paddy': an image as popular among Irishmen as among Englishmen, with a good deal of attractiveness about it. The three main virtues which Paddy claims are generosity, hospitality and courage in battle:

> His hand is rash, his heart is warm,
> But principle is still his guide,
> None more repents a deed of harm,
> And none forgives with nobler pride;
> He may be dup'd but won't be dar'd,
> Fitter to practice than to plan,
> He ably earns his own reward,
> And spends it like an Irishman.

The key to these qualities is a quickness of spirit and spontaneity, sometimes verging on that impulsive rashness for which this verse makes apology. They were, as a nineteenth-century work on phrenology had it, 'Generous, Careless, Hasty, Laborious and brave':[6] hence that 'fitter to practice than to plan' of someone not too bright and always in a hurry. So, too, the considerable body of laments, love songs and lyrical ballads, many in the style of Tom Moore, imply an impressionable, mercurial temperament responsive to music and poetry and overflooding into a

quicksilver variety of moods, most notably poetic melancholy; while the easy rhythms of even doggerel pieces suggest a delight in verbal wit and in eloquent floods of words.

But as the verse already quoted also implies, that 'rashness of hand' has its negative aspect in a recklessness which, merged with the claim to military courage, becomes pleasure in violence. This tolerance emerges from ballads about the exploits of Irish criminals like Brennan on the Moor and the Wild and Wicked Youth, no less admirable for his wicked wildness. Violence was also associated with drunkenness, and many a song begins in drinking and ends in a brawl. However, drunkenness had the best of authorities: as everyone knew,

> No wonder that we Irish lads then are so blythe and frisky,
> St Patrick was the very man that taught us to drink whiskey,
> O to be sure he had the knack and understood distillin',
> For his mother kept a shebeen shop in the town of Enniskillen.

Songs about drinking and highwaymen are also English genres, but there are other evidences of the violent spirit which are more specifically Irish, in ditties applauding the attacks upon policemen and Orangemen which went with a more general contempt for English authority, the foe of Faith and Fatherland. The Irishman loved bloody ballads about his battles with the English, and about the battles fought by the Irish under other nations and generals in every corner of the earth. Even English victories figured in the Irish repertoire, for Irishmen argued that they had won all the Englishman's battles for him. Patriotism and religious feeling only increased his fondness for fighting, and the glories of conventional warfare were set beside the Nationalist knockabout and No Popery riots which have also left their traces in a body of verse that was sometimes intended for singing. The fun of the fight is also celebrated in the hand-to-hand give and take of domestic brawls, of Captain Mulligan and Kitty O'Shea, and in the joy of headbreaking at fairs and weddings and wakes, lauded in rough, rollicking metres which carry the action forward in swinging rhythms that have an Irish idiom all their own. In 'The Finnigins', the narrator kills his wife's father with a blow to the head, but during a mêlée at the wake is stunned by his wife's would-be lover:

> Oh the corpse was upset in the bed,
> The fight commenced in a minute, sure,
> Oh! devil a stick could we get
> Till we tore off the legs of the furniture;
> Showers of blood rushed about,
> Eyes were knocked out but put in agin,
> When I got a sou'-western clout
> Which laid me as stiff as old Finnigin.

His wife has him taken out for dead for burial, but he escapes and has his revenge:

> Och! my wife she came home from the spree,
> Full of whiskey from the burying, sure,
> She showed as much mercy to me,
> As a hungry man at a wedding, sure,
> Until one domino I gave her,
> Which made her to cry and to grin agin',
> And in three months I opened the grave,
> And threw her on the bones of McFinnigin.

This was all good fun, and was not intended as a faithful picture of the Irish fireside, nor did every Irishman, like the merry hodsman of St Giles's in another ballad, leave instructions for a shindy over his grave. None the less this at least was attractive in idea, for the songs establish that if an Irishman never fought in his life at a wake or wedding or No Popery meeting, he took pleasure in the notion of doing so. Thus if 'Paddy' was ideally prone to violence, this does not disprove that 'Paddy' was partly Paddy's own creation, Paddy as he saw himself: so that if the Irish saw in 'Paddy' their own self-image, it is no wonder that Englishmen believed in him. 'The Irish are a fair people;—they never speak well of one another', said Johnson;[7] and so, too, one can point to Irish origins for other aspects of 'Paddy': the Irish were able to laugh at themselves, and they sang about the very symbols of backwardness which Englishmen also laughed at in their picture of 'Paddy'—chimneyless mud cabins and blackthorn sticks, dunghills, potatoes and pigs.

In maintaining a partly Irish origin for 'Paddy' I do not wish to deny that he was partly of English manufacture. The London street ballads were also written to entertain Englishmen, and especially the English poor; and though 'Paddy' was a rascal, the ballads show the highly qualified character of English hostility to Irishmen, insofar as 'Paddy' is not merely a rascal but a lovable one. This was a character which many Irishmen were willing to assume; and as George Bernard Shaw suggested, 'Paddy' was one self-defensive means by which an Irishman could disarm English prejudice.[8] Thus 'Paddy' was not so much an Irish or English creation as a joint production of both nations; and so he had an independent English origin in the theatrical convention of the 'stage Irishman'. He was 'tall, strong and handsome', with long, unkempt hair; an accomplished athlete, too fond of cutting throats; '"wild" and uncivilised; hasty tempered and a gambler; but hospitable'—with 'ebullient and familiar' manners; a sort of convivial savage, an amiable brigand with a set diet and brogue, who swore by Christ and St Patrick as a loyal Catholic.[9] The picture was complicated by the Irish aristocrats of *Amelia, Humphrey Clinker* and *Tom Jones*: disreputable, spendthrift, colourful and slow-witted, very definitely Irish rather than Anglo-Irish—a type developed as lord and squireen by writers as various and as

indisputably Irish as Lever and Sheridan. 'Paddy' was more of a proletarian figure, and was more characteristically Victorian; but as a creature of good-natured fun, the pre-'Paddy' English image of the Irish merged easily with 'Paddy'. For not only were the Irish much more engaging than the rebellious, dour and puritanical Scot; in the eighteenth-century English theatre, their roughest qualities were softened by the vogue for humanitarian sentimentality, so that it has been concluded that by 1760 'the Irish had come to be generally quite well-liked in England'.[10] This was in a period of Irish political quiescence, when from the contrast with Scotland[11] one would expect a more indulgent English image of 'Paddy'; and one would also expect 'Paddy' to lose his more indulgent features with the political resurrection of nineteenth-century Ireland, which gave a new lease of life to the tradition of bitter English prose satire on Irishmen deriving from Giraldus Cambrensis, and re-emerging in fits and starts down the centuries.[12]

Yet even bitter prose satire on 'the wild Irish' before 1800 expressed a dislike which was national, not racial; and it is only by taking a wholly one-sided picture of nineteenth-century English attitudes to Ireland that it is possible to admit Professor L. P. Curtis's argument in his recent book, that Englishmen increasingly felt that 'Paddy' proved the 'racial' inferiority of Irish/Celts so that an anti-Celtic racism increasingly determined the English response to nineteenth-century Ireland, especially after 1860.[13] It would be truer to say that Englishmen had drawn from their long experience of the Irish a national stereotype which had both its good points and its bad: as good and bad points were defined by the Irish themselves. So the English invoked the good points or the bad according to their temperament, moment or mood. Thus an Irish riot or rebellion typified Celtic lawlessness, though Irish military valour always came in for English praise; the remittances which poured into Ireland from overseas were in English eyes the hallmark of Celtic family loyalty, as the railways were monuments to Irish industry, although a single drunken Irishman proved all Irishmen drunkards, as the idleness of unemployed Irishmen in a slum establishes Irish indolence. The one observer might consider both industry and indolence equally Irish, and happily hold either opinion on different occasions without resolving the contradiction, for it is the very nature of an idea of 'national character' that as often as it aspires to consistency it leaves contradictions of this kind unresolved.

This inconsistency is also true of the conviction that Irish 'Celts' were racially inferior to the English 'race', which was thought of as 'Anglo-Saxon'. Professor Curtis indeed recognises that Anglo-Saxonism was 'unsystematic, illogical, unhistorical and, at times, downright incoherent';[14] but he does not admit that this very illogicality and incoherence had certain important consequences. Not least of these was the assumption that the Saxon strain was only one in the making of Englishmen, which Professor Curtis acknowledges and then forgets,[15] failing to see its

significance—that this acknowledged racial complexity of Englishmen made a simple Saxon 'racism' difficult if by no means impossible. Thus an influential writer on race could claim that the idea of the mixed racial character of the English was by the 1880s the most generally accepted of racial theories in England, even as he set out to qualify it;[16] while a crude Saxon 'racist' might attack the belief that Saxon Englishmen had mixed their blood with the lower non-Saxon races, by denying that most Englishmen were Saxons.[17] But Professor Curtis sees only a coherent and logical pure Anglo-Saxon racism, and so neglects to mention, in treating of Charles Kingsley, that Kingsley believed in mixed races, not pure ones, for racial vigour; so that, if on one occasion he called the Irish 'chimpanzees', on another he has his hero express the hope that intermarriage with the Irish might revive the exhausted and degenerate South Saxon race.[18] Here is the clear difference between nineteenth-century discussion of the relative merit of the so-called white races in 'intra-European' racial theory, and the racist attitude to coloured peoples: that 'miscegenation' between say, Saxons and Celts was normally regarded as a source of strength and a positive good, while racial mingling between white and black was always considered the reverse. To many English patriots the special vigour of Great Britain was due to its unique internal blending of the races.[19] Thus it was England's peculiar good fortune that Saxon and Celt had mingled their blood in their children, who could therefore claim both the bravery of the Celts and the more sober Saxon virtues, with 'the iron of the Roman . . . the enterprise of the Dane, and the chivalry of the Norman'.[20] In this view Kingsley had something in common with Matthew Arnold, though Arnold's belief in mixed races was qualified by the consideration that the worst qualities of Saxon, Norman and Celt were united in the English philistine.[21] True, Arnold and more especially Kingsley could on different counts be accused of disliking Celts, and their racial arguments were always there to be invoked, but even racial stereotypes are seldom simple, and even individuals are inconsistent in their prejudice.

But Professor Curtis understates the range of anthropological opinion from the 1860s on the origins of the British peoples for, as a more dispassionate authority declares,

'in these debates the Celts were by no means without their champions. In the pages of the *Anthropological Review and Journal*, the extirpation of the ancient Britons by the Saxons was regarded as a romantic theory no longer tenable. The Saxon and other Teutonic invaders had been the conquerors, not the extirpators, of the nation. The belief of the majority of Englishmen that they were Saxons, or Anglo-Normans, rather than Celts, was called popular fallacy which anthropology condemned. By "those who have mastered the science of man" it was numbered with the prejudices of a bygone age.'[22]

Thus the ancient Britons were agreed to be Celts, and to have merged with their Saxon conquerors: so that the simple Saxon explanation for the origins of the English was on the decline from the 1860s, during the very period in which Professor Curtis discerns a new kind of Saxon racism. Thus a Teutomaniac historian like E. A. Freeman, convinced that a great mass of modern Englishmen were descended from the Saxons alone, was increasingly an isolated eccentric to his fellow specialists, despite his influence on that wider audience with a general interest in history. More representative of this movement of sophisticated opinion was another and even more popular historian, Freeman's friend John Richard Green, whom Professor Curtis chooses to articulate the Saxon mood. But in Green's last words on the Saxon and Celt, he asserts that if in eastern England the Saxon drove out the Celt, in the west the conqueror mingled his blood with the conquered, with momentous consequences for Englishmen:

'The winning of western Britain opened in fact a way to that addition of outer elements to the pure English stock which has gone on from that day to this without a break. Celt and Gael, Welshman and Irishman, Frisian and Flamand, French Huguenot and German Palatine, have come successively in with a hundred smaller streams of foreign blood. The intermingling of races has nowhere been less hindered by national antipathy; and even the hindrance interposed by law, such as Offa's prohibition of marriage between English and Welsh, and Edward III's prohibition of marriage between English and Welsh, and Edward III's prohibition of marriage between English and Irish, have met with the same disregard. The result is that so far as blood goes few nations are of an origin more mixed than the present English nation; for there is no living Englishman who can say with certainty that the blood of any of the races we have named does not intermingle in his veins.'

Green argues that the Saxons created the social and political forms from which later English institutions would come; so that the pure blooded Saxons were survived by a Saxon civilisation. This conception of Saxon culture is significant as we shall see: and is even true, in so far as the English language is based on the Saxon tongue. Yet for Green the flowering of the Saxon culture depended on influences from abroad, secular and ecclesiastical, and especially on racial intermingling: for

'though it would be hard to distinguish the changes brought by the lapse of time and the different circumstances which surrounded each generation, there can be no doubt that it has brought with it moral results in modifying the character of the nation . . . the highest type of the race, the one Englishman who has combined in their largest measure the mobility and fancy of the Celt with the depth and energy of the Teutonic temper,

was born on the old Welsh and English borderland, in the Forest of Arden.'[23]

Green's developed theory was a tangle of inconsistencies,[24] but his work was not that of a racial bigot, but of a noble and well-meaning man, in fact entirely sympathetic to Irish aspirations to political freedom.

Other sources for this kind of inconsistency were many. In the English middle-class understanding of poverty and the poor, the tradition of denunciation of proletarian idleness and immorality combined oddly with the quest for the picaresque in working-class mores, and with the glorification of sturdy yeomen and Wordsworthian peasants and industrious mechanics, even Irish ones. Thus enthusiasm and abuse mingle oddly in the English literature on Irish immigrants in England, so that if they were despised as drunken and disloyal, ignorant and illiterate, as wife-beaters and child-beaters, as priests, publicans and prostitutes, short-lived and reckless of life, violent, intolerant and superstitious, they were also extolled for their conviviality, generosity, industry, chastity, piety and patience in suffering. To these one may add those so-called racial virtues which Matthew Arnold preached to Oxford in his essay on Celtic literature; the Celtic sensitivity and sensibility, eloquence and gift for music, quickness of spirit and poetic genius by which he hoped against hope that the English philistine might be redeemed.[25]

My dissatisfaction with Professor Curtis's Saxon theorising had its origins in my difficulty in applying his theory to Irish immigrants in England, whom he notices only in passing.[26] But if his thesis be true it must account for English attitudes to them as well; and so I shall refer as much to them as to the Irish in Ireland, to frame a more comprehensive explanation than Professor Curtis provides of attitudes which are more complex than he will allow. For there were acknowledged 'Celtic' virtues as Englishmen saw them, even the most hostile, and so it would be possible to weave a fabric of selected quotation whereby the Irish might appear to English eyes just a little lower than the angels. Not that such an impression would be wholly misleading, insofar as it concerned English Catholics, for despite a strong vein of insular prejudice, it was in angelic terms, as I have tried to show elsewhere, that English Catholic hagiographers described them.[27] English Catholic priests protected their Irish flocks from attack and made their causes their own, flattering them as the 'holy poor' as they relieved their distresses or collected their pennies. It is more surprising to find the Catholic position echoed by non-Catholic writers on the Irish in England as eminent as Charles Booth and Henry Mayhew. Indeed Mayhew was praised by English Catholics for this very reason,[28] though as the principal mid-Victorian authority on the more picturesque of proletarians, his great audience was mostly non-Catholic, and they must have been influenced by him.

Thus even a strongly prejudiced anti-Celtic 'racialist' knew that he had

an argument to answer: as, for example, the Earl of Kimberley, in an opinion uttered in the wake of the Fenian troubles of 1867-8:

'But the true sources of Irish unhappiness is the character of the Irish race: it must take many generations to alter that character for the better. A great deal of undeserved praise has been bestowed upon the Irish, arising from a natural sympathy with the unfortunate. That the men have physical courage and that the women are chaste, no one will deny. Add to these unquestioned virtues a genial manner frequently however degenerating into vulgar roystering, and the catalogue of the good qualities of the ordinary Irishman is pretty well exhausted. On the other side must be set their violence and boastfulness in speech, unsupported by corresponding vigour and steadiness in action. . . .'[29]

Even the anti-Celt had to acknowledge that the Irish had virtues, though few, and had been praised by the English for them, though undeservingly, before entering on a larger list of the Irish vices. Thus in so varied a climate of opinion, one needs a sensitivity to context and nuance in weighing up the anti-Celtic racial prejudice of even the most hostile, for the Irish virtues and vices were usually parts of a single stereotype which is destroyed by taking them apart. True, the vices and virtues might be incompatible, and left unreconciled, but if the insult be sincerely intended, why not the compliment to virtue? 'I have met more gentlemen here than in any place I ever saw', wrote Thackeray of Ireland: 'gentlemen of high and low ranks, that is to say: men shrewd and delicate of perception, observant of society, entering into the feelings of others, and anxious to set them at ease or to gratify them. . . .' Compare this with his first encounter with 'the careless drinking squire—the Irish Will Whimble'.[30] It is this mixed stereotype which makes sense of the mixed impressions of Thackeray and Carlyle,[31] and of Trollope's judgement that the Irish were 'good humoured, clever, the working classes very much more intelligent than those of England'—but perverse, irrational and liars.[32] In this Ruskin is more typical than Professor Curtis implies,[33] for students of Irish national character revelled in paradox to describe it,—'that mixture', as Maria Edgeworth called it, 'of quickness, simplicity, cunning, carelessness, dissipation, disinterestedness, shrewdness and blunder. . . .'[34] 'In a word, if they are bad, you shall nowhere find worse; if they be good, you can hardly meet with better.'[35] Not that the stereotype was a realistic figure for all its mingling of light and shade; it was a cardboard cut-out, a caricature. But it was also the multi-coloured product of the complex impulses that created it, and English prejudice was only one of them.

But Professor Curtis has a simpler argument. So he equates John Richard Green, 'a Home Ruler when no one else thought at all about it',[36] from sheer sympathy with Irish Nationalism, with Freeman, another if

very different Home Ruler, and with the stout Protestant Froude, an extremist in all his loathings and loves. But even Froude remembered the devotion of the peasantry who had nursed him through smallpox in the wilds of Mayo; and as Professor Curtis admits Froude's inconsistency, and as Froude's judgement was partly a matter of mood, so one may be excused for seeing him in gentler vein, on an evening in a great Irish Protestant household:

'We had a brilliant company staying in the house. In the evenings at dinner the old blind family piper played the Irish airs of the West to us—Ossian may have played the like of them on his harp—and dinner over, the piper attended the young ladies to the piano. In that house there was no fear of the Celts: all were Irish together.'[37]

So might an Irish Protestant gathering be extolled for its Celtic culture, and it is precisely the Celtic qualities of warmth, hospitality and conviviality, with the distinctively mournful and poetic touch of the old blind piper that Froude found attractive and makes attractive to us.

Professor Curtis is most open to criticism in his comparison of anti-Negro racism in the United States with English dislike of the Victorian Irish, which in the best modern manner he explains as the projection on to them of the emotional insecurities of the English upper class.[38] As one American has pointed out, Professor Curtis's argument has its attractions for liberal Americans obsessed with their own national tragedy, and not unpleased to learn that in the Irish, England had a long-standing 'colour problem' of her own.[39] Indeed, one American doctoral thesis has already been devoted to this theme,[40] and the case against it ought to be stated before it becomes received American opinion, despite its obvious weaknesses. Not that in stating these weaknesses I wish to refute all proper comparison between 'Saxon' attitudes to Irishmen and Negroes, for such a comparison can be made in more or less sensible forms, and there are points of similarity, for example, in the American nativist responses to a variety of ethnic minorities, including Irish immigrants and Negroes. But I do wish to refute the easy equation of the two, an equation which neglects all the important differences between them.

The most obvious of these differences stem from objective differences of race. Unlike Anglo-Saxons and Celts, Caucasians and Negroes are in fact different races, defined by objective physical characteristics, most notably skin colour. It can hardly be maintained that Negroes are Caucasians, as it was argued that the Anglo-Saxons were a variety of Celt.[41] Thus even if 'Celts' and 'Saxons' were more usually considered to be racially distinct, were they really seen to be as different as whites and blacks, when their outward appearance did not so clearly show it? A Negro is identifiable at

once; a 'Celt' does not have this separate racial character so visibly stamped upon him.

But since an objective criterion of race like skin colour is lacking to define Saxon dislike of Celts, there is a difficulty of definition in deciding at what point vague talk about Celtic character amounts to 'racial prejudice'. 'Anglo-Saxon' and 'Celt' do not have a modern full 'racial' meaning and 'Anglo-Saxon' was often used in a non-racial sense, to describe the English language and English civilisation, without implying purity of racial origin. Thus for Martin Tupper, 'Anglo-Saxon' meant primarily English speaking. This made the Celts honorary Anglo-Saxons, for, as Tupper argued, the name of Anglo-Saxon 'as a family name . . . does not exclude the Celt, whether Irish, Scotch, or Welsh: the two families blending into one, and it is only natural to retain the name of the predominating element'.[42] This use of words is vague, but is perfectly proper, and not necessarily racist: nor are the expressions Celtic archaeology, Celtic language and Celtic culture. 'Celt' was originally a purely linguistic term;[43] and if it was tempting to explain real differences of language and culture in terms of an imagined difference of race, one need not be a 'racist' to dislike Celtic culture, or even the Celtic 'character' it might seem to imply. Some Victorian commentators used 'race' without its modern overtones,[44] so that race does not always mean what Professor Curtis means by it,[45] for Sir Charles Dilke assumed that it can change and even change in a generation. 'Not only is it a fact known alike to physiologists and statisticians, that the children of Irish parents born in America are, physically, not Irish but Americans, but the like is true of the moral type . . .' wrote Dilke in *Greater Britain*. 'The son of Fenian Pat and bright-eyed Biddy is the normal gaunt American, quick of thought, but slow of speech, whom we have begun to recognise as the latest product of the Saxon race.'[46] This is nuance which Professor Curtis ignores in his attack on Dilke for while he admits that Dilke 'hedged' on the question of miscegenation, Dilke's idea of 'race' does comprehend both physical type and culture. For if Dilke's hope of salvation for the Celt required his physical transformation into a Saxon, yet he thought that culture could transform the physical type; and he should not be fitted to the procrustean bed of a more self-consistent prejudice.

But the lack of objective criteria of Celtic racial distinctiveness has further implications, for there is a difference between a real physical distinction between races and one largely contrived: and that difference gives a lunatic implausibility to the racial theorists who had to invent their racial types in order to dislike them. Ethnologists believed that some Irish Catholics were descended from the Anglo-Saxons;[47] and the very idea of a Celtic 'race' underwent fragmentation, as it was argued that, like the Anglo-Saxons themselves, the 'Celts' were a mixture of races, short and dark, and tall and fair.[48] Thus there was more than one kind of 'Celtic' appearance, some of them remarkably attractive. Consider this entry from

Parson Kilvert's diary about 'two merry saucy Irish hawking girls' who had come into his railway carriage—one of them with a magnificent singing voice with which she proceeded to entertain him:

'There was an attractive power about this poor Irish girl that fascinated me strangely. I felt irresistibly drawn to her. The singular beauty of her eyes, a beauty of deep sadness, a wistful sorrowful imploring look, her swift rich humour, her sudden gravity and sadnesses, her brilliant laughter, a certain intensity and power and richness of life and the extraordinary sweetness, softness and beauty of her voice in singing and talking gave her a power over me which I could not understand nor describe, but the power of a stronger over a weaker will and nature. She lingered about the carriage door. Her look grew more wistful, beautiful, imploring. . . . A wild reckless feeling came over me. Shall I leave all and follow her? . . .'[49]

There are a number of points in this charming picture, which shows rather more than a Protestant clergyman's notorious weakness for a pretty face. Though Kilvert is enchanted by an individual, what is the note of 'deep sadness' in Irish Mary's eyes but the famed attraction of Celtic melancholy? The 'swift rich humour' is no less expected than her fluency of speech and gift for music. She casts a spell—what Arnold calls the Celtic 'natural magic', and with her grey eyes under black lashes she is the type of recognisably 'Celtic' beauty very different from the 'Saxon' blond ideal. Thus Kilvert's mental soliloquy is stereotyped, despite its freshness, but of course it was in no sense racist. Not only is there nothing of the guilt-ridden undertones which an American Negress might inspire in this sort of fantasy, but in this encounter there is simply no consciousness of race. Even the bare outline of a national type may take on the flesh of a warm humanity. Though gentlemen prefer blondes, it has never been disputed that Celts might be beautiful by looking Celtic, whereas white racism was of such ferocity that the idea that 'black is beautiful' is one which Negroes find difficult to accept even now.

Kilvert's encounter does not measure the typical quality of everyday contact between English and Irish, when one might expect any 'racial' consciousness to show itself; but the anecdote is given force by the 'miscegenation' attested by the Roman Church's impassioned lament that mass Catholic intermarriage with the heretic Saxon has lost her thousands upon thousands of her children.[50] Such marriages seem to have been rare in the 1850s; in the 1880s and 1890s, they appear to have been quite commonplace. It is difficult to give this point proper weight, without any statistics for these marriages; yet qualitative testimony suggests that while Irish immigrants in England had every reason to form their own ghettos, anti-English, papist and republican, and to keep true to Faith and Fatherland, many broke away. This was partly by submersion in a culture

of poverty; and partly perhaps by an opposing social tendency, the acquisition of a modest wealth which made old values seem less attractive. A Protestant marriage might well have the same effect, for there was no instinctive racial repulsion to keep alive the distinctions of Fatherland and Faith. Where class and religious loyalties were the same, there were no further barriers to climb, and upper-crust English and Irish Catholics peacefully mingled and married all oblivious of racial difference. In his first foray into the London literary world, Justin McCarthy wrote that 'I was handicapped, in the opinion of many of my friends at home, by the fact that I was a Catholic by religion and an Irish Nationalist in politics. . . .' But, he added, 'I have never found either of these conditions to interfere in the slightest degree with my way in journalism or in literature here in England. . . .' 'Race' he does not mention.[51] 'I feel highly flattered by your determination to let me pass as a Celt', wrote the great linguist Bishop Connop Thirlwall. 'The fact is, I am a hybrid',[52] with both Saxon and Celtic ancestors. If some Anglo-Saxonists disclaimed the taint of Celtic blood, at least one Englishman with Irish forbears took pride in his descent from the High Kings of Ireland, who were no less royal for being Celts,[53] and when the Irish conformed to English values they were quietly accepted in England.

But that is surely the point: it was the Irish rejection of English values, which—rather than race—aroused English dislike of them. In their own eyes at least, as in Matthew Arnold's, the Irish were kindly, gregarious, hospitable, generous and imbued with true religious values, and were therefore repelled by the Murdstones and Gradgrinds and Creakles of a hard commercial Saxon civilisation.[54] Englishmen might despise them in return for their poverty and rags, for their barbarism and brogue, or for the Romanism and revolutionary temper which reinforced each other. Thus even Englishmen convinced of Irish inferiority might ascribe it to religion or race or both, or to economic underdevelopment or cultural degeneracy or other unfavourable historical circumstance; even—among British radicals—to British oppression. The favourite conservative argument was that the Irish lacked political discipline because the Romans had never ruled them. Above all Romanism and the revolutionary temper defined the character of English national antipathy, and one may wonder why race need be invoked to make clear what these already sufficiently explain. 'Race' was only one element among many in anti-Irish prejudice, and a recent one at that; it can hardly be considered more fundamental than the rest. The strength of the other, non-racial factors implies that anti-Celtic racism was a rationalisation in the language of a novel and fashionable pseudo-science of an older political and religious prejudice, which diminished with political or religious association, among English radicals or Catholics. This is an odd sort of racial prejudice, which non-racial affinities resolve; but then it was in overwhelmingly non-racial terms that the Irish saw their grievances themselves. Their wants were

political and religious, not racial; their cries were Catholic Emancipation, Repeal and Home Rule, not Celtic equality, so that 'the very terms—loyal and disloyal—tended to be synonymous with Protestant and Catholic and most emphatically not with Anglo-Saxon and Celt'.[55] They suffered as Catholic republicans, not Celts; and they could pass the so-called barrier of 'race' by a change of idea, apostasy to imperialism and Protestantism.

The problem of 'passing' points again to the simple fact that the Celts were white men, after all, and were thus in a different category from Negroes, being rather higher up the scale of 'inferior' races as even the worst of 'Anglo-Saxons' described them. 'Celt' was a word of commendation in France, as the racial term for the Gauls and Gallo-Romans,[56] so that the 'racist' Gobineau put 'Celt' and 'Saxon' on a level with each other,[57] and even anti-Celts might have to distinguish between the high culture of the Celt of France and the barbarism of his Irish cousin.[58] This sort of distinction was even more necessary in Victorian England, where 'Celt' had the tang of the Scottish Highlands, and of its hardy peasantry, by then the very symbol of loyalty to the Crown, and where it also bore diverse and favourable associations with the Druids, Boadicea, the early British Church and the Arthurian legend, and these—unlike any Anglo-Saxon theme—inspired Victorian poetry of genius. True, Arthurian Celts were remote in time and the modern Irish were not, but if Tennyson spoke of the Celt's 'blind hysterics' he also learned Welsh to retell the stories of the old Celtic culture, which only philistines affected to despise.[59]

This is not to say that these non-racial resentments of the Irish never took what claimed to be 'racial' forms, especially after 1860, when anti-Celtic racism became 'a partial and temporary component of English nationalism', as a fleeting mood in the euphoria of the heyday of the Anglo-Saxon 'lords of human kind'. Theirs was a world plagued by a pseudo-science contemptuous of environmental explanation, and given to wild flights of racial fantasy and sometimes to a simple faith in fixed racial characteristics governed by an iron law of heredity. Under the movement of these ideas, as Professor Curtis describes it, 'Paddy's' virtues and vices were sometimes attributed to race. Indeed, lovable Paddies had some of the vices and virtues of the Negro Uncle Tom, whom Negroes now resent as much for his virtues as his vices; and so, too, there was a humourless and unedifying Irish nationalist reaction against the image of 'Paddy', to the greater glory of the Celtic race. 'Race' thereby became an important word in the Victorian vocabulary, even though it often meant no more than 'people' or 'nation', as in the Irish claim to be 'a fighting race'; but the very ease of the verbal slide from 'nation' to 'race' is significant, and so Professor Curtis is right to argue that an Anglo-Saxon sense of racial superiority may have sometimes reinforced a conviction based on other grounds as well, that the Irish were unfitted to govern themselves and that the English had a God-given right to govern them. Certainly one must grant Professor Curtis his most significant observation that, both in his

vices and virtues, 'Paddy' was singularly unfitted for self-government. But this is a point that could only be demonstrated by a political narrative which Professor Curtis nowhere supplies, even if it had the importance to Irish political history which he assigns to it: nothing less than the English failure to understand the Irish and hence their failure in Ireland.[60]

But as Professor Curtis himself admits, his arguments do not quite surmount the difficulty that not all his Anglo-Saxonists opposed Home Rule,[61] for political separation of English and Irish might be justified by the proof of racial difference. In Shaw's *John Bull's Other Ireland,* it is the English Liberal in favour of Home Rule who believes in the Irish race: 'rash and improvident but brave and good natured; not likely to succeed in business on your own account perhaps, but eloquent, humorous, a lover of freedom, and a true follower of that great Englishman Gladstone'.[62] It is here that the perspectives of contemporary America are dangerous, for as an American liberal Professor Curtis has no understanding of the English idea of empire, in its own special virtues and vices. Thus he shows an unselfconscious political bias, everywhere implying that the English were always wrong, and that Irish nationalist demands were always right, so that only irrational prejudice can explain the English refusal to grant them. But Professor Curtis misconceives the problem; the imperialist had his vices, but anti-Celtic racism was not the most significant among them. Thus some of Professor Curtis's Saxon imperialists argued that the Irish were no more purely Celtic than the English were purely Saxon, and had no right to nationhood in consequence.[63] Other commentators drew a similar conclusion from different premises: for Martin Tupper, it was racial complexity, not racial purity, which sustained the union of England and Ireland: if English-speaking Celts were honorary 'Anglo-Saxons' akin by race because akin by culture, then this racial harmony was one foundation for a United Kingdom nationalism ensuring that Great Britain remained one. More oddly still, the insistence that it was the Anglo-Saxon genius to dominate the Irish was consistent with the argument that a Saxon empire could never exist outside its north European homeland.[64] Saxon racism might support many an odd political position, and the Anglo-Saxon Home Rulers simply show another odd consequence of the Saxon idea for, like Parnell and indeed most Irish Home Rulers, they thought a nationalism based on race entitled Irishmen to a limited independence quite compatible with the unity of empire. However, the Unionist hostility to Home Rule need have nothing to do with race. The Unionist prized imperial unity above all things, not least for the benefits he thought that it conferred: for in considering the art of governing well to be a special English virtue he imagined his empire the most enlightened in history, and found it difficult to imagine that her intelligent subjects could do other than wish to belong to her. The desire to separate from her implied either knavery or foolishness, and by questioning a rule of such benefit to all, the Irish disturbed the body at its heart and so proved

incapable of self-government by the very act of demanding it. Race might afford one explanation for this incapacity, but the political judgement came first, and the Irish were damned for disloyalty before they were damned as Celts.

This is the essence of the conflict as imperialists saw it, in political terms: not a controversy between race and race, but between a petty parochial nationalism and the glory of the English supranational idea. The Englishman considered Irish nationalism something local and petty, with no wider perspective beyond itself, and that prejudice precedes the golden heyday of English imperialism, from the mid-1870s. Such was the judgement of John Bull's mouthpiece *The Times*, after the most famous Fenian bomb outrage of the century, the Clerkenwell prison explosion of December 1867 in which fifty Londoners died: an occasion when one might expect a racial hysteria from worthy John Bull, had the matter been essentially a racial one. *The Times* was first concerned to refute the notion that there was an intrinsic bloodthirstiness in the Celtic character. There were such peoples, but:

'It is far otherwise with the Irish. Their instincts are quick, their natural affections strong; they certainly excel the English in the sacrifices they will make for relations, and even for neighbours and friends adopted into the place of relations. It is but rarely an Englishman sends home from the colonies the money for bringing out some one left behind. Irish remittances of this kind have amounted to a million sterling in one year. Then, how much will they endure, and how low will they subdivide the common stock of the family, to keep a poor body out of the workhouse! It is poverty itself that is the support of Irish mendicancy. There is one still more conclusive argument in their favour. There can be no such thing as poetry or eloquence where there is no sympathy, and the Irish are poets and orators because they have it in them to be good and kind.'

How, then, could such a people applaud the horror of Clerkenwell? The answer, *The Times* insisted, was not racial but purely political. 'It is the outrageous egotism, the utter selfishness . . . of an exaggerated national sentiment', self-obsessed and therefore deaf to pity and humanity. And thus it was an *Irish* mistake to regard the conflict as one of race, for though there might be pure Irishmen,

'. . . there is hardly such a thing as a pure Englishman in this island. In place of the rather vulgarised and very inaccurate phrase, Anglo-Saxon, our national denomination, to be strictly correct, would be a composite of a dozen national titles . . . this is not a quarrel of race with race, nation with nation, or people with people, but between isolation, exclusion, inhospitality, and egotism, on the Irish side, and liberality, hospitality and neighbourliness on ours. . . . The Irish portion of this mixed community [in England] is quite as large as any that could call itself pure Saxon. . . .'

Thus the very impurity of English origins gave Englishmen a tolerance which encouraged Irishmen to settle among them:

'It is this fusion of races, and this mixture of blood in every one of us, that makes the English peculiarly capable of seeing all sides of a political question . . . and entering somewhat into the case of those who seem most opposite. . . .'

And thus Englishmen welcomed immigrants from everywhere: 'All nations, the Irish among them, can settle here, work here, win here, fare with the rest, and chance it with the rest. . . . We entertain all, be they angels or not. . . .'[65]

An Irishman might well find the English self-congratulation nauseating, and ascribe it to a nationalism as narrow as its Irish relation. He might also retort that the invitation to England was one to starve on low wages in an English slum entirely lacking in 'liberality, hospitality and neighbourliness' to the Irish stranger. But though the passage is evidence of the currency of Saxon prejudice, there is little comfort for Professor Curtis in a mixed, not a pure-blooded doctrine of Saxon race; and in an Irish inferiority deriving not from Irish racial character, but from the political and moral inferiority of the Irish separatist idea.

This may seem rather a lame conclusion, that historians have been right to treat Irish politics as political history. But Professor Curtis himself unwittingly lends some support to the argument even as he rejects it, for the most striking of the sorts of evidence he offers are nineteenth-century cartoons, expecially common after 1860, which 'simianise' Irish Celts with huge jaws and receding foreheads;[66] a convention observed by Ford Madox Brown in one of his most famous pictures.[67] All Professor Curtis's examples, however, have a political as well as a 'racial' content. His first prognathous caricatures are the rebels of 1798. These Irish gorillas become common only in the 1860s, with the Fenian troubles; later they represent the partisans of Home Rule with the Land League. But the English political cartoonist is a savage beast, and his savagery is as evident in Gillray's George IV and Scarfe's Enoch Powell as in Tenniel on the Fenians; and how better to show political loathing than to draw one's victim as an ape? Professor Curtis implicitly acknowledges that the very cartoonist who depicts the Irish ape will straighten the profiles of his loyal Irish, though in the captions to the drawings they speak in the brogue of the people.[68] And so too, in these same cartoons Hibernia herself, the spirit of Celtic Ireland, appears as a maiden indistinguishable in Grecian purity of profile from the matron Britannia protecting her.[69] Or is Hibernia an Anglo-Saxon by race, in virtue of physiognomy? Rather her regular features do not disprove their Celtic character, though they indicate her family relations to Britannia.

Or take the celebrated case of Kipling:

'So long as Irishmen are content to fight for "the Queen, God bless her", Mr. Kipling joyously recognises their merits. Mulvaney is his favourite soldier. But inasmuch as most Irishmen choose to work for Home Rule, and some of them commit brutal outrages, Mr. Kipling sees, with the eye of genius, that the tendency to commit specific forms of outrage is hereditary in the stock; and so he constructs for us the pleasing tale of the Thibetan offspring of a disaffected Irish soldier who spontaneously takes to cutting off cows' tails by right to avenge themselves in a quarrel'.

And so had there been a Home Rule Movement in the Scottish Highlands,

'We should doubtless have had from Mr. Kipling a similar tale concerning the Scottish Celt, as an offset to the study of "The Drums of the Fore and Aft", where the Celts are perhaps a little too favourably contrasted with the unlucky regiment of raw English.'[70]

So much for the inconsistencies of Kipling's prejudice; but it took political rancour to produce them.

But if race and politics had complex relationships, so did anti-Celtishness and anti-Catholicism. Irish Protestants have a curious love-hate relationship with Ireland, so that while the Duke of Wellington and Lord Palmerston denied that they were Irish in their repudiation of popular Catholic nationalism,[71] yet the Irish Protestant was often proud of his Irishness, as that arch-Protestant, Lady Morgan, was proud of her brogue.[72] Certainly some hostile Englishmen thought Irish Orangemen no less objectionably Irish than Irish Catholics. Any reader of Somerville and Ross is struck by the unity of the slapdash rural culture common to Protestant landowners and Catholic peasants who in their manners and mores deserve one another. But even the English Evangelical was often willing to acknowledge those 'Pleasing Peculiarities of the Irish Character' through which he hoped to make Irishmen Protestant both in Ireland and England.[73] The more aggressively anti-Catholic a Protestant became, and the more interested in converting the native Irish, the less willing he was to attribute their inferior condition and religion to an unchanging inferiority of race. More logically, given his rosy view of the social fruits of Protestantism, he ascribed their inferior condition to their inferior religion, to a viciousness instilled by Popery wherever it prevailed.[74] Thus Dr Edward Norman remarks upon 'so Protestant and Anglophile an Irish peer as Lord Clancarty, a member of the Trench family which was hated for its proselytising activities in the West, agreeing that evils [in Ireland] could not fairly be attributed to inherent defects in Irish character'.[75] The Irish were fully human, the Evangelicals declared, despite appearances to the contrary—like the Welsh, or the Celtic Waldensians of the middle ages, or the Celts who heard St Paul preach in Galicia—and again like

them they were fully adequate to the demands of Protestant salvation and civilisation.[76] Hatred of Irish Catholicism might well make an anti-Celtic racism impossible.

Even anti-Celtic racial prejudice, however, has one excuse: that it reflected some of those realities of Irish life which were among England's principal problems. Not that it was what it sometimes claimed to be, a description of fixed racial type; in that we are wiser than some nineteenth-century Englishmen. Yet even prejudice may be partly true as a statement about social behaviour and national culture, and can a prejudice be so called when what it alleges is true? Professor Curtis does not confront this possibility; instead he implies that English travellers were shocked by the poverty of the pre-famine Irish purely from irrational dislike of them or to divert attention from their slums at home. But if Froude thought that the Irish between Bandon and Killarney were 'more like tribes of squalid apes than human beings',[77] perhaps this was no more than they seemed amid the misery of their pigs and dunghills and tattered rags; and though there can be no full justification for comparing dirty peasants to animals, is it fair to call the visitor who could not see beyond appearances a racist? Whatever their personal qualities or high culture, the Irish looked like savages, as Engels said,[78] and if civilisation goes with soap, there was little Irish civilisation.

So the English stereotype of the Irishman, insofar as it was reinforced by the Irish poor in England, rested on a body of social fact, however misinterpreted. The predilection for violence suggested by their street songs was enhanced by slum overcrowding, by a vigorous pub culture and by the attractions of English working-class mores also disfigured by drunken violence. More specifically Irish incitements to a shindy were weddings and wakes, and even provincial loyalties survived a generation as a *casus belli* between the men from Connaught and Munster. There were further divisions between the Irish-born and the children of an earlier immigrant generation, as well as political, religious and sometimes economic reasons for fighting the English themselves. So Irishmen figure in disproportionate numbers in the criminal statistics for casual violence,[79] and this was something more than a measure of English police prejudice, giving rise to a genre in those courtroom reports of Irish brawling which more than any other single factor shaped the English idea of the Irishman in England.

In other matters, Irish immigrants in the English towns created problems insoluble by the inadequate social philosophy of the day, even granted that they were victims of a social philosophy and an economic system which profited the very English who reviled them. After 1834, a recent study concludes, 'Irish immigration [into England] was a net liability';[80] or as Sir John Clapham declared, those English cities which escaped an Irish influx in the 1840s avoided a social plague.[81] Even where their cheap labour was most useful and welcome, the benefit they

conferred must remain in doubt in a wider sense, for though their competition for jobs in urban England did little to lower the English working man's wages, as some English radicals maintained,[82] by discouraging migration to the new factory towns from poor and overpopulated areas of England, Scotland and Wales they helped to keep them overpopulated and poor. 'Highly mobile themselves, the Irish retarded mobility among those sections of the British labour force most in need of mobility.'[83] This was not much realised at the time, and the Irish won English praise for that general adaptability which helped to make them so mobile. Irish labour was none the less a doubtful blessing, and even the contradictory accounts of Irish industry and laziness have their basis in a distressing social fact, for not merely were Irish immigrants often unemployed, but they had a taste and aptitude for the casual labour which required of them not long working hours every week in the dull and mechanical factory routine, but the short and frantic expenditure of energy in tasks demanding their exceptional peasant strength. In its uncertainties and forced inactivity, casual labour had most unhappy effects on working-class mores, and one may well question the social value of an immigrant population whose special inclinations and aptitudes encouraged such activity.

These special aptitudes also had English approval, but there were more immediate objections to the Irish presence, drawn from observations and not prejudice. The emblematic Irish pig was not so much an insult to the immigrant as a fact and a problem: his refusal to surrender the animal in tenements where it could not be kept with decency. The fastidious might also be repelled by Irish bugs, lice and stench, and by the shiftlessness and fecklessness which went with them—facts again, even given that the Irishman's surroundings were more to blame than he. Thus it is not to be wondered at if so unlikeable a body was actively disliked, and one might not need to invoke 'racial' prejudice to explain why this was so.

Yet those are some of the qualities of slum Negroes, and the Negro analogy with the Irish suggests that their communities in England should have inspired pathological fear, and verbal and physical assaults upon them. Moreover, there is another, more immediate comparison (to which Professor Curtis refers)[84] at hand in the English attacks from the 1880s on immigrant Eastern European Jews who, unlike the Irish, had all the economic virtues. Yet the very economic virtues of the Jews inflamed English prejudice against them. Many—by no means all—Irish immigrants escaped that sort of attack by their fecklessness, and if their fecklessness inspired dislike of another kind, they enjoyed a certain invulnerability from their very economic helplesness.

This does little, however, to explain why, when compared with the history of English Jewry, the history of the Irish in England was so uneventful, and violence against them so infrequent outside Lancashire, where there was communal conflict throughout the century. Lancashire

was exceptional both in the proportion of its Irish Catholic minority to the total population, and in the size of a Protestant-Orange community of immigrant Welsh and Ulstermen, sufficient to create conditions like Ulster as nowhere else in England. But elsewhere and at other times Irish violence was mostly self-contained and inflicted on other Irishmen, whereas rioting with the wider community took up only a few days in a decade among many decades of unbroken peace. 'The attitude of the native population towards the Irish immigrant has been for the greater part of the period, passive and unconcerned', writes J. A. Jackson of the last hundred years of Irish settlement in London.[85] London was not alone in this, and the infrequency of anti-Irish violence in most English towns makes it difficult to give more than a temporary and incidental significance to Marx's remark that Englishmen despised poor Irishmen as American 'poor whites' despised Negroes, for Marx passed this judgement in the special circumstances of the aftermath of 1867-8, years of exceptional violence between the English and Irish in England.[86] But if one may suspect the crudity of Marx's discernment of an English upper-class plot to rule the English and Irish working classes by keeping them divided, yet it is surely significant that he speaks specifically of English 'religious, social and national' prejudices against Ireland, not racial ones, while in a yet more important sense he proves my point, that prejudice against the Irish was directly occasioned by political events—as the Irish nationalist ferment of 1867-8 underlay the hostility which he discerned between English and Irish in England.

Working-class prejudice fails to leave plentiful records of itself, and there is always a problem of finding it if it did exist, and a danger of arguing that it did not exist simply for want of evidence. Professor Curtis himself can only profess to describe a middle- and upper-class prejudice, for the Saxon proletariat had neither leisure nor wit nor wisdom to indulge the fantasies of anti-Celtic pseudo-science. But they might well have felt a less articulate antipathy of a partially racial kind, and it could be argued that the very occasional disturbance or riot expresses a more enduring hatred which has left no other traces: it is difficult to see how else the working classes vent their prejudices, even now.

Yet this still fails to explain why rioting should have been popular in a few places, unpopular in most; why the evidence of loathing for Irishmen is so largely confined to Lancashire; and why the feuding which tore apart Birkenhead and Liverpool caused trouble so seldom in Birmingham, Newcastle and London.

The outwardly easy relations of Irish and non-Irish in these other cities points at least to the weakness and long-term decline of the No Popery High Tory Ascendancy in English urban areas; it might be understood as the outcome of Irish integration into the English community, especially through the acknowledged lapse of many from their nationalist Catholicism. An opposing social tendency may also explain it: the retreat of many Irish

from the public gaze into their own little ghettos, islands of distinctive culture set in an English sea. These might have been expected to attract attention as foreign elements in a body otherwise homogeneous; in fact their social isolation left them out of sight and mind, ignored rather than scorned, and scorned rather than feared. The tendency was reinforced by the leisured urban class's ignorance of the lives of their working-class neighbours: an ignorance sometimes accentuated by the anonymity of the growing cities in which the Irish found refuge, and by the increasing segregation in some places of solid slum areas from districts of upper-class housing. The cloak of invisibility was also conferred by medical observers unable to distinguish dirt of distinctively Irish origin, or enlightened enough to ascribe it to living conditions without reference to national character. Clad in ordinary working-class costume, with no special 'racial' appearance, the Irishman merged in the English crowd, indistinguishably part of it.

Thus in the great volume of Victorian social reporting Irish immigrants are only a minor theme, and even from many quite sensitive observers there are notable omissions of the Irish interest, especially after 1870, when all consciousness of the Irish poor in England as a special social problem requiring special solution quickly dies away. J. A. Jackson puts the date even earlier, and speaks of the period between 1800 and 1860 when 'the Irish were a readily distinguishable minority regarded generally as a social problem':[87] after 1860, they ceased to be one. Thus they get short shrift from Pasquet in his study of the London workforce, and in inquiries in the 1880s and 1890s into unemployment and dock labour. Booth singled them out for special mention—but then he did so in those volumes of the *Life and Labour* concerned with metropolitan religious practice, and as he was interested in them principally as a religious minority so he drew on a body of interviews with all the London Catholic clergy. Visible enough as a religious body with a particular point of view, they became otherwise invisible to Englishmen around them. This invisibility their social seclusion only seemed to reinforce, and it makes another difficulty for Professor Curtis's 'racial' interpretation of English attitudes, for the high watermark of popularity of the Saxon racial idea comes, Professor Curtis claims, after 1860; and yet these are the years of sharp decline in English social interest in the Irish in England.[88]

But is this social seclusion itself evidence of uncompromising national dislike or even of racial separation? The Irish ghetto might itself be taken to imply that English racial discrimination forced Celts into their own small world, with the enemy's camps all about them. That argument is again open to the objection that it explains what is already sufficiently explained—by the entrenched patterns of Irish migration and settlement, which had a remarkable continuity in their principal areas, indeed dating from Elizabethan times in London. Migrants put down roots in the street and courts with large or wholly Irish populations which arose by factories

that employed Irish labour, and which also exerted an attractive power through strong family ties and sheer clannishness, while Irish pubs and cheap lodging houses and Catholic chapels disseminated their own special atmosphere, encouraging Irishmen to remain with their countrymen. As these social tendencies acted on and reinforced one another, one must have separate and distinct evidence of racial antagonism to consider it a cause of the ghetto. The ghetto is not necessarily itself good evidence, for it may have taken form from other causes—without special benefit of race.

So Irish immigrants were out of sight and out of mind, save for their religion and politics. Even in their politics they were less prominent than has sometimes been maintained: an argument with supporting testimony from R. J. Cooter's recent thesis on the Durham Irish,[89] and from others by Dr O'Day,[90] Dr Treble[91] and Dr Lees.[92] They point out that most Irish immigrants were casual labourers, a class apart from the elite of skilled workmen who before the growth of mass trade unionism in the 1890s made English radical history. Thus Irish involvement in English radicalism was less a matter of movements *en masse* than of clandestine links with extremist English conspiracies. The Irish were most numerous in proportion to population in Lancashire; and in proportion to its working-class population Lancashire is of small account in English radical annals. Moreover, in Ireland, their economic demands took the shape of agrarian agitation for land reform: a species of protest with little relevance to industrial England. Irish popular movements were nationalist rather than collectivist; to collectivists they seemed narrowly obsessed with the wrongs of Ireland, and the Roman Church was utterly opposed both to the secularist republican and dissenting strands in the English radical tradition.[93] Irish sympathy for the Chartist movement was inhibited both by the anti-Chartism of the Catholic Church and O'Connell, and by the Irish nationalist aims which even Chartist repealers put first. Thus Dr Lees and Dr Treble argue that despite the importance of a few Irish demagogues to the Chartist movement, the main Irish contribution to Chartism was a late and minor episode—after 1847—in the long campaign for repeal.[94] So fleeting was the Irish flirtation with Chartism that no Roman Catholic bishop bothered to condemn it,[95] a reaction in marked contrast to the ecclesiastical fulminations over Fenianism in the 1860s, when the air was heavy with episcopal thunder—for the threat on that occasion was a real one. The Irish were poor Chartists for the same reason that they were poor strikebreakers. They were usually illiterate casual labourers useless both as Chartists and blacklegs: a point well made by Mr Cooter, who proves that the celebrated Irish workmen imported by the Marquess of Londonderry to break the Durham coal strike of 1844 were much less useful than professional miners from Cornwall and Wales.[96] Irishmen made bad blacklegs and bad radicals, because blacklegs and radicals needed the same skills to succeed.

This is not to deny that the Irish played a significant part in the history

of some trade unions; but the achievement of a few exceptional Irish radicals has meant that as radicals, the Irish in England have been paid effusive tributes out of all proportion to their true significance. This was not, in the main, a mistake made by nineteenth-century Englishmen: it occurs in the working-class hagiography of modern left-wing historians, for in the political movements in which the Irish had a major part, there was often no special English consciousness of them. 'The role which Irishmen played in the strike is more difficult to define', writes Dr Treble of the famous Plug riots of 1842. '. . . It was the practice, for instance, of the local press to refer to leading agitators who possessed Irish names without always specifying their place of birth'; no notice was taken of their Irishness.[97] Dr Cassirer had found a similar difficulty in London.[98] Englishmen did not always recognise an Irishman, even when he was most a nuisance; and if Irish 'invisibility' partly explains this, it still remains rather surprising.

But if surprising, the point has been made in another way—by Victor Bailey of the University of Warwick, in an unpublished paper on the religious and political riots in England in 1867-8, with special reference to Lancashire.[99] He shows the much greater official tolerance for religious rioters than for Fenians; because No Popery rioters did not seem to threaten the established order, the authorities thought it safe to ignore them. Official intolerance reached its peak in those industrial disturbances which seemed to sap society at its roots by questioning the rights of property. John Bull expected Irish Catholics to run amok in the service of Catholicism; moreover he had a sneaking sympathy for Protestants crying No Popery, and gave a covert sanction to religious violence which hurt no one but its practitioners. Religious riots were part of the immutable order of things, a strike was an effort to change them, and called forth the full rigour of the property laws committed to upholding capital. As the Irish in England were seldom involved in industrial disturbances before 1890, despite their incendiary religious and even political opinions, they seemed much less dangerous in consequence: whatever the revolutionary implications of their demand for land reform in Ireland, in England even the Fenians might be overshadowed by a yet more subversive kind of English rebel.

So much for the Irish radical. The Irish nationalists in England have more significance and deservedly attracted more contemporary attention, as Repealers in the 1840s, Fenians in the 1860s, Home Rulers and Parnellites in the 1880s and 1890s. But they were of marginal concern to most English politicians, and even as politicians seemed to descry an Irish nationalist electorate taking form in England in the 1880s, they exaggerated its influence as historians have done since. 'Whether the election [of 1885] hung on the Irish vote [in England] at all is questionable', writes Dr O'Day. 'Liberals had long assigned that vote a prominence out of all proportion to its performance.'[100] In that election Irish immigrants ought

to have made an impact, under the strong nationalist pressures acting upon them; almost the strongest they would know. Yet the electoral returns did not clearly show it; and if in the Plug riots they had been more important than they seemed, in the 1885 election they seemed more important than they were.

Irish political weakness reflected the Irish failure to develop institutions of their own in England with the same success as their fellow-countrymen in America and Australasia, where the Irish acquired a new permanent home and nationhood, and created a vigorous communal life to link their old world with the new. However, for the Irish in England the break was not so complete, for Ireland was always still close. To come to England was hardly to leave Ireland, just a short trip across St George's Channel, and to Irishmen in England Ireland was still home. Their politics were still Irish politics because Irish politics were English domestic politics, and as England had no claim to their loyalty, so they lived in England in no abiding city, and with only a half-hearted urge to build one: even their beloved Catholic Church was not wholly theirs, being mostly served and ruled by Englishmen. As the poorest of the Famine refugees without the will or the money to leave England, as the poorest section of a pauper working class, they lacked the wealth of their transatlantic cousins, and perhaps something of their self-confidence as well. Thus their grievances, when neither nationalist nor Catholic, concerned their most immediate economic needs, and most lacked the vision to see beyond them. Their few successful trade unions before 1890 were like the London stevedores, conservative and jealously inward-looking bodies concerned to maintain an hereditary Hibernian closed shop, and with no loyalties to the wider working class. Significantly the most bitter Irish social complaint reflected a very immediate need, English reluctance to employ them as domestic servants: one form of discrimination which Negroes have overcome.

But then the very bitterness of Irish resentment of that complaint is a measure of the belligerency in which the Irish rejoiced, for Irishmen have usually fought their oppressors. Indeed, the vices which they tolerate and indulge are of the kind which oppression instils, and as these are evidence of English oppression, Irish nationalists are foolish to deny them. Timidity is not an Irish vice, and it is wise to take their grumblings with a grain of salt; they are only too able to defend themselves, and in their relations with the English learn nothing and forget nothing, consigning every English insult to the most capacious of historical memories. That is an Irish vice, as it is the equivalent English vice to have learned nothing and remembered nothing about Ireland these five hundred years. Yet national stereotypes should reconcile nations through laughter; like John Bull, 'Paddy' was intended to entertain, and ought to make one laugh. To understand 'Paddy' one must hold in balance the English and Irish conceptions of the characteristic Irish vices with the selective admission of their virtues, and with the peculiar stresses of English nationalism and the

cultural content of 'national character'. National, cultural, religious and social attitudes all helped define 'Paddy', as did the course of nineteenth-century Irish politics; while the inconsistencies and complexities of 'Anglo-Saxon' and 'Celt' define the limitations as well as the scope and substance of English prejudice against Irishmen. This is no picture in black and white, but one of varying lights and shades. Last, it offers no justification for dividing mankind into sheep and goats, a prerogative which properly belongs not to men but to God on Judgement Day: though if medieval Irish legend be true, God will judge the Saxons, and as a result of superior Irish foresight, St Patrick will judge the Celts.

CHAPTER 4: NOTES

1 For help in writing this chapter, and for providing me with arguments and materials, I would especially thank Dr Lynn Lees, Dr James Treble, Dr Alan O'Day, Victor Bailey, Dr David Beggington, Dr Michael Hunter, Andrew Sanders and Dr Christopher Wright. My emphasis and any errors are of course my own.

2 *Geography for Children: Or, a Short and Easy Method of Teaching and Learning Geography: Designed Principally for the Use of Schools* (London, 1780), p. 46.

3 L. P. Curtis, *Anglo-Saxons and Celts* (Bridgeport, Connecticut, 1968), p. 63.

4 The founder of one such press, John Pitts, 'collected folk songs and ballads from the Irish immigrants of Seven Dials': Leslie Shepard, *The History of Street Literature* (Newton Abbot, 1973), p. 70. See also Leslie Shepard's *John Pitts Ballad Printer of Seven Dials, London 1765-1844* (London, 1969); and an older account of another such press, Charles Hindley, *The Life and Times of James Catnach, late of Seven Dials, Balladmonger* (London, 1876).

5 The ballads referred to come from [*A collection of ballads, chiefly printed in London by Catnach, J. Pitts and others, mostly between 1800 and 1870 . . . Collected by the Rev. Sabine Baring Gould . . .*] *10 vols. and* [*A collection of ballads and prose broadsides, chiefly printed in London by J. Pitts*] Items LR 271 a.2. and 1875, d.5 in the *British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books.*

6 From 'The table of national physiogomy' in J. C. Lyons, *The Science of Phrenology Applicable to Education, Friendship, Love, Courtship and Matrimony* (London, 1846).

7 Boswell's *Life of Johnson,* ed. G. B. Hill and L. F. Powell (Oxford, 1934-50), Vol. 2, p. 307.

8 Bernard Shaw, *John Bull's Other Island* (London, 1907), p. 14.

9 J. O. Bartley, *Teague, Shenkin and Sawney: Being an Historical Study of the Earliest Irish, Welsh and Scottish Characters in English Plays* (Cork, 1954), p. 39.

10 ibid., p. 167.

11 ibid., p. 252: cf. Leigh Hunt 'On the Scottish character': 'What a blessing that the Duke of Wellington was not a Scotchman, or we should never have heard the last of him', et seq., *The Librarian* (London, 1822), vol. 1, pp. 368-9.

12 'In most cases the fun poked at the Celts on the stage is of a good natured sort, contrasting pleasantly with the bitterness of the other satires': Edward D. Snyder, 'The wild Irish: a study of some English satires against the Irish, Scots and Welsh', *Modern Philology,* vol. XXVII (1920), p. 162.

13 Curtis, op. cit.

14 ibid., p. 12.

15 ibid., p. 21.

16 John Beddoe, *The Races of Britain* (London, 1885), p. 269.

17 'South England is mainly occupied by a Belgian race. . . .' *The Races of Men: A Fragment* (London, 1850) by Robert Knox, the eccentric Edinburgh anatomist, p. 48. Professor Curtis quite misrepresents Knox, for while he *was* the bloodthirsty racist which Professor Curtis's liberal imagination delights to paint him, he was also a political radical, and his picture of the Saxon is of the greedy and brutish English philistine, for 'the Boor is peculiar to the Saxon race', and the Saxon's art is at its best, 'Coarse, brutal, filthy, but pithy; practical, utilitarian. . . .' ibid., pp. 54, 325. For this reason, Frederic Faverty considers Knox a precursor of Matthew Arnold for his identification of the Saxon qualities which Arnold condemns: Frederic E. Faverty, *Matthew Arnold the Ethnologist* (London, 1951), pp. 73-5.

18 'Oh!' thought Lancelot, 'for some young sturdy Lancashire or Lothian blood, to put new life into the old frozen South Saxon veins! Even a drop of the warm enthusiastic Celtic would be better than none. Perhaps this Irish immigration may do some good after all.'

'Perhaps it may, Lancelot, let us hope so, since it is pretty nearly inevitable.'

Yeast (London, 1851), ch. 13, 1869 edn, p. 227. No one could call the account of the South Saxon agricultural labourer in this chapter enthusiastic or flattering.

19 See for example below, the response of *The Times* to the Clerkenwell prison outrage.

20 Rev. W. W. Champneys, defining 'the Anglo-Saxon character' to the Religious Tract Society, *The Record,* 15 May 1851.

21 Matthew Arnold, *On the Study of Celtic Literature* (London, 1867).

22 Faverty, op. cit., pp. 33-4.

23 J. R. Green, *The Conquest of England* (London, 1883), pp. 3-4.

24 See J. M. Robertson, *The Saxon and the Celt: A Study in Sociology* (London, 1897), pp. 221-33.

25 Arnold, op. cit., pp. 126-69.

26 Curtis, op. cit., pp. 57, 105-6.

27 'Heretic London, holy poverty and the Irish poor 1830-1870', *Downside Review,* vol. 89 (1971), pp. 64-89.

28 ibid., p. 73.

29 Cited in 'A journal of events during the Gladstone ministry', *Camden Miscellany,* vol. XXI (1958), p. 10, entry for 14 December 1869.

30 *The Irish Sketch Book* (London, 1879), pp. 110, 236.

31 As Professor Curtis in fact recognises in *Anglo-Saxons and Celts,* p. 57.

32 *Autobiography* (London, 1961), p. 55.

33 Curtis, op. cit., pp. 49-50.

34 Maria Edgeworth, *Castle Rackrent* (London, 1801), pp. 181-2.

35 *Geography for Children,* cited above. Though less favourably regarded than the Scots by the English authors of school histories, the Irish had 'a fair measure of sympathy from admirers through the nineteenth century', while one English primer answered the question 'Why did the Irish hate the English?', with ■ blunt 'Because they were so shamefully treated by them.' On the other hand, English school books expressed hostility to Irish lawlessness and ingratitude to England, and even 'most writers who are sympathetic to Ireland unconsciously convey the impression that the Irish need to be protected and thus that they are incapable of taking care of themselves. . . .' Valerie E. Chancellor, *History for their Masters Opinion in the English History Textbook 1800-1914* (Bath, 1970), pp. 120-1.

36 'He was the first Home Ruler I ever saw', says Mr Bryce; 'he was a Home Ruler when no one else thought at all about it. He sympathized with the spirit of Irish nationality. . . . It would even be better he held, for both countries that England should grant complete independence to Ireland than hold it by military force.' *Letters of John Richard Green,* ed. Leslie Stephen (London, 1901), pp. 391-2.

37 W. H. Dunn, *James Anthony Froude: A Biography* (Oxford, 1961), Vol. I, p. 88: cf. Justin McCarthy's *Reminiscences* (London, 1899), Vol. II, pp. 121-4, for the temperamental inconsistencies of Froude's violent prejudices.

38 Curtis, op. cit., pp. 64-5; on the Negro comparison, pp. 62, 67, 72, 81, 121, 149.
39 Alan O'Day, 'The Irish Parliamentary Party in British politics 1880-1886' (PhD London, 1971), p. 122.
40 R. N. Lebow, 'White Britain and black Ireland: the Anglo-Irish colonial relationship' (PhD The City University of New York, 1968).
41 Faverty, op. cit., pp. 34-5.
42 Cited from Tupper's periodical, *The Anglo-Saxon,* pt III, pp. 5-6 in A. L. Sanders, 'Some aspects of the use of Anglo-Saxon material in nineteenth century literature' (M.Litt Cambridge, 1975), p. 77.
43 See 'Celt', in the *Oxford English Dictionary.*
44 Sanders, op. cit., p. x.
45 'Like the leopard, the Celt was incapable of changing his spots, save through *many generations* of intermarriage with some other race': Curtis, op. cit., p. 22, my italics. Even here, of course, is another difference with anti-Negro racism, for the offspring of intermarriage is irredeemably tainted and, like the leopard's spots, the Negro's skin will never wash away.
46 *Greater Britain,* Vol. 1 (London, 1869), p. 331; cited Robertson, op. cit., p. xvii; cf. Curtis, op. cit., p. 47.
47 Beddoe, op. cit., pp. 136-7.
48 '. . . it is generally held that they represent at least two "races", markedly differing in physical characteristics': 'Celt', in the *Oxford English Dictionary,* which then, paradoxically, broaches the notion of the single Celtic race. Cf. Beddoe, op. cit., pp. 1, 18: 'The name Celtic is better avoided for several reasons. . . .' See also his *The Anthropological History of Europe* (Paisley, 1912), pp. 52, 142.
49 *Kilvert's Diary,* ed. William Plomer (London, 1964), pp. 180-1; entry for Wednesday, 19 June 1872.
50 See K. S. Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England* (London, 1964), p. 129.
51 McCarthy, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 15.
52 Letter of 22 April 1865, in *Letters to a Friend: by Connop Thirlwall,* ed. A. P. Stanley (London, 1882), p. 26. Such self-confession was not always flattering to Celts: 'I am very glad that my mother is a Teuton. From her we take any mental superiority we may have. . . . I am rather glad to have some of the Celt in my nature, but glad that the Teuton stands uppermost—as I think it does, I desire to keep the Fifth Commandment.' Thomas Hughes, *Memoir of Daniel Macmillan* (London, 1882), pp. 20-1.
53 Gilbert Murray. O'Day, op. cit., p. 123, for this and other examples.
54 See Matthew Arnold, 'The incompatibles' in *Irish Essays* (London, 1891), p. 46 *ff.*
55 O'Day, op. cit., p. 124.
56 Jacques Barzun, *Race: A Study in Superstition* (New York, 1965), pp. 109-11.
57 Walter L. Arnstein, 'Victorian prejudice re-examined', *Victorian Studies,* vol. XII (1968-9), p. 456.
58 Knox, op. cit., p. 325.
59 On Tennyson's knowledge of Celtic, see P. C. Scott, 'Tennyson's Celtic reading', *Tennyson Research Bulletin,* vol. I, no. 2 (1968), pp. 20-4: answering the scepticism of Hugh H. Wilson, 'Tennyson: unscholarly Arthurian', *Victorian Newsletter,* no. 32 (1967), pp. 5-11.
60 Arnstein, loc. cit., p. 457.
61 ibid., p. 456: see Curtis, op. cit., p. 83.
62 Shaw, op. cit., p. 9.
63 Robertson, op. cit., p. vi; Arnstein, op. cit., p. 456.
64 Knox, op. cit., pp. 106-45.
65 *The Times,* 17 December 1867.
66 L. P. Curtis, *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (London, 1971). There is rather more caution in this work than in *Anglo-Saxons and Celts.*

67 The prognathous, pipe-smoking Irish idler in the right-hand background of 'Work', in the Birmingham municipal gallery.
68 *Apes and Angels,* p. 40.
69 ibid., p. 41.
70 Robertson, op. cit., pp. 9-10.
71 See also S. C. Hall, *Retrospect of a Long Life* (London, 1883), Vol. I, p. 190. The difficulty is nicely epitomised in Hugh Miller's description of Wellington as one of 'the three great doers of the Saxon race', for Miller was himself a Highland Scot. *Essays* (Edinburgh, 1862), p. 50.
72 Hall, op. cit., vol. I, p. 70 *ff.*
73 John Garwood, *The Million-Peopled City* (London, 1853), pp. 256-61.
74 See Samuel Garratt, 'The Irish in London' in *Motives for Missions: A Series of Lectures Delivered before the Church of England's Young Men's Society in the Autumn of 1852* (London, 1852).
75 *The Catholic Church and Ireland in the Age of Rebellion* (London, 1965), p. 4.
76 Garratt, op. cit., p. 217.
77 Cited *Anglo-Saxons and Celts,* p. 85.
78 'The southern facile character of the Irishman, his crudity, which places him but little above the savage, his contempt for all humane enjoyments, in which his very crudeness makes him incapable of sharing his filth and poverty, all favour drunkenness. The temptation is great, he cannot resist it, and so when he has money he gets rid of it down his throat.' Engels in 'The condition of the working-class in England', cited in *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels on Britain* (Moscow, 1953), pp. 126-7.
79 As Professor Curtis admits in *Anglo-Saxons and Celts*—but in a footnote: n. 39, p. 133.
80 E. H. Hunt, 'Regional wage variations in Britain' (PhD London, 1971), p. 364.
81 'In view of the decisive and degrading influence of the early-nineteenth-century Irish immigration on housing habits and housing conditions, it may be noted that whereas 9 per cent of the Lancashire population in 1851 had been actually Irish born, the corresponding figure for Derbyshire was 1·5, for Nottinghamshire 0·9, and only 0·7 for Leicestershire. Leicester had been spared a social disease, and had made good [illegible] of its immunity; in Liverpool "most of the inhabitants" of those insanitary courts were Irish in 1884. If a reforming municipality began to flush the courts in the morning, they were foul again at noon.' J. H. Clapham, *An Economic History of Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 1926-38), Vol. II, p. 494.
82 Hunt, op. cit., pp. 350-1, 354-7, 360-1. Hunt argues that Irish immigrants made little difference to wage levels in cities, which were always higher than in the countryside.
83 ibid., p. 362.
84 *Anglo-Saxons and Celts,* pp. 105-6.
85 J. A. Jackson, 'The Irish in London: a study of migration and settlement in the past hundred years' (MA London, 1958), p. 293.
86 'And most important of all! Every industrial and commercial centre in England now possesses a working-class *divided* into two *hostile* camps, English proletarians and Irish proletarians. The ordinary English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers his standard of life. . . . He cherishes religious, social and national prejudices against the Irish worker. His attitude towards him is much the same as that of the "poor whites" to the "niggers" in the former slave states of the USA. The Irishman pays him back with interest in his own money. He sees in the English worker at once the accomplice and the stupid tool of the *English domination in Ireland.*' Marx to S. Meyer and A. Vogt, London, 9 April 1870, in *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels,* p. 506.
87 Jackson, op. cit., p. 24; cf. his paper 'The Irish' in *London: Aspects of Change,* ed. Ruth Glass (London, 1964), p. 297.
88 'The period of most intense Anglo-Saxonism in England, which runs from the 1860s to the early 1890s . . .', *Anglo-Saxons and Celts,* p. 31.

89 R. J. Cooter, 'The Irish in County Durham and Newcastle c. 1840-1880' (MA Durham, 1972).

90 O'Day, op. cit., especially pp. 112 *ff.*

91 J. H. Treble, 'The Place of the Irish Catholics in the Social Life of the North of England 1829-1851' (PhD Leeds, 1969).

92 Lynn H. Lees, 'Social change and social stability among the London Irish' (PhD Harvard, 1969).

93 'Ecclesiastical anathemas against trade unionism from the mid-1830s onwards had by 1840 helped to reduce Irish participation in industrial combinations to its lowest level since the repeal of the Combination Laws.' Treble, op. cit., p. 237.

94 Lynn H. Lees, 'The politics of alienation: Irishmen in nineteenth century London', unpublished paper read to the annual meeting of the New England Historical Association, Amherst, 1971, used by courtesy of the author; J. H Treble, 'The Irish agitation' in *Popular Movements c. 1830-1850* ed. J. T. Ward (London, 1970), pp. 164, 177.

95 But see Dr Treble's account of the highly effective sacerdotal assault on Irish Chartism in Liverpool: 'In effect they were asserting that while good Catholics made excellent Repealers, immigrants could not join the Chartists without jeopardising their prospects of eternal salvation. Judged simply by its impact on the immigrants' political alignments, this line of argument was an almost unqualified success.' 'Irish Catholics in the north of England', p. 302.

96 Cooter, op. cit., pp. 195-207.

97 'Irish Catholics in the north of England', p. 244; cf. p. 269.

98 R. Cassirer, 'The Irish influence on the Liberal Movement in England, 1798-1832, with special reference to the period 1815-1832' (PhD London, 1940).

99 Victor Bailey, 'Authority reactions to labour, religious and election riots 1867-8, with special reference to Lancashire' (unpublished paper, by courtesy of the author).

100 O'Day, op. cit., p. 109.

5 The Chinese in Britain, 1860-1914

by J. P. May

Social historians have paid little attention to the Chinese in Britain: at first sight, this is strange. The nineteenth- and early twentieth-century press commented on the dramatic impact of their presence in Australia and the United States of America, and accounts of the Chinese in Britain frequently referred to their exotic or potentially provocative habits such as opium taking, gambling and sexual relations with 'white women' and girls. The possibility of an interesting tension between Britain's first Chinese residents and the wider community is given apparent support by the most outstanding manifestations of public feeling towards them. During the 1906 general election campaign, hostility to Chinese labour in the Transvaal was widespread, and in a night of rioting in 1911 all of Cardiff's thirty or so Chinese laundries were destroyed.

Available evidence of the day-to-day relations of the Chinese and the rest of the community, however, reveals that this was not the whole picture. Although occasional notes of disquiet were expressed with respect to the Chinese presence, there is other evidence which would suggest that attitudes of indifference and even acceptance were present. Indeed, it has been suggested that the reason for the apparent lack of interest in Chinese immigrants 'would seem to be largely that they have not appeared to pose any sort of minority problem'.[1] An attempt is made in the following pages to assess the relations between the Chinese and British society and to speculate upon the factors which conditioned them.

Apart from diplomats and occasional visitors, the Chinese first came to Britain in the late 1860s. A number of Liverpool lines—and especially the Ocean Steam Ship Company's Blue Funnel Line—began to trade with China from 1865 onwards and from an early date employed Chinese seamen. Even so, the number of the Chinese remained in three figures until the twentieth century, and in nineteenth-century Britain interest was focused almost entirely upon the Chinese abroad.

In the second half of the nineteenth century frequent reference was made in a variety of newspapers and journals to Chinese emigration. During the middle decades of the nineteenth century the Chinese had begun to emigrate in substantial numbers. By 1870, when the first groups

of Chinese workers began to appear on the east coast of America, Chinese communities numbering some tens of thousands could be found in Australia and in California. An American correspondent of *The Times* advised that a congressional committee inquiring into Chinese immigration had estimated that there were 35,000 Chinese in San Francisco alone;[2] whilst in Australia the immigration of substantial numbers of Chinese into Victoria had begun in the 1850s, and a correspondent of *The Times* in New South Wales complained in 1877 that there were 17,000 Chinese in that state alone where 'All the working-classes instinctively resent the idea of a Chinese "proletariat"'.[3] Living conditions in China, reported as little above subsistence level, and sometimes not even that, provided a strong motive for emigration, and these Chinese emigrants could easily be perceived as the thin end of a wedge comprising 350 million of their compatriots.

References to the Chinese were sometimes couched imprecisely in terms of the 'yellow peril'.[4] Frequently, however, the nature of the cause for concern arising from their emigration was made specific. Few reports of the Chinese in Australia and in America omitted to mention the wages for which they were prepared to work. On the east coast of the United States, for example, their wages were usually reported to be less than a third of those of the workers they had displaced. The implications of Chinese labour for the working majority in Britain were occasionally spelt out. On 4 April 1873, *The Times* suggested that 'In the present discontent of our coal miners it may be not inopportune to state what is the amount received by their Chinese brethren'. Amounts of 1s 1½d for 'a strongman' on a casual rate, and 4¾d per day for permanently employed miners in China were then quoted. And, in 1877 '. . . when white men make exorbitant demands for wages, when they begin striking and giving trouble in a thousand ways, the employer of labour may be glad that he is not absolutely dependent on them, and that he has at hand a more docile race of beings'.[5] A remark made in 1888 suggested that the association of the Chinese with cheap labour was widespread. In a survey of labour in the East End of London Beatrice Potter (the future Beatrice Webb) commented that 'The women have been fitly termed the Chinamen of this class: they accept any work at any wage'.[6] Journals sympathetic to the cause of labour like *Clarion, Commonweal* and *Justice* shared the interpretations though not the sentiments of *The Times*, and opposed the entry of the Chinese into Western labour markets as vehemently as they denied their lack of kinship with the Chinese. The spirit of the pro-labour press was perhaps best typified by *Clarion*. '. . . with all my faith in the brotherhood of the human race', Blatchford remarked, 'I love my own children more. . . .'[7]

The appearance of the Chinese on the east coast of America, moreover, coincided with a significant technological development in mass transport, the implications of which were not overlooked. The *Annales de l'Extrême Orient* predicted that

'. . . before many years the Chinese question will become as urgent in Europe as it is now in America. The isolation of China is a thing of the past. In 50 years steam navigation will transport the Chinese at fabulously low prices to all parts of the world. We shall see arise in the cities of Europe Chinese quarters which will cause discontent among our working classes, with whom they will have seriously to reckon, and the Chinese will end by fixing themselves among us like the Jews. . . .'[8]

Justice also took note of the new possibilities: 'The reason why, till now, Chinese coolies have not been exclusively employed by capitalists, was that the cost of bringing them any great distance was prohibitively high. All this, however, is bound to change.'[9] In brief, by the turn of the century the British working class—amongst whom the Chinese in Britain lived and worked—was well instructed in the threat to its interests posed by Chinese emigration. The numbers of the Chinese were vast; they had reason to emigrate, and the means by which they might do so was becoming increasingly available with the development of the new steamships. As immigrants, they were prepared to work for a fraction of the wages paid to Western labour. As Thomas Wright, 'The Journeyman Engineer', had noted in 1873, '. . . the wholesale importation of coolie and Chinese labour going on in some parts abroad is a thing to "give pause" to the thoughtful among the working classes'.[10]

During the first decade of the twentieth century, official reports were compiled for the first time on Chinese living in Britain. Conclusions about their social habits and behaviour suggested further cause for anxiety. On the predisposition of the Chinese for gambling, agreement was universal and reports of their gambling usually included a reference to its illegal nature. Their addiction to opium taking was frequently remarked upon and, although legal, served to underline their alien character. The most recurrent note of disquiet in reports on Britain's Chinese was almost certainly their sexual relations with white women and girls.

Official concern about the possible effects of the sexual activities of the Chinese upon their relations with the wider community is suggested by the attention paid to it in all reports. Even where relationships between Chinese men and white women were beyond the scope of a particular inquiry, oblique reference was made not only to sexual relations but also to marriages between the two races. For instance, a commission of inquiry into Liverpool's Chinese was appointed by the city council in 1906. In the course of the report it was commented that 'A number of Chinamen are married to white women, but it is hardly within the province of this commission to specially comment on the desirability or otherwise of this'.[11] An investigation which was specifically concerned with the relationships of Chinese men and English girls in London during 1910-11 referred to instances of intermarriage and ended, '. . . and however undesirable this may be from an English point of view there is nothing

criminal about it'.[12] The complaint which had caused this last inquiry to be initiated derived from a reported tendency of the Chinese to become involved with under-age girls which, in view of the sensitivity which surrounded their sexual activity generally, was potentially of considerable significance for their relations with the rest of the community.

Among the specific incidents about which Miss Robinson, the headmistress of an LCC school, had complained in 1910 and which led to the 1910-11 investigation,[13] two involved Chinese cohabiting with teenage girls. The Liverpool City Council's Commission of Inquiry had reported on similar cases in 1907:

'The evidence shows that the Chinese appear to much prefer having intercourse with young girls, more especially those of undue precocity. . . .

'In three cases, which came to the knowledge of the police too late for criminal proceedings to be instituted, that is to say more than six months after the alleged offence, it appears that the girls taken advantage of were under 16 years of age at the time. . . .

'The evidence of seduction of girls by Chinamen is conclusive. . . .'[14]

In brief, the habits of the Chinese in Britain gave some cause for concern, and predictions of their future threat to the livelihoods of British workers gave further cause for anxiety to those amongst whom they lived and worked. Some expressions of disquiet about their presence were in fact forthcoming.

Instances of opposition to the Chinese in Britain varied considerably both in the intensity and in the clarity of their expression. They tended to be manifested or suggested in three contexts; in expressions of anxiety about their presence at Liverpool in 1906, the origins of which were unclear; in objections to them by British seamen; and in the nationwide opposition to the employment of Chinese labourers in South Africa during the 1906 general election campaign.

The existence of some unease about the Chinese at Liverpool in 1906 was suggested by the initiation of inquiries into their presence, and resolutions introduced at meetings of the Liverpool Trades Council protested against any further increase in their numbers. The only specific note in the trades council's resolutions, a demand that the city council 'strictly enforce all sanitary and other regulations . . .'[15] found no echo elsewhere, however, and the council's Commission of Inquiry remarked favourably upon the standards of the Chinese in this respect.

Uncertainty about the origin and the nature of any opposition to the Chinese was reflected in the general nature of the questions asked about them and the speculative and diverse nature of the conclusions offered. In respect of the former, for example, the brief of the city council's commission of inquiry required it to report upon the morals, habits and the economic aspects of the Chinese presence—a demand which encompassed any activity in which they might be engaged.

The press, in its occasional comments, was tentative in its attempt to account for the tension in 1906. The *Daily Telegraph*, for example, noted that the Immigration Board had allowed 'the admission at a certain port of thirty penurious Chinese en route for Liverpool', and suggested: 'Presumably it was this unguarded "dumping" that roused public concern.'[16]

Of greater significance was the uncertainty of Liverpool's chief constable. At the centre of numerous and varied channels of communication within the community for which he was responsible, he was also unclear about the origin or the cause of the disquiet surrounding the local Chinese. In a letter to the Home Office he discerned no cause for concern about any real or perceived increase in their numbers, or about their observation of the 'sanitary and other regulations' though it was his opinion that '. . . there is no doubt a strong feeling of objection to the idea of the half caste population which is resulting from the marriage of Englishwomen to the Chinese . . .'. The speculative nature of his letter was underlined by his inability to locate the source of the opposition to the Chinese. 'I cannot help thinking', he wrote, 'that what is really at the bottom of most of it is the competition of the Chinese with the laundries and boarding-house keepers.'[17] He adduced nothing in support of his contention and it, too, was unsupported elsewhere.

The predisposition of Liverpudlian launderers towards the Chinese notwithstanding, the most organised and lasting opposition to them came from one particular occupation. British seamen protested strongly over several years about the employment of Chinese seamen in the British merchant marine. They distinguished, moreover, between the Chinese and all other foreigners although, for instance, the numbers of the Chinese were significantly fewer than those of the Lascars.

The census of population of 1911 stated that on the day of the census there were 480 Chinese out of a total of 15,246 foreign seamen *in Britain*. 'The largest numbers were furnished by Norway (2,598), Sweden (2,091), Germany (1,986), Denmark (1,259). . . .'[18] The census of seamen of the same year found that there were 29,628 foreign seamen—exclusive of Lascars—*serving on British ships*. Of these, 1,136 were classified as Chinese but of 3,880 'colonial' seamen 3,459 were of Chinese race with their birthplace recorded as Hong Kong or the Straits Settlement.[19] In brief, 4,595 seamen of Chinese origin were serving in the British merchant marine at the time of the 1911 census of seamen. When compared with the number of Lascars—also of Asian race—the number of the Chinese paled into insignificance. Between 1891 and 1911 the number of Lascars sailing on British vessels increased by 21,583, more than doubling their previous numbers.[20] Although neither absolutely nor relatively large it was nevertheless to the Chinese that objection was taken.

The Seaman, the official journal of the seamen's union, maintained a continuous attack upon the Chinese until it ceased publication in 1909.

James Havelock Wilson, the president of the union and MP for Middlesbrough, aided by supporters of the seamen like C. Fenwick, the member for Northumberland, Wansbeck, made propaganda against the Chinese in the Commons and sought to hinder their employment wherever possible. The seamen themselves occasionally expressed their feelings by picketing vessels or Board of Trade offices where a Chinese crew were being signed on.

Unlike the uncertainty surrounding the causes of hostility in Liverpool during 1906-7, the nature of the seamen's objections to the Chinese was clear. The Chinese represented cheap labour. The *Cardiff Maritime Review* put the popular opinion as lucidly as any: 'You know, we know and they know, that the Chinaman isn't worth a toss as a seaman; that his only claim to indulgence is that he is cheap.'[21] They were also strike-breakers. This distinction between the Chinese and other foreign seamen was well exemplified during the 1911 seamen's strike. In South Wales the strike polarised between the strikers and the employers. Support for the strike amongst foreign seamen was almost universal: only the Chinese were strikebreaking. Several instances were reported of foreign seamen as well as British attacking Chinese around the docks at Barry and Cardiff. Finally, after five weeks of the strike, and at a time when many other trades were in the process of striking also, all of Cardiff's thirty or so Chinese laundries were attacked in a night of rioting.[22] The seamen's opposition to the Chinese was unremitting: it continued during the First World War and ceased only with the deportation of many Chinese seamen from Britain in 1920.

The seamen's opposition to the Chinese was vigorously expressed; but they received only declaratory support from other occupations during their struggle in South Wales, and it is unlikely that their experience of the Chinese affected the attitudes of the wider public towards them.

Hostility to the employment of Chinese labourers in the Transvaal, on the other hand, was far more broadly based, and of much greater potential significance for attitudes towards the Chinese in Britain. This opposition was based both on sympathy for the conditions of the Chinese and on their perceived threat to the interests of British workers. Sympathy for the Chinese came from radical humanitarians and from workers inspired by chapel or by a more secular humanitarianism. But the weight of the arguments against their employment—and especially from organised labour—turned upon its potential threat to the interests of British workers. A delegate at the annual Trades Union Congress in 1904, for example, was 'not inclined to lay too much stress on the cry of "Slavery" that had been raised in regard to the importation of Chinese labour into South Africa', seeing more 'white slavery in England at the present time';[23] and the central concern of the resolution on South Africa passed unanimously at the 1905 Congress was that the mine-owners and the Balfour Government were attempting 'to prevent South Africa from

becoming a white man's country'.[24] One authority on Lancashire at the 1906 election concluded that '. . . especially in the industrial constituencies where it was a leading topic, doing right by the Chinese was strictly subordinated to keeping them in their place.'[25] The possibility of a transfer of aggression from their compatriots in South Africa to the Chinese minority in Britain was underlined by the comments of a contemporary academic observer. Writing in 1908, Graham Wallas commented on the 1906 election campaign: 'Anyone . . . who saw much of politics in the winter of 1905-6 must have noticed that the pictures of Chinamen on the hoardings aroused among very many of the voters an immediate hatred of the Mongolian racial type. . . .'[26]

In summary we can say that the Chinese were easily identifiable and their alien character was occasionally emphasised by their exotic habits such as opium taking, and by their general tendency to stay within their own ethnic group for purposes of social intercourse: they displayed no desire to be assimilated into the larger community. Reports of their habits stressed their predisposition for activities to which objection might be taken, ranging from gambling to illicit sexual intercourse with English minors. For many years the effects of their immigration into Australia and America which had often been linked with cries of 'yellow peril' and 'contamination' had been widely reported; and, although the seamen received little support in their struggle against the Chinese, the grounds for their objections to the Chinese served to illustrate the nature of their threat to other British workers. Anxiety about the Chinese presence clearly existed in some quarters and, when this concern is considered in association with the response in Britain to their employment in the Transvaal, we can see that 'the Chinese overseas' did not altogether avoid hostility from sections of British society. An assessment of other available evidence about the day-to-day relations of the Chinese with the communities within which they lived, suggests, however, that this was far from universal.

While sections of British labour nursed what they regarded as specific grievances against the Chinese, several aspects of the behaviour of the Chinese which have already been referred to, such as their opium taking, gambling and sexual activities, might have led to a much wider concern. But these activities were not necessarily met with the hostility which a concentration upon some evidence would suggest. This is certainly apparent from an analysis of official, particularly police, opinion.

After reporting on the number and occupations of the Chinese in Birkenhead in 1906, the chief constable there noted that: 'Opium is sold at three of the small shops referred to above and Chinese sailors frequent these places for the purpose of smoking opium and playing Chinese games. . . . In no case have the Police found any person in the street suffering from the effects of opium smoking.'[27] At Liverpool, at the same time, the chief constable was even less concerned: '. . . opium smoking is

no doubt common amongst them, but it amounts to no offence against the law and no crimes due to it have come to the knowledge of the police. . . .'[28]

In respect of gambling also, the tone of Liverpool's chief constable was of bored lack of interest: 'As to gambling, whenever Chinese get together they will gamble. . . .'[29] In March 1906, five Chinamen were charged at Liverpool with illicit gambling. Significantly, the stipendiary's annoyance at their presence in the dock was directed not at them, but at the police.

'The Stipendiary said that there were no complaints from the incidents as to annoyance caused by the tenant of the shop and his visitors. These foreigners were only doing what they were permitted to do in their own country . . . It was a pity under the circumstances that the authorities could not shut their eyes to it. In all probability playing did go on at this house for money in small sums, but still he did not think it was a very serious thing. . . .'[30]

In the same month, Birkenhead's chief constable advised the Home Office that: 'In May 1905, a Chinaman was fined £10 for a similar offence'[31] and the inference would seem to be that such cases came before the courts only infrequently. That prosecutions were so few in respect of a habit which was generally regarded as being endemic to the Chinese suggests that public concern about it was minimal. Moreover, as in most other aspects of their life, the Chinese confined their gambling to their own ethnic group: 'The games are not joined in by Europeans.'[32]

Occasionally the Chinese were involved in violence. At Cardiff, for example, several instances of violence involving Chinese were reported in the press in the latter half of 1910, the prosecutor in one case noting that 'a series of disturbances for which the Chinese were responsible had been from time to time before the court'.[33] Two features of the instances of violence in which the Chinese were involved at Cardiff perhaps accounted for the apparent lack of public concern about them. The incidents tended to be confined to the seamen's boarding-house area, to 'those streets situate behind Bute-road'.[34] Also, all the instances of violence initiated by the Chinese in Cardiff during 1910-11 involved only members of the Chinese community.

At Liverpool, also, there were occasional instances of violence involving the Chinese. Again it caused no concern. In September 1910, for example, a Chinaman brought twenty of his countrymen to attack a boarding house in Birkenhead, the owner of which had refused to pay him some money to which he was apparently entitled. The fact that the police persuaded the Chinese to return to Liverpool rather than making any arrests suggests that relations between the Chinese and the police were not characterised by any particular abrasiveness.[35]

On the contrary, even after a fight amongst the local Chinese at Birkenhead in 1906, it was the chief constable's opinion that 'They are

very peaceable, law abiding men and give little trouble to the police. . . .'[36] Later that year, the same officer expanded on his theme: 'The police find the resident Chinamen quiet, inoffensive and industrious people and although inquiry has been made from time to time there is no evidence to show that their morals are any worse than those of the rest of the community.' And, of visiting Chinese seamen: 'There are three lines of steamers sailing from these Docks on which 1748 Chinamen are employed. On an average there are 120 Chinese sailors always in the Docks. These men are also quiet and inoffensive and give the Police little or no trouble.'[37]

In respect of their sexual activity, in spite of the widespread attention paid to the topic, only rarely did the results of inquiries fail to favour the Chinese. The chief constable of Liverpool told the Home Office in 1906: 'The Chinamen have no difficulty in getting English women to marry them, to cohabit with them, or to act the prostitute with them, and in all these relations they treat their women well, they are sober, they do not beat their wives and they pay liberally for prostitution.'[38]

The complaints of Miss Robinson at London in 1910, which have already been referred to,[39] led to an investigation by a 'Detective Inspector who has been for three years in the Limehouse Division, and knows the District well'. His conclusions were that: '. . . the Chinaman if he becomes intimate with an English girl does not lead her to prostitution but prefers to marry her and treat her well.' As regards the two incidents of which Miss Robinson complained involving Chinese cohabiting with teenage girls, his report was complimentary rather than critical of the Chinese.[40] At Cardiff, too, white women spoke of their contented lot with the Chinese. 'They say they are kindly treated, that the Chinamen are considerate and very industrious, and always sober.'[41]

The report of a personal investigation at the turn of the century into one of Britain's oldest Chinese communities, at Limehouse Causeway in London's East End by George A. Wade, also defended the Chinese. For instance, while referring to Chinese relations with English women, he wrote:

'I had the pleasure of seeing, while pursuing my researches in the neighbourhood, a voluble Irishwoman who had, in the first case, had for her husband a son of Erin, and then, on his decease, had taken "for better or for worse" a Chinaman. She assured me that she preferred the second husband to the first; and, indeed, as she still keeps about the locality, though again a widow, there is once more an opportunity for any Celestial who desires to make Ireland have one injustice the less.'[42]

In brief, inquiries initiated by central and local government authorities of the Chinese in Britain included within their scope those aspects of the behaviour of the Chinese which, it would seem, had the greatest potential

for giving offence. Not only did the reports of the chief constables find unequivocally that the Chinese represented no threat to public order, but all reports were noticeably lacking in accounts of any manifestations of hostility to the Chinese from the communities within which they lived. In this context, the Liverpool City Council's report of 1907 was of particular importance because of the scope of its inquiries and the apparent background of disquiet surrounding Liverpool's Chinese which had caused it to be initiated.

The commission, addressing itself to the whole community—to which its members would ultimately have to go for their re-election—did not present a disturbing report. Whilst not adopting an overtly pro-Chinese posture, the tone of its report stressed that the Chinese were 'the embodiment of public order' and where 'Pitt Street was long noted as a street down which a woman might walk without molestation . . . apart from . . . very exceptional incidents . . . the Chinese have led orderly and peaceable lives and have always maintained cordial relations with their English neighbours'.[43]

Although 'folksy' in tone, George Wade's conclusions summarised well the spirit of later reports on the Chinese. 'Taken altogether', he found, 'the Chinaman in Limehouse is a most peaceable, inoffensive, harmless character. He is on good terms with his neighbours, most of whom speak well of him. He is picturesque in a region where it is sadly needed.'[44] What is being suggested is that while exception was taken occasionally to the Chinese in Britain, their relations with the wider community were ordinarily quite harmonious. Attitudes towards them changed considerably and perhaps significantly, however, after the First World War when deportations of Chinese took place on grounds of their involvement in opium taking and gambling.[45]

Significantly, the only lasting opposition to the Chinese in Britain came from the seamen whose livelihood was threatened by them.[46] But the threat to British jobs had to have some immediacy before it had any effect on attitudes towards the Chinese in Britain. Vague threats concerning the effect which the Chinese might have upon a particular employment situation did not lead to any significant action. At Ebbw Vale in 1873, for example, the deputy chairman of the Ebbw Vale Co. threatened publicly to import Chinese strikebreakers from Nevada. Not only was his threat ignored by the strikers, but their spokesman, Thomas Halliday, President of the Amalgamated Association of Miners, made no mention of the threat in his reply two days later to the latest proposals of the employers.[47] More remarkably, the seamen expressed little opposition to the Chinese at Liverpool. The Chinese had been employed from the first on vessels trading along a new route and had helped to create new jobs for British merchant seamen as well as Chinese, and the fact that they had not, in any notable degree, moved into competition with British seamen on established routes from Liverpool may well have inclined Liverpudlian seamen to

accept them. The employment of Chinese labour on the China run was an accepted habit, and they competed little elsewhere. Opposition to the Chinese was not a feature of the activities of the seamen at Liverpool during the 1911 strike.

It is also significant that objections to the Chinese at Liverpool in 1906 were raised *after* the propaganda of the general election campaign. The employment of the Chinese in South Africa was a matter of particular sensitivity to British workers. British labour leaders displayed little interest in suggesting schemes whereby British workers might be employed in the mines.[48] They had opposed the Boer War throughout, contending that it was being conducted for the benefit of capitalists with South African interests and to the detriment of social reform at home. Beyond participation in the celebration of adventurous endeavour, the available evidence fails to indicate that the British worker was particularly enthusiastic about the war and seduced by its Jingoism.[49] Once it was over, the importation of the Chinese into what had been represented for many years as the 'reserve grounds . . . for an excessive industrial and agricultural population'[50] promised to benefit those same capitalists to the potential detriment of the British worker, and on these grounds it encountered opposition. The importation of the Chinese into South Africa might not represent any immediate threat to British working-class interests, but it displayed a gross insensitivity to its feelings on the part of the then Conservative Government.

Apart from Liverpool, little objection to Britain's Chinese minority is on record for 1906; and even in Liverpool the degree of hostility to the local Chinese may be queried. The existence of some opposition to them was indicated by the resolutions of the trades council. The narrowness of its base, however, is suggested by the difficulty of contemporary observers in locating its cause. The temperature of attitudes generally towards the Chinese in Liverpool in 1906 is suggested by the response to an attempt to focus attention upon 'Chinese labour' during the election campaign itself. J. Houston, the opponent of the Labour Party's candidate, James Sexton, had voted for the labour ordinance allowing the importation of the Chinese into the Transvaal. 'A day or two previous to the election', Sexton's election agent paraded fifty unemployed dockers 'garbed à la Chinoise' through the constituency. Public reaction to the cortège was apparently in a low key, and even the participants in the march were unmoved by the proceedings. When they came to be paid, 'the fifty had grown to a hundred', all of whom wore some part of the 'uniforms' with which they had been supplied.[51]

In considering why it was that hostility towards the Chinese was not of significant proportions before 1914 we might say something first of all about numbers. Unlike the Chinese in Australia and America and the Eastern European Jews in Britain, the numbers of the Chinese were always trivial. The censuses of population of 1901 and 1911 recorded 387 and

1,319 respectively. For it to have an effect on community relations in Britain, any threat of an increase in numbers of the Chinese had to be of immediate relevance. Reports of the Chinese in Australia and America and even of the Chinese in the Transvaal had no apparent effect on attitudes towards Britain's Chinese minority.

Second, the concentration of the Chinamen actually in Britain was not on its own a factor sufficiently decisive to govern attitudes towards them. Geographically, the Chinese were concentrated mostly in London and Liverpool. But the numbers were very small. The 1911 census of population recorded 403 Chinese in Liverpool and 247 in London. In London, the relations of the Chinese with the larger community were ordinarily quite harmonious except for occasional opposition to the signing on of Chinese seamen; and only in 1906 did some unease surround their presence at Liverpool against a background which has already been described.

Furthermore, the Chinese were concentrated mostly in seafaring occupations. The census of population of 1911 found that of the 1,319 Chinese in Britain, 480 were seamen of one type or another.[52] Whilst the strongest opposition to the Chinese came from British seamen, there was no opposition to the Lascars who were also of Asian race, were concentrated almost entirely in the merchant marine and outnumbered all seamen of Chinese race by approximately ten to one. Nor was there any substantial opposition to Chinese seamen in Liverpool—a seaport, and with the largest Chinese community in Britain. A common factor may be suggested in both cases. In each instance the employment of a racial minority had occurred in the context of a specific historical situation, and their employment in that particular role continued to be accepted. The employment of the Lascars, and of the Chinese on the China run, had arisen out of the development of trade with India and China respectively. From the earliest days, Lascar and Chinese seamen had been employed in the context of that trade, and no objection was taken to it. In short, an accommodative pattern had emerged. The Chinese, however, unlike the Lascars, displayed a predisposition for mobility between employers frequently deserting from a ship for which they had signed on in China to seek employment on better terms in Britain, and this did create some tension.[53]

Finally, an assessment of the first half-century of the Chinese in Britain suggests that race was not on its own a factor of particular importance in conditioning relations with the communities in which they lived. Only after the Great War when the numbers of Chinese in, or in close proximity to, Britain had increased noticeably was exception taken to the Chinese 'vices'. Before then their racial character and perceived racial characteristics were apparently of little concern to the majority of Britons amongst whom they lived and worked, and created no significant problems for the official authorities.

CHAPTER 5: NOTES

1 Ng Kwee Choo, *The Chinese in London* (London, 1968), p. 2.
2 *The Times,* 15 March 1877.
3 ibid., 3 September 1877. See also, for example, W. A. McArthur, 'The imperial aspect' in *The Destitute Alien in Great Britain,* ed. A. White (London, 1892).
4 The concern of this chapter is with the Chinese in Britain; not with the inchoate 'yellow peril'. All considerations of this phenomenon were related to China's great numbers; but conceptions of the possible significance of those numbers varied considerably. *The Times'* index provides a valuable—if not altogether reliable—tool for locating many articles and letters which suggest the range of conceptions of the 'yellow peril' in Britain. For a discussion of conceptions of the 'yellow peril' in England, see H. Gollwitzer, *Die Gelbe Gefahr: Geschichte eines Schlagworts—Studien zum imperialistischen Denken* (Göttingen, 1962), pp. 47-67.
5 *The Times,* 25 August 1877.
6 B. Potter, 'East London labour', *Nineteenth Century,* vol. XXIV (1888), p. 178.
7 *Clarion,* 26 March 1892.
8 Quoted in *The Times,* 22 November 1878.
9 *Justice,* 14 March 1895.
10 Thomas Wright, *Our New Masters* (London, 1873), p. 101.
11 *Minutes, City of Liverpool City Council* (1906-7), p. 1745.
12 'Report on Miss Robinson's allegation re Chinamen', undated, in file dated 1 February 1911, HO45 11843/139147/18.
13 ibid.
14 *Minutes, City of Liverpool City Council,* pp. 1745-6.
15 *Minutes, Liverpool Trades Council,* 9 January 1907.
16 *Daily Telegraph,* 10 December 1906.
17 Letter from the chief constable, Liverpool, to the Home Secretary, 8 December 1906, HO45 11843/139147/8.
18 *Census of England and Wales, 1911. Preliminary Report,* vol. IX, p. 224.
19 *Census of Seamen, 1911* (Cd 6442), p. vi.
20 ibid., p. v.
21 *Cardiff Maritime Review,* 8 July 1911.
22 For a detailed treatment of the 1911 seamen's strike at Liverpool and in South Wales, and of the Cardiff 'laundry riot', see J. P. May, 'The British working class and the Chinese 1870-1911 with particular reference to the seamen's strike of 1911' (MA Warwick, 1973).
23 J. Sexton, in *Report of the Proceedings at the 37th Annual Trades Union Congress* (1904), p. 111.
24 *Report of the Proceedings at the 38th Annual Trades Union Congress (1905),* p. 159.
25 P. F. Clarke, *Lancashire and the New Liberalism* (Cambridge, 1971), p. 356.
26 G. Wallas, *Human Nature in Politics* (London, 1908), p. 107.
27 Letter to the Home Secretary, 7 December 1906, HO45 11843/139147/7.
28 HO45 11843/139147/8.
29 ibid.
30 *Liverpool Courier,* 9 March 1906.
31 Letter to the Home Secretary, 31 March 1906, HO45 11843/139147/3.
32 Letter from the chief constable, Birkenhead, to the Home Secretary, 7 December 1906. HO45 11843/139147/7.
33 *South Wales Daily News,* 18 October 1910. See also, for example, ibid., 12 November 1910 and *The Times,* 14 December 1910.
34 *South Wales Daily News,* 5 March 1910.
35 *The Times,* 14 September 1910.
36 Letter to the Home Secretary, 31 March 1906, HO45 11843/139147/3.
37 Letter to the Home Secretary, 7 December 1906, HO45 11843/139147/7.

38 Letter from the chief constable, Liverpool, to the Home Secretary, 8 December 1906, HO45 11843/139147/8.
39 See page 114 above.
40 'Report on Miss Robinson's allegation re Chinamen', HO45 11843/139147/18.
41 *Western Mail,* 21 July 1911.
42 George A. Wade, *The English Illustrated Review* (n.d.), quoted in *Review of Reviews,* 2 July 1900.
43 *Liverpool Courier,* 27 November 1906.
44 See note 42 above.
45 See HO45 11843/139147/157.
46 Significantly, the phrase 'yellow peril' was hardly if ever used by the seamen's leaders at either a national or local level. A rare exception to this was titles or sub-titles of articles in *The Seaman* where the journalistic licence of sub-editors renders questionable the significance of such a use. Ordinarily, the concern of the seamen's leaders was with an immediate rather than potential threat to their members' interests.
47 See *The Times,* 28 January 1873; and the *Western Mail,* 29 and 30 January 1873.
48 As was occasionally pointed out. See, for example, the letter from 'J.A.' in the *Liverpool Courier,* of 15 January 1906.
49 See, for example, R. Price, *An Imperial War and the British Working Class* (London, 1972).
50 *Clarion,* 26 March 1892.
51 F. Bower, *The Rolling Stonemason* (London, 1936), p. 168.
52 Navigating Department 94; Engineering Department 292; Cooks, Stewards and Others 94.
53 See, for example, letter from the chief constable, Liverpool, to the Home Secretary, 20 April 1911, HO45 11843/139147/33.

6 J. A. Hobson and the Jews

by Colin Holmes

I

John Atkinson Hobson was one of the most prolific and sophisticated writers on social and economic affairs that British society encountered in the fifty or so years which preceded the outbreak of the Second World War. Only one aspect of his work—his attitudes towards the Jews—is investigated here and attention is restricted to the years between 1880 and 1914, the period immediately preceding the outbreak of the war which was to have profound effects upon the whole of European economic, social, political and intellectual life. In connection with such a study some reference is necessary to his work on Jewish immigration in the 1880s and 1890s, his comments on the role of rich Jews in British society during the same years, as well as some consideration of his writings on Jewish involvement in the Boer War. These issues are taken in turn before moving on to wider matters.

II

The debate on Jewish immigration which developed between 1882 and 1905 grew out of an acute concern about the condition of the working population in East London. The almost excessive amount of attention devoted to the immigrants, it might be argued, would have been inconceivable without this concern, which was in itself part of the wider 'condition of England' question. There was, in fact, a general awareness among the socially and politically conscious sections of British society and an existential awareness among disadvantaged East Enders that social-pathological problems which needed attention had developed in 'the heart of the Empire', and the need for action seemed to be confirmed in reformers' minds by incidents such as the 1886 Trafalgar Square riots when unemployed and distressed workers aided by representatives of the incipient, small, socialist movement demonstrated their discontent in London's West End.[1]

The East End situation had in fact become particularly acute by the

1880s when, according to recent opinion, it had all the signs of a 'conjunctural crisis', as the trade depression of the mid-1880s, and a succession of hard winters 'highlighted and reinforced the more long term tendencies towards industrial decline'.[2] The unforeseen increase in Jewish immigration added its weight to this situation. The East End was, of course, a traditional immigration reservoir and, particularly between 1882 following the assassination of Tsar Alexander II and the 1905 Aliens Act, it became once again an immigration reception centre for many Jewish immigrants who were fleeing from persecution in the Russian Empire. Indeed, during these years East London became the major centre of immigrant settlement, absorbing both permanent residents as well as those who used it as a staging post en route to America. Such an immigration stimulated a prolonged and at times intense debate in British society. Opinions were fiercely held in the East End, as might have been expected, and local feelings were capitalised upon by politicians who had a variety of motives. Through the medium of the press, pamphlets and later through public meetings, ideas for and against Jews and immigration could be read about and heard. In addition, a wider opinion became concerned in the debate, since, as already suggested, the immigration question came to be regarded as part of a wider problem facing British society.[3]

It is in London in 1887, against this background, that contact can be established with Hobson. He had been born in Derby in 1858 into a Liberal and Low Church family which derived its wealth and income from the ownership of the *Derbyshire Advertiser*. He was educated at Derby school and Lincoln College, Oxford, where he read classics, and after leaving university he taught at schools in Faversham and Exeter. It was in 1887 that his life changed course when he went to London to begin a career in university extension work, writing and journalism.[4] Glancing backwards over his life he explained the principles and influences which had guided him up to the time he stepped into the metropolitan crucible. 'Born and bred in the middle stratum of the middle class of a middle sized industrial town of the Midlands', he declared, 'I was favourably situated for a complacent acceptance of the existing social order.' He was able to affirm that the *laissez-faire* attitude of British liberalism in the 1860s and 1870s was the accepted basis of his early political education. It was a creed in which 'the gulf between politics and workaday life was fixed and complete'.[5] In possession of such an assured liberalism, of the type associated with a relatively unorganised capitalism, and which had been reinforced during his years at Oxford, he stood ready to take up his new career.

Fortunately for him he did not have to stand alone. The *Derbyshire Advertiser* of 30 September 1887 announced that owing to the importance of London and the need experienced by provincial areas to keep in touch with what was happening there, the paper intended to publish a weekly

letter from the capital. It was stated that the column was to be 'specially contributed by an Oxford graduate resident in London, whose occupation places him *en rapport* with the changes of thought and feeling of the Metropolis'. At the same time, the writer possessed 'an intimate knowledge of the tastes and requirements of Derby' which had been 'acquired by long and intimate connection with the *Advertiser'*. This, it was believed, would enable him to 'present such a reflection of the life in which he moves' as would 'commend itself to the thoughtful attention of our readers'.[6] The description fits Hobson exactly and confirmation of this is contained in the *Advertiser's* obituary report on him in 1940.[7] It has already been remarked that the possibility of a change of contributor cannot be ruled out, but in view of the overall evidence the feature may be confidently attributed throughout to Hobson.[8] It was in these columns in the *Advertiser* that he gained his journalistic experience.

The *Advertiser* was a Liberal Unionist paper in the eighties and at first Hobson's views reflected this.[9] However, over the years he wrote the letter—the series lasted until 1897—he moved towards the new Liberalism, partly under the pressure of the intellectual currents he encountered in London, the social distress he observed in the capital[10] and the general drift of industrial affairs in the country.[11] It was in the course of this intellectual and political journey that his writings on Jewish immigrants and rich Jews appeared. A start might well be made on this aspect of his work by examining his views in the London letter.

The letter covered a wide range of issues which caught Hobson's attention, including the Ripper murders which were at that time the subject of both prurient and concerned interest, the detective stories of Gaboriau, the swindles of Jabez Balfour, the problem of Ireland and Home Rule, the latest parliamentary developments, and, inevitably, metropolitan conditions of working-class life. All told, in view of the time during which the letter appeared and the amount of varied coverage it offered, the references to Jews formed only a small part of the whole, but certain dominant themes did emerge.

It should be remembered that his column began at a time when the immigration controversy had already captured public attention and Hobson proceeded to make three major criticisms of the Jewish immigrants. First of all, it was stressed in his early letters that the immigrants drove down the wages of native British workers. The chord was struck in his first reference to the immigration question. He noted that an article on sweating by A. Baumann, MP, which appeared in the *National Review* had suggested an extension of the Factory Acts as a remedy for this type of exploitation, but Hobson noticed another feature of Baumann's solution to the problems of excessive, unregulated hours, unsatisfactory working conditions and low wages:

'Last and most important of all, he would restrict the flow of pauper

immigrants, the refuse of Jews, Poles etc., which swells our city population, and forces down wages often below the starving point of native workers. These proposals are of a radical nature, but . . . of all the writing on the subject, these articles seem to me to be the most reasonable.'[12]

This emphasis on immigrants beating down living standards was repeated almost throughout the early years of the letter[13] and, according to Hobson, no debate as to whether the immigration did have this effect was necessary. He claimed that anyone who had studied Charles Booth's *Life and Labour* could be in no doubt about the situation. In attacking the immigrants on these grounds Hobson was not alone: the cry of undercutting was a major feature of the arguments of those opposed to immigration.[14] In Hobson's case fresh nuances were added on occasions to his basic theme. In 1890, for example, after a reference to the Jewish immigrant workers 'underselling the labour of the native poor', he proceeded to mount a criticism which, as will be shown shortly, adumbrated his views expressed in the following year in *Problems of Poverty*. The German Jew, he admitted, as a person had much to recommend him. He was 'sober, industrious and skilful', but at the same time possessed 'one fatal flaw'. He could 'live on wages on which an Englishman must starve'. The result was that while the country as 'a mere wealth producing mechanism' gained by 'every influx of cheap, efficient foreign labour', the native workers suffered to the extent that their 'standard of comfort' was depressed to the level of the newcomers.[15] It was an observation he was to make again in the *Advertiser* a year later.[16] Whereas most of the literature produced by the immigration debate was overtly one-sided, anxious to emphasise national or sectional advantages or disadvantages within an exclusive framework, it is apparent that Hobson was prepared from the beginning to discuss the problem in relative terms.

A second interesting criticism which was present in his discussion of Jewish immigration related to the Jewish Board of Guardians.[17] The Board, which had been founded in 1859, was concerned with the welfare of the Jewish community in Britain and, somewhat reluctantly, found itself having to play an important role in the issues raised by the immigration from the Russian Empire. Its work entailed the initial support of immigrants, the granting of loans for capital equipment and the maintenance of close contact with East European Jewish sources, which enabled it to give advice on the flow of immigration. The Board was also in touch with American opinion via the United Hebrews Charity, which involved it in the regulation of Jewish emigration from Britain to America.[18]

In his assessment of the Board Hobson began by commenting on a letter in *The Times* which had attacked the anti-immigration case and claimed that there were few Jewish paupers. Hobson believed that this point had

been overemphasised by the supporters of immigration. He was prepared to admit that the Jewish Board of Guardians and other Jewish charities relieved the ratepayers of considerable expenditure in maintaining pauper immigrants, but contended that the activity of such bodies, through their relief agencies, aggravated 'the industrial injury inflicted by foreign competition upon low skilled native labour'.[19] In this respect, although Hobson's treatment clashed with that which emphasised the cost-saving consequences of the Board's action to the neglect of any secondary effects which relief might have upon the native labour force, it bore little similarity to the argument which he was himself prepared to state elsewhere, that the existence of Jewish funds attracted immigrants to London.[20]

The third prong in Hobson's attack in the London letter concerned the mores of the immigrants. It was a familiar criticism of the Jewish immigrants, and his comment that 'the clean lives of the London Jew come a long way behind his godliness' was typical of a kind of remark which gained currency during the controversy.[21]

If we continue to consider Hobson's work on Jewish immigration, in an attempt to ascertain the main features of his analysis, the major source for this is not the *Derbyshire Advertiser*, where the exigencies of the situation hardly allowed him to develop his ideas, but one of his early publications, *Problems of Poverty*, which appeared in 1891. In this particular work there were three main areas of attack.

First, he repeated the arguments on Jewish undercutting and competitiveness which he had already placed before his Derby readers, but added to his analysis. He contended that German, Polish and Russian Jews were 'coming over in large battalions to steal all the employment of the English working man, by underselling him in the labour market', and although the proportion of foreigners in London was low in relation to other capitals, he affirmed that it was not the number but the distribution and occupation of the foreign immigrants that was the problem. He was keen to emphasise that there was much to be said in favour of the immigrants as individuals. They did not introduce 'a lower morality' in the areas where they settled, nor were they 'quarrelsome and law breaking'. They were not over-clean in their habits but standards in Whitechapel were not in any case 'sensitively high'. Also,

'From the point of view of the old Political Economy, they are the very people to be encouraged, for they turn out the largest quantity of wealth at the lowest cost of production. If it is the chief end for a nation to accumulate the largest possible stock of material wealth, it is evident that these are the very people we require to enable us to achieve our object.'[22]

It was for precisely this reason that the Jewish immigrants were acceptable to sections of British society. It has been remarked elsewhere that

Jewish immigrants 'took on a symbolic role'. Influential sources stressed the immigrants' adherence to the capitalist virtues of hard work, diligence and thrift and contrasted them with British workers who, through their disinclination or incapacity to adopt such values, were at times made scapegoats for Britain's relative economic decline. The immigrant workers, by contrast, were regarded by their defenders as living examples of the principles of *laissez-faire* and self-help. Such Smilesean symbolism assumed a crucial significance in pro-immigration circles and it was an image which, in their turn, some representatives of the immigrant community were keen to emphasise.[23]

However, although Hobson and many of those who welcomed the newcomers shared an essentially common economic stereotype of the Jewish immigrant, it was at this point, where there was a common perception of qualities, that they moved in different directions. For Hobson the virtues of the Jew were his vices. Because the immigrant was 'willing and able to work so hard for so little pay', was prepared to undertake any kind of work out of which he could make a living and because he surpassed the native Londoner in 'skill, industry and adaptability', the foreign Jew was 'such a terrible competitor'. In his own words:

'He is the nearest approach to the ideal 'economic' man, the 'fittest' person to survive in trade competition. Admirable in domestic morality, and an orderly citizen, he is almost devoid of social morality. No compunction or consideration for his fellow worker will keep him from underselling and over-reaching them; he acquires a thorough mastery of all the dishonourable tricks of trade which are difficult to restrain by law; the superior calculating intellect, which is a national heritage, is used unsparingly to enable him to take advantage of every weakness, folly and vice of the society in which he lives.'[24]

If we now turn to a different area of criticism, Hobson rejected the assertion put forward by the immigrant's defenders as, for instance, in evidence before the 1903 Royal Comission on Alien Immigration, that the newcomers were responsible for introducing new trades. In his view, while the immigrants had come to monopolise certain branches of the clothing trade, they had not established any new *kind* of trade. He conceded that their cheap labour might have been behind the export trade in cheap clothing but without Jewish immigration the work might have been done under better conditions using machinery. Furthermore, in his mind there could be no doubt that the Jewish immigrants entered 'into direct competition of the worst form with English female labour', which was consequently driven into areas within the clothing trade where conditions and wages were 'even too low to attract the Jews of Whitechapel'. Indeed, he affirmed: 'The constant infiltration of cheap immigrant labour is in large measure responsible for the existence of the sweating workshops and the survival of low forms of industrial development which form a factor in

the problem of poverty.'[25] In fact, he was prepared to argue that Jews had a special thirst for mastership in the sweated trades. 'Independence and mastery', he admitted, were conditions which had 'a market value for all men', but especially for 'the timid and downtrodden Jew'. The poor immigrant Jews, he believed, possessed 'a natural aptitude' for the position of master sweaters.[26]

The economic attitudes and activity of the Jews therefore, led in the direction of sweating and were consequently criticised by Hobson. To round off his outline in *Problems of Poverty* he further reiterated his criticism of the Jewish Board of Guardians. In support of this he argued that the dispensation of charity drew large numbers of Jewish immigrants to London, who struggled for six months as 'greeners' in the sweating shops before they became eligible for relief from the Board. The action of the Board not only encouraged immigration; while engaging in its relief work, which enabled the industrially weak to improve their situation, it guaranteed the continuation of the sweating system, which was built upon 'the miserable dependence of other workers'.[27] In short, by its actions the Board accentuated the oversupply of weak, unorganised labour on which the sweated trades depended and flourished.

So much for his analysis of Jewish immigration. What, it might now be asked, was he prepared to recommend as an answer to the problem? In his more theoretical work he was clearly willing to argue for and contemplate the possibility of restrictive legislation. In his first book, *The Physiology of Industry*, which he wrote with A. F. Mummery and which appeared in 1889, it was argued that the immigration of cheap labour into a country would 'reduce the rate of wages to the point at which the labourers with the lowest standard of comfort will just consent to work'. On the basis of this it was concluded that 'the instinct' which had led Americans and Australians to refuse to permit Chinese immigrations was 'a true instinct' and 'justified by economic theory'. If consumption kept pace with the possible increase in production which could result from such an influx of labour, competition would be harmless, since the wages of the foreign labourers would rise.[28] But both Hobson and Mummery, who were floating the idea of under-consumption as the factor behind the periodic crises which affected the major economies, would have argued that such an increase in consumption was unlikely as economic systems were then organised.[29] It also needed to be emphasised that if cheap foreign labour were available in virtually unlimited quantity, other factors could hold back production, which would mean that although aggregate wealth would be increased a smaller share would accrue to the workers. What could be said about Chinese labour in the light of this applied equally to foreign pauper immigration into Britain. Consequently, they concluded that it was in the interest of the English labourers 'to prevent, by legislation if necessary, such free influx of foreign labour as shall enable the quantity of labour demanded to be supplied at an unduly low rate of wages'.[30]

Two years later in *Problems of Poverty* Hobson showed that he was clearly aware of the pressure for legislation on Jewish immigration and argued that any future developments would depend partly on events on the continent—presumably the continuation or otherwise of anti-semitic persecution and the nature of the policies pursued towards Jewish immigrants by various European governments—and partly upon the political power and action of the British worker, who might exert pressure on the legislature to restrict the supply of labour. If the problem of an oversupply of unskilled labour persisted, he believed:

'. . . it seems not unlikely that a democratic government will some day decide that such artificial prohibition of foreign labour, and the foreign goods which compete with the goods produced by low skilled English labour, will benefit the low skilled workers in their capacity as wage earners, more than the consequent rise of prices will injure them in their capacity as consumers.'

The pressures which were likely to bring about immigration restriction and the criteria which would be used to justify it were therefore clearly expressed. Hobson was also concerned to emphasise that the exclusion of cheap foreign labour would probably be accompanied by similar measures directed against cheap foreign imports which competed with home-made sweated goods.[31]

Although there was no detailed discussion concerning the restriction of Jewish immigration in these two early works, Hobson was prepared to concede that there was a theoretical case for restriction and some pressure for it in relation to the Jewish influx. This general case for immigration control to protect workers' interests continued to be accepted by Hobson in his later, more mature work.[32]

The most rewarding source for specific comment on the immigration control issue, it needs to be said, is his journalism rather than his books and, in particular, his London letter in the *Derbyshire Advertiser*. Hobson acknowledged that Jewish immigration concerned only part of the metropolis, but his letters stressed that it was the concentration of immigrants which was important,[33] and the problem was sufficiently serious in his view for him to make various recommendations between 1888 and 1891 that restrictions should be imposed.[34] In his opinion Liberals would not be involved in any issue of principle if they accepted such a policy: this prospect would arise only if such action were to lead to legislation which embraced trade protection or restriction.[35] He soon saw that this was happening[36] and in face of this it is interesting to note the origins of a change of attitude in February 1893, when he seemed to welcome the fact that anti-immigration legislation had failed to become law and cited the failure as the explosion of a major scare through the possession of sound statistics.[37] Following this in a reference to the

immigration question in the following year, he employed a statistical argument to attack the anti-immigration case. He wrote:

'The notion that cheap foreign labourers come over here in large numbers and take away work from our own people is not borne out by statistics. Mr Giffen, the Government statistician, has clearly shown that cheap German and Russian Jews do not amount to more than ten or twelve thousand per annum nor is there any real tendency for the number to increase.'[38]

In what amounted to his fullest reference on the subject of legislation Hobson also took up the major theme referred to by Lord Salisbury, that England was 'a factory of anarchism'. He regarded this as irrelevant to the debate. Restriction of immigration was not necessary to cure such a problem: existing legislation and the efficiency of the police force were sufficient. But what Hobson particularly deplored about the government statement was that it would lead 'countries like Russia to imagine that [Britain was] going to withdraw the asylum of our shores from the oppressed of other nations, and [was] going to hand over to foreign governments any refugee whom that Government [chose] to demand'. In an outburst of righteous indignation he declared: 'We are going to do nothing of the sort.'[39] Touched on the nerve of political asylum and scenting the prospect of immigration control being linked with trade restriction, Hobson changed course between 1888 and 1894. Beyond this point evidence disappears. Although the London letter continued until 1897, the question of Jewish immigration no longer exercised him and there would seem to be no additional information regarding his views on Jewish immigration in general and restrictive legislation in particular.

Now that this evidence has been presented it is possible to make a start on the next stage of the discussion, which is concerned with an analysis and assessment of Hobson's attitudes as they were displayed during the immigration controversy. It might be worthwhile first of all to refer to the already existing comments on his position. In his important pioneer work *The Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870-1914*, Gartner remarked that 'the concept of racial differences and an ardour to preserve the "purity" of a racial stock' which became 'elements in the climate of opinion' were 'caustically treated' by Hobson in his *Imperialism* which appeared in 1902, but it was considered that his *Problems of Poverty* was 'anti-alien verging on anti-semitic'.[40] While placing Hobson somewhat prematurely in the socialist camp, Garrard merely noted his criticism of the Jewish immigrants as ideal economic men and made no further comment.[41] More recently still, in *The Alien Invasion*,Gainer has taken a closer interest without engaging in a detailed analysis. He has commented on Hobson's linking of Jewish immigration with the general problem of the oversupply of labour in the sweated trades, his doubts whether immigration control would solve the problem of sweating, and his casting of the Jewish immigrant as the economic man. On the basis of Hobson's references in

Problems of Poverty, he also concluded, with less justification, that Hobson rejected immigration control because it would almost certainly be followed by the protection of native industries. Other aspects of his thought were missed through the fact that, in common with others who have considered this aspect of Hobson's work, no reference was made to the letters in the *Derbyshire Advertiser*. Nevertheless, on the basis of evidence he had to hand, Gainer concluded that Hobson was anti-semitic.[42]

These comments raise an issue which is clearly fundamental in any attempt to analyse and categorise Hobson's position. If we take the issue of anti-semitism as raised by Gartner and suggested by Gainer, it is necessary first of all to provide a working definition of anti-semitism against which Hobson's writings can be assessed.

As a form of discrimination anti-semitism might be defined as an action involving the differential treatment of Jews as Jews. But this is not what concerns us here. We are interested in attitudes, the written expression of internalised values and we might therefore consider whether Hobson's work contained traces of anti-semitic prejudice. But what does prejudice involve? We need to recognise that there are various shades of definition.[43] For the immediate purposes of analysis to which further refinements will be added later, it is taken to involve the pre-judgement of individuals and/or groups on the basis of some type of categorisation, in the present case involving ethnicity, in defiance of the manifest differences which exist between individuals and also within groups themselves. Such a pre-judgement involves an expectation and evaluation of behaviour.[44] In the case of anti-semitic prejudice we also need to remind ourselves—and this is not always sufficiently emphasised—that for an attitude to be considered anti-semitic it must involve:

'an attitude of hostility towards Jews as such, i.e. not towards a particular Jew, and not towards a number of people whom [*sic*] apart from having an attitude that arouses hostility also happen to be Jewish. The hostility to be called anti-semitism must be associated definitely with the quality of being a Jew.'[45]

So, in the first instance, we might regard anti-semitic prejudice as a negative evaluation of Jews—individual Jews, groups of Jews, such as Leo Maxse's hated international Jews, working for Germany, who are referred to later and, in extreme cases, all Jews—on the basis of their ethnic origin. The clearest manifestation of this would occur in the categorical ascription of qualities to Jews: 'Jews are . . . an account of their Jewishness.'

It is now possible to ask: did Hobson's work provide evidence of a categorical treatment of Jews along the lines just referred to? In answer to this, there is no doubt that in his discussion of Jewish immigration he revealed a tendency to describe the immigrants in stereotyped terms. His

emphasis was upon Jews as sweaters and immigrant Jewishness as synonymous with a love of profit-making activity and an attachment to *laissez-faire* capitalism. It is in his hostile references to the 'natural aptitude' which the poor Jewish immigrants seemed to possess to become sweated masters and his critical comments on the inextricable linkage between Jews and 'the ideal "economic" man', rather than in his writings on the Jewish Board of Guardians and the hygienic habits of the immigrants,[46] that Hobson's hostility towards Jews, because their Jewishness resulted in activity of which he disapproved, was manifested.

This assessment turns upon a narrow range of evidence but fortunately for the historian Hobson engaged in further work which involved comments on the Jews. His view was that the difference between a poor and a rich Jew was only a function of time and he gave some attention to the rich Jewish elements in British society. Through the course of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the liberal capitalist states in Europe had proceeded in their different ways and at varying speeds to emancipate their Jewish communities in the interests of the national state, but even after this process the history of settled Jewish communities could be precarious and at times in Imperial Germany, the United States and France wealthy Jews found themselves under pressure. Although more work needs to be done, it is clear that echoes of such hostility also sounded in Britain. If we turn to Hobson's references to rich Jews, the *Derbyshire Advertiser* once again provides a useful starting point and it can be shown without too much difficulty that he was prepared to engage in a broad stereotyped analysis, in the course of which he ascribed certain negative qualities to the rich Jewish elements in British society on the basis of their Jewishness.

In common with a number of other contemporary observers his work displayed an opposition to rich Jews based upon their involvement in the central processes of finance. Early in his London letter series he noted a comment by Arnold White that Jews were not unsuited for agricultural work. This remark was made in a discussion of whether Jews could be weaned away from their interest in finance and 'reclaimed' or 'restored' by bringing them back into contact with the land. Speculation of this kind had an interest for White who had involved himself in Jewish emigration matters and was closely related to the discussion concerning 'productive' and 'rapacious' economic activity which has so often surrounded the Jewish Question.[47] Hobson remained unconvinced about a Jewish involvement in agriculture. 'The nature and intellectual character of the Jew', he wrote, 'everywhere makes him averse to manual labour, not merely in agriculture but also in manufacture.' The 'low class foreign Jew' who immigrated into London soon became a sweater or small trader on his own account, finally 'gravitating always to that least productive form of trade from the public point of view, money-lending'. The result was that the financial business of the world had passed more and more into the hands

of the Jew.[48] What also concerned Hobson was the prospect that the values of such money makers would gain a wider and deeper hold on society through Jewish press ownership. Commenting on supposed changes in the ownership of the *Pall Mall Gazette* he declared:

'It is a significant fact that the London press is falling more and more under the control of the Jews and other financial gentry. The *Daily Telegraph*, the *Evening News*, and in part, I believe the *Daily News*, are owned by Jews and now the *Pall Mall Gazette*. The chief continental journals have been for some time controlled by this active financial race who are finding newspapers convenient organs for directing foreign policy along lines favourable to the bond holding faction of the commercial community.'[49]

It is interesting to trace how in this comment there is a general expression of disquiet (the London press falling under the control of 'Jews and other financial gentry') which soon becomes a specific concern about Jewish activity, the involvement of 'this active financial race'.

This same anxiety over Jewish influence was present in an article he wrote in 1899 for the *Ethical World*, of which he was joint editor. In this he drew attention to the fact that Lord Rosebery had arranged to entertain a party which had gathered for the races at Epsom. The group included Cecil Rhodes and Leopold de Rothschild. In Hobson's opinion this type of company undermined the confidence which social reformers had placed in Rosebery's leadership—he was then being championed in some quarters as the leader of a movement committed to national efficiency. A man's company, Hobson believed, affected his decisions:

'It is no bigoted outbreak of a Nonconformist conscience [he wrote] that rebels against entrusting the fortunes of a progressive party to a luminary of the racing world, whose associations by marriage, by business interests and by private friendship with the financial Jews and the filibustering speculators of South Africa, are so intimate. *Noscitur a sociis* is one of the best verified of ancient sayings.'[50]

The comment throws a good deal of light upon Hobson's values, but it was his reference to the 'financial Jews' which came in for attention, with a correspondent asserting that it was a remark calculated to give 'just offence and unmerited pain'. In reply the journal claimed that the correspondent, Israel Davis, was 'hypercritical' and affirmed that the criticism was directed against the growing power of financiers.[51] However, the issue was not allowed to rest. It was argued in correspondence that the reference to Jewish financiers was 'uncalled for and mischievous' and it was believed that its significance could be appreciated when it was pointed out that people did not refer to 'financial Christians'. For its part the

journal continued to assert that Hobson's attack had been directed against finance which could clash with popular interests.[52] Neither side moved its position nor exercised any influence over the other.

In considering these references to rich Jews, in particular bearing in mind his comment that, 'the nature and intellectual character of the Jew' turned him away from productive manual work, that the low-class foreign Jew gravitated 'always' towards what Hobson regarded as 'unproductive' finance, that through press influence rich Jews were able to propagate their values and safeguard their interests, if necessary at the expense of the community and in favour of the bondholders, and finally, through his suggestion that there was an ascribed link between Jews and a love of profit, we are once again presented with a negative categorical evaluation of Jews and Jewishness.[53]

So much for his remark concerning Jewish immigration and the rich Jews in British society. The third area of analysis involves Hobson's account of the Jewish role in the South African war. This was not his only discussion of Jews outside Britain. At times the London letter carried his comments on German and American society, and when he reported back on his impressions of Germany he gave a detailed picture of Jewish society in Frankfurt, 'often called the paradise of the Jews'.[54] But these comments fall outside the mainstream of the present paper. In his South African writings, however, he was concerned to show the influence which Jewish interests, both internal and external, could exert over British policy. The origins of his involvement in the situation were as follows. Hobson had written an article on imperialism for the *Contemporary Review* in 1899 which had come to the attention of L. T. Hobhouse, who was the chief political leader-writer on the *Manchester Guardian*, and it was Hobhouse who urged C. P. Scott to send Hobson to South Africa when it appeared that developments there might lead to war.[55] The fruits of this visit, his reports on the South African situation, appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* and were reproduced elsewhere. Eventually his overall analysis of the situation appeared in 1900 in *The War in South Africa*. Some of the points raised in this last work were developed in *The Psychology of Jingoism* which was published in 1901, and the South African experience was a major influence on *Imperialism. A Study*, which came out in 1902.

In this newspaper reports and more particularly in *The War in South Africa* Hobson struck a critical note regarding Jewish influence on the war. At the opening of his chapter 'For whom are we fighting?' he commented that it was difficult to deal with the matter 'without seeming to appeal to the ignominious passion of *Judenhetze*', but a plain account of the situation in the Transvaal could not be shirked. The resources of that territory had become concentrated in the hands of 'a small group of international financiers, chiefly German in origin and Jewish in race' and the war was being fought for their benefit, to ensure their control of the country. It was necessary that this should be realised. He believed there

was a community of Jewish interests at work which grew out of their exploitation of the goldfields, their control of the dynamite monopoly, their influence in the Stock Exchange, their grip on the loan and mortgage business, their domination of the liquor trades and their ownership of the Johannesburg press, as well as other interests. The consequence of this concentration of Jewish power was that the social life of Johannesburg was dominated by the Jews to an extent that the city itself was 'the New Jerusalem'.[56] Furthermore, and of central importance, the power and international connections of the Jews enabled them to influence British government policy for their own ends.[57] It was a development which Hobson totally opposed and which led him to write:

'The Jews are *par excellence* the international financiers. . . . They fastened on the Rand . . . as they are prepared to fasten upon any other part of the globe. . . . Primarily they are financial speculators, taking their gains not out of the genuine fruits of industry, even the industry of others, but out of the construction, promotion and financial manipulation of companies. . . .'[58]

They had gone to the Transvaal for money 'and those who came early and made most [then withdrew] leaving their economic fangs in the carcase of their prey'.[59] He saw a situation being created in South Africa which reminded him of what he had already witnessed in Europe. Johannesburg was becoming like Frankfurt, and he speculated that the Transvaal farmers were the equivalent of the Russian and Austrian moujiks, all of whom were in hock to the Jew.[60]

On the basis of these references it has been concluded by some writers that his work showed clear evidence of anti-semitism.[61] It has been asserted that Hobson saw the Jews as the 'manipulators of the press both in their own preserve and in Britain through their connections with their brethren'. Through their activity they 'drugged the public [and] appealed to blood lust by perverting the spring of patriotism', with the result that British policy danced to their 'diabolical tune'.[62] Others, it might be noted, have been less sweeping and sure. For instance, it has been remarked that it is 'difficult to decide where anti-capitalism ends and anti-semitism begins'.[63] What, it might be asked, can be made of this?

Before attempting to do anything in this respect there are two additional features of Hobson's work on South Africa which it is necessary to consider. First of all, he displayed a strong emotional streak in his comments. His reference to Jews leaving their 'economic fangs in the carcase of the prey'[64] is an interesting example of the injection of an opaque emotional quality into the writing of someone whose work was usually free from such a characteristic.[65] In private correspondence Hobson could commit himself even more viciously about the situation than he did in his published works. For instance, a Cape politician with whom he came into contact was described as having a 'strong strain of

Jewish craft',[66] while he could describe Jewish society in Johannesburg far more savagely than in his book on the war. Many of the Johannesburg Jews, he affirmed, were 'the veriest scum of Europe'. They had accumulated economic power and would 'rig the politics' when they had the vote. Many of them had taken English names so 'the extent of Jew power' was partially concealed, but Hobson was anxious to emphasise what he believed to be its extent and influence.[67] With his critical reference to 'Jew power' we can see the expression of a keen generalised hostility based on ethnic origin and such a comment in his private correspondence confirms his public opposition to the 'Jew-Imperialist design'.[68]

The second new trait in his work concerned the way in which he saw this 'Jew power'. It was not only Jews in Johannesburg who were involved in the South African situation. They relied for their influence and success upon external connections and could count upon Jewish press influence in London.[69] A strong network of interests was busily engaged in fostering an empire based upon financial manipulation, sectional interest and exploitation against what he regarded as British interests. In short, it was in his analysis of this situation that Hobson presented a picture of Jewish international power which had the effect of extending his stereotype, so that it no longer merely discounted sectional or individual Jewish differences but proceeded to assume a strong degree of international Jewish unity.

An overall examination of his work on the South African situation clearly indicates his tendency to discuss Jews in categorical terms. We have already noticed his remarks that 'the Jews are *par excellence* the international financiers. . . . They fastened on the Rand . . . as they are prepared to fasten upon any part of the globe. . . . Primarily they are financial speculators. . . .'[70] In this one encounters the sweeping, hostile generalisation which was apparent in his work on Jewish immigration and in his discussion of rich Jews in England where there was a similar emphasis on Jewish love of profit, particularly financial profit. In addition, it is necessary to take account of his references to 'Jew power' and the 'Jew-Imperialist design'. Here was a generalised hostility towards Jews which, in context, carried with it the accusation of rapacious, self-seeking capitalist exploitation. He went beyond a mere criticism of capitalism and it was impossible to split pro-British and anti-Jewish sentiment, since one was reciprocal of the other. It might be suggested that once again, as in his references to Jewish immigration and the rich Jews in Britain, we can find evidence of a hostile, categorical treatment of Jews of the kind currently engaging our attention.

It is now possible to extend this discussion of the nature of Hobson's thought by testing his work against an alternative criterion. It has been remarked that categorical thinking, and 'its inescapable adjunct', stereotyping, is something which everybody adopts to some degree in an attempt to simplify the external world.[71] Without engaging in it, in fact, '. . . we

could make no judgments at all. We should be caught in a vicious infinite regress generated by our attempts to make our very first judgment.'[72] In view of this, it has been suggested that the kind of prejudice which chiefly interests social scientists possesses a different quality. This type of hostility, what might be called classical prejudice, as opposed to the categorical variety already discussed, fulfils an emotional requirement for its bearer[73] and since it is central to the personality of the prejudiced person it is characterised by its inflexibility in the face of disconfirming evidence.[74] In short, it possesses a high degree of 'resilience'.[75]

In attempting to ascertain whether Hobson's work contained this characteristic we need to consider it within its contemporary context and in this respect reaction to his early work on South Africa and his reference to the activity of Jewish interests was far from hostile. He was accused by one commentator of appealing in his *Contemporary Review* article to 'that most disgraceful passion', anti-semitism, through giving the Jewish financiers 'a double measure of original sin', although nothing in his analysis offended the *Manchester Guardian*.[76] But what about the reception of *The War in South Africa*? It has been suggested that this encountered a hostile reception on account of its anti-Jewish sentiment[77] but this is a conclusion based upon unrepresentative evidence. If we analyse reactions to the book and if unidentified cuttings together with reviews in foreign newspapers are omitted, out of a total of fifty-five reviews from national, provincial, daily and larger publications, thirty-one did not comment on his contention that the war was being fought for Jewish interests. The Jewish factor was mentioned by a further seven, four of which gave quotations from Hobson's work without comment. Of the rest, six expressed reservations on the question, while the remaining eleven openly endorsed his work.[78]

Following on from this we might ask whether Hobson's analysis of the Jewish role in the South African War continued to be held in the face of strong disconfirming evidence which became available at the time he was writing. In considering this, it is significant that the emphasis on Jewish influences which was present in what Hannah Arendt has called his 'especially noteworthy' work on South Africa had disappeared from his major analysis, *Imperialism*, which appeared in 1902. The reason for the change, it has been suggested, is that, 'It had become obvious . . . that [the Jewish] influence and role had been temporary and somewhat superficial'.[79] The change in analysis is clear enough. The references to Jews in *Imperialism* are indirect and relatively non-controversial, and there is considerably less stress upon their influence, although it might be mentioned that Hobson openly doubted whether a major war could be started if the House of Rothschild opposed it.[80] There is no conclusive evidence to support Arendt's claim that Hobson's new approach had emerged on the basis of a growing appreciation of the South African situation, even though no other explanation can be given. But, in any

case, for someone concerned with prejudice the change itself is the crucial factor. It has just been argued that individuals who are prejudiced in the classical sense are characterised by the resistant nature of their attitudes which become built into their way of seeing the world, and it is unlikely that their work would display the shift of emphasis which has just been described.[81] On the basis of this, there are doubts whether Hobson's work should be regarded as falling within the category of prejudice which is now being considered.

If we now turn to his work on Jewish immigration there is an indication here of an attitude change over the question of control. His early position on this had not been argued along explicitly anti-Jewish lines, but it was implicit to the extent that his references could hardly be divorced from his conviction that Jews engaged in activity of which he disapproved. If Hobson were classically prejudiced against Jews, if anti-semitism were a necessary emotional prop in his life, it is unlikely that his attitude over immigration control would have changed. It has been shown that in his early work he stressed the large number of immigrants entering the country for employment and the possible need for control but in 1894 he could write: 'The notion that cheap foreign labourers come over here in large numbers and take away work from our own people is not borne out by the statistics.'[82] This was a significant shift of position and he explained it by stating that the immigration issue had been a scare which government information had exploded.[83] On this matter, therefore, taking Hobson's comment at its face value, there is a clear shift of ground with the emergence of disconfirming evidence. It might be wondered whether the change occurred not so much because of improved statistical information but because he feared that the protection of labour might lead to a general protectionism.[84] But even if this were the case, it would not be without interest. It carries the implication that faced with the prospect of Jewish immigrants in Britain or a movement towards protection, he favoured the former, which in its turn is an indication of the relative strength of anti-Jewish sentiment within his social and economic thought.

Another important, although slightly different change of mind, which would indicate that his thinking was not congealed or resistant and which has a general relevance to his remarks associating Jews with certain types of capitalist activity, is that by 1913 he was claiming that it was the Chinese rather than the Jews who were 'more nearly approaching the hypothetical "economic man" than any other people in the world'.[85]

On the basis of this it would be difficult to conclude that Hobson was prejudiced in the sense that his work was characterised by a resistant hostility of the type to which reference has just been made. Further confirmation that he did not display this kind of prejudice is that although he referred to Jews in categorical terms, he was also able to write about them in a more than one-dimensional sense. This is not common among those who are classically prejudiced: in such individuals there tends to be a

constellation of prejudice, with one unfavourable reference linking with another, even if they are logically incompatible.[86] What evidence is there to indicate Hobson's qualified treatment of issues in which Jews were involved? First of all, in the course of his discussion of Jewish immigrants in London, he was concerned to emphasise that they did not introduce a lower standard of morality in the areas where they settled. He rejected any suggestion that they were quarrelsome or law-breaking, and refused to swallow the commonly stated argument that their personal hygiene habits were significantly different from those of the native inhabitants of Whitechapel.[87] In the London letter he was anxious, in fact, to pinpoint the precise nature of the hostility he entertained against the immigrants, which centred principally upon what he regarded as their capacity for engaging in certain economic actions and possessing attitudes which he considered socially undesirable.[88] This qualified opposition was not the only indication of the complexity of Hobson's thought. It should be remembered, for instance, that whatever problems he believed the immigrants could create for British society, he showed no inclination to accept or defend the persecution of the Jews in Russia which lay behind much of the Jewish immigration into Britain and America.[89] The motivation behind his stand on this, of course, is open to interpretation. It raises the question: was he concerned less with the persecution of the Jews than with wielding a liberal stick to beat the Russian bear, which was in its day the symbol of absolutism which mocked the liberal creed? Or, alternatively, was it that his anti-semitism never trespassed beyond a certain point, that a line was drawn at physical violence? Whatever the reasons, he went on record as a critic of Russian action. It was also significant that in his reference to the Jews in Frankfurt in his London letter he could comment that it was curious for the Germans to charge the Jews with being anti-social since the restrictions which German society placed upon the Jew were hardly designed to create a public spirit.[90] Classical anti-semitic prejudice is not renowned, to say the least, for any concessions of this kind.

This characteristic of Hobson's work might be set in a wider context. It has been suggested elsewhere, after an examination of attitudes towards the Negro in the American South, the nineteenth-century view of the Indian in the Eastern States of North America and the Jewish stereotype in nineteenth-century America, that contrary to what is commonly assumed ethnic/racial stereotypes can combine both positive and negative characteristics,[91] although the more accepted view is that in hostile individuals positive elements are either suppressed and therefore absent or insufficiently emphasised.[92] This is an interesting difference of opinion but, as yet, little discussion has taken place along these lines, in spite of the fact that the suggestion has implications about the nature of prejudice, and in this context about the validity of a sharp distinction between an anti-semitic and philo-semitic stance.[93] It should be stressed that the issue

needs to be handled carefully since what appears at first sight to be a favourable reference might in fact be intended primarily to emphasise the power of a racial or ethnic minority and to mobilise an awareness against it. An instance of this can be seen in Arnold White's major distillation of ideas in *The Modern Jew*, which appeared in London in 1899. In this Jews and Jewish achievements were 'praised', but in an attempt to convey the nature of their threatening power.[94] Such subtle distinctions are not always easy to make, except through a detailed knowledge of context. In some instances, of course, this refinement is not called for. In another work of the time, *England under the Jews*, written by the obscure Joseph Banister, the hostility was unrelieved. Indeed, one chapter which he devoted to a study of Jewish virtues, or what he called 'the more pleasing points of the Jewish character', quickly and blatantly became a pretext for translating these virtues into vices.[95] But Banister's work was characterised by an unremitting and idiosyncratic hostility towards Jews—how many other people would have traced the presence of baldness in London to this source?—which was more an expression of his own fears and tensions than any approximate representation of the outside world, and we might ask whether the hostility of such individuals is in fact of a more unqualified kind than that which generally exists.[96] The contrast between Banister's attitudes and Hobson's suggests there is scope for a wider investigation on such lines.

So far a close analysis of Hobson's work has been attempted in relation to two working definitions of anti-semitic prejudice. Assessed in the light of the first broad definition his writings provided a certain amount of evidence to show that he engaged in a categorical rather than an *ad hoc* treatment of Jews. This was present in his references to Jewish immigration, the rich Jews in Britain and his analysis of Jewish involvement in the Boer War. His attitudes were for the most part expressed in intellectual, analytical terms, but on two occasions, in his references to 'Jewish craft' and 'Jew power', an untypical, emotional element was present. It was decided, however, that classical prejudice involved something other than stereotyped or categorical thinking and to discover whether this type of prejudice was present in his writings they have been assessed against a different standard.

It was asked whether his attitudes were held in the face of disconfirming evidence. Such a concept is not generally easy for historians or indeed any social scientist to apply once we move beyond very simple issues and face-to-face situations.[97] Even if the nature of disconfirming evidence can be agreed upon, the chances of the historian being able to establish, additionally, whether in spite of this the original attitude was retained are usually remote. The temptation in such circumstances is to simplify and distort the problem in hand, and Hobson's work has been subjected to this kind of inappropriate criticism. For instance, in his discussion of Hobson's treatment of Jews in connection with the South African War, Harvey

Mitchell is keenly if implicitly aware that classical prejudice is concerned with attitudes held in the face of disconfirming evidence, that it has an irrational quality. Confronted with a number of critical references to Jews he manages to show that Hobson's work fell into this category by assessing it against evidence which it has taken us sixty or seventy years to accumulate and assess. In other words, we have a retrospective historical judgement which succeeds in categorising Hobson, but at the cost of historical accuracy.[98] None of this is necessary. By patient research it is possible to trace changes in thought patterns as contemporary circumstances altered and this, together with the qualifications which he introduced into his analysis, suggest that it would be dangerous to regard Hobson as prejudiced against Jews in the classical sense; the indications are that he did not possess a hostility towards them which was central to the economy of his psyche.

Can we now take the attempt to refine and categorise Hobson's position a stage further? In attempting this we need to mention that his references to Jews amounted to only a small fraction of his total output and whereas he made a significant intellectual contribution to economics and general sociology, he said little that was original in his writings on the Jews. The majority of his ideas were reflected in contemporary opinion and there is no evidence that he engaged in any original research before he committed himself to print. *Problems of Poverty*, which contained his most detailed discussion of Jewish immigrants, was a polemical work, written as a contribution to 'the condition of England' debate and was heavily dependent on the work of others. *The War in South Africa*, his major statement on Jews and the South African business, was the fruit of a journalistic exercise. His chief concern was with the state of society and the most ethical forms of socio-economic conduct and organisation, and his comments on Jews ought to be seen within the context of his views on these wider issues and the prevailing debate on such matters within British society. Judged against this background it will become apparent that the central core of his hostile references to Jews should be treated in part as a reflex of his positive values, or what Allport would call his 'love prejudice'.[99]

In what sense were his references to Jews related to the rest of his social and economic thought? To what extent can it be demonstrated that his criticism of Jews was not totally divorced from his overall social and economic philosophy? If we return to Hobson's writings on Jewish immigration, it will be recalled that the real basis of his opposition was related to what he regarded as the Jewish association with particular forms of individualistic profit-making activity. This was the view he expressed in *Problems of Poverty* and in his fullest statement in the *Derbyshire Advertiser*. For these remarks and those he made regarding rich Jews in Britain to be appreciated, it has to be recognised that they occurred during a period when, under the influence of A. F. Mummery, whom he had met while teaching in the west country, and affected by the work of

John Ruskin, he had rejected the basic aspects of conventional classical and neo-classical economics as guides to social action and behaviour. His new-found influences were turning him away from the emphasis which orthodox economics laid on the negative freedom inherent in *laissez-faire,* the action of 'economic man' contributing to and achieving the harmony of interests in society through his own actions, the emphasis on production rather than consumption, the bias towards the acquisition rather than the use of wealth and the insistence on the divorce of economic activity from human, moral, spiritual, considerations. In place of such values he was moving towards an increasing stress on the importance of consumption and, under the influence of Ruskin and the impressionable sights he encountered in London, was attempting to humanise economic thought, to inject into it a greater concern for 'life' rather than 'wealth'. Clearly, an alternative system of economics took time to develop but it is known that Hobson had reached this kind of position by the 1890s.[100]

It was not until 1900 that most of the basic features of Hobson's new economic philosophy were present. Proceeding from his rejection of orthodox economics he had taken up the ethical notion of an organic society. In other words, he was prepared to regard society as a unity which was characterised by a common psychic life, character and purpose. It was emphasised that arrangements between individuals should not be made merely with the good of the individuals directly concerned in mind, but in the light of the social good of the community to which they belonged.[101] This was how Hobson reconciled the needs of the state and the individual. All actions were judged by a standard of social utility, and in serving society the individual reached the highest state of individual development.[102] Self-seeking, self-regarding economic activity, that which he associated with *laissez-faire*, was unacceptable to him and his willingness to postulate an organic relationship between production and consumption in its turn led him to condemn those forms of economic and financial activity which resulted in what he regarded as unjustified gains. He was consequently suspicious of financial activity and critical of stock manipulation which, in his view, like any other form of gambling, destroyed the goal of an organic society.[103]

The idea of society as an organism was not something which Hobson conjured out of the air. It had been present in one form in the sociological writings of Herbert Spencer and we know that *The Study of Sociology* made a deep impression on the young Hobson.[104] Furthermore, and another important influence, the view of society as a social organism was a feature of Idealist philosophy, which assumed an increasing intellectual influence in late-Victorian England, particularly at Oxford when Hobson was a student. As he developed it, Hobson's conception of society was dialectically opposed to that which prevailed in bourgeois culture and which was expressed through a belief in *laissez-faire.* It also bore little relationship to the old aristocratic social assumptions. He was in fact

expressing his adherence to 'the third culture' which emerged in late-Victorian England and which profoundly influenced sections of new liberal and socialist opinion.

The other major concept which Hobson had begun to emphasise by 1900, although its more sophisticated form was not to appear until later, was the inter-related idea of 'the surplus',[105] which in his view was inseparable from a society which upheld the principles of *laissez-faire*. 'The surplus' consisted of a series of economic rents, which were essentially scarcity rents obtained under a system of *laissez-faire* by those with economic strength and influence. All factors needed some return to bring them into use, but returns over and above this could be obtained by those with strength in the market. As long as society accepted this as a normal state of affairs, Hobson concluded that it would also have to accept imperialism, which was directly related to under-consumption, which in turn was related to the overall 'surplus' accruing to a small section of society. It also had to accept poverty and sweating, which he regarded as a generic term for urban poverty. Both of these were fundamentally related to the inequality of bargaining power within a market economy.[106]

By the turn of the century, therefore, he had evolved an economic philosophy which, if not finally developed, was fundamentally opposed to orthodox economics and which, through his view of society as a social organism and his concept of the surplus, contained a strong criticism of sectional, self-regarding activity. At this time the Boer War showed him to what extent sectional influences could prevail over national interests and the degree to which his conception of social values could be disregarded.[107]

It should be clear by now that a proper appreciation of Hobson's major criticisms of Jewish immigrants and financiers needs to take account of the attitudes he expressed elsewhere in the course of his intellectual development and seen within the total context of his thought.[108]

Throughout Hobson's analyses which involved references to Jews, there is, of course, an assumption that Jews possessed certain socio-economic attitudes which led them to engage in the particular forms of activity of which he disapproved. In our own day, in the shadow of Hitlerite persecution, in the age of decolonisation and in the light of much current scientific thinking which would deny that groups have any innate characteristics, there is a common reluctance to refer to group characteristics of any kind,[109] although such unwillingness is not universal.[110] It needs to be emphasised, however, that the nineteenth- and early twentieth century world did not share the same degree of caution and we have been reminded recently of the widespread acceptance in Britain and elsewhere of a belief in the existence of 'racial' characteristics. It has been suggested that in this context 'racial' was almost always synonymous with 'cultural', that it was a cultural personality rather than a bio-scientific endowment which was under consideration. But this is too simple. We

should not underestimate the emphasis upon genetic endowment which was present in some quarters, nor should we assume that race and culture were easily divided. Neo-Lamarckian ideas, which stressed the inheritability of acquired characteristics, were widely influential in social science until the beginning of the present century, and this meant that in many minds there was a constant shuttle service between blood and culture. Biological and cultural heredity were not easily separated.[111] As regards Jews, Hobson's central categorical reference was to a relationship between Jews, Jewishness and certain forms of capitalist activity and, on examination, it soon becomes evident that similar emphases were made by a variety of nineteenth- and twentieth-century writers who are now regarded as embracing either philo- or anti-semitic positions. The exact nature of their views, in other words whether they believed in the culturalist, racist or neo-Lamarckian essence of such qualities, is difficult to say—there are, as yet, many matters involving the historical dimensions of race and ethnicity which we perceive only dimly.

If we turn from general comment to specific detail, Hobson's stress upon the Jew as 'the economic man' was also found in the early writing of Beatrice Potter in her survey of London's East End which appeared in the *Nineteenth Century*.[112] Although such a characteristic met with her critical disapproval, it was also remarked upon by others who took a more favourable view. To many defenders of Jewish immigration into Britain, 'Jewish economic man' was viewed as a national godsend.[113] In short, the quality which Hobson underlined was repeated elsewhere by his contemporaries among whom it encouraged different responses.

But Hobson took his analysis closer than this: if Jews were closely attuned to the requirements needed for success in the context of *laissez-faire* capitalism, they had concentrated their efforts in a particular direction. In his view, they had a special although not exclusive relationship with profit and rent rather than wages. This was not merely a personal assessment, impossible to find reflected elsewhere. Once again it was an attitude which was present in Beatrice Potter's early work, where she referred to a Jewish 'love of profit' as distinct from other forms of money making.[114] In addition, it was a strain which appeared in some Zionist writing, where, for instance, we can find Joseph Chaim Brenner arguing that exilic life had become essentially unproductive: Jews had used the fruits of labour but had separated themselves from it. Brenner was prepared to argue that this had to cease and that for Jews labour had become endowed with a therapeutic quality which was an indispensable antidote to the ailing Jewish personality.[115] What we find here is an insistence upon a recognisable Jewish economic personality which had developed out of the imbalance of Jewish economic life, which was reflected in the de-proletarianisation of Jews and their consequent concentration or, as hostile critics would have it, their 'over-representation' in certain occupations.

This strand of thinking is closely related to the third feature of Hobson's discussion of Jewish socio-economic characteristics where he stressed the Jewish expertise and concentration in the central processes of finance. This theme was also present in Marx's *Zur Judenfrage*, published in 1844, in which Jews were described as agents of money and the personification of materialism, while Jewish money making was considered to lie at the heart of the capitalist system and Judaism was characterised as the religious reflection of the bourgeois way of life.[116] Much later, as part of his attempt to construct and present a total sociology, Max Weber also delineated the distinctive contributions of Judaism to capitalism and, while attempting to reduce the wilder flights of fancy and historical inaccuracy contained in Werner Sombart's *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben* (which had appeared in Leipzig in 1911), he could refer to the significance of the Jewish contribution to certain forms of financial and commercial activity.[117]

We are now in a position to propose a final categorisation of Hobson's thought. It can be said that while it showed evidence of what we would now consider to be categorical prejudice against Jews, it would be unwise to suggest that it displayed the characteristics of classical prejudice. What we have examined has been a value clash between Hobson and the Jews which was located in a socio-economic context, and if we are to understand this situation, it should be considered in relation to his own emergent value system and in the light of other tendencies to generalise about Jewish ideas and social structure. As is the case in all generalisations, these references distorted reality, but it would be dangerous to write them off as fantasy projections from unsound minds. If many Jews had not been successful in the sweating system—and both hostile and friendly testimony suggests they were—and if many Jews had not been pushed towards liquidity occupations on a world scale as a result of their historical experience, a feature of Jewish life about which there is universal testimony and knowledge, the kind of socio-economic generalisations which have just been referred to, including Hobson's, would hardly have developed and persisted as they did.[118]

III

All that remains now is to place Hobson's thought within the context of contemporary hostility towards Jews in British society. None of the analyses which has hitherto been concerned with such attitudes in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century British history has shown any inclination to categorise the different emphases which such thought could assume, but it ought to be shown that certain patterns can be found.

A major hostile expression which became increasingly important in the twentieth century, and which in some form appeared almost throughout the world, referred to the existence of a Jewish conspiratorial plot aimed at the subversion of existing world powers. The ultimate aim of this

conspiracy was to achieve Jewish domination. Such a theory formed the basis of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion.*[119] This publication, which was issued in Russia in 1903, did not appear in Britain until after the First World War, but even before then it is possible to find less systematic expressions of concern about a growing international Jewish influence which offered the prospect of Jewish domination. One example of it was found in Arnold White's *The Modern Jew*, to which reference has already been made, and in which Jews were regarded as posing a particular threat to those nations which had lost the edge of competitive efficiency. White left his readers in no doubt about the power of the Jews and the strength of their influence.

'. . . while the engine of international finance is under Jewish control, and while public opinion is mediated by Jewish influence over the European press, the Jews will continue to be in the future, as they have been in the past, the most interesting people in the world. A race that baffled the pharaohs, foiled Nebuchadnezzar, thwarted Rome, defeated feudalism, circumvented the Romanoffs, baulked the Kaiser and undermined the Third French Republic presents ample material for legitimate curiosity.'[120]

The remarks which were made during the Boer War about a Jewish ability or capacity to manipulate British public opinion and policy for specifically Jewish ends—comments which have already been referred to—are also closely associated with this particular category of anti-Jewish sentiment. Similar ideas were expressed a little later in connection with the involvement of rich Jews in the Marconi scandal and other financial scandals in the years immediately prior to the First World War and conspiratorial views were also held by Leo Maxse, the editor of the *National Review*, who had a deeply held belief that certain forces were engaged in machinations to destroy the existing order in favour of German rather than specifically Jewish interests:

'If the hateful truth may be told [he wrote], there is a large and powerful international syndicate, with ramifications in every capital including London and Paris, working chiefly through corrupt or cosmopolitan papers, inspired or controlled by that hateful figure the International Jew. Those internationalists, alias pro-Germans, demand that, in "the interests of peace" Europe shall pass increasingly under the German yoke.'[121]

Or again:

'What have we done that we should be persecuted by the Jews? Do we persecute them? On the contrary, we seem to be standing by and allowing them to capture power after power in this country. They would appear to aim at an *imperium in imperio*. They are not content with capturing

international finance, except as a lever in international relations, and they always give a casting vote for Germany'.[122]

It is in Hobson's analysis of the South African situation, with its reference to the control of policy by international Jewish interests, that we can establish a link with this particular category of conspiratorial analysis.

But hostility towards Jews assumed other forms. Even if it was not very common, there was an expression which drew direct attention to the physical endowment of Jews. This, it should be understood, was not common in Britain in the form of a sophisticated theory, but what it could involve was displayed in the work of Joseph Banister, whose *England under the Jews* was first published in 1901.[123] In this, Banister engaged in a vitriolic assault upon Jewish immigrants and, to a lesser extent, rich Jews, which was characterised in part by its disease-ridden obsessions. 'Lupus, trachoma, favus, eczema and scurvy', he affirmed, were inseparable from the 'Wandering Tribe', while Jewish blood like that of other 'Oriental breeds' seemed to him to be 'loaded with scrofula'.[124] These were some of the qualities he ascribed to those who constituted 'the alien immigration plague'.[125] Banister's work, transparently obsessed with the existence and transmission of disease and the essential connection this had in his own mind with a Jewish presence, provided a striking illustration of a hostility towards Jews expressed in terms of physical characteristics and animal imagery.[126]

Nothing comparable to this can be found in Hobson's work. An examination of Hobson's hostility towards Jews would need to stress that in his discussion of Jewish immigrants and rich Jews his emphasis was upon Jewish socio-economic attitudes to which he was opposed. Jews were identified as being the personification of *laissez-faire* capitalism and he was prepared to generalise about them as 'economic men', as cultural twins of an aggressive capitalist society. We have already shown that this was not a unique position to hold.[127] Additional instances of cultural opposition at this time, which carried different emphases, can also be located. In the past, Jews had encountered an opposition based on religious grounds and there were still signs of this hostility in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, while a related theme which argued that Jews had certain cultural values, standards and beliefs which were antithetical to British interests lay behind the hostility which was directed against Jews at the time of the 1876 Eastern crisis. The Jews were seen by Goldwin Smith and others as constituting a group within the nation, but not belonging to it and indeed pursuing their interests at its expense.[128] Such sentiments were to be echoed soon afterwards in the extensive debate over Jewish immigration.

None of this is intended to suggest that expressions of hostility towards Jews can be categorised easily along tripartite lines. These are ideal-type classifications and we need to be aware that more than one of these

categories can be found in the thought of one individual. For instance, Banister needed to write out his obsessions relating to the physical endowment of Jews, but it has to be recognised that half of his major work, *England under the Jews*, was concerned with what he perceived as the increase in Jewish power in British society and the threat of Jewish domination. Furthermore, we have already noticed that Hobson's thought contained both conspiratorial and cultural strains. A further complication is that it is not always easy to separate off strands of thought into particular, specific categories. If we concentrate solely upon the examples which have been used in the present discussion, it is clear that in Maxse's thought ideas of a Jewish conspiracy and a cultural hostility to Jews on the grounds that they had values which were opposed to British interests were related points. The references to Jewish conspiratorial power which crept into discussions of the South African War also carried the conviction of an internal incompatibility of British and Jewish values. Once more we can see the coexistence of conspiratorial and cultural themes. But it can still be suggested that whatever difficulties exist, emphases are made in certain directions and it is preferable to make an attempt to recognise them rather than to refer to the hostility which Jews encountered as, quite simply, anti-semitism.

There is perhaps a final comment which might be made. If we accept, as already suggested, that the major expressions of hostility towards Jews assumed conspiratorial and cultural forms, it would be unwise to assume that these could be found only in learned articles or theses. Conspiratorial-type notions about Jews were present among the East End population at the time of the Jewish immigration scare and were given voice in the local press where, for instance, it was claimed:

'With the sceptre of finance the Jew also dominates the politics of the world. . . . It is the Jewish mind that is guiding the religious and moral involvements of society in our day, and in secret the Jew is forging the chains with which he is preparing to load those miserable Gentiles who are looking on in their folly.'[129]

Cultural opposition to Jews, our other concern, was also expressed in the East End by those who lived among the immigrants. In his evidence before the 1903 Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, James William Johnson of the British Brothers' League reflected this strand of opinion when he said: 'We know they settle in different localities and live according to their traditions, usages and customs. We say this is wholly deleterious to the Englishman as well as a gross injustice and a hardship upon us.'[130] Johnson was able to quote the London press in presenting his views and, had he wished, he could have referred to East End material to support his position.[131] In brief, the forms of hostility which we have been considering were exhibited in a variety of situations in which non-Jews

perceived their own interests, or those whom they represented, as being under threat from Jews and were expressed on a 'commonplace' as well as a more 'intellectual' level.

It might be said in conclusion that the recent interest displayed in the history of Jews in Britain, particularly in the history of Jewish immigration, has shed light upon a previously obscure corner of Victorian and Edwardian society. Even so, in spite of the booming interest in social history, which has led its practitioners to emerge from the sewers and the labour market and encouraged them to venture into more esoteric areas, there has been little detailed examination of personal attitudes towards Jews. In trying to remedy this, a close analysis has been undertaken of Hobson's thought in the light of present knowledge but also with an awareness that attitudes need to be related to their contemporary context. It is only through such a dialogue that we can begin to understand the riddle of the past and strip away its mysteries.

CHAPTER 6: NOTES

Michael Banton, Alan Lee, Teodor Shanin and Royden Harrison have given me the benefit of their comments. None of them is responsible for the final nuances and emphases.

1 The East End situation has been dealt with recently in Gareth Stedman Jones, *Outcast London* (Oxford, 1971). From the mass of contemporary opinion the major example of research into the London situation is Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London* (17 vols, London, 1902-4), while a discussion of individual involvement is in Beatrice Webb, *My Apprenticeship* (London, 1926), particularly pp. 58-215.

2 Stedman Jones, op. cit., p. 152.

3 L. P. Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870-1914* (London, 1960); J. A. Garrard, *The English and Immigration, 1880-1910* (London, 1971); B. Gainer, *The Alien Invasion: The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905* (London, 1972).

4 Details of Hobson's career can be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography, 1931-40* (London, 1949), (henceforth *DNB*) pp. 435-6 which contains an appreciative outline by R. H. Tawney. In addition, there is H. N. Brailsford, 'The life-work of J. A. Hobson', *Hobhouse Memorial Lecture No. 17* (London, 1948). The fullest account is in A. J. F. Lee, 'J. A. Hobson. A study of the social and economic thought of J. A. Hobson' (PhD London, 1970). There is also a brief account by the same author in *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, ed. John Saville and Joyce Bellamy (London, 1972), Vol. 1, pp. 176-81. All future references to Lee's work relate to the PhD thesis. Finally, it should not be forgotten that Hobson wrote a slight, discreet autobiography, *The Confessions of an Economic Heretic* (London, 1938).

5 Hobson, *Confessions*, pp. 15, 19.

6 *Derbyshire Advertiser and Journal*, 30 September 1887, p. 4. Henceforth cited as *Derbyshire Advertiser*.

7 ibid., 5 April 1940, p. 8.

8 Lee, op. cit., p. 32.

9 'Old' Liberalism had become Liberal Unionism by the eighties, leaving the way open for a 'New' Liberalism. The principles of the 'New Liberals' were embodied in the legislative programme enacted by the 1906 Liberal Government. One of the best accounts among the recent literature on New Liberalism is P. F. Clarke, *Lancashire and the New Liberalism* (Cambridge, 1971).

10 See his remarks in *Derbyshire Advertiser,* 28 October 1887, p. 8 and 10 December 1887, p. 6.
11 Lee, op. cit., p. 44.
12 *Derbyshire Advertiser,* 9 November 1888, p. 8. Baumann had just published two articles. 'The Lords' Committee on the sweating system', *National Review,* vol. XII (1888), pp. 145-59 and 'Possible remedies for the sweating system', ibid., vol. XII (1888), pp. 289-307.
13 *Derbyshire Advertiser,* 8 March 1889, p. 8; 14 March 1890 p. 8; 12 September 1890, p. 5; 28 November 1890, p. 3; 1 May 1891, p. 3; 7 August 1891, p. 8.
14 See Garrard, op. cit., pp. 162-6 and Gainer, op. cit., pp. 24-30, 79-88 for a statement and assessment of such charges. Neither assessment gives sufficient emphasis to historico-geographical differences in conceptions of subsistence levels.
15 *Derbyshire Advertiser,* 14 March 1890, p. 8.
16 ibid., 16 January 1891, p. 3.
17 The standard history of the Board is V. D. Lipman, *A Century of Social Service: The Jewish Board of Guardians* (London, 1959).
18 See, for example, the references in Gartner, op. cit., ch. 11, pp. 24 *ff.* See also Lipman, op. cit., pp. 89-97.
19 *Derbyshire Advertiser,* 7 August 1891, p. 8. The point had been made earlier by Beatrice Potter in her contribution to the Booth survey in 1889. While she did not believe that the charity of the Jewish Board of Guardians attracted immigrants to Britain, she conceded that the form of relief was one of the direct causes of the sweating system. The contribution was reprinted in S. and B. Webb, *Problems of Modern Industry* (London, 1902), pp. 20-45. See particularly pp. 27-30.
20 See the *Royal Commission on Alien Immigration,* British Parliamentary Papers, 1903, IX, Vol. 2, pp. 527-45, particularly p. 532 (henceforth cited as *RC,* 1903) for a favourable view of the Board and ibid., pp. 44, 53, 102 for critical references. See above p. 131 for Hobson's view about the attraction of Jewish funds for the immigrant.
21 *Derbyshire Advertiser,* 6 March 1891, p. 2. For similar comments by others see Gainer, op. cit., pp. 48-52.
22 J. A. Hobson, *Problems of Poverty* (London, 1891), pp. 58-9. His view on the hygienic aspects of the immigration showed a slight change of emphasis from his opinion expressed in the *Derbyshire Advertiser,* see above, footnote 21.
23 The extent and importance of such thinking is discussed in Garrard, op. cit., pp. 96-102. See J. A. Dyche, 'The Jewish workman', *Contemporary Review,* vol. LXXIII (1898), pp. 379-99 for immigrant emphasis on such values. However, William J. Fishman, *East End Jewish Radicals 1875-1914* (London, 1975), shows the danger of treating all East End Jews as actual or budding capitalists.
24 Hobson, *Problems,* p. 60.
25 ibid., p. 63. This assertion overstates what was a complicated situation in which the importance of individual factors is difficult to determine. See Stedman Jones, op. cit., pp. 106-11.
26 Hobson, *Problems,* p. 98.
27 ibid.
28 A. F. Mummery and J. A. Hobson, *The Physiology of Industry* (New York, 1956 reprint), pp. 212-13.
29 For a recognition of the importance of under-consumption in Hobson's thought, see E. E. Nemmers, *Hobson and Under-Consumption* (Amsterdam, 1956).
30 Mummery and Hobson, op. cit., p. 213. For a similar, contemporary statement, see G. Wallas, 'Property under socialism' in *Fabian Essays,* by Bernard Shaw *et al.* (London, 1950; first published 1889), pp. 128-9.
31 All from Hobson, *Problems,* p. 127.
32 See his *Work and Wealth* (London, 1922; first published 1914), p. 280.
33 *Derbyshire Advertiser,* 7 August 1891, p. 8; 19 September 1891, p. 6; 2 September 1892, p. 8.

34 ibid., 9 November 1888, p. 8; 28 November 1890, p. 3; 1 May 1891, p. 3; 28 August 1891, p. 8.
35 ibid., 13 May 1892, p. 8.
36 For a reference to the fact that the protection of labour was beginning to lead to trade protection, see ibid., 10 June 1892, p. 3.
37 ibid., 24 February 1893, p. 8.
38 ibid., 13 July 1894, p. 6. See ibid., 19 September 1891, p. 6, for an earlier softening of his fears about numbers. Robert Giffen (1837-1910), the government statistician, had previously been attacked by Hobson for his statistics on the immigration question. See *Derbyshire Advertiser,* 8 March 1889, p. 8. The most recent school of thought is that adequate statistics were not available at the time Hobson was writing his column. Even now it is difficult to deal satisfactorily in the statistics of the immigration. On this see Garrard, op. cit., pp. 213-16 and Gainer, op. cit., pp. 6-14.
39 *Derbyshire Advertiser,* 13 July 1894, p. 6.
40 Gartner, op. cit., p. 278.
41 Garrard, op. cit., p. 189.
42 Gainer, op. cit., pp. 84-5, 91, 114, 134 contain the references to Hobson. His comment that Hobson was opposed to immigration control is derived from *Problems*, pp. 91 and 126. However, in neither passage does Hobson clearly express his own views. His concern was to acquaint his readers with the arguments which surrounded immigration control. In 1891, Hobson could still be found defending and accepting arguments for control (see note 34 above). His personal position was not resolved until 1892-3. See above pp. 132-3.
43 G. E. Simpson and J. M. Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities* (3rd edn, New York, 1965), pp. 12, 197; Howard J. Ehrlich, *The Social Psychology of Prejudice* (London, 1973); Walter L. Arnstein, 'Victorian prejudice re-examined', *Victorian Studies,* vol. XII (1968-9), pp. 454-6, indicates some of the problems from a sociological, psychological and historical point of view.
44 Robin Williams Jr, *The Reduction of Inter-Group Tensions* (New York, n.d.), p. 37.
45 J. H. Robb, *Working Class Anti-Semite* (London, 1954), p. 1. See also the remarks in Louis Kushnick, 'Negroes versus Jews: Anti-semitism is denied', *Patterns of Prejudice,* vol. 2 (1969), pp. 13-15.
46 See above, pp. 128, 129, 131 for a discussion of these points.
47 Arnold White, *The Modern Jew* (London, 1899), ch. 4 *passim* and pp. 157-9 include, respectively, references to the beneficial results of bringing Jews into contact with the soil and an attack on Jewish rapacious capitalism. White had formed an early interest in emigration ventures and had been involved in Baron Hirsch's scheme for the settlement of Jews in Argentina. For details of White's career see *Who Was Who 1916-28* (London, 1929), p. 1116.
48 *Derbyshire Advertiser,* 17 July 1891, p. 8.
49 ibid., 21 October 1892, p. 8.
50 *Ethical World,* 27 May 1899, p. 323.
51 ibid., 3 June 1899, p. 350.
52 ibid., 10 June 1899, p. 366.
53 While the study of attitudes towards Jewish immigrants has become an increasingly cultivated field, there has been little attention paid to the attitudes which prevailed in British society towards the rich, acculturated Jews.
54 *Derbyshire Advertiser,* 23 May 1890, p. 2.
55 Hobson, *Confessions,* p. 60. See also David Ayerst, *Guardian, Biography of a Newspaper* (London, 1971), pp. 274-5.
56 J. A. Hobson, *The War in South Africa* (2nd edn, London, 1900), pp. 189, 195, 197.
57 J. A. Hobson, 'Capitalism and imperialism in South Africa', *Contemporary Review,* vol. LXXVII (1900), pp. 3-5, 15-16.
58 ibid., pp. 4-5. See also Hobson, *The War,* pp. 193-4.
59 Hobson, *Contemporary Review,* loc. cit., pp. 4-5.

60 Hobson, *The War,* p. 194.
61 See for example, Richard Koebner and Helmut Dan Schmidt, *Imperialism, the Story and Significance of a Political Word, 1840-1960* (Cambridge, 1961), p. 226, Harvey Mitchell, 'Hobson revisited', *Journal of the History of Ideas* (henceforth *JHI*), vol. XXVI (1965), pp. 398-405.
62 Mitchell, *JHI*, loc. cit., p. 399.
63 Bernard Porter, *Critics of Empire* (New York, 1968), p. 202.
64 Hobson, *Contemporary Review*, loc. cit., pp. 4-5.
65 Lee, op. cit., p. 117 and Brailsford, op. cit., p. 6.
66 Letter from Hobson to C. P. Scott from Cape Town, 14 August 1899. I am grateful to David Ayerst for providing me with a copy of this, and the letter referred to below, and to Harold Hobson for permission to use both of them.
67 Letter from Hobson to C. P. Scott, 2 September 1899.
68 Hobson, *The War,* p. 226.
69 Hobson, *Contemporary Review,* loc. cit., pp. 15-16.
70 See above, p. 138 for the full quote.
71 H. Tajfel, 'Stereotypes', *Race,* vol. V. (1963), p. 8.
72 R. Brown, *Rules and Laws in Sociology* (London, 1973), p. 7.
73 Tajfel, *Race,* loc. cit., p. 8, Michael Banton, *Race Relations* (London, 1967), p. 8.
74 Brown, op. cit., p. 9, Banton, op. cit., p. 8, Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), p. 9.
75 Tajfel, *Race,* loc. cit., p. 8. Different concepts and types of prejudice are discussed in Williams, op. cit., pp. 37-8, Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., pp. 10-12, while Banton, op. cit., pp. 198-9 refers to the concept of antipathy in a discussion of mild forms of prejudice.
76 J. Guinness Rogers, 'The churches and the war', *Contemporary Review,* vol. LXXVII (1900), pp. 616-17. Lee, op. cit., p. 110, refers to the reception in the *Manchester Guardian.*
77 *The Jews in South Africa*, ed. Gustav Saron and Louis Hotz (London, 1955), pp. 209-10.
78 Lee, op. cit., pp. 110-11. Mitchell, *JHI*, loc. cit., pp. 401-3, R. Koebner, 'The concept of economic imperialism', *Economic History Review,* vol. 11 (1949), p. 27, fn. 1, and John S. Galbraith, 'The pamphlet campaign on the Boer War', *Journal of Modern History,* vol. XXIV (1952), p. 119, all deal with the widespread belief in radical and liberal circles about Jewish involvement in the war, while Mitchell, *JHI*, loc. cit. p. 403 has commented that 'the activities of Jewish financiers attracted condemnation throughout Europe from polemicists, politicians and writers both on the Right and the Left'.
79 Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (2nd edn, London, 1958), p. 135. She praised this work as 'very reliable in observation' and 'very honest in analysis'. See also Mitchell, *JHI*, loc. cit., pp. 400, 404 who bases his argument on Arendt, but adds further evidence.
80 J. A. Hobson, *Imperialism. A Study* (London, 1938; first published 1902), pp. 56-7.
81 See above, p. 140.
82 *Derbyshire Advertiser,* 13 August 1894, p. 6.
83 See above, pp. 132-3.
84 See above, p. 132.
85 J. A. Hobson, *Gold, Prices and Wages* (London, 1913), p. 136.
86 H. J. Eysenck, *Uses and Abuses of Psychology* (Harmondsworth, 1960), p. 267.
87 See above, p. 129. This defence is remarked upon in Lee, op. cit., p. 108.
88 *Derbyshire Advertiser,* 16 January 1891, p. 3.
89 ibid., 7 November 1890, p. 8; 19 December 1890, p. 8; 24 April 1896, p. 8. Similarly, William Eden Evans Gordon, one of the leaders of the anti-immigration campaign was sympathetic to the Jewish situation in Eastern Europe. See his work, *The Alien Immigrant* (London, 1903), pp. 48-191.

90 *Derbyshire Advertiser,* 23 May 1890, p. 2.
91 John Higham, 'Anti-semitism in the gilded age. A re-interpretation', *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (henceforth *MVHR*) vol. XLIII (1956-7), pp. 563-6.
92 Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 120.
93 Higham, *MVHR*, loc. cit., p. 562, '. . . it is necessary . . . to guard against the categorising tendency that distinguishes too sharply between anti-semite and philo-semite. Stated positively this means that most people waver between conflicting attitudes and seldom enjoy an undivided state of mind.'
94 White's anti-semitism is analysed in Gainer, op. cit., pp. 121-7.
95 Joseph Banister, *England under the Jews* (3rd edn, London, 1907), pp. 77-80 where he considers 'the beautiful home life' of the Jews, 'the superior purity of their women', and 'their wonderful industry'.
96 ibid., p. 64 provides evidence of Banister's idiosyncratic and exaggerated fears. Recent opinion as expressed in *Colour and Citizenship*, ed. E. J. B. Rose *et al.* (London, 1969), pp. 587-8, is that only a small number of individuals exhibit acute personality-based prejudice.
97 As argued elsewhere, situations involving charges of anti-semitism are seldom simple in character. See P. G. J. Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria* (New York, 1964), pp. 14-15.
98 On inductivist explanations of this kind see Michael Banton, 'The concept of racism' in *Race and Racism,* ed. Sami Zubaida (London, 1970), pp. 22-4. For Mitchell's analysis see *JHI*, loc. cit., pp. 397-404.
99 Allport, op. cit., p. 27.
100 Brailsford, op. cit., p. 7; Lee, op. cit., p. 44, refers to particular influences in this development.
101 Porter, op. cit., p. 174.
102 J. A. Hobson, *The Social Problem* (London, 1902), pp. 221-3.
103 J. A. Hobson, *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism* (London, 1901 edn), pp. 374-80 and J. A. Hobson 'The ethics of gambling' in *Betting and Gambling,* ed. B. S. Rowntree (London, 1905), pp. 3-5, 7-10, 12-14, 52-3, 56.
104 Hobson, *Confessions,* p. 23.
105 The concept was adumbrated in 1894 in *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism* (London, 1894), was present in *The Economics of Distribution* (London, 1901) and a appeared in more complex form in *The Industrial System* (London, 1909).
106 Lee, op. cit., p. 14 argues that the internal consistency of Hobson's though derived from this concept 'of the surplus'. See also Michael Freeden, 'J. A. Hobson as a New Liberal theorist: Some aspects of his social thought until 1914', *JHI*, vol. XXXIV (1973), p. 421, for a further reference to the degree of consistency in Hobson's work.
107 See his chapter 'For whom are we fighting?' in Hobson, *The War,* pp. 229-40.
108 It is currently being suggested by Peter Cain that from 1903-4, by which time his statements on Jews which have been used here had already been made, the nature of his thinking on imperialism swung over towards a Cobdenite Liberal position from which he had been moving in the late nineteenth century.
109 This reluctance is critically questioned in Bohdan Zawadzki, 'Limitations of the scapegoat theory of prejudice', *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* (henceforth *JASP*), vol. 43 (1948), p. 136 and, more recently, in Charles Silberman, *Crisis in Black and White* (London, 1963), pp. 72-7.
110 See Simon Kuznets, 'Economic life and structure of the Jews' in *The Jews: Their History, Culture and Religion,* ed. L. Finkelstein (3rd edn, New York, 1960), p. 1600 and Edna Bonacich, 'A theory of middleman minorities', *American Sociological Review*, vol. 38 (1973), pp. 583-94.
111 Discussed recently in George Watson, *The English Ideology* (London, 1973), pp. 199 *ff*, and by Michael D. Biddiss, 'Myths of blood', *Patterns of Prejudice,* vol. 9 (1975), pp. 11-19. Both these need to be set against the crucially significant argument of George W. Stocking, Jr, *Race, Culture and Evolution. Essays in the History of Anthropology* (New York, 1968), pp. 243-69.

112 Beatrice Potter, 'East London labour', *Nineteenth Century,* vol. XXIV (1888), pp. 176-7. Since March 1976 Beatrice Webb's attitudes towards Jews have been the subject of a naive, and, at times, unhistorical correspondence in *Encounter.*
113 Garrard, op. cit., pp. 96, 98, 100-2.
114 Potter, *Nineteenth Century*, loc. cit., p. 176.
115 Gershon Winer, *The Founding Fathers of Israel* (New York, 1971), pp. 168-9.
116 Karl Marx, *A World Without Jews* (New York, 1959 edn). See also Isaac Deutscher, *The non-Jewish Jew and Other Essays* (London, 1968), pp. 31-2 and 48-50, for an exposition of Marx's views and an affirmation of faith in the Marxist analysis.
117 Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion* (London, 1963; first published 1922), pp. 246-61, particularly, p. 248.
118 For advocates of a convergent or interactionist analysis see Zawadzki, *JASP*, loc. cit., pp. 127-41; S. Rogolsky, 'An experimental examination of the scapegoat theory of prejudice', ibid., vol. 45 (1950), pp. 296-309 and Leonard Berkowitz and James A. Green, 'The stimulus qualities of the scapegoat', ibid., vol. 64 (1962), pp. 293-301. See also Robb, op. cit., p. 191, while Allport, op. cit., p. 217, writes: 'There is no objection to such an interaction theory provided proper weight is given to each of the two sets of factors.' In addition to the work of psychologists and psychiatrists there has been some sparse comment by historians on the importance of interactionist analysis. See Arendt, op. cit., p. 28 and Higham, *MVHR,* loc. cit., pp. 566-9.
119 Norman Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide* (London, 1967), provides details on the historical significance of the work.
120 White, op. cit., p. xv.
121 *National Review,* vol. 57 (December 1911), p. 499.
122 ibid., vol. 61 (March 1913), p. 7.
123 Very little is known about Banister's life. For an analysis of his views see Colin Holmes, 'Joseph Banister's anti-semitism', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 4 (1970), pp. 29-32.
124 Banister, op. cit., p. 61.
125 ibid., p. 81.
126 Karl Pearson and Margaret Moul, 'The problem of alien immigration into Great Britain, illustrated by an examination of Russian and Polish Jewish children', *Annals of Eugenics*, vol. I (1925), pp. 5-127, reflects a later scientific interest in such matters.
127 See above pp. 130, 147 and the nature of anti-immigrant ideas referred to in Garrard, op. cit., and Gainer, op. cit.
128 R. T. Shannon, *Gladstone and the Bulgarian Agitation, 1876* (London, 1963), pp. 200-1 refers to this in general terms. For an assessment of Smith's attitudes see Colin Holmes, 'Goldwin Smith. A liberal anti-semite', *Patterns of Prejudice,* vol. 6 (1973), pp. 25-30.
129 *East London Leader,* 2 June 1883; *Eastern Post and City Chronicle*, 20 September 1902, provides another telling example.
130 *RC,* 1903, vol. 2, p. 286.
131 *East London Observer,* 6 June 1891; *East London Advertiser,* 20 September 1902.

7 The Vitality of a Tradition

by Nicholas Deakin

As its title implies, this chapter is about a tradition, based on a sequence of events—of which the centrepiece is the rejection of fascism, and the values implicit in that term, by the inhabitants of the East End of London. In it, I shall review not only the events themselves, but the functions that the tradition which derives from them subsequently performed in local politics over the twenty years after the Second World War.

'If the shape of the cloth of British race relations has largely been determined by the output of the national political process, its specific pattern and texture has been woven in the cities', Ira Katznelson argues, in perhaps the fullest study we have yet had of race in local politics.[1] Many of the particular threads that go into the making of the pattern in Stepney are peculiar to that situation, and are not repeated elsewhere. But the element that gives events there, literally parochial in their detail, a wider validity is the contrasts that they present with other, superficially similar episodes that took place elsewhere in London in the same general period—for example, in Notting Dale in 1958. In these other cases, the attempt to overlook or suppress tensions generated conflict; in the East End, the tensions were accommodated. The special reasons for this accommodation furnish the justification for this chapter; and an understanding of these reasons, depends, in turn, on some acquaintance with the historical and social background.

One of the advantages enjoyed by the student of local politics and history in the East End is an abundance of material. In this copious literature, and in any discussions that such a student may have about the implications of the area's past history for its present,[2] a number of themes generally emerge. First, there is the sense of departed glories—of a golden age of intense communal feeling and togetherness. This theme, in turn, is habitually defined in terms of past hardships and hostilities jointly faced and collectively overcome—poverty, unemployment, the dangers of the Second World War and the associated threat of fascism in the East End itself.[3] Such a response implies a strong sense of collective identity. Yet in the early literature, it is quite another kind of theme that emerges.

I

To those Victorians setting out to explore, from philanthropy or idle curiosity, those mysterious regions east of Aldgate Pump known collectively as the East End, it seemed impossible that such a desert of poor housing and depressed inhabitants should have any past history of interest, or that any single part of that desert should possess its own individuality. 'Why is there so little local life and sentiment in East London?' asked Booth[4] and Besant was ready with the answer—because there was no cultural vitality in the area.[5] It was a part of London unparalleled for meanness of appearance and lack of variety: a 'City of Dreadful Monotony'. And monotony was not the only hazard; when the future founder of Toynbee Hall was offered an East End parish, the Bishop of London urged him: 'Do not hurry in your decision . . . St. Jude's . . . is perhaps the worst district in London, containing (with a certain number of respectable and well-to-do tradesmen) a large population of Jews and thieves.'[6]

Subsequent local historians have rescued the East End's past from obscurity. These historical studies have been supplemented, since Booth, by a series of sociological investigations which make it clear that a social life of immense richness and complexity lay beneath the surface that the Victorian investigators were temperamentally ill equipped to penetrate.[7] Finally, even the most superficial student of the area very quickly discovers the wide variety of factors that distinguish different areas within the East End as a whole from one another. This particular study is concerned chiefly with Stepney—or rather, with the Metropolitan Borough of Stepney as it was between the end of the Second World War and its disappearance into the larger London Borough of Tower Hamlets in 1965—and although there are a good many elements in the local situation in this period that are common to Stepney and the neighbouring boroughs of Poplar and Bethnal Green, it is possible to distinguish a distinct set of traditions and attitudes peculiar to Stepney. As Munby observes, 'perhaps it is its cosmopolitanism, assimilated into something unique to itself, that makes Stepney what it is. Variety and colour within a certain set of traditions are certainly part of it.'[8]

Stepney was originally one of the suburban hamlets lying outside the walls of the city of London to the East. It was associated with the growth of the port of London from the sixteenth century onwards, as docks extended downstream from the port. From this period onwards, the area also began to attract the successive waves of immigrants, beginning with the Huguenots and followed by the Irish, the Jews, and immigrants from the Indian sub-continent. As Chaim Bermant observes, the East End has always served as a 'point of arrival' (the title of his lively study) for newcomers. This process of succession can be seen at work in tangible form in Spitalfields, originally the centre of the Huguenot silk-weaving industry. There the church originally built for the Protestant refugees at

the corner of Fournier Street and Brick Lane ('l'Eglise Neuve') passed successively to the Methodists, at the end of the eighteenth century, and then to the Jewish community, to serve the Ashkenazim immigration in the late nineteenth century. Now the Great Synagogue, as it became, has itself become a mosque, catering for the Muslim migrants from Bangladesh.

The vast expansion of London and the development of the East End, commercially and residentially, in the first half of the nineteenth century effectively blotted out the old pattern of the area and created the visual depression and monotony that had such a strong effect on late Victorian observers. Only a few eighteenth-century buildings survived to keep company with the Hawksmoor churches: some of them (for example, those in Swedenborg Square) were reduced to an appalling state by the time they were eventually demolished. The commercial expansion was based largely on the extension of the docks that began in 1800, and by 1869 had spread down the north bank of the river as far as Millwall.[9] At the same time Commercial Road was driven through the centre of the area and land taken for the construction of railways and the Regents Canal, which cuts through the modern borough at its eastern end.

The residential redevelopment of the area was carried out largely by constructing uniform terraces of workmen's cottages, inadequately supplied with drainage and other facilities. This monotony was broken only by a few, more pretentious squares intended for the middle class, many of whom had embarked on the process of desertion from the area which by this time had become a tradition among the financially successful. Tredegar Square is a good example of this kind of housing: constructed in 1855 and modelled loosely on squares in Bloomsbury, it was already in decline by the 1880s, deserted by those for whom it was intended and going over to multi-occupation.

Into this new housing moved the workers required for the expanding commercial activities of the area—docks, engineering works, breweries and mixed industry attracted to the neighbourhood by its geographical convenience. This rapidly expanding population, supplemented by continuous Irish migration,[10] eventually attracted the attention of the first of a series of Victorian philanthropists who were to concern themselves with the condition of the East End working class.

The condition of some of the lodging houses which provided for male workers, and the general circumstances to which families were often reduced, led to attempts to devise methods of housing the working class which would provide adequate standards of accommodation and hygiene. Under the patronage of the Prince Consort, the Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Class has exhibited a model block of tenement buildings at the Great Exhibition of 1851;[11] the Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Class built some dwellings for single men and families in Albert Street in 1850.[12] In 1856 Mrs Angela

Burdett-Couts began her series of benefactions with a block in Columbia Square, and in 1862, the first Peabody Buildings were constructed, in what has been charitably described as the 'Jacobean' style, in Commercial Street.[13] From this time on, the clearance of workmen's cottages and the construction of tenements proceeded regularly, and these building operations have left a mark on the East End that has not yet been erased, and one which has a political as well as a social significance.

From the outset the tenement blocks were unpopular with locals. 'The advantages offered by model dwellings are not such as appeal directly to the imagination of the labourer', as Booth puts it[14] and elsewhere he refers to them as 'rather what can be done for the poorer people . . . than what they themselves desire'.[15] However, there were others to whom the prospect of tenement living was less unattractive. Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe, which had begun to flow again in the 1870s, suddenly became a flood, with the widespread pogroms in southern Russia in 1881-2.[16] In 1883, it was estimated that the London Jewish population was 44,000, of whom only half had been in England for ten years.[17] This migration continued throughout the eighties and was again reinforced in 1890 with the expulsion by decree of Jews from major Russian cities. This was followed in turn by an exodus of Romanian Jews in 1899-1900 and by a further series of pogroms in 1905-6.[18] By 1911 the Jewish population of Great Britain was estimated at 240,000, and the vast bulk of this migration was concentrated in East London.

The significance of this migration in terms of social conditions, and indeed political attitudes, can hardly be exaggerated. The Jewish entry into East London permanently changed the face of the area in ways that are still clearly visible. The first and most obvious of these ways was the alteration of the physical environment. As far as the housing circumstances in which they had to live are concerned, the Jews, as Leech succinctly puts it, 'inherited and suffered these conditions: they did not create them'.[19] But by virtually taking over large areas at the western end of the borough, in Whitechapel and south of Commercial Road,[20] the migrants succeeded in re-creating a good deal of the atmosphere of an Eastern European ghetto—an atmosphere commented on by all visitors to the area at this period, some hostile, like Major Evans-Gordon, and some merely curious, like Beatrice Potter (the future Beatrice Webb), who carried out an extensive investigation in 1889-90 as part of Booth's survey.

A second deep mark was left in the life of the area by the form of employment that the migrants chose to take up, and in particular the concentration in the tailoring trade (although there were, of course, other occupations, like furniture making and cobbling, for which some migrants already possessed the requisite skills and which were taken up on arrival in the East End). Sweating had existed in the tailoring industry before the arrival of the Jewish migrants, but some Jewish employers undoubtedly helped to develop the art to its ultimate pitch. The period over which

sweating flourished was a comparatively brief one,[21] but during that time it attracted a good deal of attention, including a parliamentary Committee of Inquiry.[22]

A third enduring mark left by the Jewish migration was on the political life of the area. Colin Cross observes in his study of fascism that 'a non-political form of anti-Semitism existed in the East End long before Mosley appeared there'.[23] This is a misleading oversimplification of the position. The situation in Stepney when the Jewish migrants came was one of intense poverty and poor housing conditions. These conditions attracted the attention, not only of the philanthropists who were responsible for the attempt to improve the housing conditions of the working class, but also of the pioneers of the settlement movement (Canon Barnett had founded Toynbee Hall in 1884), evangelists like General Booth, and social investigators like Charles Booth. Concern about conditions in the area was further reinforced by the revelations that were made as a result of the strikes of the Bryant & May employees, and, in particular by the Great Dock Strike of 1889. The composite picture built up from the activities of investigators and philanthropists was one of a population under very serious pressure, both economically and in terms of housing conditions. In an overwhelmingly working-class population, Booth found 35·7 per cent living in poverty (a stringently defined term). His statistical analysis was confirmed by the descriptions of other writers and novelists—Jack London, and Arthur Morrison, whose *Child of the Jago* is a particularly harrowing portrait. To some of these observers it seemed that the local population were now threatened by an influx of newcomers who competed for scarce housing, being willing to pay key money and eager to move into the despised tenements, and who undercut the indigenous worker by offering their labour at a very low price.

The history of the campaign for control of alien immigration, which culminated in the successful passage into law, at the second attempt, of the Aliens Act of 1905, has been fully reviewed elsewhere.[24] For present purposes, the relevance of this episode, which was concentrated into a relatively brief period, lies chiefly in the extent to which the proponents of restrictive legislation were able to mobilise local support, and legitimate resentments that had previously lacked a means of expression or found it only in violence.

The agitation produced, in the British Brothers' League, an organisation possessing the appearance, at least, of local support, which spent its brief life urging in the most raucous way possible the case for alien exclusion. ('We do not remember', wrote the *East London Observer*, 'any agitation fostered by greater impropriety, or one having a quicker descent to the gutter. . . .')[25] The campaign also involved an attempt to mobilise anti-alien feeling for electoral support, for the Conservative Party. There are varying estimates of the effectiveness of this attempt, of which the most convincing is Garrard's. He concludes that 'anti-alienism does not

seem to have paid very handsome electoral dividends, even under the most favourable electoral circumstances'.[26] The one by-election fought explicitly on the issue—in Mile End, in 1905—produced a sharp reduction in the Conservative majority (from 1,160 to 78); the seat fell to the Liberals in the General Election of the following year, when all but two of the eight local sitting Conservative MPs, anti-alien to a man, lost their seats.

However, some of the rationalisations produced for opposing migration took deep root in the stock of attitudes about outsiders and were to reappear in a different context. For example, the preoccupation with vice (which is often characteristic of the host society's anxieties about newcomers, particularly in relation to a predominantly male migration) appears in Evans-Gordon's summary of his case, *The Alien Immigrant:*

'It was established before the Commissioners[27] that the proportion of aliens who live by vice is inordinately high and that from one half to two thirds of this traffic in London is controlled by foreigners. . . . It was also shown that foreign prostitutes are generally more depraved than the native woman of the same class and that this corruption takes the most deleterious form. It is they who produce and perpetuate those extravagances of vice which, but for them would be hardly known in this country except to readers of Homer and Catullus.'[28]

There are allegations that were made about the Irish in their day[29] and were to be made again about other minority groups. The reaction of the migrants themselves was a relatively passive one. Local Liberal parties continued to adopt Jewish candidates—Whitechapel was represented by Samuel Montagu throughout this period—but these candidates came from outside the local community. Such organisation as did take place locally to meet the political and social problems faced by the community was of a different character: the establishment of Jewish trade unions, for example, which was largely the work of the German anarchist Rudolf Rocker, who was not himself a Jew. This experiment, which is described in detail by William Fishman,[30] was abruptly halted by reaction to the Sidney Street episode in 1911, and finally obliterated by the outbreak of the First World War. It was notable for the emphasis that Rocker placed on 'bringing about a more congenial relationship between Jewish and gentile workers', as Fishman puts it. He adds: 'The dockland slogan "No Jews allowed down Wapping" might persist. But it was the dockers of Wapping and St. George's who constituted the militant vanguard of the movement which in 1936, finally prevented the Mosleyite incursion into East London.'[31]

The First World War brought an easing of pressure on housing (the population declined by 30,367 in the decade 1911-21) and a sharp drop in the rate of unemployment; moreover, it marked the end of the period in which the Labour Party had little significance in East End politics. George

Lansbury briefly held the Bow and Bromley seat before the war before quixotically resigning it to fight a by-election on women's suffrage, which he lost. In Stepney, Clement Attlee, who had come to the area in 1907 as secretary to the Haileybury Club and had at once been fully drawn in to settlement work and philanthropic activity, stood twice without success for the borough council, and equally unsuccessfully for the Board of Guardians in Limehouse. The war marked the end of this run of failures; there were initial difficulties as a result of the separate existence of Jewish and Irish Labour parties in Whitechapel, but these were removed and after failing by eighty votes to win an LCC seat Attlee was elected to Stepney Borough Council in 1919 and at once found himself mayor. Something of the flavour of the ethnic cross-currents in local politics in this period emerges from a speech that Attlee made forty years later to the Council of Citizens of East London, when he described the borough council's composition as 'one third Jewish, one third Irish',

'The trouble with anti-Semitism, or the colour bar, or any kind of prejudice is that it always lends itself to . . . political exploitation. I have known Parliamentary seats won on that basis. I can remember that this sort of thing existed fifty years ago and I am glad to see it gradually dying down. . . . [Prejudice] sometimes arises from economic causes. That was undoubtedly the feeling fifty years ago in East London. The view was that all these people flooded in and put up the rents. Another claim is that when they come in there is a lowering of wages. I think that the Trade Unions are now strong enough to deal with that. We can prevent rents being shoved up and anything of that kind.'[32]

The steep rise in unemployment after the end of the war affected Stepney severely; Attlee, like all East End mayors, was associated with the movement for rate equalisation commonly known as 'poplarism', which was fought to a successful conclusion, largely through the willingness of Poplar borough councillors to be committed to jail rather than pay the London County Council precept. Finally, in 1922 Attlee was elected to Parliament as Member for Limehouse, a seat which he held until 1950.

Politically, then, the twenties in the East End were a period in which the Labour Party was establishing itself at local and parliamentary level. Crude anti-semitism was not much in evidence in this period, although Robb reports a slight recrudescence of feeling, associated with resentment towards foreigners immediately after the war.[33] Socially, conditions showed some improvement. The *New Survey of London Life and Labour* reported at the end of the decade:

'The appalling squalor of Charles Booth's time of the Spitalfields area . . . has since been well-nigh swept away by wholesale demolitions and rebuilding and (it is fair to add) by the replacement of Gentile by Jews,

though certain streets retain the ancient forms of poverty and degradation.'[34]

And despite improvements in Spitalfields:

'south of Commercial Road east is a region of mean streets and alleys dating from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries . . . there has been some clearance of slums but over-crowding and poverty are still characteristic of this region, the worst parts being Gill Street, Limehouse, and its immediate environs, where Chinese and other Asiatics abound. Cable Street and some of the alleys off it have an unsavoury reputation. . . .'[35]

It is against this background of poverty that the events of the thirties must be seen. In 1931, Stepney reacted to the political crisis of that year much as the rest of the country did: two of the three Labour Members lost their seats, and the borough council passed into the control of a coalition that was effectively Conservative-dominated. Such building and clearance of slum property as was taking place had to cease: there was substantial unemployment. In 1936, the infant mortality rate was at a level of 100 per 1,000.[36]

Labour had made a political recovery by the mid-thirties: the council was Labour-controlled again, and the two seats lost in 1931 (one, Whitechapel and St Georges, to a Liberal and the other, Mile End, to a Conservative) were recovered in 1935. However, there is general agreement that the council was not proving effective, even within the very narrow limits to which it was restricted, in alleviating the very considerable amount of poverty and distress in the area.[37] It was at this stage that Sir Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists decided to intervene in the area.

The importance of Mosley's intervention in determining the future development of race relations in the area cannot be overstressed. Both the impact of the campaign which he and his followers conducted and the myths and realities of the way in which that campaign was met have had a lasting importance that is still extremely relevant. The difficulty is that the conventional view of the East End's response to Mosley has tended to obscure the realities of the situation in the mid-thirties and to make the disentangling of actual events and legends particularly difficult.

Perhaps the most difficult exercise is to try to establish the extent to which Mosley actually succeeded in gathering a solid body of support. He and his assistants were comparatively late in realising their opportunity, and it was not until after Mosley had abandoned his early efforts to achieve power by quasi-reputable means—efforts which were frustrated by the general reaction to events at the Olympia Rally of 1934 and the consequent loss of support from Lord Rothermere and the *Daily Mail*—that a serious attempt was made to build up support in the area. The

Bethnal Green and Shoreditch branches were started in 1934; in October of the same year Mosley took the plunge in his Albert Hall speech and changed direction decisively towards anti-semitism. In this speech, Mosley distinguished between two types of Jew; the first were the '*little* people who can hardly speak English at all . . . this is not nearly so serious. That is due to the fact that the Liberal Government [*sic*] before the war opened the floodgates and admitted the sweepings of foreign ghettos to Great Britain.'[38] These were not the danger, he said. The chief problem lay in the 'big' Jew and his subversive influence.

With this kind of programme, Mosley and his supporters approached the East End. Although the effort was at first concentrated in Bethnal Green, where local support was quickly forthcoming and an effective propagandist discovered in Mick Clarke, considerable attention was also paid to Stepney, a borough where 45 per cent of the population was, at that stage, of Jewish origin. From the beginning the Jewish areas in the west of the borough were avoided and attempts were made to build up support in Gentile areas. The first British Union[39] branch in Stepney was opened in Limehouse, in 1936;[40] attempts were made to enlist Irish Catholic support.[41] The tone of the campaign was throughout persistently and deliberately anti-semitic. Mosley himself declared that 'East London will be asked to choose between us and the parties of Jewry'; and at a rally held on May Day 1936 in Bethnal Green he promised to deliver the East End from 'Jew infested squalor'.[42] Shortly afterwards on 8 June 1936, a large rally was held in Victoria Park, intended as a show of strength.[43]

There is evidence to show that this concentration of effort showed some results. Postwar attempts to write off East End Fascism as a function of psychological disturbance in the individuals concerned[44] or as the activities of a *lumpenproletariat* (Rose suggests that 'it is the descendants of Morrison's Jagos, forced north and east into Dalston and Bethnal Green, who are responsible for the sporadic brutalities of anti-Semitism in the East End')[45] are not convincing. Evidence on the other side comes from two sources that are not predisposed to be favourable towards fascism. The *Jewish Chronicle*, in a thoughtful analysis of the support obtained by the British Union candidates at the LCC Elections of 1937, wrote:

'There has been a combination of several types of working class element influenced by Fascism. They included some unemployed and many wives of unemployed workers. Many *lumpenproletariat*, a number of municipal workers who held a Trade Union card and were dissatisfied with conditions under a Labour Borough Council, some Catholics, many unorganised workers in small workshops and factories (such as furniture workers) costermongers and smallholders who felt that the Jews were depriving them of their livelihood and a large number of shopkeepers were all judged to have voted for the BUF. It is common knowledge that many non-Jewish traders . . . voted Fascist.'[46]

This referred mainly to Bethnal Green; but even more impressive testimony comes from Phil Piratin, who was elected in 1937 first Communist member of Stepney Borough Council, and who describes at length the composition of a British Union demonstration, which included many trade unionists.[47] It was this experience that made him feel that the Communist Party, though active among the unemployed through the National Unemployed Workers Movement, was not pursuing the right tactics in its opposition to Mosley.

A centrepiece of the postwar version of the fight against Mosley is, of course, the episode of the battle of Cable Street. The basic facts are well known. Mosley announced his intention of marching through the East End, passing through Cable Street, on Sunday 5 October 1936. On the day, 3,000 Blackshirts paraded in Royal Mint Street, in the extreme west of the borough. Altogether 6,000 police were on duty, and an autogiro was hired for the occasion. Meanwhile, Cable Street had been barricaded by a crowd among whom the Communists were prominent, and a huge crowd had gathered at Gardiner's Corner, on Mosley's direct route to Cable Street. It became clear to the Commissioner of Police, Sir Philip Game, that he would not be able to prevent rioting if Mosley were allowed to proceed with his march (which would involve clearing the barricades), and he consequently ordered Mosley to withdraw his marchers. This he did, under protest.[48] It appears to have been the pressure of the very large gathering at Gardiner's Corner, rather than the Cable Street barricades, that was the decisive factor in the situation.[49]

These simple, if dramatic events, have become overlaid by a series of heroic legends with little foundation in fact.[50] But even more important than the content of these legends has been the collectively held view that it was the East End as a whole, and not merely the Jewish element that was the ostensible object of his hostility, that threw Mosley back. This view persists strongly to this day and frequently—indeed almost invariably—invoked when questions of race relations are discussed. In his biography of Mosley, Robert Skidelsky presents a different case.[51] He argues that Mosley's campaign was based, in part at least, on the satisfaction of legitimate grievances. 'In East London', he writes, 'there was a case—and demand—for a political campaign along ethnic lines to redress the local balance of power.'[52] He buttresses his case with a number of accounts of the local situation—although, on closer examination, many of them turn out to be *ex parte* statements from Blackshirt sources, or not attributed to all; and one, from Bernard Gainer, actually refers to the situation thirty years earlier.[53] By the thirties, as the quotation from the *New Survey* suggests, conditions had changed considerably.

Skidelsky's case is weaker still when he turns to the detail of Mosley's campaign. He suggests that the street campaign, described above, 'must have brightened the pattern of a dreary existence'.[54] Since the marches that he refers to were accompanied by reassuring cries of 'The Yids, the

Yids, we've got to get rid of the Yids', it is perhaps not surprising that the local Jewish population, only a generation away from Tsarist pogroms, and 500 miles from Hitler's camps, should have found them alarming. Yet Skidelsky comments dismissively that many Jews 'read into every little injury sustained by their children a foretaste of a frightful pogrom about to descend on them'.[55]

Skidelsky is on stronger ground, however, in questioning the accuracy of some of the accounts, both contemporary and more recent, of the activities of both sides. There does seem to be little doubt that there was both exaggeration of the extent of fascist activity, and some glossing over of the motivations of those involved in confronting them. The difficulty in trying to weigh up the evidence is that accounts tend to present the local Jewish population either as a threat, or as victims; and the truth often seems to have been more complex. Even after a generation without reinforcement from outside—new migration was cut off completely by the draconian legislation passed at the outbreak of the First World War—the Jewish community remained culturally sharply distinct.[56] And although Skidelsky's suggestion that they wielded undue political power is wide of the mark, the social cohesion of the community, and the network of vigorous community organisations that had been developed were sufficient to attract jealousies. Yet these jealousies were far from providing the legitimate grounds for 'a political campaign along ethnic lines' that Skidelsky seeks. That they were at the heart of the campaign was confirmed by Charles Wegg-Prosser, one of Mosley's candidates at the LCC Elections of 1937. Commenting in retrospect on the campaign in which he was involved, he singled out this theme, and condemned its use as 'utterly irresponsible'.[57]

The most brutal verdict on Mosley's political career as a whole is that of his son, Nicholas. 'I see clearly', he wrote, 'that while the right hand dealt with grandiose ideas and glory, the left hand left the rat out of the sewer.'[58] But for the East End, the act of repulsing him, however exaggerated in detail the accounts of individual events may have been, had a value that transcended the events themselves.

Of equal, perhaps more practical significance in the longer term, were the initiatives taken locally to attack the problem of growing British Union support in certain parts of the borough. The fascists, as one member of the Communist Party put it, 'acted as a catalyst'[59] in bringing together Jews who were anxious about the growth of anti-semitism, supporters of the Popular Front particularly concerned at the successes of fascism in Spain, and prominent local personalities like Father Groser, the Warden of St Katherine's Foundation, who felt a lack of urgency on the part of the local authority in dealing with the problems of tenants. Here, an important initiative was taken locally by Stepney Communist Party under the leadership of Phil Piratin. The method Piratin chose was to select a block of tenement buildings (Fieldgate Mansions) in an area where the

inhabitants had displayed a certain friendliness towards the Communist Party in the past, without providing active support. A grievance was discovered (the fact that the landings were lit by unshielded gas flames) and a campaign successfully mounted to cope with it.[60] Profiting by analysis of the errors made during this campaign, which boiled down largely to an unwillingness to allow the tenants to organise their own campaign, the party moved on to other tenements. Protests were organised, landlords lobbied, and where necessary rent strikes took place. A Stepney Tenants' Defence League was formed, with a lecturer in estate management as secretary.[61] A deliberate attempt was made to involve tenants in those areas, like Duckett Street, where the British Union had made some progress. Alongside these other activities the British Union's attempt to obtain the support of the unemployed by paying unofficial benefit was countered by moving a branch of the National Unemployed Workers Movement into the same area. In 1937, writes Piratin,

'The mass organisation of tenants continued. Tenants' committees were set up in blocks of buildings and streets. The individual issues of the tenants were dealt with by the tenants' committees acting as a kind of shop steward's committee and dealing direct with the landlord. The tenants were gradually gaining confidence and organisational ability.'[62]

In the process the local Communist Party ceased to be a small debating society concerned with theoretical discussions of socialism and acquired a broad grounding of electoral support. Although the party still had only 500 members by 1939, the party's vote in the Spitalfields East Ward (the one in which the Communists held a seat) advanced from 13 in 1931 to 98 in 1934 and 616 in 1937. Most important of all, the party had acquired a technique of organising tenants to express their grievances effectively, in relation to both their landlords and the borough council.

This is not necessarily to suggest that the Stepney Tenants' Defence League was an entirely Communist-dominated organisation—merely that the leadership and the basic approach were Communist-inspired. To some extent, the weaknesses of the Labour Party, which held 69 of the 70 council seats, also strengthened the Communist position. Cross describes the Labour Party at this period as having failed to build up 'an industrial-political machine of the kind which guaranteed its power in other safe "Labour" areas'.[63] The failure to organise on the industrial side can be fairly simply explained by the diversity of trades and numbers of small firms in the area: the weaknesses of the Labour Party itself ran deeper.[64] In these circumstances, an alternative direction for those concerned about local conditions to take was to co-operate with the Communists in their activities outside the council.

Although a good deal of the support for the movement came from Jews (who were at this stage fairly heavily concentrated in the tenements) Jewish

landlords were among those selected for attack by rent strikes.[65] Large sums were recovered from landlords overcharging on controlled rents. With the success of the strikes attempts were made to extend the campaign by establishing a network of tenants' organisations in a national federation and by trying to involve middle-class owner-occupiers in a campaign against abuses by building societies.[66] A campaign was also organised to press for adequate deep-shelter provision for the borough. These efforts to adapt and extend the techniques first worked out at Fieldgate Mansions were cut short by the outbreak of the war: however, by 1939 Mosley and his supporters had been reduced to ineffectiveness. After their adequate showing at the LCC elections of March 1937—23 per cent of the vote was obtained in Bethnal Green North East, where the British Union candidates ran second, and 19 per cent in Stepney (Limehouse)—the British Union steadily lost support: partly as a result of the international situation, partly as a result of the curtailment of their activities brought about by the Public Order Act of 1936, but also as a result of effective countering of propaganda at street corner and house-to-house level.[67] British Union propaganda placed great stress on the fact that the East Ender was a 'forgotten man': the tenants' organisation had shown him how he could act without waiting for the authorities to remember him.

II

The Second World War marked a watershed in Stepney in more ways than one. The borough suffered severely from German bombing; a total of 10,800 dwellings were destroyed and more made uninhabitable.[68] Those of the inhabitants who stayed in the area bore this experience with what by all accounts seems to have been great courage, and in so doing added another to the list of reasons for collective pride in the locality. Of those who left, a good many never returned. In 1939 the population of the borough had been 197,200: in 1946 it was 94,800. A good deal of this loss was the direct result of the damage to property during the war, but it also seems clear that many people took the opportunity of the upheaval caused by the war to break their ties with the area. Munby reports the result of two surveys undertaken in the area: in 1943, 34 per cent of those questioned intended to move out of the area at the end of the war, and in a further investigation in 1946 a large proportion expressed a desire to move, in order to get a chance of obtaining a house with a garden.

Although the borough council had managed to resume the building of new homes in 1935 and had averaged 150 new dwellings per year from then until the war, it had always been clear that it would not be possible to rehouse all the prewar inhabitants of the borough in satisfactory circumstances. To this extent the willingness of local inhabitants to move out, either to neighbouring boroughs like Hackney or farther out to LCC overspill estates like the one in Dagenham, where Willmott found in 1958

that 46 per cent of his sample of the inhabitants were East End born, was an essential ingredient of planning policy. The major redevelopment plan that created a Stepney-Poplar comprehensive development area of 1,300 acres, which was eventually brought into effect by the LCC in 1951 under their powers under the Town and Country Planning Act, 1947, took this into account—although it was also possible to take advantage of the damage caused by bombing to industrial property to increase the area available for housing.

But although in planning terms the results have been beneficial, psychologically the effects of the drastic reduction in population have been to isolate the past behind a curtain of nostalgia, through which events can no longer be seen with any clarity. This is particularly true in relation to those who have left the area, often the younger and more successful, who felt simultaneously committed to upholding what is described as 'the Stepney tradition' and guilty at having deserted an area that justified the existence of such a tradition. Another effect has been to make those who have remained cling even more strongly to the individual elements in that tradition, and to suspect and resent outsiders who threaten or cast doubt on it.[69]

A further side-effect of the war appears to have been a renewal in growth of the coloured colony. One casualty of the war years was the Chinese colony in Pennyfields[70] at the eastern extreme of Limehouse, which was effectively bombed out and never recovered its prewar size (the remaining houses were finally demolished in 1963). However, the floating colony of coloured seamen who had settled in Canning Town at the turn of the century, which had become 200-strong by 1935,[71] survived similar dislocation by bombing and moved to the Cable Street area, where by 1943 there were 400 coloured people (mostly seamen, and among them sixty-four Indians, forty-one West Africans and ten West Indians). Indeed, it seems clear that the bombing period provided the coloured community with the opportunity to consolidate and open the cafes which simultaneously served a social function for the ethnic group concerned and provided a source of income by attracting servicemen on leave.

Banton, in his classic study *The Coloured Quarter* (the fieldwork for which was done at the beginning of the 1950s), divides the coloured settlers into four groups: the respectable workers, 'old timers', students and 'cafe society'. It is this last group that provided the focus for problems in the following years: however, it appears that the antipathy towards the various coloured groups in the host community was general and not confined to any particular segment, with the possible exception of the Maltese, who were popularly associated with brothel keeping and other forms of vice. If hostility did not reach the pitch it had done immediately before and after the First World War, when there was an outbreak of rioting,[72] there was on the other hand no question of acceptance on the part of the host community. The vast majority of those immigrants who

were not seamen (75 per cent of West Africans and 65 per cent of West Indians) were to be found in unskilled or semi-skilled work. Such outside provision as was made for the welfare of the newcomers was by the Colonial Office (whose hostel, Colonial House, was opened in 1942) and by certain local religious organisations, notably the Anglican Society of St Francis who ran a hostel from immediately after the war in Cable Street: to a large extent the community was left to its own devices. An American Negro, Roi Ottley, visiting Cable Street at this period, described it as worse than any Negro ghetto in the United States—although his account is demonstrably exaggerated.[73]

However, the incipient issue of the growth of the coloured settlement at the end of the war was overshadowed by the far more dramatic difficulties facing the borough as the authorities prepared for the task of postwar reconstruction. East London, like the rest of the country, showed a sharp swing to the left at the General Election of July 1945; in the case of Stepney this involved the return of two Labour Members (one of them the new prime minister) and of one Communist, Phil Piratin, who was returned for Mile End.[74] This Communist gain was partly a reflection of the work done by the party before the war and stemmed partly from the general impatience felt at this period with the prewar establishment, which in this particular case was represented by the Stepney Labour Party.[75]

The advance of the Communist Party was confirmed at the borough council elections of November 1945, when the party won all the ten seats it contested. There is evidence that the Communists were themselves surprised by the extent of their success and later regretted not having contested more seats.[76] In the following year the Communists also won the two Mile End LCC seats, and in 1947 two borough council by-elections,[77] bringing their total local strength up to one Member of Parliament, two LCC councillors and twelve borough councillors.

The electoral rise of the Communist Party ensured that the subject of race relations was a constant feature of council agendas and debate in the columns of the local press: however, the context in which race relations were discussed was that of anti-semitism. The Communist Party was a predominantly Jewish party: this was implicit in the nature of its growth as a reaction to the activities of Mosley. Although its social composition was surprisingly varied (an analysis made by the party itself showed that 26 per cent of the membership were housewives, 29 per cent worked in the clothing trade, 6 per cent were clerical workers, 5 per cent electrical and engineering workers, 5 per cent civil servants and local government employees and 3 per cent building workers)[78] the ethnic composition was not—nine out of the twelve councillors elected to the borough council bore recognisably Jewish names.

The preoccupation of the Communist Party with anti-semitism was expressed in two ways: first, in relation to the tentative revival of prewar

fascism; and second, and increasingly, in allegations that anti-semitism was also to be found in the local Labour Party.

Whatever the justification in these allegations—this is ground obscured rather than illuminated by four years of intensely partisan debate—there is little doubt that the Labour Party was not in good condition to face a challenge from the left.[79]

One observer has described the local Labour Party during the postwar period as dominated by 'intense and all-pervading parochialism': he goes on to point to the 'prevalence of dynastic arrangements and of the concomitant feuds and cliques', which he relates to the strong family and kinship ties observed in East End communities by social investigators.[80] A former member of the council goes further: the party, as such, she argues, never existed—the democratic infrastructure which exists even in token form in the most decayed Labour parties has not been brought into existence in the East End.

In addition, the ethnic cross-currents (a large part, though not a majority of the Stepney Labour Party was Irish in origin in this period), embittered relationships between the Labour Party and the Communists and created an atmosphere in which local Labour leaders came automatically to assume a defensive and negative attitude on all matters concerned with race relations which the local Members did nothing to soften. Attlee, who was one of them, was clearly unable to involve himself in these issues, and Walter Edwards, who inherited the single constituency created in the redistribution of 1950, retained a seat on the council and as an alderman was very much involved in local Labour politics and the manoeuvring of factions that went with them.

All this helps to explain why, although activities of the Communist Party in the first council after the war (1945-9) ensured that a good deal of attention was paid to anti-semitism and fascism, the question of the welfare of the local coloured community attracted only peripheral attention from the council. In 1946, the medical officer of health drew the attention of the council to the 'increasing number of coloured men, particularly coloured seamen, who by reason of the industrial and riverside character of the Borough find their way into Stepney' and to the 'marked lack of lodging facilities available for them' which 'forced them to resort to undesirable establishments'.[81] The council resolved to bring the matter to the attention of the Colonial Office. In 1947, a more serious problem presented itself for the first time, in the form of a deputation complaining about conditions in Cable Street. This question was to form one main focus for political debate about minorities in the borough. Mr C. Bird, leading this delegation, 'had heard it said that this was a fight against "gentlemen of a particular colour" but that this was not so, as [he] had had personal experience with them for a great number of years and he and his colleagues appreciated that—as with all men—there were good bad and indifferent'. But he added that 'resident in this part of Cable Street a

particular kind were having a bad influence . . . and that this type ought to be moved from the Borough altogether'.[82]

But the council, after reference to the Colonial Office, eventually concluded that 'it would be wrong to hold out any hope that any proposals for redevelopment in the Cable Street area are likely to be dealt with, by the Council at any rate, in the near future'.[83] This statement, in various forms, was to be repeated at intervals over the following dozen years.

The borough council elections of 1949 administered a sharp check to Communist aspirations and considerably altered the tone of local politics. Although the Communists made some scattered gains, their representation was reduced from twelve to nine and confined to two wards in Whitechapel (East and Mid) and one in Mile End (West), all four seats in Spitalfields being lost. The decline in their fortunes was confirmed at the General Election of February 1950 when Piratin, contesting the redistributed seat of Stepney, was pushed into third place by the Conservative candidate and barely saved his deposit.[84] Shortly afterwards he was successfully sued for slander by a Hackney police inspector and bankrupted.[85] The next blow to Communist ambitions occurred in June, immediately after the outbreak of the Korean War, when at a by-election resulting from the retirement of a Communist councillor in Mile End the Communists failed by six votes to hold the seat. Finally, and most decisively, at the borough council elections of 1953 the Communists lost every seat that they held. 'Stalin is dead in Moscow; Communism is dying in Stepney',[86] observed the local paper; or, as the local Member of Parliament, Walter Edwards, preferred to put it at the inaugural meeting of the new council, it was 'the first time since 1937 when there will not be a mare's nest of Communism in the Council'.[87] The defeat of the Communists ended a period when the issues of housing and race relations (construed in terms of anti-semitism) were pursued vigorously, but essentially in terms defined by the debates of the thirties. But the departure of the Communists from the council chamber did not close the issues that had been opened by the deputation that had vainly urged the issue of Cable Street on the council's attention. On the contrary, as the 'cafe society' element in the coloured community consolidated itself, the number of clubs and brothels in the Cable Street area, in both of which activities sections of the coloured and Maltese population were involved, increased. This increase was to exercise a powerful, and at several stages a dominating influence on the political and social life of the neighbourhood.

Among the first of those to attempt to explore the issues involved in these developments were people working in settlement and welfare and educational organisations in the borough. For instance, in November 1954 Basil Henriques, the warden of the Bernhard Baron Settlement, drew attention to 'the large migration of people from the West Indies, East Africa, India, Cyprus, and Malta' who 'have attracted to Commercial Road and to the streets east of it an army of prostitutes who leave them no

peace'. He emphasised that the Colonial Office failed to provide hostel accommodation, with the result that they 'have nothing to do but haunt the cafes'.[88] This was putting the case in an extreme form; the growth in the number of clubs from 1954 onwards provides more objective evidence of a deteriorating situation.

Although Henriques and those like him had in many cases been residents of the borough for decades, they still received the kind of response from the council that is automatically attracted by outsiders seeking to intervene in what are regarded as essentially local matters. But this desire to damp the issue down did not go unchallenged. Since their electoral defeats, the basis of Communist tactics had changed. Instead of trying to dislodge the majority party by winning control of the council, as the leadership in the immediate postwar period had attempted to do, and deploying in the process a whole range of criticisms, some unrelated to local circumstances,[89] the line became one of concentrating on local issues and grievances, working where possible through tenants' and residents' associations, and of organising those affected to cope with them, on a similar footing to the prewar party. An attempt would be made to regain council seats, but the party was prepared to reconcile itself to minority status and would attempt to establish a *modus vivendi* with the Labour group. Several of the members of the immediate postwar Communist group left the area at this stage, and the change of leadership that resulted from this working of the processes of mobility made the tactical readjustment easier. At the same time, an issue arose which provided the opportunity for testing out this approach.

In September 1955, a prominent local Conservative, E. J. Emden, raised through the local press the question of the control of coloured immigration, linking it to housing conditions in the borough. Historically, the local Conservative Party had been based on the brewing interest and fortified by an anti-alien campaign that had obtained a considerable amount of local working-class support. But its period of direct influence on local politics had ended in the mid-thirties; and after the Second World War support had declined locally to a point where a Conservative candidate at a council by-election had polled only 19 votes out of nearly 400 cast.[90] Conservative candidates ran behind the Communists at every LCC election after the war. Emden's intervention did not imply a major departure in local political debate—nor was the issue yet one to command any significant attention at national level—but his letters and the response they attracted did begin the process of setting a new context for the discussion of race relations.

The period of local political torpor was also ending. At the borough council elections of 1956, internal tensions within the council suddenly emerged into the open, and seven Independent Labour councillors were elected. Moreover, four Communists were returned—three in Whitechapel and one in Mile End. A politically significant local opposition therefore

existed, when the issue of prostitution and disreputable clubs and cafes (often catering for businessmen from the adjacent City) emerged again with a speech by Miss Edith Ramsay to an audience of the East London Teachers' Association which the reporter described as visibly shocking her audience.[91] Miss Ramsay, who was subsequently to be described by Baroness Ravensdale in the House of Lords in perhaps not the happiest of terms as 'The Florence Nightingale of the Brothels', had lived in the borough for forty years and was concerned for most of that time with adult education. During the war and immediately afterwards she had done a good deal of work with West African and Somali seamen: she also served two terms on the borough council as a Labour member (1945-52). Her knowledge of, and sense of identity with, the area were extremely strong, but she had been frozen out of the Labour Party, apparently on the grounds of her criticism of the local authority's housing policy. She followed this speech, which provoked considerable press coverage both nationally and locally, by standing for the council at a by-election. Despite her narrow defeat (she lost by thirty-two votes), her intervention forced the council to agree to raise the matter with the Home Office, and the Member to bring it up in the House on the adjournment, and take the unusual step of appealing to the Home Office spokesman who was to reply to the debate to tell the House that the borough council had done all that it could, despite allegations by local Communists and Independent Labour members of the council. He was promised that the police would do all that they could to keep matters under control.[92]

The subsequent debate, local and national, passed through two phases. The first centred on the Wolfenden Report, which was published in September 1958, and the subsequent debate on the Street Offences Bill. A vigorous campaign, based chiefly on petitioning and lobbying the local authority, was conducted by an anti-vice committee containing representatives of the dissident Labour councillors, local notables and the Communists. Their difficulties in ensuring that their campaign was not construed as being directed against the coloured community as a whole were compounded by the contemporaneous outbreaks of violence in Nottingham and Notting Dale; in two successive statements, the Communist councillor who acted as chairman of the committee underlined the point, indicating on the second occasion that 'On this committee we have two coloured people who serve as enthusiastically as any of us. And we would not countenance any action which turned the edge of hatred of vice against innocent coloured people.'[93]

The local Member, Walter Edwards, was less scrupulous. He supported the Bill enthusiastically in the House against the efforts of some of his women colleagues to amend it in order to give some protection in law to prostitutes with only one conviction,[94] and also gave his encouragement to Norman Pannell in his attempt to secure powers to deport Commonwealth citizens living on immoral earnings, which the government now opposed.

Speaking 'on behalf of respectable working class women in Stepney' he urged the House to 'look after minorities that have a good case'.[95] On the Third Reading he referred to the need for control of immigration and the deteriorating local situation and later added: 'We had to try to explain to our own people that these people had done nothing wrong in coming to this country. Whether their skin was black or white was not their fault.'[96]

With the passing of the Street Offences Bill the first phase of the campaign against vice and prostitution ended. It was reopened by a series of revelations made by Lord Stonham in a motion on the registration of clubs, debated in the House of Lords in June 1960. Referring to the background, he observed:

'There is work for [coloured immigrants], and although in this badly bombed area the housing shortage is desperate there is no reason to think that they will not be absorbed into the life of the Borough. Before the war prostitution in Stepney was almost unknown, and the advent of coloured men is not responsible for the situation which now exists, although, of course, it underlines its gravity.'[97]

He went on to outline the growth in the number of clubs—thirty-two more had opened in 1959 alone—and the ease with which they could be reopened if they were closed. Baroness Ravensdale added a personal account of a tour of the clubs, describing the clients of the prostitutes as 'mostly coloured, pouring in like ants'.[98] The Lord Chancellor, replying to the debate, could do no more than point to the difficulty of providing a definition that would distinguish between *bona fide* and bogus clubs, and promise that the problem would receive close examination.

This stage in the debate was notable for the part played by Father Joseph Williamson, the Vicar of St Paul's, Dock Street,[99] who was subsequently described by Elizabeth Burney in her study of local housing problems as 'the histrionic and determined Anglican priest who became a national figure in his publicity efforts'.[100] The passionate terms in which he presented his case against the clubs, and the exploitation of young girls that went with it, contrasted sharply with the more restrained approach employed in the earlier stages of the campaign: it also threatened at times to cut across the efforts being made by others in Stepney concerned with the general housing problems of the area and the specific difficulties posed by the large tenement blocks, which are without adequate amenities but whose structural soundness keeps them outside the statutory definition of slum property.

This campaign, in which many of the individuals prominent in the earlier episode (including Miss Ramsay) also featured, became explicitly entangled in the debate about the control of immigration from the Commonwealth, which had by this time become a major national issue.[101] Some of the campaigners welcomed this association; others, the Com-

munists prominent among them, rejected it. Although the government's eventual decision in 1961 to legislate to introduce controls attracted some controversy, it was in general greeted with relief, and had the effect of steering the discussion away from the vice question and problems of immigration, as such, towards the housing issue and the particular problem of the future of Cable Street. Under the stimulus of publicity, the LCC had capitulated, and accepted responsibility for redeveloping Cable Street, the focus of the campaign. An LCC official told the subsequent public inquiry that the object of the Council's action was 'to secure the removal of old properties in the area, the continued existence of which has given rise to the unsavoury conditions which have been the subject of so much criticism and publicity in recent years. Nothing but complete clearance and rehousing of all the occupants will effectively secure this'.[102] The LCCs attitude, like that of Williamson and his fellow campaigners, displays (as Burney rightly points out) 'a rather naive equation of physical and moral dirt'.[103] Furthermore, some of the campaigners seem to have been curiously unsophisticated about what the consequences of success in obliterating the older property would be. When the GLC, as the LCCs successor after 1965, eventually came to rehouse immigrants displaced as a result of clearance schemes, 'a good deal of hostility' was expressed. Burney comments: 'Apparently the people who had campaigned about slums of vice and violence had not realised that clearance of the slums meant that at least some of the inhabitants would be rehoused by the Council, even some of those they disapproved of.'[104] But, in the terms in which it had been defined, the campaign could be said to have achieved its objective—although the physical obliterations of Cable Street had to wait until long after the period under review here.

The differences in approach and tactics between the agitation of 1957-8 and that of 1960-1 were considerable. The organisers of the first campaign were careful not to identify coloured people or Maltese as such, except when it was essential to do so, and tried to ensure the participation of a number of coloured residents in the campaign. The organisers, and in particular the Communist Party element, were aware of the danger of the campaign getting out of hand and being directed too broadly against the local coloured population; they had decided to 'lance the boil'[105] by directing the agitation against the local authority (an easily defined target) and to a lesser extent the government. The controlling Labour group on the council, caught by surprise and in the throes of an internal power struggle, at first reacted defensively and only later managed to divert the campaign against the government.

In 1960-1 the campaigners were much more prepared to define the problem as one involving immigrants. Summing up in his parish magazine, the *Pilot*, Father Williamson wrote: 'The situation has been made far worse by the numbers of coloured people who have moved into the area. . . .' and 'it is a fact that most of the bad cafes and clubs that have

been opened in the area in the past few years are owned by Maltese, Somalis, Cypriots, West Indians, and other immigrants'.[106]

In the tenser atmosphere immediately after the disturbances at Notting Dale it would not have been so easy to define the problem in such stark terms. On the second occasion, the borough council also reacted much more flexibly: there were no accusations of 'cashing in', a conference was held to discuss the situation, and the responsibility for the situation was diverted to the LCC, where the Labour group were particularly vulnerable to pressure in the middle of a delicate election campaign. Finally, by 1961 the minority itself had changed in character. The collection of small fringe groups that had made up 'cafe society' were being rapidly superseded by a substantial migration from East Pakistan (subsequently to become Bangladesh). This newer group corresponded far more closely to the classical pattern of previous migrations.

These newcomers of the late fifties and early sixties entered a borough which had substantially changed since the war. Stepney remained as overwhelmingly working class in social composition as ever, but the decline in population continued, with a particularly high rate of mobility in the intercensal period 1951-61. A great many of those departing were the successful, Jewish small businessmen who provided an important social element in the prewar borough. Leftwich was only one of many observers who noted the displacement of Jews by the newcomers:

'The greater part of the Jewish population of East London [he wrote] has gone to live elsewhere; many have been pushed out by lack of housing. Not only Jews have gone. Their non-Jewish neighbours, English and Irish, have also moved. Indians and Negroes occupy many of the derelict houses, coloured people, West Indians and West Africans. You see turbans in the street where once Jews carried their prayer shawls to synagogue.'[107]

A little later, Ashley Smith, commenting on matters of movement and displacement, claimed that there had been a dispersal of younger people and a concentration of the old, but that the most noticeable thing was that the middle-aged were missing.[108]

III

'Stepney has not failed in its traditional tolerance', commented Miss Ramsay in her discussion of the immigration question in 1962.[109] With some qualifications, that verdict can stand, at least for the period up to 1964. Confronted with the evidence of the very real grievances of the local inhabitants in terms of environment and housing conditions, the outside observer is bound to ask why this should have been so, when in other areas grievances of lesser weight provoked violent expressions of hostility towards coloured scapegoat groups. The traditional explanation is in

terms of a tradition of the acceptance of diversity in the area which, it is suggested, is common to most port towns with substantial immigrant settlement. Yet the tradition, as this chapter has set out to show, has by no means always been one of acceptance. The East Londoners who rioted against Irish labour in the mid eighteenth century, joined the British Brothers' League and agitated against 'alien Jewish migration' at the beginning of the twentieth century, or sympathised with the Blackshirts in the thirties, were in each case a substantial minority—large enough, perhaps, for one to postulate the existence of a tradition of intolerance.

The crucial point is the extent to which feelings of suspicion and hostility towards outsiders, which are likely to occur in a closely knit urban community based on strong ties of kinship are freely expressed or translated into behaviour. The service that Mosley did for the East End was that he made the open expression of prejudice and hostility towards scapegoats from a minority group illegitimate. The failure of his attempt to exploit anti-semitism as a political weapon and the reactions set off by that attempt are still crucial factors in race relations in the area. These factors have made it impossible for extreme opponents of coloured immigration to express their views effectively in public: the generally accepted version of events before the war effectively inhibits them from doing so and provides a ready riposte to use on anyone who breaks the taboo.

If Mosley rendered the East End a service in a negative sense, the Communist Party did so positively. Mosley made it impossible for felt resentments to be expressed at the expense of scapegoats; the Communist Party was instrumental in first providing alternative channels for the expression of those resentments, both verbally and in action. The techniques that Piratin and the Stepney Tenants' Defence League stumbled on in the late thirties were adapted to good purpose to the situation in the fifties and early sixties. Curiously, the moment when this approach appears to have been least effective was at the moment of the Communist Party's maximum political advance, in conventional political terms. It is also fair to add that the organisations established for the expression of particular grievances did not often survive the meeting of these grievances. Their defensive character, and the difficulty of welding similar organisations with disparate objectives into an effective federal organisation, were causes of anxiety to Communist Party tacticians, who would have preferred to see these organisations fulfil a positive educational role and attempt to influence official policy in constructive ways (for example, to intervene in public inquiries about housing and participate in debates about the desirability of constructing high-rise blocks of flats). Yet in some senses the strength of these organisations lies in the single-mindedness of their reaction to the stimulus of an actual situation.

In choosing to launch an 'anti-vice' campaign, both the Communist Party and those local figures who joined the campaign—and who made

their own substantial contribution, then and subsequently, towards maintaining stability locally—were taking something of a risk. Given that there was undoubtedly some involvement by coloured people from 'cafe society' in the activities against which the campaign was directed, the dangers of scapegoating the whole black and brown population were never far away. The Notting Dale incidents during the first phase of the campaign were a sharp reminder of that risk: the sometimes overheated rhetoric of Father Williamson, which came near the acceptable limits during the second stage of the campaign—what could be called the post-Wolfenden phase—was another. In this sense, the third of the three major campaigns run by the Communist Party after their revival from their 1953 election defeat, the agitation against the conditions of families in the remaining tenement blocks was both the safest and the most in line with the pioneering approach of the prewar local party. Yet, in another sense, the involvement of the Communist Party in the campaign to 'clean up' Stepney made good tactical sense. It brought it together with a very wide spectrum of influential opinion locally—even, ultimately and grudgingly, the Labour Party. And by confronting, however obliquely, the anxieties associated with immigration and debating them in public, the campaigners and their allies, of all shades of opinion, ensured that the accusation that the issue had been 'swept under the carpet', which is so frequent at about this time in other areas affected by immigration, could not be made in this case. Furthermore, this could be done in such a way as to be consistent with the ethics of resistance to intolerance, incarnated in Mosley and his Blackshirts: the terms of debate were not set by the opponents of immigration, as they were in the west midlands, for example.

In one sense, the period between the end of the Second World War and the disappearance of the old Borough of Stepney into the London Borough of Tower Hamlets in 1965 had been an interlude. As in the thirties, the area ceased for a time to perform its traditional function of entry port for the reception of newcomers. Instead, the existing minorities were gradually assimilated into the complex mosaic of existing local society. In both cases, the process generated tensions that were exacerbated by external events. But the most important development of the postwar years, behind the headlines about vice, was the form taken by the provision of new housing to replace the gaps left by the destruction of Hitler's bombers and make good the neglect of the interwar years. The new East End of council estates, built by both borough and LCC largely in the form of tower blocks, has its manifold deficiencies, physical, social and aesthetic. Moreover, even after thirty years of activity, there are still pockets of the kind of appalling physical squalor once dramatised by the excesses of 'cafe society'. But the general result of this process, is that Stepney is demonstrably a different place both in appearance and to a great extent in terms of population. New building has not halted the steady exodus of

population since the war. Yet the area still preserves a continuity with the Stepney that existed before the war—a continuity in which the concept of tolerance (if not always the reality) plays a significant part.

In the decade since the reform of London government further symptoms of stress have come to the surface. One is familiar: the serious difficulties encountered by the latest—perhaps the last—of the migrations from overseas, the Bangladeshis; the second, and less predictable, has been the problems encountered in making the adjustment to life on the new council estates. Like the nineteenth-century model tenements observed by Booth, the form of new housing provided has often turned out in practice not to appeal to those for whom it was intended.

It remains to be seen whether the area can evolve the means to cope with these problems. In an unusually perceptive review of the situation in the borough at the end of 1972 a journalist, Paul Harrison—whose work is the antithesis of the hit-and-run 'vice' stories with which the area was afflicted in the previous decade—suggests some possible answers. He reviews the growth of various new forms of activity locally, the Claimants' Union, Tenants' Associations, and a Family Squatting Advisory Service—the characteristic organisations of the seventies. But he does so without any reference to the local past history of political activities in these areas; indeed, Harrison concludes: 'it is clear that the self help groups can act as a kind of extra-parliamentary opposition—a means to express people's needs and demands that can be a more effective conveyor of information than the token presence of one or two opposition councillors'.[110] This constitutes an unflattering verdict (the more so because apparently unconscious) on nearly thirty years of Communist (and Independent) activity on the council.

Like other commentators, Harrison is also more directly critical of the Labour majority on the council, though without going as far as Angus Buchanan ten years earlier, who dismissed the local party as 'obsessively parochial, clique-ridden, elderly and lacking in democratically-trained, articulate leaders'.[111] The distrust of outsiders, extending even to those clergy and residents in the local settlements, who have maintained yet another tradition, of the middle-class idealists anxious to make a contribution to the relief of social problems in the East End, was a constant theme. So was the unwillingness to admit that local attitudes or institutions could be at fault in any way, especially in a field like race relations. And on particular issues there were clearly deficiencies in leadership, which were painfully shown up by the nature of this problem. However, the peculiar character of the local party has its strengths as well as its weaknesses. The 'closely knit web of relationships in the political organisation of the Borough'[112] to which Buchanan refers is the chief example; the carrying over into the political arena of the family and kinship ties that characterise the neighbourhood generally guarantees a cohesion that provides stability and reduces the risk of being stampeded

into overtly hostile action against minorities. The other side of the coin can be glimpsed, in the sectarianism which was the defensive aspect of this solidarity and showed itself in the struggle with the Communist Party in the forties and early fifties: but this extreme defensiveness did not reappear to the same extent when the race-relations issue emerged at the end of the fifties. However, in the last analysis the chief part of the credit for the turning of the anxieties that manifested themselves when the race issue arose into positive channels, and for evoking concern and action on the part of those affected should go to the residents, tenants, parents and teachers and other *ad hoc* organisations; theirs is the vitality that has preserved the continuity at a time of drastic change that is Stepney's hallmark.

CHAPTER 7: NOTES

1 I. Katznelson, 'The politics of racial buffering in Nottingham, 1954-1968', *Race,* vol. XI (1970), p. 431. He has since expanded on this theme in his *Black Men, White Cities* (Oxford, 1973).

2 As the present writer did. It is invidious to single out individuals when so many people gave up time to helping me; but I must make exceptions for Miss Edith Ramsay and Father Kenneth Leech, whose assistance was invaluable. I am also grateful to Professor Asa Briggs for his help with the work on which this essay is based, and to Mr Colin Holmes for his helpful comments on the draft.

3 All these—and others besides—were admirably demonstrated in the Whitechapel Gallery's exhibition 'This Is Whitechapel', in the summer of 1972.

4 Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London* (London, 1902-4), Vol. 3, p. 58.

5 Walter Besant, *All Sorts and Conditions of Men* (London, 1924).

6 Chaim Bermant, *Point of Arrival: A Study of London's East End* (London, 1975), p. 89.

7 Especially, of course, the investigations of the Institute for Community Studies, particularly Michael Young and Peter Wilmott, *Family and Kinship in East London* (London, 1957) as well as Peter Townsend, *The Family Life of Old People* (London, 1957) and Peter Wilmott *Adolescent Boys of East London* (London, 1966).

8 D. L. Munby, *Industry and Planning in Stepney* (London, 1951), p. 2.

9 Millicent Rose, *The East End of London* (London, 1951), p. 105. The full implications of these developments are explored in Gareth Stedman Jones, *Outcast London* (Oxford, 1971).

10 K. Leech, 'The decay of Spitalfields', *East London Papers,* vol. 7 (1964), pp. 57-62.

11 Rose, op. cit., p. 252.

12 *Survey of London,* Vol. XXVII, ed. F. H. W. Sheppard (London, 1957), p. 11, and Leech, op. cit., p. 10.

13 *Survey,* loc. cit., p. 11.

14 Booth, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 80.

15 ibid., Vol. 3, p. 177.

16 L. P. Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870-1914* (London, 1960), p. 41.

17 ibid.

18 ibid., p. 47.

19 Leech, op. cit., p. 61.

20 See the map reproduced in Gartner, op. cit., and Booth, op. cit., p. 80.
21 P. G. Hall, 'The East London footwear industry: an industrial quarter in decline', *East London Papers,* vol. 5 (1962), pp. 3-21.
22 *The House of Lords Select Committee on the Sweating System,* British Parliamentary Papers 1888, XX, XXI; 1889, XIII, XIV; 1890, XVII.
23 Colin Cross, *The Fascists in Britain* (London, 1961), p. 150.
24 Most recently, and fully, in Bernard Gainer, *The Alien Invasion* (London, 1972).
25 Bermant, op. cit., p. 143.
26 J. A. Garrard, *The English and Immigration, 1880-1910* (London, 1971), p. 74.
27 That is, the members of the 1903 Royal Commission on Alien Immigration.
28 W. E. Evans-Gordon, *The Alien Immigrant* (London, 1903), p. 263. The issue is put into perspective in Gartner, op. cit., pp. 183-6.
29 See Roy Jenkins, *Mr Attlee* (London, 1948), p. 58.
30 William J. Fishman, *East End Jewish Radicals 1875-1914* (London, 1975).
31 ibid., p. 300.
32 Typescript of speech by Lord Attlee to Council of Citizens of East London (November 1956).
33 J. H. Robb, *Working Class Anti-Semite* (London, 1954), p. 205.
34 *New Survey of London Life and Labour,* ed. Llewellyn Smith (London, 1930-5), Vol. 3, p. 140.
35 ibid., p. 353.
36 From *Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health for Stepney* (London, 1948).
37 Interview with Arnold Shaw, MP, 23 January 1967.
38 Cross, op. cit., p. 127.
39 The term 'fascist' tended to be avoided by the movement and its supporters in the later thirties when the term had acquired undesirable overtones.
40 Cross, op. cit., p. 151.
41 ibid., p. 142.
42 W. F. Mandle, *Anti-Semitism and the BUF* (London, 1968), p. 50.
43 R. J. Benewick, *Political Violence and Public Order* (London, 1969), p. 298.
44 The overall theme of Robb, op. cit.
45 Rose, op. cit., p. 266.
46 *Jewish Chronicle,* 16 April 1937.
47 P. Piratin, *Our Flag Stays Red* (London, 1948), p. 18.
48 This account is based largely on Cross, op. cit., p. 160.
49 J. Groser, *Politics and Persons* (London, 1949), p. 72.
50 See especially the account by Arnold Wesker in his play *Chicken Soup with Barley* (Harmondsworth, 1959).
51 Robert Skidelsky, *Oswald Mosley* (London, 1975).
52 ibid., p. 391.
53 ibid., p. 394.
54 ibid., p. 404.
55 ibid., p. 398.
56 Autobiographical and fictional accounts exist in profusion: for example, E. Litvinoff, 'Life Class' in *Penguin Modern Stories 2* (Harmondsworth, 1969).
57 In 'Fall Like Lucifer' (BBC Television programme, 5 August 1975).
58 Skidelsky, op. cit., p. 512.
59 Interview with Councillor Solly Kaye, 20 January 1967.
60 Piratin, op. cit., p. 35.
61 ibid., p. 38.
62 ibid., p. 39.
63 Cross, op. cit., p. 150.
64 See below, pp. 172-3.
65 Groser, op. cit.
66 Piratin, op. cit., p. 43.

67 I have not been able to find any evidence to support Skidelsky's description of Mosley's claim that the British Union was stronger in 1939 than at any previous time as 'plausible' (p. 332).
68 Munby, op. cit., p. 85.
69 Or so A. Smith argues in his *The East Enders* (London, 1961), especially p. 33.
70 This street is actually in Poplar.
71 Michael Banton, *The Coloured Quarter* (London, 1955), p. 34.
72 Bermant, op. cit., p. 192.
73 Roi Ottley, *No Green Pastures* (London, 1952).
74 The actual result was: Piratin (CP) 5,075; Frenkel (Lab) 3,861; Solomon (C) 1,722.
75 Interview with Arnold Shaw, MP, 23 January 1967.
76 Interview with Shaw, 23 January 1967.
77 In Spitalfields East and Spitalfields West.
78 *East London Advertiser,* 11 April 1947. Although the analysis is not complete there is a remarkable absence of dock workers in these figures. It may be significant that all observers [illegible] agreed that a Jewish dockworker is [illegible] very rare (if not non-existent) bird.
79 Interview with Shaw, 23 January 1967.
80 A. Buchanan, 'East End politics', *Socialist Commentary* (March 1961), pp. 14-15.
81 *Council Minutes,* 17 July 1946.
82 ibid., 29 October 1947.
83 ibid., 18 March 1948.
84 The result was: Edwards (Lab) 33,475; Solomon (C) 6,238; Piratin (CP) 5,991; Maynard (Lib) 2,105.
85 *East London Advertiser,* 9 May 1950.
86 ibid., 13 March 1953.
87 ibid., 15 May 1953.
88 *East End News,* 19 November 1954.
89 The peace petition campaign, for example. The squatter campaign, in which local Communists were heavily involved in 1947-8, took place outside the borough.
90 In St George's NE.
91 *East London Advertiser,* 22 February 1957.
92 *Parliamentary Debates,* vol. 573 (1957), cols 1301-5.
93 *East London Advertiser,* 31 October 1958.
94 He voted in the (Conservative) Government lobby [illegible] an Amendment to this effect.
95 *Parliamentary Debates,* vol. 604 (1959), col. 426.
96 *East London Advertiser,* 1 May 1959.
97 *Parliamentary Debates* (House of Lords), vol. 224 (1960), col. 237.
98 ibid., col. 244.
99 Which leads off the extreme western end of Cable Street.
100 Elizabeth Burney, *Housing on Trial* (London, 1967), p. 105.
101 ibid., p. 107.
102 For [illegible] fuller treatment, see N. D. Deakin, 'The immigration issue in British politics (1948-1964)' (DPhil Sussex, 1972). Also Paul Foot, *Immigration and Race in British Politics* (Harmondsworth, 1965).
103 ibid., p. 105.
104 ibid., p. 96.
105 Interview with Solly Kaye, 20 January 1967.
106 J. Williamson, *Father Joe* (London, 1967), pp. 135-6.
107 J. Leftwich, *Israel Zangwill* (London, 1957), p. 39.
108 Smith, op. cit., p. 102.
109 In *East London Papers,* vol. 6 (1963), p. 110.
110 Paul Harrison, 'Tower Hamlets: a social services [illegible] study', *New Society,* 7 December 1972, p. 574.
111 Buchanan, op. cit., p. 15.
112 ibid., p. 14.

Select Bibliography

It would be impracticable to provide an exhaustive list of items relating to immigrants and minorities in Britain. First of all, attention is drawn to sources which are generally useful for the understanding of such matters. This is subdivided into published and unpublished material. The second part of the bibliography does not attempt to duplicate the detailed references given in Part II of the book, but lists a number of works which are crucial for an understanding of the themes which have been studied. The final section is concerned with bibliographical guides and reference sources.

1 STUDIES OF IMMIGRANTS AND MINORITIES

Among published works which consider the history of minorities, Karl Heinrich Schaible, *Geschichte der Deutschen in England von den ersten germanischen Ansiedlungen in Britannien bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Strassburg, 1885) is useful on the Germans. J. A. Jackson, *The Irish in Britain* (London, 1963) refers to the Irish minority. Paul Hyams, 'The Jewish minority in medieval England, 1066-1290', *Journal of Jewish Studies,* vol. XXV (Summer 1974) and Cecil Roth, *A History of the Jews in England* (Oxford, 1941) both cover wide sweeps of history. Blacks in Britain are considered in K. Little, *Negroes in Britain: A Study of Racial Relations in English Society* (London, 1947 and 1972), James Walvin, *Black and White: The Negro in English Society 1555-1945* (London, 1973) and F. O. Shyllon, *Black Slaves in Britain* (London, 1974). Books on the recent experience of 'coloured' immigrants in Britain are legion, among which the following might be mentioned: A. H. Richmond, *Colour Prejudice in Britain: A Study of West Indian Workers in Liverpool, 1941-1951* (London, 1954), J. Rex and R. Moore, *Race, Community and Conflict: A Study of Sparkbrook* (London, 1967); *Justice First,* ed. L. Donnelly (London, 1969): *Colour and Citizenship,* ed. E. J. B. Rose *et al* (London, 1969); Sheila Allen, *New Minorities, Old Conflicts: Asian and West Indian Migrants to Britain* (New York, 1971); I. Katznelson, *Black Men, White Cities* (London, 1973); C. Mullard, *Black Britain* (London, 1973); (see also under section on 'immigrants and minorities in London'). Other minorities are studied in: J. Zubrzycki, *Polish Immigrants in Britain. A Study of Adjustment* (The Hague, 1956); J. A. Tannahill, *European Volunteer Workers in Britain* (Manchester, 1958); Thomas Acton, *Gypsy Politics and Social Change* (London, 1974); M. Hechter, *Internal Colonialism. The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966* (London, 1975). Among older works D. C. A. Agnew, *Protestant Exiles from France in the Reign of Louis XIV* (printed for private circulation, 1886); Samuel Smiles, *The Huguenots* (London, various edns); W. Cunningham,

Alien Immigrants to England (London, 1897; new edn, London, 1969); and R. F. Foerster, *The Italian Emigration of Our Times* (Cambridge, Mass., 1919) still justify attention.

Migration is discussed in: J. W. Gregory, *Human Migration and the Future* (London, 1928); *Internal Migrations*, ed. W. F. Willcox, 2 vols, (New York, 1929-31); B. Thomas, *Migration and Economic Growth* (Cambridge, 1954); *World Migration in Modern Times*, ed. F. D. Scott (New Jersey, 1966); *Migration*, ed. J. A. Jackson (Cambridge, 1969). A wide range of insights into immigrants, minorities and the responses of receiving societies can be gleaned from the following, selected from an overwhelming number of sources. Among articles, B. Zawadzki, 'Limitations of the scapegoat theory of prejudice', *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, vol. 43 (1948); J. Higham, 'Anti-semitism in the gilded age', *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. XLIII (1956-7); S. Lieberson, 'A societal theory of race and ethnic relations', *American Sociological Review* (henceforth *ASR*), vol. 26 (1961); P. C. Cohen, 'The study of immigrants', *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, vol. 7 (1965); P. B. Warr, *et al*, 'A British ethnocentric scale', *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, no. 6 (1967); Nicholas Deakin, 'Ethnic minorities in the social sciences', *New Atlantis*, vol. 1 (1971); E. Bonacich, 'A theory of ethnic antagonism: the split labor market', *ASR*, vol. 37 (1972) and 'A theory of middleman minorities', *ASR*, vol. 38 (1973); J. Rex, 'The future of race relations research in Britain: sociological analysis and the politics of racial justice', *Race*, vol. XIV (1973). Books include: S. Eisenstadt, *The Absorption of Immigrants* (London, 1953): G. W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954); J. H. Robb, *Working Class Anti-Semite* (London, 1954); S. Patterson, *Dark Strangers* (London, 1963), Pt 1; M. Banton, *Race Relations* (London, 1967); J. Rex, *Race Relations in Sociological Theory* (London, 1970); E. Krausz, *Ethnic Minorities* (London, 1971); M. Banton, *Racial Minorities* (London, 1972); G. E. Simpson and J. M. Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities* (4th edn, New York, 1972); J. Rex, *Race, Colonialism and the City* (London, 1973); Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Ethnicity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975); finally, a recent collection of readings with material on immigrants and minorities is *Race and Ethnic Relations*, ed. G. Bowker and J. Carrier (London, 1976).

Among unpublished theses, J. Rumyaneck, 'The social and economic development of the Jews in England, 1730-1860' (PhD London, 1933); J. W. Carrier, 'Working class Jews in present-day London: a sociological study' (MPhil London, 1969); and J. Buckman, 'The economic and social history of alien immigration to Leeds, 1880-1914' (PhD Strathclyde, 1968) refer to the Jewish minority. Anti-semitism is discussed in G. Lebzelter, 'Politischer antisemitismus in England 1918-1939' (Magister Hausarbeit. Free University, Berlin, 1973); and J. Morell, 'The life and opinions of Arnold Leese' (MA Sheffield, 1975). E. B. Trigg, 'Magic and religion among the gypsies of Britain' (DPhil Oxford, 1967) provides a comprehensive account of British attitudes towards gypsies. J. H. Treble, 'The place of the Irish Catholics in the social life of the north of England' (PhD Leeds, 1969) and Lynn H. Lees, 'Social change and social stability among the London Irish' (PhD Harvard, 1969) are worth consulting on Irish matters. J. P. May, 'The British working class and the Chinese, 1870-1911' (MA dissertation, Warwick, 1973) is concerned with responses towards the Chinese with particular reference to the 1911 seamen's strike. Among older theses E. Pepin, 'La Question des

étrangers en Angleterre' (Ddel'U Paris, 1913) and I. Scouloudi, 'Alien immigration into and alien communities in London, 1538-1640' (MSc London, 1936) still retain some interest. Two more recent studies which have not yet been published are: B. E. Fiscian, 'Minority group prejudice: a study of some sociological and psychological correlates of anti-English prejudice among West Indian immigrants in London' (PhD London, 1960) and G. L. Watson, 'The sociology of black nationalism: identity protest and the concept of "Black Power" among West Indian immigrants in Britain' (DPhil York, 1972).

2 SPECIFIC STUDIES

(a) *Germans*

Various aspects of the economic role of Germans in Britain are considered in: W. J. Burke, 'Rudolph Ackermann, promoter of the arts and sciences', *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, vol. 38 (1934); Edward Taube, 'German craftsmen in England during the Tudor period', *Economic History*, vol. 4 (1939); and R. J. Cole, 'Friedrich Accum (1769-1838), a biographical study', *Annals of Science*, vol. 7 (1951). Walter Leifer, *Rhein und Themse fliessen zueinander. Geschichte und Gegenwart der deutsch-englischen Beziehungen* (Herrenalb/Schwarzwald, 1964), is useful; *Hanse in Europa, Brücke zwischen den Märkten, 12-17 Jahrhundert* (Cologne, 1973) is helpful and a crucial recent work is Hans-Joachim Braun, *Technologische Beziehungen zwischen Deutschland und England von der Mitte des 17. bis zum Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Düsseldorf, 1974). G. L. Anderson, *Victorian Clerks* (Manchester, 1976) has some discussion of German clerks in Britain.

(b) *Irish*

B. M. Kerr, 'Irish Seasonal migration to Great Britain 1800-1838', *Irish Historical Studies*, vol. 3 (September 1943), is concerned with Irish migration. F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, ed. W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner (Oxford, 1958; first English trans., 1892), and J. Denvir, *The Irish in Britain* (London, 1892), remain important. Among recent works James E. Handley's *The Irish in Scotland 1798-1845* (Cork, 1943), *The Irish in Modern Scotland* (Cork, 1947), *The Navvy in Scotland* (Cork, 1970) are invaluable. Rachel O'Higgins, 'The Irish influence on the Chartist Movement', *Past and Present*, no. 20 (November, 1961); John Boyle, 'Ireland and the First International', *Journal of British Studies*, vol. X (May 1972) and E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London, 1963) consider Irish involvement in radicalism. E. Strauss, *Irish Nationalism and British Democracy* (London, 1951) puts the 'Irish Question' in its broader perspective. Among other studies, L. P. Curtis, *Anglo Saxons and Celts* (Bridgeport, Conn., 1968), is concerned with English perceptions of the Irish, C. R. H. Leetham, *Luigi Gentili, A Sower for the Second Spring* (London, 1965) is a classic study of missions and missionary activity and T. Coleman, *The Railway Navvies* (London, 1968) deals in part with Irish involvement in railway building. Finally, local studies, excluding those relating to London, which are referred to elsewhere, are: C. Richardson, 'Irish settlement in mid-nineteenth century Bradford', *Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research*, vol. 20 (May 1968) and John Werly, 'The Irish in Manchester, 1832-49', *Irish Historical Studies*, vol. 18 (March 1973).

(c) *Chinese*

P. C. Campbell, *Chinese Coolie Emigration to Countries within the British Empire* (London, 1923) refers to the emigration of Chinese. Very little has appeared which concentrates specifically on the Chinese in Britain. Ng Kwee Choo, *The Chinese in London* (London, 1968), ch. 1, has some brief historical references. H. Gollwitzer, *Die Gelbe Gefahr: Geschichte eines Schlagworts—Studien zum imperialistischen Denken* (Göttingen, 1962) considers British as well as other notions of the 'yellow peril'. J. P. May's dissertation (see references to unpublished work) deals with some British reactions to the Chinese in Britain, on which the Home Office files HO45/11843/139147 and HO45/10649/210615 are indispensable.

(d) *Jews And Anti-Semitism*

A number of texts discuss aspects of the more recent history of Jews in Britain. These include: A. M. Hyamson, *The Sephardim of England. A History of the Spanish and Portuguese Jewish Community, 1492-1951* (London, 1951); V. D. Lipman, *A Social History of the Jews in England, 1850-1950* (London, 1954); L. P. Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870-1914* (London, 1960); J. A. Garrard, *The English and Immigration, 1880-1910* (London, 1971); Bernard Gainer, *The Alien Invasion. The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905* (London, 1972); A. J. Sherman, *Island Refuge. Britain and Refugees from the Third Reich, 1933-1939* (London, 1973). Discussions of contemporary aspects of Jewish life are in: *A Minority in Britain,* ed. M. Freedman (London, 1955) and *Jewish Life in Modern Britain,* ed. S. J. Gould and S. Esh (London, 1964). Provincial Jewry is referred to in: C. Roth, *The Rise of Provincial Jewry* (London, 1940); E. Krausz, *Leeds Jewry* (Cambridge, 1964); and the Jewish Historical Society of England's *Provincial Jewry in Victorian Britain* (London, 1975). The Manchester community is the subject of Bill Williams, *The Making of Manchester Jewry, 1740-1875* (Manchester, 1976). There is no existing study of J. A. Hobson's anti-semitism, which has been specifically studied in the text. Anti-semitism is more generally referred to in some of the above, particularly Garrard and Gainer, and T. W. Perry, *Public Opinion, Propaganda and Politics in Eighteenth Century England: A Study of the Jew Bill of 1753* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962); W. F. Mandle, *Anti-Semitism and the BUF* (London, 1968); R. J. Benewick, *The Fascist Movement in Britain* (London, 1972) (first published as *Political Violence and Public Order*, London, 1969); R. Skidelsky, *Oswald Mosley* (London, 1975) all discuss it. Similarities between the reactions towards Jewish and coloured immigrants are covered in Garrard as well as P. Foot, *Immigration and Race in British Politics* (Harmondsworth, 1965). Detailed references to anti-semitic material are contained in Garrard, Gainer and Benewick as well as Morell (see references to unpublished work). An anti-semitic work, rich in sources, is P. Aldag, *Das Judentum in England* (Berlin, 1943).

(e) *Immigrants and Minorities in London*

H. Mayhew, *London and the London Poor* (London, 1861), and C. Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London* 17 vols. (London, 1902-4), remain important sources. S. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London* (Chicago, 1948), M. Dorothy George, *London Life in the XVIIIth Century* (Harmondsworth, 1966),

ch. 3, and I. Scouloudi (see references to unpublished work) collectively provide information on several immigrant groups. The East End Jewish experience is referred to in Gartner, Garrard, Gainer and Benewick (see section on 'Jews' above). M. Rose, *The East End of London* (London, 1951) and G. Stedman Jones, *Outcast London* (Oxford, 1971) deal specifically with East End history and provide some perspective to immigrant experience. C. Bermant, *Point of Arrival: A Study of London's East End* (London, 1975), is a popular general study of immigrants in East London. Particular studies of immigrants and minorities in London include: H. Dorgeel, *Die Deutsche Kolonie in London* (London and Leipzig, 1881), M. Banton, *The Coloured Quarter* (London, 1955); Ruth Glass, *Newcomers* (London, 1960); S. Patterson, *Dark Strangers* (London, 1963); J. A. Jackson, 'The Irish' in *London: Aspects of Change,* ed. R. Glass (London, 1964); Ng Kwee Choo, *The Chinese in London* (London, 1968); D. Ormrod, *The Dutch in London. The Influence of an Immigrant Community, 1550-1800* (London, 1973); G. Dench, *The Maltese in London* (London, 1975), W. J. Fishman, *East End Jewish Radicals 1875-1914* (London, 1975).

(f) *Violence and Toleration*

Violence is interestingly discussed in Allan D. Grimshaw, 'Factors contributing to colour violence in the United States and Britain', *Race*, vol. 111 (1962). It is also an issue raised by A. H. Halsey, 'Race relations—the lines to think on', *New Society,* 19 March 1973. Toleration is comprehensively treated in *Government and Opposition*, vol. 6 (1971) and more closely in A. Marsh, 'Tolerance and pluralism in Britain. Perspectives in social psychology', *New Community*, vol. 1 (Summer 1972). Among historical studies the following might be mentioned: Geoffrey Alderman, 'The anti-Jewish riots of August 1911 in South Wales', *Welsh History Review,* vol. 6 (1972); S. Gilley, 'The Garibaldi riots of 1862', *The Historical Journal,* vol. xvi (1973); R. May and R. Cohen, 'The interaction between race and colonialism. A case study of the Liverpool race riots of 1919', *Race and Class,* vol. xvi (1974); Benewick and Skidelsky (see section on 'Jews') consider East End violence in the interwar years. May (see references to unpublished work) discusses the anti-Chinese disturbances of 1911. Toleration is the concern of Ursula R. Q. Henriques, 'The Jewish emancipation controversy in nineteenth-century Britain', *Past and Present,* no. 40 (1968) and her book, *Religious Toleration in England, 1787-1833* (London, 1961), is a valuable contribution to an understanding of the issues involved, as is J. Katz, *Exclusiveness and Toleration* (Oxford, 1961).

3 BIBLIOGRAPHIES

Many of the works already cited have comprehensive bibliographies. Among reference sources an early work which remains invaluable is G. F. Black, *A Gypsy Bibliography* (Edinburgh, 1909). A. Sivanandan, *Coloured Immigrants in Britain. A Select Bibliography* (London, 1969) and R. P. Lehmann, *Anglo-Jewish Bibliography, 1937-1970* (London, 1973), offer extensive information on their respective interests. A more general sweep is provided in the *British Political Sociology Yearbook, Vol. 2. The Politics of Race,* ed. I. Crewe (London, 1975). In addition, several journals, particularly *International Migration Review, New*

Community, Patterns of Prejudice Race and Class (formerly *Race*) and *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, give details of publications on historical and contemporary matters relating to a wide range of immigrant and minority groups. Finally, *Irish Historical Studies* is valuable for references to recent work on Irish minorities and a similar function for the groups which concern them is fulfilled by the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, the *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, occasionally the *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* and the *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London.*

ADDENDA

Since this book was in the press two items have been published which deserve to be placed in the bibliography.

(1) C. Jones, *Immigration and Social Policy in Britain* (London, 1977), might usefully be added to the list of published works of general interest on p. 187 of the section on Studies of Immigrants and Minorities.

(2) James Watson, 'Chinese emigrant ties to the home community', *New Community*, vol. V (Spring/Summer 1977), should be attached to the sources in Specific Studies (c) Chinese on p. 189.