

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON
FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS AND SOCIAL
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School of Humanities

From Persecution to Mass Migration

The ‘Alien’ in Popular Print and Society, 1881-1906

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ABSTRACT
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This thesis traces the development of attitudes towards alien immigration in the metropolitan daily press during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It examines attitudes towards the Russian persecution of East European Jewry and sets them against growing anxieties over increased alien immigration. This approach enables an investigation of the expression of sympathy and compassion for the plight of East European Jewry and the extent to which this was undermined by the development of anti-alien sentiment throughout the period. In addition, the thesis examines the impact that transformations in the newspaper industry had on debates regarding alien immigration and the extent to which these changes influenced attitudes towards the Russian persecution of East European Jewry. The dual nature of this approach and the focus on the metropolitan daily press offers an original insight into alien immigration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

The thesis begins with a discussion of historiographical developments in relation to Jewish immigration and the British press. It focuses on political, social and cultural transformations that occurred over the period and how they impacted upon attitudes towards alien immigration. The following four chapters then consider the nature of these developments and examine responses towards the Russian persecution of East European Jewry and increasing anxieties over alien immigration into Britain. Chapter one assesses the response of the British press towards the outbreak of anti-Jewish violence across the Russian empire between 1881-1882 to establish the nature of attitudes towards the persecution of East European Jewry. Chapter two continues this theme with an investigation of the response of the British press towards the expulsion of Jews from Russia between 1890-1892. Chapter three then deals with outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence at Kishinev in 1903 and examines alien immigration within the broader context of socio-political transformations and changes within the newspaper industry. The final chapter analyses attitudes in the British press towards the passing of the Aliens Act and considers the implementation of restrictive legislation in relation to outbreaks of Russian anti-Jewish violence at Odessa during the same period.

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Introduction

From Persecution to Mass Migration: The ‘Alien’ in Popular Print and Society, 1881-1906

Studies of the alien have tended to focus on the political context and have neglected the public and cultural sphere of discourse through which much of the debate was shaped and articulated.¹ While numerous studies relate to the settlement of immigrants in Britain during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, accounts of host responses towards alien immigration have tended to ignore the role played by the metropolitan daily press in relation to attitudes towards foreign immigration. This neglect of the public sphere is particularly significant in consideration of the formation of an environment in which the daily press became increasingly influential in the cultivation of public opinion.²

To counter these lacunas, this thesis traces the development of attitudes towards alien immigration in the metropolitan daily press during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Unlike previous studies, it examines attitudes towards the Russian

¹ The two principal studies of alien immigration focussed on the socio-political context. See: Garrard, B. *The English and Immigration: A Comparative Study of the Jewish Influx, 1880-1910* (London: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations, 1971) and Gainer, B. *The Alien Invasion: The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905* (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1972)

² Although there is much debate on the nature of press influence during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, all major studies agree that the newspaper industry became increasingly significant in the expression of public opinion. See: Lee, A.J. *The Origins of the Popular Press in England, 1855-1914* (London: Croom Helm, 1976), Boyce, G., Curran, J. and Wingate, P. (eds), *Newspaper History from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day* (London: Constable, 1978), Koss, S. *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain, 2 vols.* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1980; 1984), Heren, L. *The Power of the Press?* (London: Orbis Publishing, 1985), Brown, L. *Victorian News and Newspapers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), Habermas, J. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989), Brake, L., Jones, A., and Madden, L. (eds) *Investigating Victorian Journalism* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), Negrine, R. *Politics and the Mass Media in Britain* (London: Routledge, 1994), Engel, M. *Tickle the Public: One Hundred Years of the Popular Press* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1998), Chalaby, J. K. *The Invention of Journalism* (London: Macmillan, 1998), Curran, J. and Seaton, J. *Power Without Responsibility: The Press and Broadcasting in Britain, 5th Edition* (London: Routledge, 2002), Diamond, M. *Victorian Sensation: Or, the Spectacular, the Shocking and the Scandalous in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Anthem Press, 2003), Codell, J. F. (ed) *Imperial Co-Histories: National Identities and the British Colonial Press* (New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2003), Hampton, M. *Visions of the Press in Britain, 1850-1950* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004)

persecution of East European Jewry and sets them against growing anxieties over increased alien immigration. This approach enables an investigation of the expression of sympathy and compassion for the plight of East European Jewry and the extent to which this was undermined by the development of anti-alien sentiment throughout the period. As a result, the study undertakes an examination of attitudes towards Jews as victims of atrocities committed in Russia and Eastern Europe alongside an investigation of attitudes towards aliens as refugees and migrants within Britain. The dual nature of this approach and the focus on the metropolitan daily press offers an original insight into alien immigration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

The Jewish Immigrant in History

(i) Historiographical Developments

The study of Jewish immigration into Britain commenced with the publication of Lloyd Gartner's *The Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870-1914*.³ This work explored the historic background of Jewish immigration and focused on the character of the Jewish immigrant community within Britain. While the work is somewhat dated in its approach and methodology, it provides a valuable insight into various aspects of the migrant experience and the nature of Jewish settlement. The book is particularly strong on the migrant economy, matters of religion, and the various schisms that occurred between the Anglo-Jewish and migrant community. However, the work fails to frame many of its observations within a broader socio-political context and is therefore undermined by its failure to engage critically with external factors. For instance, scant attention is paid to the rise in anti-alienism and the eventual passing of the Aliens Act.⁴

Published a decade later, John Garrard's and Bernard Gainer's studies built upon Gartner's earlier work, compensating for their predecessor's failure to account for external factors in relation to Jewish immigration. Both works therefore focused on the

³ This book was first published in 1960.

⁴ This is not to suggest that Gartner's work is in any sense flawed. As the first comprehensive study of Jewish immigration, the book offers an in-depth examination of the migrant community. The reason Gartner neglects many of the external factors related to Jewish immigration is because the focus of his research was on the communal structure of the Jewish immigrant community. See: Gartner, L. *The Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870-1914* 3rd Edition (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2001)

socio-political context of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and contextualised Jewish immigration within a broader political framework. These studies were also influenced by contemporary responses to Commonwealth immigration and Garrard's work was published for the Institute of Race Relations in an effort to compare aspects of the implementation of the Aliens Act (1905) with the Commonwealth Immigrants Act (1962).⁵ Garrard focused on anti-alienism, antisemitism, the passing of the Aliens Act, as well as Liberal, Trade Unionist and Socialist responses to Jewish immigration. He notes that the development of anti-alien hostility towards Jewish immigration was more gradual in Britain than on the Continent, but that rising unemployment and concerns for the condition of the native poor gave the subject wider political significance.

Indeed, Garrard asserted that Conservative support for restriction was merely an attempt to gain political support from the working-classes, while Liberal resistance stemmed from respect for the principles of Free Trade and Britain's 'tradition' of asylum. However, Garrard also noted a certain ambivalence within the Liberal position, observing that not all politicians followed the party line, and that Liberals resisted legislation more from the pressure of the backbenches.⁶ Garrard has also observed that a number of Liberal politicians felt their careers required support for restriction to appease constituents that felt disadvantaged by Jewish immigration. Garrard suggested that the Liberal administration of the Aliens Act supports this view as the party did little to modify provisions after Parliamentary victory in 1905.

While Garrard's work examines the development of anti-alienism and the passing of the Aliens Act, Gainer's *The Alien Invasion: The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905* was a far more detailed study that offered a more comprehensive understanding of attitudes towards alien immigration. Gainer outlined the nature of Jewish settlement, noting that it was local economic pressures that caused early tensions surrounding Jewish immigration, and that many misconceptions originated as a result of the structure of the casual labour

⁵ Garrard wrote a journal article that compared responses to Jewish and Commonwealth migration before the publication of his book. See: Garrard, J. A. 'Parallels of Protest: English Reactions to Jewish and Commonwealth Immigration' in *RACE*, IX, 1 (1967), pp.47-66

⁶ This ambivalence was reflected in the Liberal press where the *Daily Chronicle* was unable to assert a consistent attitude either for or against the implementation of restrictive legislation.

market and the existence of sweated labour. Gainer also demonstrated that migrants did not displace native labour to the extent cited by anti-alienists as the sweated trades did not compete directly with native production. Indeed, Gainer underlined that the immigrants' gravitation towards sweated outwork only aggravated an existing 'evil'. However, Gainer did suggest that migrants were guilty of exasperating problems in relation to housing by increasing overcrowding, and that aliens contributed towards the worsening of hygiene standards within areas of dense settlement.

Gainer's study offered a detailed account of the development of anti-alienism, noting that hostilities stemmed from a variety of sources that included class insecurities, latent antisemitism, protectionism, national efficiency, and wider concerns regarding social reform, all of which could be used effectively in support of the implementation of restrictive legislation.⁷ Like Garrard, Gainer also suggested that Conservative support for restriction was party-political and could be posed as a solution to unemployment issues without impinging upon the interests of the Conservative party's more traditional support base. However, Gainer's central argument was that anti-alienism was an irrational and misguided belief in a 'mythical horde' of immigrants. His study emphasises that anti-alienism was an absurdity in the sense that such a small number of migrants were able to cause such political controversy and create such alarm amongst a large cross-section of British society:

It is ironic, although now comprehensible, that so few and so innocuous a band of immigrants should have thrown the Mother of Parliaments into momentary turmoil and aroused the passions of the multitude. It is deplorable that so many otherwise intelligent men should have been so blinded by circumstance as to have failed to see how illusory the alien menace was.⁸

⁷ A recurrent feature of anti-alienism notable in all studies on alien immigration is the extent to which hostilities incorporated particular themes during specific periods. For example, aliens were initially derided for labour competition but later issues such as housing, degeneration and crime influenced attitudes towards immigration. For a more recent summary of the different forms anti-alienism incorporated see: Kershaw, A. *Strangers, Aliens and Asians: Huguenots, Jews and Bangladeshis in Spitalfields, 1660-2000* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005)

⁸ Gainer, B. *The Alien Invasion: The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905*, p.215

Indeed, as this thesis will demonstrate, the metropolitan daily press played a central role in heightening fears over alien immigration and exaggerating anxieties in relation to the need for the implementation of restrictive legislation.

However, while studies of alien immigration rapidly increased in the aftermath of the works of Gartner, Garrard and Gainer, the development of the historiography has been somewhat 'uneven'.⁹ Subsequent studies specialised in particular areas and as a result certain subjects have been neglected. For instance, William Fishman's *East End Jewish Radicals, 1875-1914* immediately followed the works of Gartner, Gainer and Garrard and focused on the Jewish immigrant labour movement, underlining the strong attachment migrants had to a unique Yiddish proletarian sub-culture.¹⁰ While the study provides an original insight into various aspects of the Jewish labour movement, it is representative of the shift towards more specialised studies and the development of the historiography in specific directions.¹¹ In addition, Fishman tends to overstate the extent to which migrants participated in labour organisations and took part in subversive political activity. The study therefore privileged the assumption that the majority of migrants were involved in radical political organisation.

Yet a positive aspect of the shift towards more specialist and focussed studies is the number of detailed works that deal with issues only briefly referenced by Gartner, Gainer and Garrard. For example, Jewish communal organisation has received much attention from a number of comprehensive studies that have greatly enhanced the

⁹ David Englander has noted that 'progress has been rapid but uneven' due to the specialist focus of subsequent works. See: Englander, D. *A Documentary History of Jewish Immigrants in Britain, 1840-1920* (Leicester, London and New York: Leicester University Press, 1994), p.366

¹⁰ See: Fishman, W. *East End Jewish Radicals, 1875-1914* (London: Duckworth, 1975)

¹¹ For example, there has been much work on the Jewish labour movement in areas of alien settlement across Britain. See: Reutlinger, A. S. 'Reflections on the Anglo-American Jewish Experience: Workers and Entrepreneurs in New York and London' in *American Jewish Historical Quarterly*, 66 (1977), pp.473-484, Wechsler, R. The Jewish Garment Trade in East London, 1875-1914: A Study of Conditions and Responses (PhD Thesis: Columbia University, 1979), Williams, B. 'The beginnings of Jewish Trade Unionism in Manchester 1889-1891' in Lunn, K. (ed.) *Hosts, Immigrants and Minorities: Historical Responses to Newcomers in British Society, 1870-1914* (Folkestone: Dawson, 1980), pp.263-307, Buckman, J. *Immigrants and the Class Struggle: The Jewish Immigrant in Leeds, 1880-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), pp.263-307, Kershaw, A. J. 'Trade Unionism amongst the Jewish Tailoring Workers of London and Leeds, 1872-1915' in Cesarani, D. (ed) *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), pp.34-54, Maitles, H. 'Jewish Trade Unionists in Glasgow' in *Immigrants and Minorities, 10* (1993), pp.46-69, Kershaw, A. J. *Uniting the Tailors. Trade Unionism amongst the Tailoring Workers of London and Leeds, 1870-1939* (London: Frank Cass, 1995), Massil, W. *Immigrant Furniture Workers in London, 1881-1939* (London: The Jewish Museum, 1997) and Godley, A. *Jewish Immigrant Entrepreneurship in New York and London 1880-1914* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001)

understanding of this aspect of alien immigration.¹² Eugene Black's *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry, 1880-1920* was particularly strong on communal philanthropy and the work of the Jews' Temporary Shelter, underlining the complex relationship between Anglo-Jewry and the migrant community. Black also underlined the extent of exaggeration that occurred in relation to the relief efforts of the Anglo-Jewish community regarding the development of anti-alienism. As Black remarked, 'since its Jews were increasingly newcomers, aliens easily recognizable through appearance, habits and language, and relatively small in numbers, they could be made to appear even greater than they were, to pose an easily exaggerated threat to all things British'.¹³ Indeed, the extent to which alien immigration was the subject of exaggeration and hyperbole is a recurrent theme in the historiography.

Specialist studies of Jewish immigration have therefore led to the development of the historiography in particular directions. Localised and regional studies have been particularly prominent in this growth and a recent addition is Ben Braber's *Jews in Glasgow 1879-1939: Immigration and Integration* that includes an in-depth survey of the increase in anti-alienism relative to Glasgow's migrant community.¹⁴ The historiography has also developed prominently in relation to the number of studies dealing with certain aspects of gender and migrant health. There are also a large number

¹² Gartner's study did offer a detailed investigation of these themes, however, more specialist studies have furthered this area of the historiography. See: Newman, A. *The United Synagogue, 1870-1970* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976), Alderman, G. *The Federation of Synagogues 1887-1987* (London: Federation of Synagogues, 1987), Newman, A. *The Board of Deputies of British Jews 1760-1985: A Brief Survey* (London: Valentine Mitchell, 1987), Black, E. C. *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry, 1880-1920* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), Alderman, G. *London Jewry and London Politics, 1889-1986* (London: Routledge, 1989), Alderman, G. *Modern British Jewry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), Berrol, S. *East Side / East End: Eastern European Jews in London and New York* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1994), Kershner, A. and Romain, J. *Tradition and Change: A History of Reform Judaism in Britain 1840-1995* (London: Valentine Mitchell 1995) and Endelman, T. M. *The Jews of Britain, 1656-2000* (Berkley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2002)

¹³ Black, E. C. *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry, 1880-1920*, p.273

¹⁴ There are a number of studies that deal with the settlement of East European Jewish immigration in different areas of Britain. See, for example: Williams, B. *The Making of Manchester Jewry, 1740-1875* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976), Kokosalikis, N. *Ethnic Identity and Religion: Tradition and Change in Liverpool Jewry* (Washington: University Press of America, 1982), Collins, K.E. *Second City Jewry: The Jews of Glasgow in the Age of Expansion, 1790-1919* (Glasgow: Scottish Jewish Archives, 1990), Friedman, M. *Leeds Jewry: The First Hundred Years* (Leeds: Murray Freedman/The Jewish Historical Society of England 1992) Henriques, U. (ed) *The Jews of South Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1993) and Braber, B. *Jews in Glasgow 1879-1939, Immigration and Integration* (London: Valentine Mitchell, 2007)

of works that have dealt specifically with the Jewish East End and questions relating to migrant religion.¹⁵ Of these developments, Lara Marks' *Model Mothers: Jewish Mothers and Maternity Provision in East London, 1870-1939* is of particular significance for underlining the disparate attitude towards Jewish women in relation to the proliferation of stereotypes regarding prostitution and racial decline, and the alternative idealised perception of Jewish women in the realm of maternal care.

There have also been a considerable number of works dealing with the character of Britain as a host society. While Garrard and Gainer focussed on this aspect of alien immigration, there are a wide range of studies that have been crucial in providing a framework for more specialist works.¹⁶ The extent to which Britain was tolerant of its foreign minorities has therefore received much attention and Colin Holmes' study of British antisemitism is an early example of a work that specifically focussed on hostility towards Jewish immigration. Indeed, Holmes was influential in underlining the complex nature of attitudes towards Anglo-Jewry and observing that the liberal offer of emancipation was based upon contractual obligations. As Holmes has asserted, 'toleration was not synonymous with acceptance' it was understood that 'Jews would cease to be Jewish and move closer to British society.'¹⁷

Yet while these developments have led to a better understanding of the nature of Jewish settlement in Britain during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, there has been a noticeable neglect of certain areas within the historiography. For instance, the education of migrant children has not received detailed attention despite its important role in relation to assimilation and acculturation.¹⁸ Although Sharman Kadish's *A Good Jew*

¹⁵ The most prominent works in these categories are Sharrot, S. 'Religious Change in Native Orthodoxy in London, 1870-1914' in *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, XV (1973), pp.167-187, Bristow, E. J. *Prostitution and Prejudice: The Jewish Fight Against White Slavery, 1870-1939* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), Fishman, W. J. *East End 1888: A Year in a London Borough Among the Labouring Poor* (London: Duckworth, 1988), 'Jewish Women and the Household Economy in Manchester' in Cesaroni, D. (ed) *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), pp.55-78, Marks, L. *Model Mothers: Jewish Mothers and Maternity Provision in East London, 1870-1939* (Oxford: Clarendon Pres, 1994), Harris, B. 'Anti-Alienism, Health and Social Reform in Late Victorian and Edwardian Britain' in *Patterns of Prejudice*, 31, 4 (1997), pp.3-34 and Kenneth, C. *Be Well! Jewish Health and Welfare in Glasgow, 1860-1914* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2001)

¹⁶ This remains a particularly contested area of the historiography and receives more attention in the subsequent section.

¹⁷ Holmes, C. *Anti-Semitism and British Society, 1876-1939* (London: Edward Arnold, 1979), p.104

¹⁸ There have only been a small number of articles written on the subject of migrant education. See: Singer, S. 'Jewish Education in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: A Study of the Early Victorian London

and a Good Englishman: The Jewish Lad's and Girls Brigade, 1895-1995 is an important step in this direction, immigrant education, child welfare and the migrant family remain relatively underdeveloped. Important subjects such as migrant culture have also received limited attention and have been overlooked by the shift towards more specialist studies in other directions.

In addition, there has been little work undertaken in relation to the demographic aspect of Jewish immigration. Comparative works dealing with immigration to different countries have also been neglected and this approach would greatly benefit the historiography. Andrew Godley's *Jewish Immigrant Entrepreneurship in New York and London 1880-1914* is one of the few examples dealing with this aspect of Jewish settlement, while Nancy Green's sourcebook on *Jewish Workers in the Modern Diaspora* has provided a wide range of sources from a large number of different countries. Selma Berrol's *East Side / East End: Eastern European Jews in London and New York, 1870-1920* is also a valuable addition to the historiography, although the book is one of the few studies that deals mainly with the sphere of education.

Central to this neglect of certain areas of the historiography is the role of the metropolitan daily press in relation to responses towards alien immigration and the persecution of East European Jewry.¹⁹ Although newspapers have been incorporated into other studies as source material, the metropolitan daily press has not received individual specialist attention. British attitudes towards the Russian persecution of East European Jewry have also received little consideration and would significantly enhance the understanding of Jewish immigration into Britain.²⁰ This thesis therefore traces the development of attitudes towards alien immigration in the metropolitan daily press

Community' in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, LXXVII (1986-87), pp.163-78, Greenberg, S. 'Anglicisation and the Education of Jewish Immigrant Children in the East End of London', in Rapoport-Albert, A. Zipperstein, S. *Jewish History: Essays in Honour of Chimen Abramsky* (London: Peter Halban, 1988) and Livschin, R. 'The Acculturation of Children of the Immigrant Jews in Manchester, 1890-1930' in Ceserani, D. (ed), *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), pp.79-96

¹⁹ There is only one study that focuses on the East End press and Jewish immigration in this period. See: Bennett, J. *East End Newspaper Opinion and Jewish Immigration, 1885-1905* (Unpublished MPhil Thesis: University of Sheffield, 1979)

²⁰ The only study of any significance is an article by John Klier and another by Sam Johnson. See: Klier, J. D. 'The Times of London, the Russian Press and the Pogroms of 1881-2' in The Carl Beck Papers, No.308 (Pittsburgh, PA, 1984), pp.1-26 and Johnson, S. 'Confronting the East: Darkest Russia, British Opinion and Tsarism's "Jewish question," 1890-1914' in *East European Affairs*, Vol.36, No.2 (December, 2006), pp.199-211

alongside an examination of attitudes towards the persecution of East European Jewry in an attempt to redress this historiographical imbalance.

(ii) The 'New School' and the Transformation of Anglo-Jewish History

The most notable feature of the historiography, however, is the emergence of the 'new school' that radically altered the study of Anglo-Jewish history.²¹ Throughout the 1980s a number of new scholars emerged that were far more critical of Britain's reputation as a country that had been consistently tolerant of its foreign minorities.²² Bill Williams' study of antisemitism was a precursor to this movement and was significant in undermining Britain's assumed 'tolerance' towards its Jewish community.²³ In this study Williams adopted a contractualist interpretation of Jewish emancipation to demonstrate that an emphasis on 'progress' meant that Jews were expected to Anglicise to the 'norms' of British society and abandon their Jewish identity. Williams also underlined the existence of antisemitic hostilities that came to the forefront of debates over emancipation and immigration. Williams therefore observed that pressure to anglicise meant that Jews were never accepted on their own terms and is able to locate liberal 'tolerance' as the 'driving force' behind a more subtle form of antisemitism:

Jews were validated not on the grounds of their Jewish identity, but on the basis of their conformity to the values and manners of bourgeois English society. Anti-semitism was rendered disreputable, but it was not destroyed. The accommodation which toleration provided enabled the Jewish bourgeoisie to fulfil its own

²¹ The term 'new school' was coined by Todd Endelman. See: Endelman, T. M. 'Writing English Jewish History' in *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 27, 4 (1995), pp.626-636

²² There were more critical works previous to the emergence of the 'new school'. For example, Colin Holmes provided an in-depth survey of antisemitism within the broader context of British society that was influential on the outlook of the 'new school'. Holmes noted that antisemitic feeling often existed behind anti-alien agitation, however, he saw the implementation of the Aliens Act as anti-alien rather than antisemitic and states that British antisemitism was never a major force. Nevertheless, Holmes concludes that throughout the period there was a continuous tradition of antisemitism within Britain society. See: Holmes, C. *Anti-Semitism and British Society, 1876-1939* (London: Edward Arnold, 1979)

²³ See: Williams, B. 'The Anti-Semitism of Tolerance: Middle Class Manchester and the Jews, 1870-1900' in Kidd, A. and Roberts, K. (eds.) *City, Class and Culture: Studies of Social Policy and Cultural Production in Victorian Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), pp.74-102

ambitions and to define the whole community in its own image; an image which suited the purpose of a hegemonic capitalist elite.²⁴

Williams demonstrated that the relationship between the host society and the Anglo-Jewish community was more complex than previous studies had suggested. The work underlined that liberal 'tolerance' masked antisemitism and provided a framework for the development of negative attitudes towards Jews in Britain during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. This outlook influenced a number of subsequent works that dealt with various aspects of Anglo-Jewish history and led to a reappraisal of Britain's reputation as a country that had been tolerant of its Jewish community.

On this assumption, David Cesarani's *The Making of Anglo-Jewry* served as a more official initiation of the 'new school' and included the work of many historians that were more critical of Britain's status as a tolerant society.²⁵ Many of these studies highlighted the persistence of antisemitism throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century and emphasised the extent to which liberalism had provided a solid basis for the continuity of negative attitudes towards Jews. The book also demonstrated the variety of new approaches towards Anglo-Jewish history and the extent to which a diverse number of methodologies and new sources confirmed the need for a reassessment of Britain's relationship with its Jewish community.

Indeed, Cesarani asserted that anti-alienism can be viewed as a 'continuous' and 'central theme' in British society from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century. Cesarani has underlined the broad scope and development of anti-alien hostility and highlights the extent to which anti-alienism became accepted as a 'concept', 'movement' and 'set of practices'. In addition, Cesarani shows that anti-alienism was malleable and could be expressed in relation to other ideologies that included social Darwinism, eugenics, degeneration, unemployment, housing, health, national identity, crime, anarchism and national efficiency. The study therefore underscores the extent to which

²⁴ Williams, B. 'The Anti-Semitism of Tolerance: Middle Class Manchester and the Jews, 1870-1900' in Kidd, A. and Roberts, K. (eds.) *City, Class and Culture: Studies of Social Policy and Cultural Production in Victorian Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), p.94

²⁵ This work included an essay by Bill Williams in addition to contributions from David Cesarani, Tony Kushner and Bryan Cheyette. All of whom were to become leading scholars in the 'new school' of Anglo-Jewish history. See: Cesarani, D. (ed.), *The Making of Anglo-Jewry* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990)

anti-alienism was accommodated by British liberal culture and became a prominent means to articulate fears over increased alien immigration:

Anti-alien discourse is a fusion of all those elements of political, cultural and social thought where the Other is constructed as part of the process of self-definition. It is also a movement and a set of practices. In this sense it is neither provocative nor perverse to situate anti-alienism at the heart of British political culture.²⁶

Likewise, Tony Kushner has underlined the extent to which Britain has maintained an 'ambivalent' attitude towards Jews and other foreign minorities. Through numerous works Kushner has argued that far from confronting expressions of antisemitism and anti-alien prejudice, British liberal culture has preserved a sense of ambivalence towards Anglo-Jewry and other minority groups.²⁷ Kushner has stated that, 'the liberal creed, as embodied in the emancipation contract, theoretically allowed room neither for antisemitism nor for a distinctively Jewish population'.²⁸ On the basis of a contractualist interpretation of Jewish emancipation and in a similar vein to Williams, Kushner has asserted that the Anglo-Jewish community has been forced into discarding a Jewish identity to conform to a 'homogeneous' Britishness.

In Anglo-Jewish literary studies there have been similar developments. Bryan Chyette's *Constructions of 'the Jew' in English Literature and Society: Racial Representations, 1875-1945* was heavily influenced by the work of Zygmunt Bauman. Chyette therefore recognises the 'ambivalent' status of 'the Jew' and underlines the existence of a 'semitic discourse'. This discourse incorporated an image of the 'good' Jew, able to measure up to the values and expectations of British society, alongside the 'bad' other who was perceived to have rejected the terms of the emancipation contract. Indeed, Chyette formulates a perception of 'the Jew' as both 'self' and 'other.' An

²⁶ Cesarani, D. 'An Alien Concept? The Continuity of Anti-Alienism in British Society before 1940' in *Immigrants and Minorities* (November, 1992), p.27

²⁷ See: Jones, S., Kushner, T., and Pearce, S. (eds) *Culture of Ambivalence and Contempt: Studies in Jewish/Non-Jewish Relations* (London: Valentine Mitchell, 1998), Kushner, T. *We Europeans? Mass-Observation, 'Race' and British Identity in the Twentieth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate 2004) and Kushner, T. *Remembering Refugees: Then and Now* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006)

²⁸ Kushner, T. 'The Impact of British Anti-Semitism, 1918-1945' in Cesarani, D. (ed.), *The Making of Anglo-Jewry* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), p.192

approach which has been employed to underline the complex and unstable status of 'the Jew' as signifier, in which Jews were perceived to be outside the national community as 'others', while simultaneously being recognised as a potential 'self' within an assimilatory and universalist framework.²⁹

In addition to Chyette's work there are also a number of studies that have maintained a more traditional approach to the study of antisemitism. Frank Felsenstein's *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes: A Paradigm of Otherness in English Popular Culture, 1660-1830* focuses on the development of antisemitism and underlines the persistence of a negative bias towards Jews that was prevalent throughout the late Middle Ages and continued under various guises into the nineteenth and twentieth century. Felsenstein's study therefore shows the extent to which a negative and 'diabolized' stereotype of 'the Jew' was manifest within English popular culture.

However, there is an element of discord within the 'new school'. David Feldman's *Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture, 1840-1914* provides a more nuanced approach towards the subject of British liberalism and Anglo-Jewry. Feldman is of the opinion that while Victorian liberalism may be compatible with antisemitism, it has also offered Anglo-Jewry opportunities and was generally an accommodating political ideology. Feldman is therefore cautious not to be overtly critical of Britain's reputation as a country tolerant of its Jewish community. Although Feldman has underlined many of the ambivalences that occurred during debates over Jewish emancipation and immigration, he is less critical of Britain as a host society.³⁰ Indeed, in relation to the passing of the Aliens Act, Feldman has noted a definite decline in Britain's liberal tradition, yet he has also observed that legislation was not arbitrary and did not stem purely from anti-Jewish hostility:

The Aliens Act was not a legislative quirk, brought about by a mixture of opportunism and prejudice, but was at the front of a transformation of the regulatory ambitions of the British state and a reorientation of the idea of the

²⁹ See: Cheyette, B. *Constructions of 'the Jew' in English Literature and Society, 1875-1954* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp.8-13

³⁰ See: Cesarani, D., Feldman, D., Kushner, T. Mandler, P., Mazower, M. and Wasserstein, B. 'England, Liberalism, and the Jews: An Anglo-Jewish *Historikerstreit*' in *Jewish Quarterly*, 44.3 (Autumn, 1997), pp.33-38

nation. The legacy of liberalism was not overthrown and remained a brake upon the state's coercive capacities.³¹

Feldman has also been directly critical of the 'new school' for perceiving emancipation as a 'flawed bargain'. Feldman has asserted that such works articulate a pessimistic view of the impact of modernity on Jews and are mistaken for a 'monolithic characterization of modernity and a deterministic view of its consequences'.³² Feldman has stated that studies that recognise 'ambivalence' at the heart of modernity are mistaken in three respects. They overestimate the 'controlling ambitions' of nineteenth century governments, give insufficient attention to the political culture of individual nation-states, and underestimate the extent to which Jewish interests were pursued and Jewish identities articulated. Instead, Feldman sees mass franchise as being responsible for endangering the status of Jews and not modernity *per se*.

Likewise, Todd Endelman has distanced himself from the approach of the 'new school'. Although Endelman values the depth of debate within Anglo-Jewish historiography, like Feldman, he is critical of historians that have employed the emancipation contract. He sees this methodology as ahistorical for assuming continuity throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and for not accounting for changes in expressions of tolerance and hostility towards Jews. As Endelman has asserted, 'the emancipation contract assumes a timeless and central role in Anglo-Jewish history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries'.³³ Endelman also considers that the emancipation contract makes too many broad assumptions over the way in which Anglo-Jewry was expected to absolve its Jewishness in conformity with the process of Anglicisation. 'Was the expectation one of mass conversion, or escalating intermarriage and demographic decline, or some other form of radical assimilation enacted on a collective basis? We are never told.'³⁴

³¹ Feldman, D. 'The Importance of Being English: Jewish Immigration and the Decay of Liberal England' in Feldman, D. and Stedman G. (eds.) *Metropolis London: Histories and Representations Since 1800* (London: Routledge, 1989), p.79

³² Feldman, D. 'Was Modernity Good for the Jews?' in Cheyette, B. and Marcus, L. (eds.) *Modernity, Culture and 'the Jew'* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998), p.185

³³ Endelman, T. *England – Good or Bad for the Jews* (University of Southampton: Parkes Institute Pamphlet No.3, 2002), p.16

³⁴ Endelman, T. *England – Good or Bad for the Jews*, p.17

In addition, Endelman is cautious of historians that have adopted a comparative approach in relation to the emancipation of Jews in Western Europe. He feels that little can be ascertained from this method as it fails to account for the idiosyncratic nature of debates surrounding emancipation in different political cultures. Indeed, Endelman has stated that this approach ‘downplays the specificity of the emancipation story in Britain and its radically different character from emancipation in Germany, France, and elsewhere’.³⁵ However, Endelman’s most pressing point is his criticism of the ‘new school’ for being too influenced by contemporary events in relation to Britain’s status as a multi-cultural society. On this assumption, Endelman sees historians as having internalised their own anxieties over occurrences of xenophobia and racism in modern Britain and having projected them onto the past without fully accounting for the social and political context of the period:

At the same time, current concerns about acculturation and integration of Asians, Arabs, and Africans and the policies of successive governments toward them have also shaped historical treatments of racism, antisemitism, and xenophobia. Outrage, dismay, and sorrow about recent outbreaks of intolerance have sensitized historians to earlier outbreaks and rendered them less likely to excuse, dismiss, or trivialize them.³⁶

Yet while these criticisms have served to clarify important issues within the historiography, Feldman and Endelman have failed to formulate an alternative approach towards the study of Anglo-Jewish history. Endelman’s only comment is that the historian should attempt to ascertain ‘how tolerance and intolerance coexisted and what, if anything, connected them’.³⁷ In this respect, the dual approach of this thesis and the focus on the expression of compassion and sympathy for the plight of East European Jewry, alongside an investigation of attitudes towards aliens as refugees and migrants within Britain, can be viewed as an attempt to locate conflicting attitudes towards Jews in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Indeed, the metropolitan daily press

³⁵ Endelman, T. *England – Good or Bad for the Jews*, p.15

³⁶ Ibid. p.10

³⁷ Ibid. p.21

provides an excellent framework to gauge the nature of these responses and it is therefore important to understand certain developments within the newspaper industry during the period.

The Daily Press in Historical Context

(i) The Ideal of the 'Fourth Estate'

Throughout the nineteenth century the daily press became an increasingly central component of British culture as it gained greater political independence and social legitimacy. The unstamped radical journalism of the early nineteenth century had directly confronted the government over social reform, while the commercialisation of the liberal press throughout the mid-nineteenth century enabled newspapers to profit directly from advertising and become more independent of the political control that had hampered development throughout the eighteenth century. The abolition of the 'taxes on knowledge' between 1836 and 1861 weakened direct government control and the expansion of railway transportation meant that the metropolitan daily press could reach a wider public audience throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century.³⁸

Although these developments have been given a different emphasis by different historians, the liberalisation of the newspaper industry gave way to a claim that it represented the 'Fourth Estate'.³⁹ This idealisation of the newspaper as politically independent and capable of confronting the government was consistently exploited to increase the legitimacy of the press. As Martin Conboy has asserted, 'clashes with the political elite of the country were routinely used by newspapers as self-publicity to demonstrate their independence from government control and their duty to provide the best information for the people'.⁴⁰ Central to these claims was a deep attachment to liberalism and a belief that the freedom of the press was vital to bring about wider social reform and act as a check on governmental authority. The newspaper was therefore seen

³⁸ In 1836 the tax on newspapers was dropped from 4d to 1d. In 1853 the tax on newspaper advertising was completely abolished, while 1855 saw the repeal of stamp duty and in 1861 paper duty was eradicated.

³⁹ Although historians such as James Curran and Jean Seaton have argued that rather than freeing the press from government control, the abolition of the 'taxes on knowledge' actually imposed censorship by commercial means. See: Curran, J. and Seaton, S. Curran, J. and Seaton, J. *Power Without Responsibility: The Press and Broadcasting in Britain, 5th Edition* (London: Routledge, 2002), pp.23-27

⁴⁰ Conboy, M. *Journalism: A Critical History* (London: SAGE Publications, 2004), p.110

as being central to the liberal ideology of progress and development that was prevalent throughout the mid-nineteenth century. As Alan Lee has stated:

Perhaps only the steam railway rivalled the newspaper press in the Victorian estimation of the progress of civilisation. Journalists in particular never tired of extolling the wonders of their industry, both in their journals and in multi-volumed histories of their profession. Liberty, progress, knowledge and even salvation were virtues commonly attributed to the newspaper.⁴¹

The development of the ideal of the 'Fourth Estate' therefore played a crucial role in legitimising the newspaper. It became an ideology through which the expression of public opinion through the realm of the public sphere became an increasingly vital component of British liberal culture. Indeed, the very existence of the public sphere upheld many of the political values central to the claims of the liberal state. As Jurgen Habermas has stated, it was 'a sphere between civil society and the state, in which critical public discussion of matters of general interest were institutionally guaranteed'.⁴²

The press therefore became an ideal through which journalists were able to articulate the claim that the newspaper ensured the inclusion of the reader in politics by public discussion. As Mark Hampton has asserted, 'the press was generally seen as a forum that would ensure the free discussion of ideals so that a consensus would develop around the "truth" or the common good'.⁴³ Between the 1850s and the 1880s this function of the newspaper was commonly perceived to be an 'educational ideal' that revolved around two principal ideologies. The first was that the newspaper 'informed' and 'elevated' the readership with the knowledge through which it could attain certain fundamental 'truths'. The second claim underlined the broader liberal ideology that the press provided a framework through which 'newspapers were seen as creating an arena for public discussion on the "questions of the day"'.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Lee, A.J. *The Origins of the Popular Press in England, 1855-1914* (London: Croom Helm, 1976), p.21

⁴² Habermas, J. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (Massachusetts: Polity Press, 1989), p.xi

⁴³ Hampton, M. 'Understanding Media': Theories of the Press in Britain, 1850-1914' in *Media, Culture & Society*, vol.23 (2001), p.215

⁴⁴ Hampton, M. *Visions of the Press in Britain, 1850-1950* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004), p.9

Indeed, newspapers such as the *Times*, the *Morning Post*, the *Standard*, the *Daily News*, the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Daily Chronicle* all made claims in relation to their status as the ‘Fourth Estate’. Central to these claims was a strong attachment to the belief that newspapers acted as impartial observers on the conduct of government and guaranteed the inclusion of the reader in politics by public discussion. As a consequence, from the mid-nineteenth century the liberal ideology of the ‘educational ideal’ played an important role in legitimising the press. Newspapers increasingly projected an image of self-confidence and self-assurance to their middle-class readerships, as underlined in the announcement of the *Daily News* on its launch in 1846:

The principles advocated by the ‘The Daily News’ will be principles of progress and improvement, of education, civil and religious liberty, and equal legislation – principles such as its conductors believe the advancing spirits of the time requires, the condition of the country demands, and justice, reason, and experience legitimately sanction.⁴⁵

Likewise, the *Times* had built much of its reputation throughout the early nineteenth century on claims regarding its political independence. The *Times* had petitioned hard on behalf of the middle-classes during debates over enfranchisement and had developed great authority as the leading daily newspaper by the mid-nineteenth century. The *Times* outsold its nearest rival by more than double during this period and acquired commercial dominance from the backing of huge advertising revenues as a result of its popularity. The newspaper was also the first to establish a network of foreign correspondents and establish a reputation amongst the political elite as being representative of middle-class opinion. Indeed, the *Times* remained focussed on the ideal of the ‘Fourth Estate’ and the belief that the freedom of the press was central to the liberal ideology of progress and development. ‘The press lives by disclosures; whatever passes into its keeping becomes a part of the knowledge and history of our times; it is daily and for ever appealing to the enlightened force of public opinion – anticipating, if possible the march of events –

⁴⁵ ‘Untitled Editorial’, *The Daily News* 21st October (1846), p.4

standing upon the breach between the present and the future, and extending its survey to the horizon of the world.⁴⁶

However, according to Hampton the ‘educational ideal’ was gradually replaced by a competing ideology that has been identified as the ‘representative ideal’. On this assumption, the newspaper industry increasingly perceived itself to ‘represent’ the ideals of the public and made greater claims in relation to its role as a ‘Fourth Estate’. Yet during this period newspapers became less concerned with the ‘elevation’ of the readership and had effectively removed the masses from politics by public discussion. Rather than seeking to involve the readership or encourage self-expression, the ‘representative ideal’ merely offered to speak on the reader’s behalf.⁴⁷ As Joel Wiener has stated in support of Hampton’s assumptions, ‘journalism increasingly became an economic product that was shaped by consolidated ownership and aggressive advertising. The demands of a middle and working-class readership were met, but only in a depoliticised context subservient to larger economic forces.⁴⁸

The ideal of the ‘Fourth Estate’ that had played such a crucial role in legitimising the press therefore failed to account for parallel developments in the newspaper industry. Throughout the late nineteenth century the daily press underwent a significant transformation that challenged many of the assumptions that had supported the idealisation of the press as being ‘representative’ of public opinion. These developments included the advent of ‘New Journalism’ that drastically transformed the orientation of the newspaper market and contributed towards a sharp decline in the popularity of radical journalism. In addition, the concentration of press-ownership amongst an increasingly smaller number of proprietors driven by commercial incentives meant that the elevation of the reader through the free discussion of public ideals became less of a priority.

(ii) The Structural Transformation of the Newspaper Industry

There is a general consensus amongst historians regarding the transformation of the newspaper industry during the late nineteenth century. Early studies accounted for

⁴⁶ ‘Untitled Editorial’ *The Times* 15 July (1852), p.8

⁴⁷ See: Hampton, M. *Visions of the Press in Britain, 1850-1950*, pp.9-10

⁴⁸ Hampton, M. O’Malley, T. Potter, S. and Wiener, J. ‘Roundtable: Visions of the press in Britain, 1850-1950’ in *Media History*, Vol 12, No.1 (2006), p.80

this change by emphasising a shift in public opinion that diminished the prospective market for the older tradition of radical journalism. As James Curran and Jean Seaton have stated, 'most historians, on the left as well as the right, attribute the decline of radical journalism to a change in the climate of public opinion'.⁴⁹ This change is seen to have been brought about by certain socio-political developments throughout the 1850s that created less demand for radical journalism and made way for greater commercialisation. On this assumption, the failure of Chartism created disillusionment with radical politics that was enhanced by the enfranchisement of the upper working-class. Trade Unions also increasingly focussed on the improvement of working conditions rather than wider political developments, while social reform and the strength of the British economy meant that unemployment became less of a priority.

These factors have been seen to have diminished the popularity of radical journalism and created the conditions for the transformation of the newspaper industry. However, this interpretation has faced considerable criticism. Curran and Seaton have observed that it places far too much emphasis on a correlation between public opinion and the political partisanship of the press. They assert that radical journalism still remained relatively popular in the 1860s, while the revival of the radical movement in the early twentieth century was not matched by a significant increase in radical journalism. 'The steady growth of general trade unionism, the radicalisation of skilled workers, the spread of socialist and Labourite ideas, the rise of the suffragette movement, and the revival of industrial militancy did not give rise to an efflorescence of radical journalism in the decade before the First World War.'⁵⁰ Indeed, Curran and Seaton support this by underlining that the Labour party gained 22 per cent of the vote in the general election of 1918 without the support of a single national daily or Sunday newspaper.

Instead of the emphasis on a decline in radical journalism relative to a change in British public opinion, studies have rather focussed on the structural transformation of the newspaper industry. For instance, Habermas emphasised the commercialisation of the press during the nineteenth century as one of the principal factors in the transformation of the public sphere:

⁴⁹ Curran, J. and Seaton, S. Curran, J. and Seaton, J. *Power Without Responsibility: The Press and Broadcasting in Britain*, 5th Edition (London: Routledge, 2002), p.28

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* p.29

In England, France and the United States, the transformation from a journalism of conviction to one of commerce began in the 1830s at approximately the same time. In the transition from the literary journalism of private individuals to the public services of the mass media the public sphere was transformed by the influx of private interests, which received special prominence in the mass media.⁵¹

Indeed, British press historians have focussed on the development of 'New Journalism' and increased commercialisation as the prominent factors in the transformation of the press during the late nineteenth century. For instance, Lee's study of the origins of the popular press cites the emergence of 'New Journalism' under W. T. Stead's editorship of the *Pall Mall Gazette* as a definitive turning point in the creation of a more commercialised market. Lee emphasises that this new style of newspaper broke with earlier journalistic traditions and led to the proliferation of 'New Journalism' through a cheaper metropolitan evening press.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* is therefore recognised as having established new typographical and journalistic devices that included cross-heads, shorter and more concise paragraphs, larger informative headlines and illustrations that made the newspaper more readable and marketable. In addition, the newspaper introduced shorter parliamentary sketches and editorials that created a less politicised format, while an increased focus on sensation, sport and entertainment changed the focus of the newspaper's content. 'The relationship between paper and reader was thus being changed from the ideal one of a tutorial and intellectual nature, to one of a market character.'⁵² Lee asserts that this shift was a major influence on the proliferation of 'New Journalism' at the turn of the century that saw rigorous competition over circulation in a more commercialised market:

By the 1890s the reader was expected to be intellectually more passive, morally less confident, attracted less by the prospect of greater wisdom than by that of 'Elevated' status, and he was now appealed to in a shrill capitalist format. This was

⁵¹ Habermas, J. 'The Public Sphere: An Encyclopaedia Article (1964)' in Hohendahl, P and Russian, P. *New German Critique*, No. 3 (Autumn, 1974), p.53

⁵² Lee, A.J. *The Origins of the Popular Press in England, 1855-1914*, p.121

not true of all journals or journalists, of course, but it was a change characteristic of the general spirit and informing values of journalism in general by the turn of the century.⁵³

In addition, Lucy Brown has asserted that during the late nineteenth century newspapers became increasingly dependent upon the political elite as sources of information. Brown uses this observation to explain a decline in the 'critical vigour' of the press during the late nineteenth century. 'It is a paradox, though an understandable one, that, in proportion as the newspapers grew in social acceptance, being no longer taxed or suspected, so they declined in critical vigour.'⁵⁴ Indeed, Brown states that the use of politicians for information led to a decline in impartiality and a rightward drift in the political partisanship of the press. On a broader level, Brown asserts the irony that this transformation ran parallel to a belief in the press as a neutral observer that provided access to the 'truth' on the issues of the day. 'The paradox was that this situation of real dependence [...] should coexist with the exalted nineteenth-century belief in the press as the impartial investigator of truth and righter of wrong.'⁵⁵

The commercialisation of the press therefore led to newspapers being motivated more by profit than a genuine desire to 'inform' and 'elevate' the readership. In addition, newspapers became increasingly preoccupied with the manipulation of popular sentiment through sensation and entertainment rather than detailed political commentary and analysis. Where political analysis did play a prominent role, impartiality was undermined by the use of political actors for the supply of information. As Conboy has asserted, 'by the 1880s a combination of stylistic experiments, technological innovations, political advances and economic conditions were to transform the ambition and content of journalism and orientate it irrevocably to mass audiences via the New Journalism'.⁵⁶

Indeed, by the turn of the century the emergence of the popular press greatly enhanced the commercialisation of the British press. The advent of the *Daily Mail* (1896), the *Daily Express* (1900) and the *Daily Mirror* (1903) saw rigorous competition

⁵³ Lee, A.J. *The Origins of the Popular Press in England, 1855-1914*, p.130

⁵⁴ Brown, L. *Victorian News and Newspapers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), p.276

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* p.277

⁵⁶ Conboy, M. *Journalism: A Critical History*, p.166

over circulation, where each newspaper attempted to attain affinity with an expanding lower middle-class and working-class readership. These newspapers made use of enormous capital investment through finance raised from other publications in addition to large advertising revenues. The emergence of these newspapers also contributed to the rapid development of 'New Journalism' through stylistic innovations and technological advances in printing that enabled faster production at a much cheaper rate. For instance, the *Daily Mail* became the first half-penny newspaper to sell over a million copies during its jingoistic coverage of the Boer War.

The *Daily Mail* focussed on light entertainment rather than detailed political commentary and deliberately limited the amount of space devoted to Parliamentary reporting. As Chalaby has stated, 'the average size of its parliamentary column, in its first month of existence, was seven lines for the Lords, and eight for the Commons'.⁵⁷ By the 1900s this space was drastically reduced so that debates within Parliament did not receive daily coverage at all and were only given consideration when felt to be worthy of public attention. On a broader level these developments also influenced the content of the *Daily Express* and the *Daily Mirror*, while the mainstream press also diminished its political focus, contributing towards the general depoliticisation of the British press. 'Towards the 1900s the *Daily Mail* ceased to report the debates on a daily basis, and henceforth summaries appeared sporadically. Northcliffe had set a precedent, and the popular daily newspapers which were launched during the Edwardian decade rarely bothered with Parliament'.⁵⁸

Like the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the *Daily Mail* also made use of headings and sub-headings so that news could be read quickly and digested easily. The newspaper focused on articles that would have the broadest possible appeal and made sure that information was broken down into small sections. The content of the newspaper included fashion, general interest, sport and gossip, while there was also a page specially devoted to women. Northcliffe also deliberately orientated the appeal of the *Daily Mail* towards the commercial priorities of its advertisers and made sure that circulation remained a high priority to increase profit from revenues. Indeed, the commercial focus of Northcliffe

⁵⁷ Chalaby, J. K. *The Invention of Journalism* (London: Macmillan, 1998), p.87

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* p.87

remained the major priority of the newspaper and was by far the more novel development of the *Daily Mail*. As Conboy has asserted, 'Northcliffe's genius lay in his ability to harness consumption, circulation and profit, rather than in any journalistic experimentation'.⁵⁹

Indeed, the launch of the *Daily Express* and the *Daily Mirror* enhanced the commercial focus of the popular press as each newspaper competed over circulation. This led to further changes in the content of each newspaper as editors and journalists continued to experiment with typographical and stylistic aspects of the printed page. Sensational news also became a much more prominent feature of each newspaper as editors included more reports on subjects such as crime and violence. Central to this aspect of the popular newspaper was the human interest story that became a characteristic feature of the developing 'New Journalism'. As Chalaby has remarked, 'news items came to be selected for their entertaining value and their capacity to hold readers' interest and attention. Human interest stories are the primary example of this policy and epitomize the shift away from politics and the understanding by press entrepreneurs of the importance of content diversity to satisfy current readers and attract new ones'.⁶⁰

The structural transformation of the newspaper industry therefore had a profound impact on the style and content of journalism during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century: 'it widened its scope to broader and more profitable markets to the exclusion of social aims'.⁶¹ On this assumption, the growth of 'New Journalism' created an environment in which a commercialised and 'representative ideal' depoliticised the British public sphere. As a result, the older tradition of radical journalism and the 'educational ideal' that had encouraged the flourishing of traditional notions of intellectual freedom and self-expression had been replaced by an ideology that claimed to 'represent' the ideals of the readership. However, the 'representative ideal' had effectively removed the masses from politics by public discussion. Newspapers no longer focussed so much on involving the readership in public discussion or self-expression, but rather offered to speak on the reader's behalf.

⁵⁹ Conboy, M. *Journalism: A Critical History*, p.173

⁶⁰ Chalaby, J. K. *The Invention of Journalism*, p.101

⁶¹ Conboy, M. *Journalism: A Critical History*, p.171

In addition, broader concerns regarding the desirability of mass political participation and the concentration of press-ownership amongst a small number of proprietors driven by commercial incentives meant that political representation became less of a priority. As Hampton has asserted, 'the 'new journalism' contributed to a depoliticised culture both by advertising wares and simply by its presence as an alternative to politics. Readers of the 'new journalism' were increasingly included in a public conversation, but effectively excluded from conversations about government and 'public affairs', a situation that has only become exacerbated during the course of the twentieth century.'⁶² As this thesis will demonstrate, these factors had a profound impact on the expression of compassion and sympathy for plight of East European Jewry and attitudes towards alien immigration in the metropolitan daily press.

The 'Alien' in Popular Print and Society

Between 1880 and 1914 120,000 to 150,000 East European Jews settled in Britain.⁶³ During the same period a further 1.5 million Jews settled in the United States, dramatically increasing the Jewish populations in both countries.⁶⁴ This process of mass migration was caused by a number of contributory factors and was not merely triggered by outbreaks of Russian anti-Jewish violence and anti-Jewish legislation.⁶⁵ Although Russian persecution was largely understood to be the primary cause of migration at the time, and undoubtedly played a role in accelerating Jewish emigration, the mass movement of East European Jewry was essentially a response to harsh economic

⁶² Hampton, M. 'Understanding Media': Theories of the Press in Britain, 1850-1914' in *Media, Culture & Society*, p.227

⁶³ Endelman, T. *The Jews of Britain, 1656 to 2000*, p.127. It is important to note that the migration of East European Jewry did not commence in 1880. Although the number of Jews rapidly accelerated during the period 1880-1914, there was a history of Jewish migration from East Europe from 1840.

⁶⁴ For example, the Anglo-Jewish community was estimated to be 35,000 on the eve of the mass migration. See: Englander, D. (ed) *A Documentary History of Jewish Immigrants in Britain, 1840-1914*, p.7

⁶⁵ However, this misconception is still widespread, even amongst historians. For example, Gavin Schaffer recently stated that 'Russian anti-Jewish violence after the assassination of Czar Nicholas II in 1881 led to a large-scale influx into Britain and America of poor Eastern European Jewish refugees.' See: Schaffer, G. 'Fighting Battles with History: The Novelist Louis Golding and the Story of the 'Doomington Wanderer' in *Immigrants and Minorities* 24, 1 (March, 2006), p.75

conditions, demographic shifts and specific migratory patterns that were prominent features in the movement of all migrant groups during the late nineteenth century.⁶⁶

In addition, anti-Jewish violence was not the result of the autocratic despotism of the central government. Although traditional historians such as Simon Dubnow propagated this view, and many observers suspected the involvement of the Russian authorities in the organisation of anti-Jewish violence at the time of the outbreaks, the Tsarist regime was not complicit in the spread of pogrom related violence. Indeed, recent studies have underlined a number of contributory factors that included social, political, economic and cultural imbalances within the Russian empire that created hostile undercurrents that eventually erupted to the surface as episodes of anti-Jewish violence.⁶⁷ While the notion that the government deliberately engineered the pogroms is not inherently implausible, such an assertion lacks a degree of direct evidence. As Shlomo Lambroza has stated, 'antisemitism is a product of common mistrust, competition, jealousy, psychological habits, and religious antipathies. The pogroms in Russia represented a complex manifestation of antisemitism. Their development must be understood within the social and political context of late Imperial Russia'.⁶⁸

Yet throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the Russian autocracy was largely believed to be behind acts of Jewish persecution. Anti-Jewish violence was also widely understood to be the principle cause of Jewish emigration. Outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence and the implementation of anti-Jewish legislation across the Russian empire were therefore perceived to be the reason behind the arrival of increasing numbers of East European Jews in Britain. As Sam Johnson has asserted, 'in the British mindset there was a strong correlation between Jewish subjugation in Russia and emigration to Britain'.⁶⁹ Indeed, prior to the arrival of large numbers of Jews, it was events within the Russian empire that maintained the interest of the metropolitan daily press in the plight of East European Jewry. As Johnson has further remarked, 'anti-

⁶⁶ See: Kerhsen, A. *Strangers, Aliens and Asians: Huguenots, Jews and Bangladeshis in Spitalfields, 1660-2000*, pp.27-53

⁶⁷ This interpretation is the dominant theme in the work of John Klier. See: Klier, J., and Lambroza, S. (eds), *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History* (Cambridge University Press 1992)

⁶⁸ Lambroza, S. 'The Pogroms of 1903-1906' in Klier, J., and Lambroza, S. (eds), *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History*, p.239

⁶⁹ Johnson, S. 'CONFRONTING THE EAST: *Darkest Russia*, British Opinion and Tsarism's "Jewish Question," 1890-1914', p.199

Jewish sentiment and brutality within the Russian empire ensured that the Jewish question was a frequent subject of discussion in the British press'.⁷⁰

The metropolitan daily press therefore played an important role in exposing episodes of Russian persecution and initiated mass support for the expression of moral indignation on behalf of East European Jewry. Technological developments in communication rapidly accelerated the transmission of information throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and news agencies and foreign correspondents were able to relay information from Russia to Britain via electronic telegraph more easily and at an increasingly cheaper rate.⁷¹ As a result, outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence across the Russian empire became the subject of intense press attention in Britain during the late nineteenth century, and the metropolitan daily press focussed on the plight of East European Jewry in an attempt to lobby British public opinion over support for some form of diplomatic intervention. As John Klier has remarked of the *Times* during the outbreak of anti-Jewish violence in 1881-1882:

A study of the *Times*' editorial postures during this period provides an excellent narrative record of the British response to anti-Jewish violence in Russia, as manifested in meetings, petitions, and parliamentary interpellations, and serves as well as a chronicle of the efforts of pro- and anti-Russian publicists.⁷²

In addition to the attention given to anti-Jewish violence and anti-Jewish legislation, the metropolitan daily press also became increasingly focussed on the arrival and settlement of East European Jews within the East End. By the late Victorian period the East End of London had been established as a potent symbol of poverty and destitution by a longstanding tradition of investigative journalism. As Alan Palmer has remarked, 'the East End, as a collective concept meriting the use of initial capital letters, was an

⁷⁰ Ibid. p.199

⁷¹ See: Ranteman, T. *Foreign News in Imperial Russia: The Relationship between International and Russian News Agencies, 1856-1914* (Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran julkaisuja, 1990), p.23

⁷² Klier, J. D. 'The Times of London, the Russian Press and the Pogroms of 1881-2' in *The Carl Beck Papers, No.308* (Pittsburgh, PA, 1984), p.1

invention of the early 1880s. It was created by the London press at a time of thwarted sales and political endeavour'.⁷³

Indeed, the recognition of the East End as a focal point for urban poverty contributed to a view of London as a divided metropolis. While the East End came to symbolise extreme misery and destitution, the West End represented the wealth and power at the heart of empire. Journalists therefore tended to measure observations of the East End against an assumed norm of metropolitan middle-class culture and as a result accounts of the East End tended to display a propensity for fantasy and invention: 'in the last decades of the nineteenth century, journalistic exposés highlighted geographic segregation, impressing on Londoners the perception that they lived in a city of contrasts, a class and geographically divided metropolis of hovels and palaces'.⁷⁴ An imperialist rhetoric in much of the investigative literature also shaped an image of the East End as a strange and exotic land of danger and excitement, journalists often drawing direct parallels between the East End and less developed parts of the British empire. As Peter Keating has remarked, 'the upsurge of interest in the East End of London during the 1880s and 1890s had at hand a ready-made contrast between East and West which could be used to refer simultaneously to London and Empire'.⁷⁵

The 'influx' of a substantial number of immigrants into an area already renowned for its poverty and destitution therefore meant that there were a number of existing anxieties that could be easily associated with a large group of conspicuous and vulnerable immigrants. Even before the arrival of a large number of East European Jews within the East End, the area was perceived to present a threat to the existing status quo. A growing awareness of the extent of poverty shocked and dismayed many observers and led to apprehension over the potential consequences of a large dissatisfied and neglected urban population: 'the undeniable presence of a large and distinct working-class community

⁷³ Palmer, A. *The East End: Four Centuries of London Life*, p.85

⁷⁴ Walkowitz, J. R. *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (London and Chicago: University of Chicago, 1992), p.26

⁷⁵ Keating, P. (ed.) *Into Unknown England, 1866-1913: Selections from the Social Explorers* (Glasgow: Fontana/Collins, 1976), p.20

just down the road from the City and the Houses of Parliament was in itself a threat, quite apart from the panics about disease and crime'.⁷⁶

The extent of poverty experienced throughout the East End was largely a result of the economic structure of the casual labour market. London's characterization as a 'finishing centre' meant that production revolved around a number of small key industries such as clothing, furniture, printing and precision manufacture that did not necessitate an advanced system of industrial production. Production was therefore subdivided amongst small workshops, where the sweating-system allowed contractors to increase profits with minimum overheads. The nature of this small-scale industry also depended upon a casual labour market and a system of indirect employment where work was seasonal, unstable and susceptible to long periods of unemployment; factors that greatly contributed to the East End's reputation for poverty and degradation. As Gareth Stedman Jones has remarked, 'the extensive survival of small-scale production in Victorian London determined that its economic structure, its social and political character, and its patterns of poverty remained largely distinct from other nineteenth century industrial regions'.⁷⁷

Attitudes towards Jewish immigration over the period therefore varied according to social, political and economic factors. Initial hostilities consisted of a number of regional responses amongst inhabitants of the East End that centred upon labour, housing, and hygiene issues. A number of myths emerged regarding Jewish responsibility for the sweating-system and the mass displacement of native workers, while increased immigration had a definite impact on overcrowding and rent prices: 'aliens were somewhat to blame for exacerbating an evil, since but for their presence, the population might well have declined to the level of available house room'.⁷⁸ Slum demolition also had the undesired effect of replacing dwellings with factories and workhouses, reducing the amount available housing. In addition, a tendency amongst immigrants to combine home and workshop contributed towards concerns over public health and the

⁷⁶ Davies, G. 'Foreign Bodies: Images of the London Working Class at the End of the Nineteenth Century' in *Literature and History*, 14 (1) (Spring, 1988), p.66

⁷⁷ Jones, G. S. *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between Classes in Victorian Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p.32

⁷⁸ Gainer, B. *The Alien Invasion: The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905*, p. 37

unfamiliarity of migrants with western hygiene standards also contributed towards health and hygiene concerns.

The increasing recognition of Jewish immigration as a social problem also saw the emergence of a number of antisemitic stereotypes and a common perception that Jews were motivated by profit, were able to subsist on meagre wages, and were determined in a conscious effort to displace native workers. As Williams has noted of attitudes towards Jewish immigrants in the Manchester press at the time, ‘it is possible to trace the gradual construction by the periodical press of a cloth capped Shylock, gifted with an unnatural capacity for saving where an Englishman would starve, with a standard of living of extraordinary flexibility, willing and able to work longer hours, for lower pay and in worse conditions than any native workmen’.⁷⁹ Indeed, the construction of the immigrant as a fierce and aggressive competitor became a dominant image during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and was based on a complex manifestation of direct experience and inherited stereotypes. As Lee has stated of working-class perceptions of the Jewish immigrant:

On the one hand there was the direct experience of everyday life: on the other there were the shared and learnt ideas of the Jew which had little to do with ordinary working-class life, or with experience of the Jewish immigrant, even in areas of heavy Jewish settlement. Moreover, and simplifying the process, the direct experience was by and large that of the poor immigrant, while the ideas were of ‘Shylock’ or ‘the Wandering Jew’ or the general type that these referred to, of whom the workers can have had little if any direct experience.⁸⁰

However, these regional responses were very much shaped by wider pressures and circumstances. For example, during periods of economic recession when unemployment dramatically increased, local hostility towards Jewish immigration became much more vehement and pronounced. In addition, broader developments and transformations also impacted upon debates on Jewish immigration. Although the focus of animosity during

⁷⁹ Williams, B. ‘The Anti-Semitism of Tolerance: Middle Class Manchester and the Jews, 1870-1900’, p.80

⁸⁰ Lee, A. ‘Working Class Responses to Jews’ in Lunn, K. (ed.) *Hosts, Immigrants and Minorities: Historical Responses to Newcomers in British Society, 1870-1914* (Folkestone: Dawson, 1980), p.108

the 1880s and 1890s centred on issues regarding health, labour and urban poverty, during the 1900s anti-alien sentiment shifted to broader concerns and insecurities regarding the ambitions of the British state and its status as an imperial power. As Feldman has remarked, 'by contrast, after the turn of the century, when immigration again became a subject for social investigation and political agitation, the emphasis of debate had shifted from the domestic to the imperial consequences of poverty'.⁸¹

Indeed, by the twentieth century a loss of self-confidence regarding Britain's imperial status influenced attitudes towards increased Jewish immigration. A growing recognition of foreign competition throughout the closing decades of the nineteenth century and the impact of the Boer War shattered the belief in the invulnerability of the British empire. Added to these uncertainties were social transformations that were felt to be directly related to the future success of Britain as an imperial power. A significant drop in population growth was accompanied by a realisation that the working-classes were reproducing at a faster rate than the middle-classes. Britain was also entering a period of social and economic decline and a prolonged depression where high unemployment and internal migration from rural areas to urban centres led to fears over rising poverty and poor public health.

These concerns also gave rise to the questioning of broader socio-political themes. The decline in economic growth and increased international competition led Chamberlain to launch a sustained attack on Free Trade with a campaign for Tariff Reform that was closely related to debates on immigration restriction. Indeed, throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century insecurities over Britain's status became increasingly focussed on the East End of London and its inhabitants:

The disquieting effects of the Great Depression, the erosion of mid-Victorian prosperity, the decline of London's traditional industries, and international competition from the U.S and Germany for industrial and military supremacy, all contributed to a sense of malaise and decline. This anxious mood was

⁸¹ Feldman, D. 'The Importance of Being English: Jewish Immigration and the Decay of Liberal England', p.57

communicated through representations of London itself, particularly those involving political disorder, urban pathology, and physical degeneration.⁸²

At the turn of the century attitudes towards Jewish immigration therefore became more hostile and were linked to wider concerns regarding a general decline in the liberal ideals of the nineteenth century. Debates on alien immigration surrounding the implementation of restrictive legislation became increasingly focussed on nationalism, physical degeneration, crime, and the spread of disease, in addition to fears over immigrant involvement in socialism and anarchism. As Feldman has remarked 'looking at the anti-alien movement in its own terms we will be better placed to see the 1905 Aliens Act as one of the turning points in the decline of liberal England: a revealing response to the creeping transformation of Britain's place in the world'.⁸³

With great attention to these themes, this thesis undertakes an investigation of the development of attitudes towards alien immigration in the metropolitan daily press during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It engages with transformations within the newspaper industry and those that occurred within the broader context of British society to account for a shift in attitudes towards the Russian persecution of East European Jewry and alien immigration into Britain. The study is therefore organised chronologically to focus on outbreaks of Russian anti-Jewish violence and legislation, and to account for responses towards increased alien immigration. This dual approach and the focus on the metropolitan daily press offers an original insight into alien immigration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and enables an investigation of the expression of sympathy and compassion for the plight of East European Jewry, and the extent to which this was undermined by the development of anti-alien sentiment throughout the period.

As a result, chapter one assesses the response of the British press towards the outbreak of anti-Jewish violence across the Russian empire between 1881-1882 to establish the nature of attitudes towards the Russian persecution of East European Jewry. It examines the complex nature of British opinion towards Russia and Eastern Europe

⁸² Walkowitz, J. R. *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London*, p.26

⁸³ Feldman, D. 'The Importance of Being English: Jewish Immigration and the Decay of Liberal England', p.57

and underlines the extent to which debates over the authenticity of press reporting impacted upon attitudes towards the plight of East European Jewry. It also undertakes an investigation of attempts by newspapers to initiate mass support for a public protest to express moral indignation on behalf of East European Jewry. In addition, the chapter establishes that outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence were immediately perceived to pose a threat in relation to a possible 'influx' of Jewish refugees.

Chapter two continues these themes with an investigation of the response of the metropolitan daily press towards the expulsion of Jews from Russia between 1890-1892. It links these events to growing concerns over increased alien immigration and fears over a potential refugee crisis. The chapter establishes that newspapers became convinced of a definite link between events in Russia and the number of Jews believed to be entering Britain. It also underlines that various newspapers began to assert the need for restrictive legislation and on occasion directly undermined Britain's 'tradition' of asylum. The chapter also demonstrates that the authenticity of press reporting became a central theme in relation to Russian anti-Jewish persecution and severely undermined concern for the plight of East European Jewry. Newspapers became increasingly convinced that a definite link existed between events in Russia and the number of Jews believed to be entering Britain.

Chapter three deals with outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence at Kishinev in 1903 and locates attitudes towards anti-Jewish violence within the context of wider socio-political transformations and changes within the newspaper industry. It asserts that the advent of the popular press led to a more sensational representation of the alien and a newspaper industry that was less concerned with involving the readership in debates within the public sphere. As a result, the potential for a public protest was not pursued as rigorously as it had been during previous outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence and a public remonstration never became the subject of intense press attention. The more sensationalised representation of the alien also led to the development of a far more vehement form of anti-alienism. The popular press therefore took a particularly keen interest in the alien and greatly fabricated issues related to increased immigration. At the same time, the *Royal Commission on Alien Immigration* delivered its final report that recommended the implementation of restrictive legislation. As a consequence, certain

newspapers were convinced that Britain's 'tradition' of asylum was misguided and that restriction was necessary to prevent the entry of immigrants deemed 'undesirable'. As with previous outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence, debates regarding the authenticity of press reporting were also a contentious issue that seriously disrupted the expression of sympathy and compassion for the plight of East European Jewry.

Finally, Chapter four analyses attitudes in the British press towards the passing of the Aliens Act alongside Russian anti-Jewish violence at Odessa during the period 1904-1906. It establishes that Chamberlain's campaign for Tariff Reform was responsible for radically altering a previous consensus amongst the daily press in support of Free Trade and that this initiated further support for the implementation of restrictive legislation. The chapter also asserts that anti-alienism became such a powerful and effective means of asserting fears over increased immigration that negative assumptions regarding the alien far outweighed concern for the plight of East European Jewry. In addition, debate over the passing of the Aliens Act had reached such an acute stage that it obscured the propensity for public protest and the expression of moral indignation. The link between persecution and mass migration was also now so firmly embedded in the metropolitan daily press' attitude that outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence were immediately perceived in terms of an increase in the alien population. Heightened anti-alienism surrounding the passing of the Aliens Act alongside outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence at Odessa therefore served to heighten anxieties over the mass migration of East European Jewry.

The newspapers incorporated into this study were chosen to reflect developments within the newspaper industry. They include the traditional daily newspapers that were part of the development of the 'liberal' press in the nineteenth century. These comprise of the *Times*, the *Morning Post*, the *Standard*, the *Daily News*, the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Daily Chronicle*. The study also incorporates the *St James's Gazette* and the *Pall Mall Gazette*, two metropolitan evening newspapers that played an important role in the development of the 'New Journalism'. In addition, the study has incorporated the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Express* and the *Daily Mirror* in the final chapters to account for the transformation of the newspaper industry and the impact that this had on the representation of alien immigration and debates regarding the persecution of East European Jewry. The *Jewish Chronicle* is also used to provide a perspective on Anglo-

Jewish attitudes towards debates regarding the plight of East European Jewry and increased alien immigration into Britain over the period.

Chapter 1

Authenticity, Persecution and Mass Migration, 1881-1882

The outbreak of anti-Jewish violence across the Russian empire became the subject of intense press attention in Britain during the period 1881-1882. Although the metropolitan daily press was initially slow in realising the full extent of the Russian persecution of East European Jewry and asserting the need for a public protest, the outcry surrounding the ‘Warsaw Outrages’ at the close of 1881 radically transformed British public opinion towards a more comprehensive understanding of events within Russia. In a period when the British press still articulated and encouraged the flourishing of intellectual freedom, newspapers initiated mass support for a public remonstration to express moral indignation on behalf of East European Jewry.

British attitudes towards Russia and Eastern Europe were, however, complex and tended to make judgments on the basis of predetermined assumptions. After the assassination of Tsar Alexander II and the outbreak of anti-Jewish violence, Russia was increasingly perceived to lack the level of ‘civilisation’ of Western Europe and was consistently represented as ‘backward’, ‘savage’ and ‘barbarian’ by the metropolitan daily press. While these observations undoubtedly held weight in reference to outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence, newspapers tended to make allegations without recourse to alternative sources of information. The assumptions of the daily press were therefore easily interpreted as being Russophobic. This enabled ‘liberal’ antisemites and Russian apologists to effortlessly contradict assertions made in reference to the Russian empire and the rapid spread of anti-Jewish violence.

In addition, anti-Jewish violence was consistently undermined by debates over the authenticity of press reporting. Accusations regarding gross exaggeration were frequently asserted and severely disrupted the expression of sympathy and compassion for the plight of East European Jewry. The publication of consular reports from British diplomats also further discredited articles in the metropolitan daily press that enabled

Russian apologists to assert that many acts committed against Jews were fabrications. Consequently, questions regarding the authenticity of press reporting created an environment in which the Russian persecution of East European Jewry was further discredited by Russian apologists as well as sections of the metropolitan daily press that cast doubt on the reports of Russian correspondents.

As the persecution of East European Jewry gained increasing public attention, sympathy for the plight of East European Jewry also began to be overshadowed by fears regarding a potential refugee crisis. Although anti-alienism was not expressed to the extent that it would be during later periods of persecution and mass migration, the assassination of Tsar Alexander II and the subsequent instability that spread throughout Europe saw sections of the daily press convey anxiety over political refugees and Britain's 'liberal tradition' of asylum. The notion of asylum was therefore not a stable ideology within the realm of public opinion and outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence and the successive movement of Jews towards the Austro-Hungarian border saw newspapers express alarm over the prospect of a potential 'influx' of East European Jews.

The persecution of East European Jewry during the period 1881-1882 was therefore the subject of much debate within the metropolitan daily press. While newspapers undoubtedly played a crucial role in expressing moral indignation and confronting the Russian autocracy over the plight of East European Jewry, attempts to reach a consensus over outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence were constantly undermined by doubts regarding the authenticity of press reporting and fears in relation to a possible 'influx' of Jewish refugees. Although there was no direct evidence of the arrival of a large number of Jews during this period, the daily press quickly became aware that the persistence of unstable conditions within the Russian empire were likely to instigate the mass migration of East European Jewry.

Eastern Europe and the Refugee Question

The assassination of Tsar Alexander II on 13 March 1881 was perceived to be a tragic misfortune for the Russian empire by most sections of the metropolitan daily press. Despite being seen as the head of a despotic and authoritarian regime, the Tsar was held

in high regard for the liberal reforms made on behalf of the Russian populace; his failure to maintain a clear and coherent liberal policy was blamed on a corrupt administration. His death, according to the first editorial in the *Pall Mall Gazette* dealing with the assassination, marked ‘a tragic ending to such a career, so sombre a close to a reign full of contribution to the cause of progress, and heroic exertion in the cause of humanity; it is a shock to the moral sense of mankind’.¹

This appraisal of the Tsar as a progressive autocrat fitted to an existing perception of Russia and Eastern Europe shaped by the Enlightenment that persisted throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The Enlightenment theory of progress had been responsible for a cognitive framework in which Western Europe conceived itself to be at the centre of ‘civilisation’, distinct from the supposed ‘backwardness’, ‘savagery’ and ‘barbarianism’ of the East. As Larry Wolff has asserted, ‘whether fanciful or philosophical in spirit, of imaginative extravagance or of earnest erudition, the study of Eastern Europe, like Orientalism, was a style of intellectual mastery, integrating knowledge and power, perpetuating domination and subordination’.²

It was a geographic and cultural imagination that positioned Russia and Eastern Europe between Occident and Orient, an intermediate ground between ‘civilisation’ and ‘barbarism’ in which Eastern Europe never attained the definitive ‘otherness’ of the East. This intellectual project of ‘demi-Orientalism’ saw Eastern Europe open to the progression and advancement of the West on assumptions of the Enlightenment model. ‘Eastern Europe was located not at the antipode of civilisation, not down in the depths of barbarism, but rather on the developmental scale that measured the distance between civilisation and barbarism.’³ British attitudes toward Russia and Eastern Europe were therefore amenable to ambiguity, a condition of ‘backwardness’ open to a relative scale of development.

The assassination of the Tsar, however, shattered the belief in Russian and East European progress. The metropolitan daily press voiced much concern over the likelihood of internal repression under Tsar Alexander III and expressed anxiety at the

¹ ‘THE ASSASSINATION OF THE CZAR’, The *Pall Mall Gazette* 14 March (1881), p.1

² Wolff, L. *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilisation on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (California: Stanford Press, 1994), p.8

³ *Ibid.* p.13

spread of political instability throughout Europe. The murder of Alexander II at the hands of nihilist radicals had seen the new Tsar grow increasingly insecure over the threat of subversive action and had led to the implementation of measures to prevent further nihilist agitation. As a consequence, a link between political refugees and nihilist plots developed in the West European press where a fear over assassination attempts became a distinguished feature of newspaper discourse.⁴ As the *Morning Post* remarked, ‘we trust the new EMPEROR will live to realise the best wishes of all honest friends of Russia. We sincerely wish him a secure victory over domestic enemies who are the common enemies of civilisation. At the same time, England may usefully take a leaf out of Russia’s book and “above all” take care of “herself”’.⁵

This anxiety over refugees and assassination plots influenced the daily press’ attitude towards Britain’s ‘tradition’ of asylum, a policy of unrestricted refugee entry that had received much support during the mid-nineteenth century. Although the policy was the expression of a number of complementary ideals, stemming from mid-nineteenth century liberalism and supported by a period of substantial economic growth, political asylum had been widely defended in the face of fierce foreign opposition. As Bernard Porter has stated, ‘people disliked being told to alter their superior laws at the request or dictation of foreign governments’.⁶ Political traditions, including freedom of speech, equality before the law, the accountability of government and a widespread adherence to the notion of moderation had provided Britain with a civic identity that greatly differed to the perception of the political climate on the continent. The values that upheld this policy were therefore ironically united by a strong sense of xenophobia towards foreign governments and a feeling that autocracy and suppression naturally bred resistance and subversion. It was a blend of ideals that gave credence to the belief that Britain could not be undermined by radical insurgence simply because her liberal system and political institutions were too honourable and robust.

⁴ In Britain these fears gained early credence when an attempt to blow up the Mansion House was discovered that was believed to be connected to the cause for Irish independence. See, for example: ‘ATTEMPT TO BLOW UP THE MANSION HOUSE’, The *St James’s Gazette* 17 March (1881), p.8 and ‘ATTEMPT TO DESTROY MANSION HOUSE’, The *Morning Post* 17 March (1881), p.4

⁵ ‘Untitled Editorial’, The *Morning Post* 18 March (1881), p.4

⁶ Porter, B. *The Refugee Question in Mid-Victorian Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p.119

Nevertheless, Britain's commitment to the right of asylum had always maintained a degree of ambiguity despite its apparent popularity. Refugees were in the peculiar position of being tolerated because of pride in the liberal character of a tradition and a firm hatred of foreign despotism. It was these aspects that determined much of public opinion towards refugees in the nineteenth century:

When inferior polities, not fully aware of the implications of what they were doing, made demands upon Britain that she amend her freer and better institutions to suit them, it was, naturally, widely resented: and it was this resentment which, more than anything else, determined the response of public opinion in Britain, not only to the demands, but also to the 'refugee question' itself which was the occasion of them.⁷

Support for British policy within the realm of public opinion was therefore not necessarily a permanent or stable ideology, and refugees were not received or tolerated purely on the grounds of humanitarian concern or compassion. The assassination of Tsar Alexander II and the subsequent publication of *Freiheit*, a London based German-language refugee newspaper that supported nihilist activity across Europe, saw sections of the metropolitan daily press begin to question the basis of British asylum policy. As the *Daily Telegraph* remarked:

it is a serious question for all statesmen and jurists whether the unrestrained liberty we allow to our own press should be extended to every criminal refugee who makes London his headquarters [...] to give shelter and opportunities to desperate men, who openly boast that they have contrived murder, seems to us an extension of hospitality far beyond all reasonable limits.⁸

For a section of the daily press, the prosecution of the *Freiheit* editor, Johann Most, therefore served as an opportunity to embark upon a veiled attack upon British asylum policy. Although many of the liberal newspapers saw the case as unnecessary, counter-

⁷ Porter, B. *The Refugee Question in Mid-Victorian Politics*, pp.124-125

⁸ 'Untitled Editorial', *The Daily Telegraph* 21 March (1881), p.4

productive and a direct assault on the freedom of speech, the prosecution saw a distinct change in opinions regarding the rights of political refugees.⁹ As Porter has remarked, ‘the *Freiheit* prosecutions were a sign of this early shift in official policy, and possibly in public opinion’¹⁰, a shift that saw Britain bow to international pressure, re-establish secret police surveillance and a system of co-operation with continental authorities. Prior to the outbreak of the persecution of East-European Jewry reservations regarding refugees and the notion of asylum were therefore already advanced by a substantial section of the metropolitan daily press in relation to events directly associated with the Russian empire.

The Persecution of East European Jewry

(i) Russia and the Outbreak of Anti-Jewish Violence

News of the first outbreak of violence against East European Jewry at Elizabethgrad on 30 April 1881 reached the daily press through foreign correspondents and the Reuters and Central News agencies.¹¹ These reports were primarily contradictory, making it difficult to gauge the severity of attacks, the only instance of agreement being that the police and military had acted appropriately and that the riots had ‘their origin in the superstition of the peasantry’.¹² Nevertheless, the *Daily Chronicle*’s correspondent undermined any objectivity achieved by this consensus, casting doubt on the extent of damage inflicted upon the Jewish community in stating that information attained was ‘no doubt exaggerated’.¹³ It was an allegation that was to become a prominent feature in the reporting of anti-Jewish violence.

The persecution of East-European Jewry, however, further justified the conviction that Russian society was beyond the immediate sphere of Western ‘civilisation’. Reports

⁹ For example, the *Times*, the *Daily News* and the *Pall Mall Gazette* saw the prosecution of Most as being counter-productive, its only real consequence being the gravitation of publicity towards a previously unread and unpopular refugee journal. While newspapers such as the *Daily Telegraph*, the *St. James’s Gazette* and the *Standard* argued that the prosecution was justified and denied that the case was linked to the policy of asylum, despite arguing that Britain should no longer offer herself as a place of refuge.

¹⁰ See: Porter, B. ‘The *Freiheit* Prosecutions, 1881-1882’ in *Historical Journal*, 24, 4 (Dec, 1980), p.856

¹¹ The first outbreak of anti-Jewish violence occurred on 15 April 1881 and reports of the pogroms took fifteen days to reach Britain. See: Aaronson, I. ‘The anti-Jewish pogroms in Russia in 1881’ in Klier, J and Lambroza, S. (eds.) *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History*, p.45

¹² ‘ANTI-JEWISH OUTBREAKS’, The *Morning Post* 30 April (1881), p.5

¹³ ‘THE ANTI-JEWISH CRUSADE: RUMOURED MASSACRE OF 500 FAMILIES IN RUSSIA’, The *Daily Chronicle* 2 May (1881), p.5

of the spread of violence throughout the South Western regions of the empire suggested that rioting was becoming increasingly severe and that recent outbreaks were only a precursor to a far more serious endemic. The violent treatment of Jews had therefore further exposed the apparent ‘backwardness’, ‘savagery’ and ‘barbarianism’ of Eastern Europe. The *Daily News* underlined Russia’s detachment from Western influence, stating that ‘Russian systems and Russian civilization have always been so different, even in some of their most important conditions from those of the West, that we must not expect to see the growth of Western ideas go on too rapidly’.¹⁴ The *Daily Telegraph* also remarked upon the absurdity of the Russian position, remarking that ‘Russia is a vast congeries of puzzles and paradoxes-a country seemingly governed by impulse rather than by reason, fertile alike in surprises and disappointments, sensational achievements and commonplace shortcomings’.¹⁵

Although such observations were not meant to justify violence against Jews, Russia was increasingly seen to be beyond the bounds of Western ‘civilisation’. This attitude was further developed by claims that the Russian persecution of East European Jewry resembled that of Western Europe during the Middle Ages. For example, the *Standard* considered that the spread of anti-Jewish violence throughout Southern Russia was due to a widespread adherence to the accusation of blood-libel, the first recorded episode of which had occurred in Norwich during the twelfth century.¹⁶ The newspaper therefore made a direct correlation between the supposed ‘backwardness’, ‘savagery’ and ‘barbarianism’ of contemporary Russia and that of Europe during the Dark Ages. ‘The belief that Christian blood is indispensable to the Jews for the due performance of their religious rites is as firmly rooted now in the mind of the Russian mujik as ever it was amongst the Western nations in the darkest of the dark ages.’¹⁷

Indeed, the spread of anti-Jewish violence saw a shift in the comprehension of the causes of the riots and a belief that attacks on Jews were far more ‘barbaric’ than had previously been reported. Initial news from Elizabethgrad had cited the religious

¹⁴ ‘Untitled Editorial’, The *Daily News* 7 May (1881), p.5

¹⁵ ‘Untitled Editorial’, The *Daily Telegraph* July 30 (1881), p.5

¹⁶ See: Felsenstein, F. *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes: A Paradigm of Otherness in English Popular Culture, 1660-1830* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), pp.27-29

¹⁷ ‘RIOTS IN THE SOUTH OF RUSSIA’, The *Standard* 2 May (1881), p.5

ignorance of the peasantry as being solely responsible for the harsh treatment of Jews, yet the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Pall Mall Gazette* began to cite additional reasons for the outbreaks. ‘There is now no doubt that the rising has been promoted, not by religious animosity, but by the general discontent of the peasantry.’¹⁸ Reports also stated that this discontent had been manipulated by nihilist groups to incite friction between the masses and the Russian authorities. This outlook was further articulated in the *Jewish Chronicle* where such attitudes were noted to have been influenced by the Tsar’s Imperial Manifesto that had placed considerable blame for Russia’s social ills on nihilist groups for causing revolutionary ferment at the expense of East European Jewry.

The rapid escalation of anti-Jewish violence also brought into question the role of diplomatic intervention as a means of preventing further outbreaks against East European Jewry. An Anglo-Jewish deputation of the Joint Committee of the Board of Deputies and the Anglo-Jewish Association visited the Foreign Minister, Lord Granville, on 24 May 1881 to protest over the Russian treatment of East European Jewry. This meeting caused conflicting views regarding the role of public opinion in relation to anti-Jewish violence and although every newspaper expressed moral indignation at the outrages occurring within Russia, there was a clear distinction between a majority of newspapers that proposed merely reporting anti-Jewish violence, and a minority that recommended an official protest by the British government.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* most assertively fitted the former category, its editorial stating that Britain has ‘no responsibility for the protection of the Jews, nor have we any *modus operandi* from which to lecture either the Russian or German Government as to the way in which they should treat their Semitic subjects’.¹⁹ This hesitancy in approaching the Russian autocracy over the treatment of East European Jewry was partly related to longstanding tensions within Anglo-Russian relations. While newspapers opposing intervention recognised the general difficulty in interfering in another nation’s domestic affairs, they also remained cautious over remonstrating against Russia due to imperial tensions regarding Asia. Recent expansion had brought the boundaries of the Russian empire to the Afghan border in direct line with the Khyber Pass, granting easy

¹⁸ ‘ANTI-SEMITIC AGITATION, ORIGIN OF THE DISORDERS, GOVERNMENT PRECAUTIONS’, The *Daily Telegraph* 19 May (1881), p.5

¹⁹ ‘ENGLAND AND THE JEWS OF RUSSIA’, The *Pall Mall Gazette* 24 May (1881), p.1

access to India. In addition, British support for Turkey during the Russo-Turkish War had soured diplomatic relations and Britain remained guarded in expressing any opinion that might upset a fragile balance of power.²⁰

Yet despite these issues, other newspapers were prepared to promote diplomatic intervention and the need for moral protest on behalf of East European Jewry. The *St James's Gazette* urged a far more forceful response and stated that the British government should protest against the outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence.²¹ The newspaper typically saw attacks against Jews as ‘offences against common humanity and scandals to the common civilization of Europe’.²² The newspaper asserted that although the pogroms lay outside the sphere of international law, this did not absolve the government from diplomatic intervention. The newspaper vehemently stated that the Russian persecutions did not pardon ‘a Government with such antecedents as our own from the duty of using all reasonable efforts to put an end to them. It is true that they can do no more than protest, but it is equally true that they ought to do no less; and at present, as we understand, they decline even to do as much as this’.²³

The question of diplomatic intervention also saw certain newspapers re-examine Britain’s role during the ‘Bulgarian horrors’ in an attempt to quash criticism over British non-intervention.²⁴ The death of 12-15,000 Christians at the hands of the Ottoman Empire had previously seen Gladstone and leading Liberals launch a resolute assault on Disraeli’s Eastern policy and the failure of Britain to intervene during the suppression and slaughter of Bulgarian nationalists.²⁵ Richard Shannon has seen the outbreak of moral indignation during this period as ‘the greatest and most illuminating revelation of the moral susceptibility of the High Victorian public conscience’,²⁶ while other historians have noted the event as a defining moment in British public opinion that significantly

²⁰ See: Lobanov-Rotovsky, A. ‘Anglo-Russian Relations through the Centuries’, in *Russian Review* Vol. & No. 2 (1998), pp.41-52

²¹ The *St James's Gazette* was the *Pall Mall Gazette*’s chief competitor in the evening newspaper market.

²² ‘THE JEWS IN RUSSIA’, *The St James' Gazette* 24 May (1881), p.3

²³ *Ibid.* p.3

²⁴ The daily press had played a particularly important role in the Balkan Crisis. See: Auchterlonie, P. ‘From the Middle Eastern Question to the Death of General Gordon: Representations of the Middle East in the Victorian Press, 1876-1885’ in *British Journal of Middle-Eastern Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (May, 2001), pp.5-24

²⁵ See: Gladstone, W. E. *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East* (London: John Murray, 1896)

²⁶ Shannon, R.T. *Gladstone and the Bulgarian Agitation, 1876* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1963), p.v

increased the national interest in imperial and foreign affairs through issues related to minority ‘causes’.²⁷ The ‘Bulgarian horrors’ therefore became paramount to debates regarding Western intervention on behalf of East-European Jewry.

Yet in a period when governmental protest was deemed inappropriate by a majority of newspapers, the *Pall Mall Gazette* was prompt in drawing a distinction between the ‘Bulgarian horrors’ and the Russian persecution of East European Jewry. The newspaper asserted that any attempt at diplomatic intervention would only worsen conditions for Jews, and that if Britain had intervened during atrocities at Turkey the same would have occurred to Christians. ‘Even in Turkey, if we had been prepared to take effective measures for delivering the Christians from Muslem domination, diplomatic representations at Constantinople would probably have done more harm than good. It infuriates the oppressor, who vests his indignation on the oppressed.’²⁸ During 1881 official remonstration by the government was therefore not deemed a plausible means of intervention by the majority of metropolitan daily newspapers.

Despite these differences in press opinion, the outcome of the meeting between the Anglo-Jewish deputation and Granville determined three points. Firstly, Granville was obstinate that Britain would make no official representations for fear that the outcome would worsen conditions. Secondly, Granville was resolute that the Russian government had no complicity in violence against Jews. Thirdly, the foreign minister referred to the case of Leon Lewisohn, an Anglo-Jewish merchant expelled from Russia on 23 September 1880 due to restrictions regarding the residency rights of non-Russians. This case had brought the foreign office into direct conflict with the Russian authorities over the definition of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, 1859.²⁹ Article I of this treaty had guaranteed the citizens of each country reciprocal rights of movement and trade, yet Russia was adamant that a ukase signed in 1860 containing a clause relating to the rights of Jews justified the expulsion of foreign Jews. The case, according to the *Times*, was ‘a conspicuous example, coming home to Englishmen themselves by virtue of

²⁷ See: Mackenzie J. *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), p.2

²⁸ ‘ENGLAND AND THE JEWS OF RUSSIA’, The *Pall Mall Gazette* 24 May (1881), p.1

²⁹ See: NA, ‘Treatment of Foreign Jews: Case of Lewisohn, 1847/1881’, FO65/1176 and NA, ‘Treatment of Foreign Jews: Case of Lewisohn, 1881’, FO65/1177

his adopted nationality, of the errors and crimes of a government which have conducted to the deplorable anarchy which now afflicts a portion of the Russian Empire'.³⁰

Regardless of the general resentment at the treatment of Lewisohn, no link was established in the daily press between his case and the persecution of East European Jewry. While the Anglo-Jewish deputation raised the issue with Granville to demonstrate the injustice levelled at all Jews whether British or East European, both incidents were seen to be separate, preventing the expulsion of Lewisohn becoming an opportunity through which pressure could be exerted in favour of diplomatic intervention. In addition, the daily press gave full support to Granville's judgement. 'Mr. LEWISOHN's grievance is of another kind. If he has been expelled from St. Petersburg in accordance with a harsh and foolish law, the act is within the competency of an independent State.'³¹ The expulsion of Lewisohn and the difficulty in approaching the Russian autocracy over issues relating to domestic affairs therefore helped to establish a policy of non-interference in relation to the Russian treatment of East European Jewry during the early stages of anti-Jewish violence.

The *Jewish Chronicle*, however, became outraged by the spread of violence throughout the Russian empire. The newspaper adopted a harsh tone in support of diplomatic intervention and backed collective action by the United States and Europe. While the *Jewish Chronicle* had initially supported Granville's position over non-intervention, it believed there was no distinction between Lewisohn and the plight of East European Jewry, and saw the expression of sympathy for the legal exclusion of a British Jew as a means of raising public concern over larger anxieties regarding East European Jewry. On this assumption, the newspaper stated that sympathy for Lewisohn articulated a 'stronger sympathy with the unhappy victims of enactments against which they have perhaps no right to protest, but for which they have an equal aversion. The open protest against the minor hardship implies a hidden one against the severer reservations placed on Russian Jews'.³² Although the *Jewish Chronicle* remained cautious over direct criticism of the British government and did not want a public protest to be a 'Jewish'

³⁰ 'THE CASE OF MR. LEWISOHN', *The Times* 23 May (1881), p.8

³¹ 'Untitled Editorial', *The Daily News* 25 May (1881), p.5

³² 'THE JEWS IN RUSSIA', *The Jewish Chronicle* 29 July (1881), p.9

event, the case of Lewisohn became a means of implicitly linking larger questions regarding East-European Jewry with the treatment of British citizens resident in Russia.

Indeed, the spread of violence saw the instigation of a more resolute campaign by the *Jewish Chronicle* for a public response against anti-Jewish violence. The spread of attacks throughout the Russian empire had been accompanied by a sharp rise in politically motivated antisemitism in Germany that justified the perception that anti-Jewish prejudice was spreading throughout continental Europe. In addition, the movement of Jews towards the Austro-Hungarian border had begun to attract the attention of the daily press, and Anglo-Jewry had recently experienced a hostile public encounter between Goldwin Smith and the Chief Rabbi in the *Nineteenth Century*.³³ Although antisemitism in Britain remained weak in comparison, events on the continent rocked the confidence of a relatively small and well-acculturated community, leading the *Jewish Chronicle* to advance the need for ‘something more than temporary alleviation of the evil, whether by diplomatic or by financial means’.³⁴ Indeed, editorials called for a more extensive solution to the spread of anti-Jewish violence by ending the exclusiveness of East European Jewry through the abolishment of ‘traditional Talmudism’ and the introduction of civil emancipation by the Russian authorities.

Yet despite the *Jewish Chronicle*’s assertiveness, the continuation of Russian persecution throughout 1881 did not lead to a sustained campaign by the metropolitan daily press on behalf of East European Jewry. Throughout the remaining year, most reports of outbreaks were confined to small segments of information reported directly from news agencies and foreign correspondents. These reports merely outlined the location and statistics regarding the suffering and damage inflicted upon Jewish communities. The *Jewish Chronicle* complained that public opinion had been over-exposed to persecution through these reports and that the press had failed to comment on the seriousness of the situation. ‘We have unfortunately become so accustomed to

³³ See: Smith, G. ‘Can Jews be Patriots?’ in The *Nineteenth Century* vol.3, no.15 (1878), pp.875-887 and Adler, H. ‘Can Jews be Patriots?’ in The *Nineteenth Century* vol.3, no.14 (1878), pp.637-646. See also: Holmes, C. ‘Goldwin Smith (1823-1910): A Liberal Antisemite’ in *Patterns of Prejudice* vol. 6 (1972), pp.25-30

³⁴ ‘THE JEWS AND THE NATIONS’, The *Jewish Chronicle* 10 June (1881), p.9

hearing of fresh outrages against the Jews in Russia that it is to be feared that we do not appreciate them at their proper importance.³⁵

The *Jewish Chronicle* also noted the difficulty in attaining new information regarding the treatment of East European Jewry, asserting that the Russian autocracy was now implicated in suppressing news of the persecutions and that the public opinion of Western Europe was futile in making representations against Russia. The newspaper criticised the daily press for its failure to embark upon a more vigorous campaign or detailing the full horrors of the persecutions. ‘This whole year, 1881, has elapsed without the slightest movement, beyond the publication of the horrible facts, a certain amount of journalistic comment and, as we may well believe some earnest solicitations’.³⁶

Despite initial concerns over the persecution of East European Jewry, the metropolitan daily press therefore failed to make an impact on public opinion in relation to a public remonstration on behalf of East European Jewry in 1881. Newspapers remained hesitant in lobbying the British government over diplomatic intervention, while the government itself remained cautious not to offend the autocracy over fear of upsetting a delicate diplomatic balance. As the *Jewish Chronicle* stated, ‘this great anti-Jewish movement, with all its mass of sensational horrors, that furnish pabulum so suitable to current journalism, has really, in a sense, scarcely got into the newspapers of Europe at all. Indeed, the press of Europe has observed an almost total conspiracy of silence’.³⁷

(ii) The Question of Mass Migration

Towards the end of 1881 reports concerning the persecution of East European Jewry also became increasingly preoccupied with the possibility of Jewish mass migration. Although Britain was not a major destination for Jewish refugees during this period, reports outlined the development of a number of organisations planning to assist the migration of East European Jewry to Palestine. This proposal gained much acceptance as a solution to the impending crisis amongst the daily press and was seen as the natural development of a scheme outlined by Laurence Oliphant in *The Land of*

³⁵ ‘NOTES OF THE WEEK: THE JEWS OF RUSSIA’, *The Jewish Chronicle* 12 August (1881), p.8

³⁶ ‘THE JEWS IN RUSSIA: A NARRATIVE FROM THE BORDERS’, *The Jewish Chronicle* 30 December (1881), p.11

³⁷ *Ibid.* p.11

Gilead the previous year.³⁸ Indeed, the *Times* asserted that ‘the Jews should once more turn their eyes towards the land of their ancestors, and seriously consider whether it may not afford them a haven of rest from the vexations to which they are exposed’.³⁹

Nevertheless, despite the support of the metropolitan daily press, the *Jewish Chronicle* initially greeted these schemes with uncertainty. Contributors underlined their impractical nature as a means of relief, citing that refugees were too vast in number and the financial costs too great. Yet after some initial hesitation, the editorial line of the *Jewish Chronicle* underwent a transformation and proposals were greeted positively. While the newspaper agreed that the financial burdens would be a hindrance upon Western Jewry, their more privileged status obligated them towards such a response. ‘We have no fear of the issue [...] we will assume that before many months are over a substantial sum will be at the service of duly qualified persons for the assistance of the emigration from Russia of our tortured brethren.’⁴⁰ However, the *Jewish Chronicle* did not deem Palestine as the only destination for refugees and the United States and Canada were both envisaged as potential havens for East European Jewry.

Yet regardless of the consensus in the daily press regarding mass migration to Palestine, the close of 1881 was overshadowed by a second public encounter between Goldwin Smith and the Chief Rabbi.⁴¹ Although Smith’s motive was an attempt to emphasize Jewish ‘tribalism’ as a means to contest Jewish allegiance to the state and justify anti-Jewish prejudice, he criticised recent support for Jewish migration to Palestine and the arguments set forth by Oliphant in *The Land of Gilead*. According to Smith, Oliphant was merely pandering to international Jewish finance and suggested that European states were attempting the same in supporting Jewish organisations that proposed mass migration. Smith also argued that press coverage of the persecution of East European Jewry was under Jewish control. ‘One of the new social diseases of the

³⁸ Oliphant’s book proposed the settlement of Jews in the East of Jordan and the upper regions of the Dead Sea. The scheme received semi-official approval of many British ministers but was never granted the assent of the Sultan. The book, however, received much public attention. See: Oliphant, L. *The Land of Gilead: With Excursions in the Lebanon* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1880)

³⁹ ‘JEWISH COLONIZATION IN PALESTINE’, *The Times* 3 November (1881), p.11

⁴⁰ ‘THE RUSSIAN CRISIS’, *The Jewish Chronicle* 2 December (1881), p.9

⁴¹ Smith was initially responding to an article in the *Nineteenth Century* from February (1881) written by Lucien Wolf attempting to understand and expose the rise in German antisemitism.

present day, and certainly not the least deadly, is the perversion of public opinion in the interest of private or sectional objects, by the clandestine manipulation of the Press.⁴²

For Smith, Russian persecution was the direct result of Jewish exploitation of the peasantry, and the riots were therefore solely the fault of East European Jewry. Jews were responsible for their own harsh treatment on account of their 'tribal' instincts that prevented them from acculturating to the norms of their host society.⁴³ On this assumption, Smith stated that anti-Jewish violence had its origin, 'in the peculiar character, habits, and position of the Jewish people; in their tribal exclusiveness, their practice of the tribal rite of circumcision, the nature of the trades to which they are addicted, and the relation in which they take up their abode as a wandering and parasitic race'.⁴⁴ Indeed, organised migration to Palestine would do little to overcome the problems confronting East European Jewry, as 'tribalism' meant that Jews would continue in the pursuit of money-lending and petty commerce. 'No real solution seems to present itself except the abandonment by the Hebrew of his tribalism, with its strange and savage rites, and all that separates him socially from the people among whom he dwells.'⁴⁵

Chief Rabbi Herman Adler's response to Smith refuted that 'tribalism' was the cohesive force uniting Jews. Instead, the continuity of Judaism was due to the preservation of religion which was not a hindrance upon Jewish allegiance to the state. Adler also attacked the foundations upon which much of Smith's arguments were based, 'exposing his distortions of Judaism and his perversions of Jewish history'.⁴⁶ Much of Smith's accusations regarding Judaism were based on a misreading of the Old Testament that Adler contested, while his understanding of history had failed to consider the external circumstances regarding East European Jewry. This allowed Adler to counter Smith's accusation that Jews had chosen to leave agricultural pursuits to follow

⁴² Smith, G. 'THE JEWISH QUESTION', *The Nineteenth Century* (October, 1881), p.502

⁴³ Colin Holmes has asserted that Smith's objection to Jews focussed on what he regarded as the 'tribalism' of a successful minority group. For Smith, Jews needed to be closely monitored in their host environment as they were bound by a concept of superiority over Gentiles, and their 'tribal' exclusiveness meant they were incapable of patriotism. See: Holmes, C. 'Goldwin Smith (1823-1910): A Liberal Antisemite' in *Patterns of Prejudice*, 6 (1972), pp.25-30

⁴⁴ Smith, G. 'THE JEWISH QUESTION', *The Nineteenth Century* (October, 1881), p.504

⁴⁵ Ibid. p.514

⁴⁶ Adler, D. 'RECENT PHASES OF JUDEOPHOBIA', *The Nineteenth Century* (December, 1881), p.814

commercial trades and exploit the peasantry. Although the pogroms may have been partly due to hostility regarding Jewish domination of petit commerce, this had not been the deliberate choice of Jews, and according to Adler was more the result of restrictions imposed by the Russian autocracy. ‘The Jews did not embrace trade and commerce until they were actually compelled to do so, until they were excluded from following mechanical occupations by the establishment of guilds, and it was made absolutely impossible for them to practice agriculture, because they were not allowed to hold land.’⁴⁷

More importantly, however, Adler also defended five hundred Jewish refugees that had recently passed through Liverpool *en route* to the United States in refutation of Smith’s accusations regarding Jewish domination of commerce. As Adler remarked, ‘the majority of them were blacksmiths, bricklayers, masons, joiners, saddlers, tinkers, locksmiths [...] Such men add to the wealth of the country, and stimulate industrial energy.’⁴⁸ Indeed, these comments were also an attempt to support plans for mass migration in demonstrating that East European Jewry was fully capable of supporting itself and would not become a financial burden. Although Adler did not allude to Britain as a destination for these refugees, he was prepared to point out the scale of the potential refugee crisis. ‘Authentic information has been received from an eye-witness, now in London, that a short distance from the Russian frontier, in Austrian Brody, 10,000 refugees are now, huddled in cellars and in the snow-covered streets, imploring to be sent to more hospitable lands.’⁴⁹

Although the metropolitan daily press had failed to rouse public opinion on behalf of East European Jewry during 1881 the awareness of a possible ‘influx’ of Jewish refugees was immediately perceived to be a potential consequence of Russian persecution. While these fears remained minor and relatively insignificant in 1881, ‘liberal’ antisemites such as Smith were also quick to undermine sympathy and compassion for the plight of East European Jewry. A definite link between persecution and mass migration therefore remained tenuous during this period, however, in the context of later debates regarding diplomatic intervention, Russian apologists also

⁴⁷ Adler, D. ‘RECENT PHASES OF JUDEOPHOBIA’, *The Nineteenth Century* (December, 1881). p.819

⁴⁸ Ibid. pp.828-829

⁴⁹ Ibid. p.827

attempted to downplay sympathy for the suffering of Jews within Russia. Accusations regarding the authenticity of the difficulties confronting East European Jewry therefore had a grounding in early debates surrounding the persecution of East European Jewry.

The ‘Warsaw Outrages’ and the Origins of Public Protest

Nevertheless, the lack of press attention regarding anti-Jewish violence underwent a transformation in the immediate aftermath of the ‘Warsaw Outrages’ in December 1881. The increase in ‘brutality’ prior to these outbreaks had led the Anglo-Jewish community to lobby the daily press into a more responsive role in relation to the Russian treatment of East European Jewry.⁵⁰ As a result, newspapers initiated more detailed coverage, stressing the features of disturbances in far greater detail. Although rumours stated that a church fire, believed to have been started by a Jew, had triggered the ‘Warsaw Outrages’, the daily press was adamant that the ignorance of the lower classes was to blame for anti-Jewish violence at the instigation of Russian mobs. For the first time, it was also directly postulated that the authorities had failed to act with the necessary power to suppress the disturbances. As the *Morning Post* remarked, ‘it is difficult not to suspect, at the same time, that it was the guilty inaction of the authorities, amounting to open connivance in several instances, which encouraged the criminal classes of Warsaw to rise against the Hebrew residents’.⁵¹

The ‘Warsaw Outrages’ were crucial in heightening public opinion towards the Russian persecution of East European Jewry and Joseph Jacobs wrote two articles for the *Times* that were responsible for outlining the pogroms in far greater detail than previous newspaper reports. Printed on 11 and 13 January 1882, Jacobs’ intention was to expose the full extent of the anti-Jewish violence that had occurred in Russia since the first outbreak at Elizabethgrad, and to summarise the extent of legal measures implemented

⁵⁰ Berk notes that the main source of information regarding the pogroms in Britain came from a small group of Russian Jews, *Hayay im pipiyot* (Inspire the Lips) operating from Kovno and Vilna. In the autumn of 1881 their correspondence was passed to Nathaniel Rothschild who was urged to protest by their leader, Rabbi Yitschak Elhana Spektor, and to organise some form of public remonstration. Rothschild passed this correspondence to the *Times* who printed the letters outlining evidence of anti-Jewish violence in far more detail. See: Berk, S. *Year of Crisis, Year of Hope: Russian Jewry and the Pogroms of 1881-1882* (Westport, CT and London: Greenwood Press, 1985), p.65

⁵¹ ‘THE WARSAW OUTRAGES’, The *Morning Post* 2 January (1882), p.5

against East European Jewry.⁵² Jacobs' journalism differed greatly to previous articles and his determination to spark a public reaction was evident from the outset. 'It is time that the English public should become aware of the character and extent of the persecutions which the Jews of Russia have undergone during the past year. The Warsaw riots have come merely as the last term of a series of outbreaks which have ravaged the South and West of Russia.'⁵³

Like the *Jewish Chronicle*, for which Jacobs had written most of the editorials during 1881, the articles were deeply critical of the response of the daily press towards the persecution of East European Jewry.⁵⁴ Jacobs stated that 'the news which has crossed the borders has been of the most meagre description, chiefly in the form of telegrams announcing that anti-Jewish riots had occurred in such and such a place'.⁵⁵ Jacobs therefore endeavoured to describe events with greater authority, detailing specific outrages and establishing that violence had been committed against whole communities regardless of age and gender. Steven Berk has speculated that these articles must have had an overwhelming effect on a nineteenth century audience, unaccustomed to reading such graphic accounts of violence and brutality. As Berk has noted, 'it was a time when Europeans and Americans were not yet jaded by the incessant horrors of the twentieth century. Journalists and their readers could still be shocked into righteous indignation by reports of murder and rape; and objectivity had not yet come to mean neutrality'.⁵⁶ Indeed, Jacobs did not shun from reporting any of the horrors that had occurred throughout the Russian empire:

Men ruthlessly murdered, tender infants dashed to death, or roasted alive in their own homes, married women the prey of a brutal lust that has often caused their death, and young girls violated in the sight of their relatives by soldiers who should

⁵² Jacobs' statistics listed riots that had occurred in over 160 towns and villages, involving 23 murders of men, women and children, 17 deaths resulting from rapes, and 225 rapes. In addition, to 100,000 destitute Jewish families.

⁵³ 'THE PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS IN RUSSIA', *The Times* 11 January (1882), p.4

⁵⁴ See: Cesarani, D. *The Jewish Chronicle and Anglo-Jewry, 1841-1991* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.68

⁵⁵ 'THE PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS IN RUSSIA', *The Times* 11 January (1882), p.4

⁵⁶ Berk, S. *Year of Crisis, Year of Hope: Russian Jewry and the Pogroms of 1881-1882* (Wesport, CT and London: Greenwood Press, 1985), p.66

have been the guardians of their honour - these have been the deeds with which the population of Southern Russia has been stained since last April.⁵⁷

Reports also now directly implicated the Russian authorities for their supposed part in disturbances, placing responsibility upon the central authorities, in addition to the local civilian and military forces for not responding appropriately in suppressing anti-Jewish violence. The instigators at Warsaw were considered to be 'professional ringleaders' from Russia who had journeyed throughout the empire propagating anti-Jewish material and inciting riots throughout various provinces. Jacobs also appeared to limit previous accusations regarding the superstition of the peasantry, asserting instead the responsibility of 'professional ringleaders' in an attempt to underline that Christians were not inherently hostile towards Jews. According to the *Times*, the peasants believed that an imperial ukase had transferred all Jewish property to Christians. Jacobs stated that if this had been officially denounced, 'the epidemic would have been checked. In many cases it was distinctly shown that the peasants liked the Jews, and only pillaged because they thought it had been ordered'.⁵⁸

The local authorities, however, took most of the blame for their reluctance to act in defence of East European Jewry. The *Times* maintained that the civil and military forces failed to respond effectively and consistently joined with rioters throughout the empire.⁵⁹ However, although such instances undoubtedly occurred, the *Times* was a little too fervent in its assertion over civil and military culpability. Jacobs deliberately gave

⁵⁷ 'THE PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS IN RUSSIA', The *Times* 11 January (1882), p.4

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* p.4

⁵⁹ The response of the civil and military forces was undoubtedly inefficient. There was sloth, confusion, a failure to co-operate effectively, and numerous cases of mismanagement and misjudgement in nearly every province in which a pogrom occurred. For example, in Elizabethgrad, the police were poorly armed, poorly disciplined and small in number. Out of a total population of 43,299 people (13,000 Jews and 30,299 non-Jews) the police force consisted of 87 policemen. However, this was relatively large when compared to other towns. Aleksandriia had a population of 15,980 (4,794 Jews and 11,186 non-Jews) yet a police force of only 13. Despite these set backs preliminary measures were taken to prevent or suppress pogroms, normally consisting in summoning troops as reinforcements. Yet military forces were in a similar state, in short supply and poorly trained, local garrisons averaging about 70 soldiers of which about 20 were actually available for crowd control. In the Ukraine the response was exceptionally bad and the police were primarily concerned with ensuring that violence did not spill over into non-Jewish quarters, or, worse, degenerate into a generalised assault on property and property-holders of all kinds. In a few instances there were reports of civilian and military forces joining riots and carrying out acts of violence against Jews. See: Klier, J. and Lambroza, S. (eds), *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1992)

the impression that local authorities had refused to act despite being forewarned of potential outbreaks. His articles also never made a geographical distinction as to the exact province where such events had taken place. Instead, his *Times* articles vaguely asserted that the ‘local authorities have stood by with folded arms, doing little or nothing to prevent their occurrence and recurrence, and allowing the ignorant peasantry to remain up to this day under the impression that a ukase existed ordering the property of the Jews to be handed over to their fellow Russians’.⁶⁰

Although local culpability was seen to have originated in the failure to suppress the violence, municipal and central responsibility for the pogroms was stated to be of a legal nature. Jacobs’ second article on 13 January 1882 focussed on this aspect of the disturbances, detailing the full text of the *Ignatieff Circular* that had been published on 3 September 1881 from evidence compiled from an investigation by Count Kutaissow.⁶¹ This document had focussed on the causes of the riots in an attempt to prevent further hostilities, yet, under Ignatieff’s guidance the text was preoccupied with Jewish economic dominance of the Russian peasantry. The ukase therefore asserted that Jews had gradually dominated every trade and commerce and had acquired a ‘great part of the land by buying or farming it. With few exceptions they have, as a body, devoted their attention not to enriching or benefiting the country, but to defrauding by their wiles its inhabitants, and particularly its poor inhabitants’.⁶²

Jacobs condemned the *Ignatieff Circular* for failing to fully account for the causes of anti-Jewish violence. His denunciation was critical of the autocracy’s failure to provide protection for East European Jewry and to effectively reprimand the instigators and participants of the outbreaks. For Jacobs, the circular also failed to find a solution to the problems confronting East European Jewry, owing to it being the product of the existing legal system that had provided the foundation from which much of the hostility had originated. Legal exclusion had prohibited Jews from entering Russian society, and their status in certain trades made them the direct targets of the peasant’s enmity. This

⁶⁰ ‘THE PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS IN RUSSIA’, The *Times* 11 January (1882), p.4

⁶¹ This document has been seen by many historians to have exasperated hostilities against Jews. The focus upon Jewish economic exploitation having convinced mobs that the government shared their prejudices. See: Berk, S. *Year of Crisis, Year of Hope: Russian Jewry and the Pogroms of 1881-1882*, pp.66-67 and Klier, J. and Lambroza, S. (eds), *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History* (, p.46

⁶² ‘THE PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS IN RUSSIA’, The *Times* 13 January (1882), p.4

was ‘the lesson taught by all experience that the only solution to the Jewish question is the granting of full equality’.⁶³ Jacobs stated that this would bring an end to social, political and economic exclusion, and as a consequence, anti-Jewish violence. Rather than achieving this objective, the *Ignatieff Circular* added ‘to the complexity by showing the populace that the authorities share their prejudices’.⁶⁴

While Jacobs’ articles regarding the ‘Warsaw Outrages’ generated far wider discussion of the pogroms in the daily press, the heightened awareness of the atrocities also encouraged a number of negative interpretations. The Russian apologist Mme. Novikoff, writing under the pseudonym of O.K, launched a polemical assault on the British press’ response to the persecution of East European Jewry in the correspondence pages of the *Times*. Exasperated by recent accusations against the Russian authorities, Novikoff attempted to dispute the allegations of the daily press which she deemed to be ‘ill-informed’ and to ‘carry no weight’. For Novikoff, the Russian authorities were in no way culpable for the atrocities committed against Jews, and citing the *Times*’ own commentary regarding Granville’s statement from 24 May 1881, attempted to nullify the recent growth in criticism of Russia. The outrages in Russia were instigated by ringleaders, and although the response of the authorities had been indolent, Novikoff maintained that this was due to the practical difficulties in suppressing riots over such a vast region of the empire. ‘No one could tell when or where the riots would break out, and when only a few soldiers were present, the mob defied the utmost efforts of the authorities.’⁶⁵

Indeed, Novikoff appeared to evoke that Britain was prejudiced in deliberately perceiving Russia as ‘backward’, ‘savage’ and ‘barbarian’, and should not attack the autocracy when Britain was culpable of oppressing minorities within its own empire. In response to criticisms regarding the Russian authorities, Novikoff embarked upon an attack of the British government over recent outrages in Ireland. Consequently, the daily press was in no position to reprimand the autocracy over the persecution of East European Jewry when ‘Constitutionalism’ had permitted similar outbreaks of violence

⁶⁴ ‘THE PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS IN RUSSIA’, The *Times* 13 January (1882), p.4

⁶⁵ ‘THE JEWS IN RUSSIA’, The *Times* 17 January (1882), p.4

within British Imperial territories. Novikoff saw the daily press' outrage over the pogroms as an attempt to conciliate Britain's own guilt regarding problems within Ireland. The daily press was at fault for finding it 'necessary to air their indignation at cruelty abroad as a relief after the heroic fortitude with which they have contemplated in silence similar excesses nearer home'.⁶⁶

Novikoff's main line of defence, however, was similar to Smith's allegations against Jews, in the refusal of the 'Talmudist' to acculturate to the norms of Russian society. Novikoff maintained that the strict attachment to a code of religious law separated Jews from their Christian neighbours. She asserted the difference between 'Talmudists' and 'Karaites', citing the contrasting attitudes towards Judaism as a justification for the different treatment of Jews in Russia. The willingness of 'Karaite' 'Jews' to subsume to indigenous customs, meant they were seen as Russian citizens of the Hebrew faith, and had not been victims of recent outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence. While the 'self-imposed exclusion' of the 'Talmudist' had led to the development of greed and the economic domination of the peasantry. Although this did not validate offences committed against Jews, Novikoff believed it had given credence to a longstanding attitude towards 'Talmudists'. 'The Talmudists are aliens settled on the Russian soil. It may be wrong to dislike them; but if two and a half million Chinese were monopolising all the best things in Southern England [...] perhaps the cry "England for the English" would not be so unpopular as some censors seem to think.'⁶⁷

Although Jacobs' contributions to the *Times* had finally heightened public opinion towards the Russian persecution of East European Jewry, there were those such as Smith and Novikoff willing to dispute the daily press' interpretation of events within the Russian empire. Novikoff attempted to underline British prejudice towards Russia by asserting its tendency for Russophobia and the existence of a project of 'demi-orientalism' amongst Western Europe in regard to Eastern Europe. Indeed, while the metropolitan daily press was correct in its interpretation of events within Russia, it was susceptible to the charge of perceiving the Russian autocracy as being indisputably 'backward', 'savage' and 'barbarian' without recourse to more direct evidence from

⁶⁶ 'THE JEWS IN RUSSIA', The *Times* 17 January (1882), p.4

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p.4

alternative sources. The recognition of the severity of Russian anti-Jewish violence was therefore easily undermined by the attempts of ‘liberal’ antisemites and Russian apologists to question the authenticity of British press reporting and the culpability of Russia over the persecution of East European Jewry.

The Mansion House Meeting

(i) Heightened Public Opinion and Mass Migration

Nevertheless, public interest in the persecution of East European Jewry grew rapidly after Jacobs’ articles in the *Times* and each newspaper did attempt to ground its analysis more authoritatively. This transformation in press opinion saw the re-emergence of the debate over diplomatic intervention. Although most daily newspapers had previously opposed intervention in support of Granville’s policy of non-intervention, the severity of attacks at Warsaw, alongside the assumption that the Russian authorities were culpable for some of the violence, altered attitudes towards Russia in relation to the persecution of East European Jewry. Indeed, in the immediate aftermath of the ‘Warsaw Outrages’, Rev. A. L. Green, Minister for the Central Synagogue, had written to the *Times* forcefully asserting the need for public opinion to be alerted to the atrocities. Perhaps more controversially, Green also speculated as to why so little had been accomplished since the first outbreak of anti-Jewish violence at Elizabethgrad:

Voices that denounced in words of fire the Bulgarian atrocities, which pale before those uniformly practised in Russia and enacted under the very eye of authority, are now practically dumb. Has civilisation no resources left to stop this carnival of blood? Is this portentous silence to be attributed to the fact that Russia is powerful and that Turkey was weak? Or is it that political exigencies do not now require a party war-cry? There might be another reason alleged which I fain would not believe. Is it because the victims are Jews and the Slavonic savages are called Christians?⁶⁸

⁶⁸ ‘THE JEWS IN RUSSIA’, The *Times* 31 December (1881), p.11

While newspapers refused to comment on whether an antisemitic bias existed in the failure regarding diplomatic intervention, Bulgaria was once again used as means to judge the severity of anti-Jewish violence. While the ‘Bulgaria horrors’ had previously been used as a justification for non-intervention, heightened public opinion towards the persecution of East European Jewry saw a transformation in arguments used to justify intervention. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, previously keen to use Bulgaria as a reason not to intervene in Russian domestic affairs, was now adamant that public opinion should protest on behalf of East European Jewry. ‘It would be very discreditable if English opinion, which five years ago sounded so tremendous a note because Turks maltreated Christians, remained unmoved now that Russians have begun in a still more deliberate fashion to maltreat Jews.’⁶⁹ Indeed, the *Pall Mall Gazette* now asserted that the persecution of East European Jewry was more severe than atrocities committed against Bulgarian Christians. The newspaper asserted that anti-Jewish violence was ‘wider, deeper, less momentary, and fraught with a more far-reaching danger to humanity and civilisation’.⁷⁰

This heightened public opinion as a result of the circulation of news of the ‘Warsaw Outrages’ was widespread throughout the British press. *Punch* printed an illustration dealing with the need for intervention (see figure 1) and the daily press became focussed on the need for a public remonstration directed at the Russian autocracy. As support for this protest became more resolute, the persecution of East European Jewry also became increasingly party-political, and criticism was directed at Gladstone and the Liberal party for their supposed inaction by a section of the Conservative press. The *Daily Telegraph* asserted that it was time to ‘protest to the Czar against the awful and revolting cruelty practised by Russian subjects towards the Jews of the Empire [...] Unless this be done without delay, Mr. Gladstone may find to his cost that the most powerful and respectable section of his own party will turn against him’.⁷¹ This party-political aspect of the daily press’ response to the pogroms was further illustrated by the *St James’s Gazette* which also attacked the Liberal party for a supposedly weak response:

⁶⁹ ‘THE CRUELTIIES OF JEW-BAITING IN RUSSIA’, The *Pall Mall Gazette* 7 January (1882), p.1

⁷⁰ Ibid. p.1

⁷¹ ‘THE JEWS IN RUSSIA’, The *Daily Telegraph* 18 January (1882), p.5



A CRY FROM CHRISTENDOM.

(Figure 1) 'A Cry From Christendom', *Punch* 28 January (1882), p.41

Why does not the Liberal-Radical party manifest the same unanimity of indignation which it showed in 1876? Why does not a Government headed by Mr. GLADSTONE give proof of the same alacrity and energy in protesting which Mr. GLADSTONE demanded from the Government headed by Lord BEACONSFIELD? No answer is given except that we are not responsible for the domestic affairs of Russia, as we were for Turkey [...] are we compelled to accept the more commonplace conclusion that the Liberals and their leader were ready to bully the weak, but are willing to be mute as mice in presence of the crimes of the strong?⁷²

Support for a public protest also reinvigorated the belief in Russian ‘backwardness’, ‘savagery’ and ‘barbarianism’ and developed the intellectual project of ‘demi-orientalism’. The *Daily Chronicle* associated the ‘Warsaw Outrages’ with a period of Russian history that predated Peter the Great and the newspaper remarked that ‘to read of the iniquitous treatment to which this ancient race has been subjected by the Russians, one might well suppose that the subjects of the present Czar belong to a period long anterior to that of the famous Emperor we have named’.⁷³ This increased attention given to the persecutions also saw the introduction of personal witness testimony to give greater authority to the more ruthless descriptions of anti-Jewish violence.⁷⁴ Such accounts often came from victims fleeing the Austro-Hungarian border and were characterised by close attention to detail. Riots were detailed according to one particular town or village, citing the slowness of the official response and the intense hatred of the peasantry. In the village of Smilla, for example, one account noted that ‘many of the populace of the town joined the mob in their attacks, while others, including even the police, incited them to continue their violence. They broke into many houses and plundered them in sight of the authorities, grossly illtreating the inmates in every instance’.⁷⁵

⁷² ‘NEW LESSONS IN MASSACRE’, The *St James’s Gazette* 19 January (1882), p.3

⁷³ ‘UNTITLED EDITORIAL’, The *Daily Chronicle* 19 January (1882), p.4

⁷⁴ See for example: ‘RUSSIAN OUTRAGES’, The *Daily Telegraph* 19 January (1882), p.3 and ‘NARRATIVE BY AN EYE-WITNESS’, The *Jewish Chronicle* 20 January (1882), p.7

⁷⁵ ‘THE OUTRAGES ON JEWS IN RUSSIA: PERSONAL NARRATIVE BY AN EYEWITNESS’, The *Daily Chronicle* 19 January (1882), p.5

The *Jewish Chronicle* welcomed the growth in public opinion and was appreciative of the role played by the daily press. ‘Without distinction of creed or party, the leading organs of public opinion and many eminent Englishmen have expressed their abhorrence of the outrages that have been committed in Southern Russia during the past year.’⁷⁶ The newspaper also began publishing the personal testimony of victims and printed intricate details of the Russian persecutions. Yet more remarkable was the momentum the newspaper now advanced in support of public opinion and the need for an official public protest on behalf of East European Jewry. While the *Jewish Chronicle* had previously shown reluctance through fear that a public remonstration would remain a purely ‘Jewish’ event, the exposure given to the ‘Warsaw Outrages’ had given the newspaper the confidence to lobby the government alongside the daily press. ‘Public opinion is with us. What is now wanted is that opportunity should be given for the expression of public opinion in a form adapted to the customs of Englishmen.’⁷⁷

Indeed, the announcement of a public meeting at the Mansion House was given the full endorsement of the daily press.⁷⁸ The Lord Mayor’s memorial summoning the conference was printed in the majority of daily newspapers, listing all individuals that had signed the declaration. The *Standard*’s editorial remarked that this list of public figures did not adhere to any particular sect or party, and that ‘the members of the Jewish community themselves have not taken any prominent part in getting up the Memorial, which is intended to be a protest on the part of Christian England against inhuman outrages parallel only in mediaeval annals or the doings of uncivilised nations.’⁷⁹ The *Standard* also feared the spread of a *Judenhetze* across Europe and detailed the movement of destitute Jews across the Austro-Hungarian border as a consequence of recent violent outbreaks. For the newspaper, the ‘Warsaw Outrages’ had ‘put a different complexion on the whole affair’.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ ‘THE NEXT STEP’, *The Jewish Chronicle* 20 January (1882), p.11

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* p.11

⁷⁸ The Mansion House meeting was complemented by a number of provincial protests (most notably Liverpool, Glasgow, Manchester and Birmingham), in addition to an Anglo-Jewish memorial addressed to the Tsar. Although the memorial was never transmitted to the Tsar by Russian officials, the minor protests were documented positively by the daily press.

⁷⁹ ‘Untitled Editorial’, *The Standard* 23 January (1882), p.5

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* p.5

A number of smaller journals, however, did not respond to news of the Mansion House meeting with the same enthusiasm as the metropolitan daily press. Although the Catholic weekly journal, the *Tablet*, supported the need for a public protest, motivated by a sense of Christian duty, it also justified intervention on the basis of national self-interest and argued that the continuation of Russian persecution would lead to Jewish mass migration to Britain. The *Pall Mall Gazette* reported that the *Tablet* had speculated that, 'England will be flooded, or may be flooded, if things take not a different turn, with immigrant Jews reduced to destitution, and the aggregate poverty of the refugees may be more than their truly charitable brethren can relieve.'⁸¹ Indeed, this assumption was an early articulation of the link between persecution and mass migration already speculated by Adler in refutation of Smith, in a period when Jews were neither migrating *en masse* nor specifying Britain as a possible destination. 'It is, therefore, our interest as well as our duty to help their cause so far as we are able before they come, driven by cruel necessity, to increase the demands made on the ratepayers of London.'⁸²

Yet despite the widespread endorsement of Mansion House, the meeting was rather hampered by reports prior to the demonstration suggesting the willingness of Anglo-Jewry to exaggerate the extent of Russian outrages. Prior to the protest meeting, the Chief Rabbi's address at the Western Synagogue was reported in editorial in the *Daily Chronicle*, where the harsh physical treatment of Jews had been reasserted. This sermon made direct charges against the autocracy, stating that it 'was now notorious that the central Government at St. Petersburg was prejudiced against the Jews, and not only declined to adequately punish the malefactors known to be concerned in the outrages, but had published a Rescript "in which the whole question had been prejudged"'.⁸³ The daily press was quick to underline the risks involved in Anglo-Jewry making such direct statements and that 'the danger of the English Jews spoiling their case, which is a good one as it stands, by exaggeration, does not grow less'.⁸⁴ Indeed, in the immediate aftermath of the Mansion House meeting, speculation regarding the exaggeration of anti-

⁸¹ 'THE JEWS IN RUSSIA', The *Pall Mall Gazette* 21 January (1881), pp.11-12

⁸² Ibid. p.12

⁸³ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Daily Chronicle* 30 January (1882), p.4

⁸⁴ 'CORRESPONDENCE: RUSSIAN AND TURKISH ATROCITIES', The *Pall Mall Gazette* 31 January (1882), p.5

Jewish violence was to have a profound affect upon public opinion in regard to the extent of the atrocities committed against East European Jewry.

However, although a section of lesser-known periodicals, such as the *Tablet*, were somewhat pessimistic in their justification of a public remonstration, the *Times* sanctioned its support for the Mansion House meeting with the publication of a pamphlet detailing the numerous Russian outrages against Jews in great detail. While much of this pamphlet was based upon Jacobs' two previous articles, underlining the numerous acts of persecution that had occurred since the outbreak at Elizabethgrad, it was supplemented by a detailed map and index. This index alphabetically listed the occurrence of each pogrom by town, including the province and date of atrocity, in addition to the events of each manifestation of violence, specifying the extent of damage inflicted upon Jewish individuals and property. It was a list that had the effect of cataloguing the extent of persecutions more accurately and authoritatively, detailing the sheer scale of the outrages of anti-Jewish violence.

This pamphlet therefore served to establish a greater level of certainty regarding events within Russia, providing a level of authenticity that had been lacking the previous year in the reports of the daily press. The articles detailed outrages of murder, rape, destruction, infanticide and expulsion in explicit detail with statistics collected from a list of over 160 towns and villages in Southern and Western Russia. The *Times* openly stating that in 45 of these locations, 'are reported 23 murders of men, women, and children, 17 deaths caused by violation, and no fewer than 225 cases of outrages on Jewesses'.⁸⁵

The *Times* also asserted that a large amount of information had previously been withheld by Russian officials and that many reports supplied to news agencies had been censored. This detail was used to justify the previous lack of public concern regarding the plight of East European Jewry and the previous silence of the metropolitan daily press. According to the *Times*, 'attempts that were made by telegraph officials and others to prevent the true state of the case from reaching the rest of Europe, may serve to

⁸⁵ *Persecution of the Jews in Russia, 1881: Reprinted with Map and Tabulated Statement 2nd Edition* (London: Spottiswoode & Co., 1882), p.12

account for the extraordinary fact that the enormities of the past nine months have only found the faintest echo in the press of Europe'.⁸⁶

Nevertheless, the *Times*' publication gave credence to the growing belief that Jewish migration was becoming a feature of anti-Jewish violence and that as a consequence, significant numbers of Jews were amassing the Austro-Hungarian border. However, in emphasising the extent of the Russian persecutions, the *Times* inadvertently heightened and exaggerated the awareness of the number of Jews that could potentially migrate westward. 'It is possible then that an aggregate of a hundred thousand Jewish families has thus been reduced to poverty.'⁸⁷ Concurrent to such statements, the pamphlet also made it clear that impoverished Jews were confronting conditions that made the prospect of remaining within Russia increasingly difficult:

A few, who still possessed some means, attempted to flee across the frontier, but many were stopped. Of 5,000 who managed to reach Brody, on the Austrian border, in a perfectly helpless state, 2,000 still remain there, huddled in cellars. What horrors are in store for the thousands and thousands who have been left to face the rigours of a Russian winter with no resources, no one outside Russia can possibly imagine.⁸⁸

As a result of heightened public opinion surrounding the need for diplomatic protest a fear regarding the possible 'influx' of a large number of Jews became increasingly linked to the Russian persecution of East European Jewry. While this remained confined to small and lesser known periodicals and indirect assertions regarding the number of Jews amassing the Austro-Hungarian border from more established newspapers, there was minor apprehension that Britain could soon face a large refugee crisis. In addition, despite the attempts of the daily press to ground its reporting of pogroms more authoritatively, there were further accusations regarding the authenticity of outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence. Indeed, these accusations had previously been made by 'liberal' antisemites and Russian apologists but were now

⁸⁶ *Persecution of the Jews in Russia, 1881: Reprinted with Map and Tabulated Statement 2nd Edition*, p.12

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* p.14

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* pp.14-15

asserted by the daily press itself against the Anglo-Jewish community. Prior to a public protest in order to confront the Russian autocracy over anti-Jewish violence there were therefore a number of issues that undermined sympathy and compassion for the plight of East European Jewry.

(ii) Public Protest and the Mansion House Meeting

The Mansion House meeting was, however, seen as a means of publicly addressing Russia on these issues and the primary justification was undoubtedly humanitarian; ‘to express public opinion upon the outrages inflicted upon the Jews in various parts of Russia and Russian Poland.’⁸⁹ In the opening resolution, the Earl of Shaftesbury attempted to establish the benefits of a public remonstration over direct diplomatic intervention by asserting ‘that the moral weapons in the long run are the more effectual and the more permanent, and that it is our duty to resort to those moral weapons when for the use of the material we have neither the right nor the power.’⁹⁰ Nevertheless, this declaration was intended to stipulate the limits of the assembly in recognition of Russian hostility regarding any form of intervention.

The first resolution, like previous debates in the daily press, was an attempt to move the meeting beyond the charge of ‘liberal’ antisemites and Russian apologists, such as Novikoff, in asserting that those who protested on behalf of East European Jewry were not Russophobes concealing hatred for Russia beneath false philanthropy for the Jews. In recognition of this issue, the Earl immediately digressed from outlining the purposes of the meeting to asserting that neither he nor the British public held any opinions that could be considered anti-Russian. Accordingly, Britain was sympathetic towards Russia and had responded with concern to the turmoil that had engulfed the empire in the wake of the assassination of Tsar Alexander II. ‘When the late Emperor fell by the hand of a demonical assassin the whole of this country was filled with horror and dismay, which were expressed as with the voice of one man.’⁹¹ The first resolution, therefore, attempted to diminish the risk of offending the autocracy while asserting the truth of the reports

⁸⁹ Mansion House Fund, ‘Outrages upon the Jews in Russia: Report of the Public Meeting at the Mansion House’, *Council of the Anglo-Jewish Association* (1882), p. 3

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 3

⁹¹ *Ibid.* p. 11

‘that have been set before the world in the columns of the *Times* and of other newspapers’.⁹² In summation, the opening resolution protested that ‘the persecutions and the outrages which the Jews in many parts of the Russian dominion have for several months past suffered are an offence to civilisation to be deeply deplored’.⁹³

The second resolution, delivered by Cardinal Manning, furthered the efforts of the delegates to lessen Russian antipathy over the protest while also focussing on the legal inequalities that confronted East European Jewry. In recognition that England had no right to interfere in the internal affairs of another country, Manning stated that it was the intention of the meeting that ‘the most amicable relations between England and Russia should be preserved’.⁹⁴ However, the legal disabilities opposing East European Jewry were such that the assembly had no choice but ‘to express its opinion that the laws of Russia relating to Jews tend to degrade them in the eyes of the Christian population, and to expose Russian Jewish subjects to the outbreaks of fanatical ignorance’.⁹⁵

In agreement with Shaftesbury, Manning also noted the role of the daily press in exposing events within the Russian empire, noting that the only verification needed to support the claims of the British press were the articles of the Russian commission published by Ignatieff. Manning stated that ‘if the logic of this document be calm, the rhetoric and insinuations of it are most inflammatory; and I can hardly conceive how with that Rescript in their hands the Russian people should not have felt that they were encouraged to go on with their violence’.⁹⁶ Although Manning did not hold the autocracy directly responsible for the outrages, the legal measures imposed on Jews had played a decisive role in shaping conditions that had made East European Jewry victims of the Russian mobs. In addition, Reverend Canon Farrar’s seconding of this resolution praised the role of the daily press in exposing the Russian atrocities, also noting that Russian legal disabilities verified the statements of the European press and therefore invalidated claims of fabrication by Russian apologists:

⁹² Mansion House Fund, ‘Outrages upon the Jews in Russia: Report of the Public Meeting at the Mansion House’, *Council of the Anglo-Jewish Association*, p.10

⁹³ *Ibid.* p.11

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* p.13

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* p.13

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* p.16

We should be only too glad to believe that there have been some exaggerations and falsehoods in the details which have been given respecting atrocities committed upon Jews; but, nevertheless, it is quite certain that events which have been recorded by all European newspapers are no fictions, those accounts being in accord with Russian documents of undisputed authority, authenticated by names, and dates, and places.⁹⁷

Professor Bryce's recitation of the third resolution focussed on the need to forward a copy of the meeting to Gladstone and Granville in the hope that the government would be able to make an informal representation to the Russian government falling short of full diplomatic intervention. As with the two previous resolutions, Bryce underlined that the public nature of the remonstration made it a far more powerful means of addressing Russia, 'the best proof that the heart of England is stirred on this question, and that the voice of England is heard in its proceedings'.⁹⁸ Yet Bryce's speech made further claims regarding the persecution of East European Jewry, citing the differences between British tolerance of its Jewish population and Russian persecution. 'Our own experience, as well as the political principles we hold, has convinced us that the true way to do justice socially to men in the position of the Jews and to make them good members of society is to grant them the fullest political and civil equality.'⁹⁹ Drawing a distinction between the 'Bulgarian horrors' and the Russian pogroms, on the assumption that the former involved the direct culpability of the authorities, while the latter 'merely' concerned neglect by the Russian autocracy, Bryce also limited the scope of the protest to avoid charges of anti-Russian sentiment. However, the real aim underlying the meeting was to promote the growth of liberal values and 'civilisation' across Russia and Eastern Europe:

We desire to see an extension to every country of those great principles of religious toleration and civil equality which we were the first to establish as a nation, and the

⁹⁷ Mansion House Fund, 'Outrages upon the Jews in Russia: Report of the Public Meeting at the Mansion House', *Council of the Anglo-Jewish Association*, p.18

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* p.21

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* p.21

maintenance of which, while it conduces to our greatness and our happiness, is an indispensable bond between us and our Jewish brethren.¹⁰⁰

The final resolution of the Mansion House meeting concerned the establishment of a fund to aid East European Jewry. The Right Hon. J. G. Hubbard M.P., representing the City of London, read the fourth article and determined the intended benefits of proposed financial assistance in addition to the organization of a committee to administer the expenditure of funds. Indeed, in recognition of a possible refugee crisis, the Mansion House Fund primarily made allowance for monetary support in relation to prospective mass migration. Although no mention was made of the destination of Jewish refugees, the purpose of the fund was:

to relieve the distress among the Jewish population of Russia and among the refugees therefrom, which distress has been caused by the recent outrages of which they have been the victims, and also for the purpose of affecting some permanent amelioration in their condition in such manner as the Committee may deem expedient, whether by emigration or otherwise.¹⁰¹

The response of the metropolitan daily press to the Mansion House meeting was unanimous in its support. The *Morning Post* stated that 'the whole English people, may be congratulated on the success of the meeting held at the Mansion House yesterday to protest against the persecution of the Jews in Russia.'¹⁰² The newspaper also commented that 'it would have been a matter of regret if such a demonstration, however impressive in itself, had been identified with any shade of sectarian feeling, religious or political'.¹⁰³ Expressions of moral outrage had therefore finally found an official outlet, and as a consequence, further legitimacy had been established in the form of public opinion regarding the authenticity of the outrages committed against East European Jewry.

¹⁰⁰ Mansion House Fund, 'Outrages upon the Jews in Russia: Report of the Public Meeting at the Mansion House', *Council of the Anglo-Jewish Association*, p.22

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* p.25

¹⁰² 'Untitled Editorial', *The Morning Post* 2 February (1882), p.4

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* p.4

However, despite the efforts of the Mansion House meeting to lessen the charge of official culpability, sections of the daily press continued to indict the Russian government for their supposed involvement in the pogroms. In the immediate aftermath of Mansion House, the *Daily Chronicle* perpetuated its criticism of the central authorities and stated in editorial that ‘we fear that the Russian Government cannot be altogether exonerated from responsibility’.¹⁰⁴ The *Morning Post* claimed that ‘the authorities have not forcibly interfered to protect the persecuted Jews, and they cannot escape the stigma of being associated with deeds which are a reproach to humanity and a scandal to civilised rule’.¹⁰⁵ Although these accusations of governmental liability tended to reproach the autocracy on the grounds of a failure to respond to anti-Jewish violence, and in allowing unstable social and political conditions to persist, sections of the daily press therefore made accusations removed from this context. The Russian government, therefore, often appeared directly complicit for outrages against Jews with little distinction between the actions of the local authorities and those of the central autocracy.

Although the Mansion House meeting had attempted to downplay direct accusations against the Russian autocracy and confront the claims of Russian apologists, the daily press undermined these efforts by immediately challenging the Russian government over issues related to its culpability in outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence. Despite the meeting endeavouring to present a less hostile and more balanced view of Russia, a section of the metropolitan daily press therefore remained adamant that the Russian autocracy was indisputably ‘backward’, ‘savage’ and ‘barbarian’ without recourse to more direct evidence. Consequently, these accusations helped to instigate further debate in the daily press over the authenticity of press reports that severely influenced sympathy and compassion for the plight of East European Jewry in the wake of the Mansion House meeting.

Public Protest and the Question of Authenticity

¹⁰⁴ ‘Untitled Editorial’, The *Daily Chronicle* 2 February (1882), p.4

¹⁰⁵ ‘Untitled Editorial’, The *Morning Post* 2 February (1882), p.4

Indeed, the Russian press criticised the British government in relation to the Mansion House meeting.¹⁰⁶ The semi-official *Journal de St. Petersburg* hardened its defence of the autocracy and questioned Britain's right to interfere in Russian domestic affairs. The newspaper accused the British government of promoting an official policy of Russophobia and attacked Britain's own imperial record in relation to the treatment of indigenous peoples. Those that had protested on behalf of East European Jewry at the meeting were considered to be Russophobes concealing their hatred for Russia beneath false philanthropy for East European Jewry. 'We understand perfectly well, however, that the end in view is to revive the inveterate Russophobia which had been mitigated since accession of the present British Cabinet to office.'¹⁰⁷

Indeed, despite previous support for Mansion House, certain British newspapers voiced similar criticisms. Correspondence in the *Pall Mall Gazette* considered elements of the meeting to have been anti-Russian and that further evidence was required before a protest could be made against the Russian autocracy. In reference to Jacobs' *Times* articles, the correspondent complained that information had not been 'impartial, and its accuracy had been seriously called in question'.¹⁰⁸ Although the Mansion House meeting had been accompanied by more emotive accounts of Jewish suffering from survivor testimonies, a section of the press began to call for more authoritative evidence of anti-Jewish violence. The *Standard* published eye-witness reports from several sites of massacre and although one witness could account for material damage committed against the Jewish community at Elizabethgrad, the article noted that nothing had been stated in reference to 'Jews being murdered, or of the dishonouring of women, although the events of the day were much discussed wherever we went about the city'.¹⁰⁹

This debate over the authenticity of reports was partly due to the heightened awareness of the atrocities and the pressure placed on the government to intervene. Following Mansion House, events within Russia became the focus of Parliamentary attention where Gladstone and Granville received direct questions over the prospect of

¹⁰⁶ See: Klier, J. D. 'The Russian Press and the Anti-Jewish Pogroms of 1881' in *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (Summer, 1983), pp. 199-221

¹⁰⁷ 'THE ANTI-JEWISH OUTRAGES IN RUSSIA', The *Daily Chronicle* 4 February (1882), p.5

¹⁰⁸ 'CORRESPONDENCE: THE ANTI-RUSSIAN AGITATION', The *Pall Mall Gazette* 6 February (1882), p.2

¹⁰⁹ 'THE OUTRAGES ON THE JEWS', The *Standard* 7 February (1882), p.3

diplomatic intervention. In the House of Lords, Granville was questioned by the Duke of Somerset as to the exact role of the Russian authorities and the extent to which greater legitimacy could be achieved over the accuracy of reporting. Granville's response was resolute, the government would not intervene in the internal affairs of a foreign government on the basis that Britain had always resented interference in her own domestic affairs. In addition, Granville restated the government's position, that any intervention was likely to irritate the foreign party and worsen conditions for the oppressed. For Granville, consular reports were the only means by which to achieve greater objectivity and it was made clear that such correspondence would be made available to the House of Lords.

The same question regarding consular reports was also asked to Charles Dilke who simply stated that such correspondence had been conveyed to the government. The question was then re-phrased by Serjeant Simon and put before Gladstone as a more detailed request, asking whether the government had received official accounts of the atrocities and whether such correspondence would be put before Parliament in order that the Government could 'exercise its friendly influence with the Russian Government on behalf of the Jews'.¹¹⁰ Gladstone's response reiterated Granville's stringency regarding non-intervention, however, he also stated that because the issue was of 'public interest', consular reports would be made available to both Houses.

This concern with authenticity, and the need for further evidence, coincided with a greater awareness of the possibility of mass migration. A letter by Oliphant addressed to the *Times* suggested that the Mansion House fund should be directed towards a programme that would facilitate Jewish migration to Palestine.¹¹¹ The *Times* again responded to this suggestion positively, underling the extent to which events in Russia had demonstrated to Jews 'that the soil of Russia is no longer fit for it'.¹¹² The *Times*, however, also again raised caution as to the probable destination of Jewish migrants in underlining that a 'flood is not careful as to the point to which it is about to descend'.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, 9 February (1882), col. 244

¹¹¹ Oliphant became a representative of the Mansion House Fund and visited Palestine to help deliberate in the spending of funds to establish Jewish settlements.

¹¹² 'Untitled Editorial', The *Times* 15 February (1882), p.9

¹¹³ *Ibid.* p.9

While the newspaper continued to sympathise with the plight of East European Jewry, it also emphasised that German and Austrian hostility could provoke a Jewish 'influx' to Britain, and that there were legitimate concerns regarding the mass movement of Jews towards Western Europe. 'Tens of thousands, not to speak of millions, are not added at a stroke to a present population without stress on the accommodation already provided. Population in its regular growth creates a place for newcomers; they cannot be imported wholesale into the European continent without danger or odium.'¹¹⁴

This awareness of a potential refugee crisis coincided with reports of the arrival of Jewish refugees at Liverpool. Although transmigrants bound for America, the Russo-Jewish Committee interviewed the refugees and used their statements to corroborate reports of recent atrocities in the wake of accusations regarding press authenticity.¹¹⁵ The *Jewish Chronicle* made explicit use of this testimony to counter numerous criticisms and purposely emphasised positive features of the Jewish refugees. They were noted to be of the 'lower middle, agricultural, and artisan class and nearly all the men had served in the Russian army. Many of them were fine, stalwart fellows, and all of them appeared docile and intelligent'.¹¹⁶

In addition, the article asserted that refugees were in good health, also emphasising that Jews only kept dram shops because a high rate of alcoholism barred native Russians from the occupation, and that not a single moneylender existed amongst the group. 'The money-lenders are an extremely small minority and do not present one per cent of the Russian Jewish population.'¹¹⁷ The refugees also stated that they were law-abiding, that none had been involved in nihilist activity, and that all were patriotic subjects of the Tsar. One of the communal leaders also asserted that 'we are very anxious to prove that we are faithful hard-working and loyal members of society, and by our

¹¹⁴ 'Untitled Editorial', *The Times* 15 February (1882), p.9

¹¹⁵ Similar articles were printed in most of the metropolitan daily newspapers. See for example: 'JEWISH REFUGEES FROM RUSSIA', *The St James's Gazette* 11 February (1882), p.8, 'ARRIVAL OF JEWISH REFUGEES IN LIVERPOOL', *The Daily Chronicle* 11 February (1882), p.4, 'THE OUTRAGES ON JEWS: ARRIVAL OF REFUGEES', *The Standard* 11 February (1882), p.5, 'THE PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS IN RUSSIA', *The Morning Post* 11 February (1882), p.3 and 'JEWISH REFUGEES FROM RUSSIA', *The Times* 11 February (1882), p.10

¹¹⁶ 'JEWISH REFUGEES FROM RUSSIA AT LIVERPOOL', *The Jewish Chronicle* 17 February (1882), p.7

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* p.7

conduct in America we will endeavour to prove that America will have gained industrious workers who will do her credit.¹¹⁸

The *Jewish Chronicle* also published more in-depth testimony regarding anti-Jewish violence. The President of the Liverpool branch of the Anglo-Jewish Association, Mr. Baron L. Benas, asked directly if any of the male refugees were prepared to swear an oath as to whether they had witnessed actual murders, to which forty two refugees replied affirmatively as eye-witnesses to these atrocities. Benas also asked the extent to which specific outrages had taken place against Jewish women to which a number of refugees asserted that they had personally witnessed such offences. One refugee stated he had 'seen a man and his wife dragged into the woods by a number of people. They stunned the husband and 30 men subjected his wife to indignities. The woman told me that she was dragged into a forest and 30 men more or less attempted violence.'¹¹⁹ The article also noted that the authorities did little in response to outbreaks of violence and that soldiers had merely stood by observing the atrocities.

However, despite attempts by the *Jewish Chronicle* to counter the mounting criticism over the authenticity of reports, the publication of consular correspondence raised further doubts regarding press accuracy. The daily press featured much of the diplomatic communication in articles, and newspapers appeared unanimous over the extent to which reports 'tend to extenuate the seriousness of the anti-Jewish riots'.¹²⁰ Having previously detailed outbreaks of violence without vigorously questioning their authority, the daily press now retreated from its more extreme statements regarding the extent of physical damage inflicted upon East European Jewry. Indeed, the *Daily Chronicle* asserted that:

it may be said that the reports which have lately agitated the public mind appear to have been considerably exaggerated. An enormous amount of property has

¹¹⁸ 'JEWISH REFUGEES FROM RUSSIA AT LIVERPOOL', The *Jewish Chronicle* 17 February (1882), p.7

¹¹⁹ Ibid. p.7

¹²⁰ 'THE TREATMENT OF THE JEWS IN RUSSIA', The *Times* 20 February (1882), p.7. The *Daily News* commented that the 'reports do not confirm the worst of the alleged outrages, but they tell a melancholy story of popular fury and administrative empathy.' See: 'THE PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS IN RUSSIA', The *Daily News* 20 February (1882), p.4

certainly been destroyed, but it does not seem that the outrages on the persons of the Jews were nearly so horrible as we have been led to suppose.¹²¹

Much of this criticism related to the absence of evidence regarding outrages against women that had previously been particularly persuasive in gaining sympathy for East European Jewry. Indeed, while the *Jewish Chronicle* remained defensive as to the severity of attacks, the newspaper now remarked that the *Times*' articles of Jacobs may have lacked a degree of accuracy in relation to specific outrages regarding Jewish women. The newspaper asked, 'how far is the *Times* article, which has been the main cause in the English movement, substantiated by these official papers? That is the question in which all are mainly interested'.¹²² The newspaper responded by asserting that most of the outrages Jacobs had reported were not corroborated by the consular reports and that only one attack on a Jewish female could be verified. 'The attacks on property are more than substantiated, loss of life is frequently referred to, but with regard to cases of violation which have been the chief cause of the horror that has added to the sympathy, only one case is definitely mentioned and in some passages their existence denied.'¹²³

Nevertheless, the *Jewish Chronicle* maintained its support regarding press accuracy and attacked the consular reports for much of their testimony being based on interviews with officials long after events had taken place. The newspaper asserted that the reports had also frequently quoted from articles lifted directly from the Russian press. Although the consular reports undermined much of what had been reported and exposed a number of insufficiencies in the daily press' coverage of the atrocities, the *Jewish Chronicle* remained obstinate that most of what had been conveyed could be justified. The newspaper asserted that 'they serve to confirm, as we have elsewhere pointed out, much that has been placed before the English public already. Scanty as are the materials, it would not be difficult to construct, even from these papers, evidence strong enough to condemn the inertness and anti-Jewish animus of the Russian authorities'.¹²⁴

¹²¹ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Daily Chronicle* 20 February (1882), p.4

¹²² 'THE CONSULAR REPORTS', The *Jewish Chronicle* 24 February (1882), p.11

¹²³ *Ibid.* p.11

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* p.11

Indeed, the *Jewish Chronicle* recommended that consular officials should be redirected to the exact sites of the *Times* articles to further investigate reports of inaccuracy. The newspaper also restated its belief that the autocracy was in some way culpable for the pogroms and remarked that ‘we feel confident that the original report will be found rather to have underrated than overrated the case against the Russian people and the government’.¹²⁵ In addition, the *Jewish Chronicle* criticised individual diplomats, noting the lack of impartiality and sympathy towards Jews, and the frequent inconsistencies regarding evidence that referred to specific atrocities. Vice-Consul Wagstaff was particularly noted for his existing hostility towards East European Jewry and that his reports were rather an examination of ‘the treatment of the Russian by the Jews’.¹²⁶ For the *Jewish Chronicle*, the consular reports investigated the atrocities ‘through Russian spectacles, and their evidence is, we regret to say tinged with an anti-Jewish bias, which must cause us to deny them that impartiality which all had anticipated’.¹²⁷

Although the daily press had already given credence to the consular report’s denial of the number of atrocities committed against women, the press remained dedicated to the belief that general violence and damage to property had been extensive. While certain newspapers had endorsed Wagstaff’s view that the Russian peasantry was exacting revenge over Jewish economic dominance, these views were always qualified by the additional comment that irregular fiscal relations did not justify anti-Jewish violence. As the *Times* remarked of the consular reports, ‘we are told over again the old tale about the disreputable occupations of the Jews; that they are usurers and keep gin shops, and are unpleasantly ostentatious, arrogant and a race apart from the rest of the community’.¹²⁸ However, these accusations did not justify the Russian treatment of East European Jewry. As the newspaper stated, ‘it is equally true that the Jews have plied these avocations in Russia for the last century, and that no civilised Government can

¹²⁵ ‘THE CONSULAR REPORTS’, The *Jewish Chronicle* 24 February (1882), p.11

¹²⁶ Ibid. p.11

¹²⁷ Ibid. p.11

¹²⁸ ‘Untitled Editorial’, The *Times* 20 February (1882), p.9

retain any self-respect and at the same time permit its subjects to correct the defect or superiority in the Jewish character by brutality or plunder'.¹²⁹

Authenticity, Persecution and Mass Migration

However, the passing of the Mansion House meeting saw public opinion regarding anti-Jewish violence begin to diminish. The refusal to pass a memorandum in Parliament instigated by Baron de Worms calling for official diplomatic intervention saw press attention focus on the growing awareness of a potential refugee crisis. With renewed vigour, the daily press began to detail the number of Jews gathering on the Austrian border and the probable consequences of a mass movement of Jews. For the *Jewish Chronicle*, this attention brought renewed anxiety that public opinion was beginning to question whether Britain would be the destination for a large number of refugees. The newspaper stated that 'after the movement of English feeling in favour of the Russian Jews there is no doubt that the first "city of refuge" to which our persecuted brethren will flee will be England'.¹³⁰ This apprehension was more evident in the *St James's Gazette*'s reporting of difficulties already experienced by the Jewish Board of Guardians that had sent a warning to the Emigration Committee of the Mansion House Fund. This stated that 'the number of refugees in London had so greatly increased during the past few days that they had had to authorise a special administration to deal promptly with the cases that arose'.¹³¹

Reports from Mansion House Fund meetings also detailed the arrival of Jewish refugees alongside reports of further disturbances within Russia. The *Daily Chronicle*'s editorial focussed on the continued agitation, condemning the Russian authorities in a conspiratorial tone for endorsing a reactionary programme against Jews and other minority groups. The newspaper proceeded to detail expulsions of Jews from St Petersburg and Kieff and underline the destitution resulting from the confiscation of Jewish business assets. The only means of survival for East European Jewry was therefore increasingly seen to be migration.

¹²⁹ 'Untitled Editorial', *The Times* 20 February (1882), p.9

¹³⁰ 'Russian Emigration' *The Jewish Chronicle* 17 March (1882), p.11

¹³¹ 'THE PERSECUTION OF JEWS IN RUSSIA', *The St James's Gazette* 1 March (1882), p.11

In addition, the *Daily Telegraph* featured a report on the Mansion House Fund that detailed the number of Jews arriving in Britain as a result of recent atrocities. At the expense of the Mansion House Committee the Jewish Board of Guardians was noted to have already relieved '161 refugees from Russia and 106 from Poland, with 41 wives and 84 children'.¹³² Although most refugees were specified as transmigrants continuing to the United States, the report emphasised further demands made on the Mansion House Committee in other localities that had been receiving Jewish refugees. The article proceeded to detail the financial burden on existing funds and that the Mayor of Liverpool had urged that Jewish refugees 'should be investigated and provided for by the local branch of the Anglo-Jewish Association, and that the funds so expended be reimbursed them by the Mansion House Committee'.¹³³

Although the *Jewish Chronicle* officially perceived the United States and Palestine as the principal destination for Jewish refugees, the newspaper grew increasingly agitated by the increase in arrivals from new districts of Poland and Russia.¹³⁴ The newspaper appealed for donations to aid those fleeing persecution and underlined the drain on existing resources. The newspaper strongly advocated greater support amongst Anglo-Jewry, aware of the criticism that a major 'influx' of refugees would provoke. 'In fact, it is a serious feature of the present movement that a very large accession to the mass of foreign poor in London will result. In Germany, few appear to be relieved in any other way than by merely being assisted to London.'¹³⁵

Russian apologists also continued their defence of the Russian autocracy. The Russian journalist, Madame Z. Ragozin, attempted to justify anti-Jewish violence in the same manner as other apologists by asserting that exploitation of the peasantry was the root cause of the outbreaks. Ragozin made use of the recent doubts regarding the authenticity of press reports to justify her approach, and was adamant that there had been a failure to communicate accurately the causes of the Russian pogroms. She stated that with the misinformation arising from the 'general hue and cry from the so-called

¹³² 'PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS IN RUSSIA', The *Daily Telegraph* 24 March (1882), p.2

¹³³ *Ibid.* p.2

¹³⁴ See: 'THE NEW EXODUS', The *Jewish Chronicle* 31 March (1882), p.9. This editorial emphasised Palestine as a destination for East-European Jewry in addition to the United States. The article encouraged the support of Anglo-Jewry towards Jewish settlement.

¹³⁵ 'THE RUSSIAN REFUGEES', The *Jewish Chronicle* 31 March (1882), p.11

progressive and liberal press of most countries, we become slightly sceptical, and desirous of looking into the matter for ourselves more closely'.¹³⁶

Even so, Ragozin did not attempt to completely deny anti-Jewish violence. While she denied outbreaks at Elizabethgrad, Ragozin admitted mass destruction of Jewish property. Nevertheless, these attacks were seen as justifications for Russian tolerance on the assumption that if the peasantry had been violently predisposed towards Jews they would have carried out attacks without distinction between person and property. In the case of Kieff and Odessa where mass violence had definitely occurred, Ragozin asserted that this was the result of natural 'human passions' inflamed by alcohol against rampant Jewish exploitation. To further these claims, Ragozin underlined that other minorities within Russia had remained untouched by the passions of the mob. 'Russia has millions of Mohammadan subjects. I do not mean our new subjects of Central Asia, but the Tatars along the Volga and in the Crimea, and the inhabitants of the highlands of the Caucasus [...] Who ever heard of hostile outbreaks against them?'¹³⁷

For Ragozin, Jews were accountable for the violence committed against them because of their ruthless financial treatment of the peasantry. Her argument proceeded with a crude assessment of Jewish life based on the research of a Christian convert, Jacob Brafmann, who had undertaken a study for the autocracy to facilitate conversion.¹³⁸ Ragozin's argument proceeded by presenting evidence that supposedly demonstrated Jews to be predisposed towards finance that was encouraged by religious texts and communal institutions. On this assumption, the peasantry had been exploited to such an extent that outrages against Jews were a 'natural occurrence' and not the result of intolerance or prejudice:

The Jews are disliked, nay, hated in those parts, not because they believe and pray differently, but because they are a parasitical race who, producing nothing, fasten

¹³⁶ Ragozin, Z. 'RUSSIAN JEWS AND GENTILES: FROM A RUSSIAN POINT OF VIEW', *Century Magazine* (April, 1882), p.905

¹³⁷ Ibid. p.905

¹³⁸ See: Klier, J. D. *Imperial Russia's Jewish Question, 1855-1881* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

on the produce of land and labour, and live on it, choking the breath of life out of commerce and industry as sure as the creeper throttles the tree that upholds it.¹³⁹

This article was met with much condemnation in the daily press. The following issue of *Century* published a rejoinder by Emma Lazarus, in which the arguments of Ragozin were refuted.¹⁴⁰ Lazarus undermined the basis of Ragozin's argument by exposing the inaccuracies of the evidence presented by Brafmann. 'What would Christendom have thought of a statement put forward by the Turks after the Bulgarian massacres, drawn up by a renegade Christian who had entered the service of the Ottoman court?'¹⁴¹ For Lazarus, the occupations pursued by East European Jewry were the result of Russian legislation and not the product of religious or communal institutions. In addition, toleration of Russia's Mohammadan population was due to large Mohammadan countries surrounding Russian territory. As Lazarus remarked, 'if we imagine a huge Jewish sovereignty intrenched on the borders of the Russian Empire, and powerful allies scattered about in every direction, it is not difficult to believe that the outbreaks against the Russian Jews would be as infrequent as are those against Mohammedans'.¹⁴²

Lazarus progressed by attacking Ragozin's arguments purporting the pogroms to be a 'natural phenomenon' and not the result of religious or racial antipathy. She cited evidence of anti-Jewish violence that long preceded events at Elizabethgrad in which Jews were viciously brutalised. Lazarus also referred to examples of rioters depriving Jews of their possessions to oppose Ragozin's suggestion that the intent of the peasantry was merely to desecrate Jewish property. The outrages at Odessa, Kiev and Warsaw were also cited as evidence of the extreme violence committed against East European Jewry. Accordingly, Ragozin was essentially guilty of making claims based on false

¹³⁹ Ragozin, Z. 'RUSSIAN JEWS AND GENTILES: FROM A RUSSIAN POINT OF VIEW', *Century Magazine* (April, 1882), p.905

¹⁴⁰ Lazarus had written an essay in the same issue of *Century* as Ragozin entitled 'Was the Earl of Beaconsfield a Representative Jew?' in which she argued the affirmative. The essay written in response to Ragozin has been credited as the first of Lazarus's polemical pieces in defence of East European Jewry. See: Kessner, C. 'The Emma Lazarus-Henry James Connection: Eight Letters' in *American Literary History* (1991), pp.46-62

¹⁴¹ Lazarus, E. 'RUSSIAN CHRISTIANITY VERSUS MODERN JUDAISM', *Century Magazine* (May, 1882), p.50

¹⁴² Ibid. p.55

evidence and reducing participants in the pogroms to petty criminals concerned with the destruction of Jewish assets:

She simply reduces them to the level of fiends, as calculating and cunning as they are merciless. But it were an insult to our readers to fancy that any extenuation, however, plausible, of such horrors could have a moment's weight with them. Were Mme. Ragozin's (or Brafmann's) statements ten times true, rather than the stale and flimsy libels which they are, they would bear no relation whatever to the deeds she attempts to explain.¹⁴³

Likewise, the *Jewish Chronicle* protested Ragozin's justification of anti-Jewish violence. The newspaper asserted that she failed to adequately account for the conditions under which Jews lived in Russia and that she 'displays the same shortsightedness of vision which characterise all who attempt to defend the atrocious deeds of 1881'.¹⁴⁴ The newspaper forcefully undermined her arguments, especially those purporting Jewish financial transactions to have been motivated by religious and communal institutions. Indeed, the irrational nature of Ragozin's accusations became more apparent in reference to an allegation that the Anglo-Jewish rabbinical structure was responsible for Anglo-Jewish business interests. 'The absurdity of regarding Dr. ASHER and the Rev. SPIERS as the motive forces of Anglo-Jewish commerce and finance at once strikes us, but the charges brought by BRAFMANN against the Russian Jews are strictly analogous to this'.¹⁴⁵

Although fresh disturbances over the Easter period saw the daily press continue to report outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence, the height of public interest had now passed and the majority of reports were simple captions quoted directly from foreign correspondents and news agencies. These disturbances were noted to be more brutal and migration was perceived as a possible outcome of outbreaks of violence. In addition, the *Daily Telegraph* noted that Jews had been expelled from Kieff and that 'it is stated that a large

¹⁴³ Lazarus, E. 'RUSSIAN CHRISTIANITY VERSUS MODERN JUDAISM', *Century Magazine* (May, 1882), p.56

¹⁴⁴ 'THE LATEST ECHO FROM EISENMENGER.-RUSSIAN JEWS AND GENTILES', *The Jewish Chronicle* 7 April (1882), p.8

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p.9

number both of women and young girls were violated by the rioters, and that infants were thrown into the river and drowned'.¹⁴⁶ The *Daily Chronicle* remarked that these facts could be verified and 'that delegates have clear evidence that wives and daughters were dishonoured in the presence of their husbands and fathers'.¹⁴⁷ Mass expulsions of Jews were also reported from various districts to the alarm of the metropolitan daily press. Even the liberal *Daily News* found reported figures disturbing:

The number of fugitive Jews in Brody reached 12,000 yesterday. The health and safety of the inhabitants was endangered by this increase of population. The Brody committee has declared that it must dissolve, because it does not dispose of sufficient means to aid such numbers [...] The wealthy Jews and the rabbis in Russia are doing all in their power to facilitate the emigration of the masses.¹⁴⁸

The growing concern over the number of Jews migrating westward increased with the announcement of the May Laws and the details of four specific regulations restricting Jewish trade and residence rights. The *Jewish Chronicle* became convinced that this legislation would cause a far greater movement of Jews to Britain and burden the existing organisation of the Conjoint Committee of the Jewish Board of Guardians and the Mansion House Fund. As the newspaper remarked, 'these measures should largely add to the stream of emigration which is now leaving Russia, and whether intended or not it will have that effect. Thus, unless the evil be met with from the very first, we shall have the already overwhelming difficulties of the situation immensely increase'.¹⁴⁹

The failure of diplomatic intervention and the daily press' recognition that Jewish organisations were already struggling to cope with migration meant that a potential refugee crisis now became a prominent feature of debates regarding anti-Jewish violence. Although the emphasis was on migration of Jews to Palestine and the United States, the

¹⁴⁶ 'TERRIBLE OUTRAGES IN RUSSIA: ATTACKS BY ARMED PEASANTS', The *Daily Telegraph* 24 April (1882), p.5

¹⁴⁷ 'THE JEWISH ATROCITIES IN RUSSIA: HORRIBLE OUTRAGES', The *Daily Chronicle* 21 April (1882), p.5

¹⁴⁸ 'THE RUSSIAN JEWS (BY SUBMARINE TELEGRAPH) (FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)', The *Daily News* 20 May (1882), p.5

¹⁴⁹ 'RUSSIA'S REPLY TO THE JEWISH QUESTION', The *Jewish Chronicle* 26 May (1882), p.9

destitute condition of refugees alarmed most sections of the daily press. The *Daily Chronicle*'s editorial remarked that one consequence of the outrages and expulsions 'is that the frontier towns of Austria are now swarming with homeless and starving refugees, who were it not for the kindness of their co-religionists in Germany and France would perish by the hundred'.¹⁵⁰ The *Times* similarly commented that 22,000 Jews awaited relief at Brody and that 15,000 were completely destitute. The newspaper also stated that at the 'present rate of expenditure, the Mansion-house Fund will in about two months be entirely exhausted, unless replenished from some new source [...] What will happen when all the money shall have been spent, and when fresh thousands shall take the place of those now being relieved?'.¹⁵¹

In an attempt to suppress growing fears over a refugee crisis, the *Jewish Chronicle* reviewed the various institutions established to facilitate migration. Although the newspaper recognised features of an impending crisis, noting that the only viable solution was migration, and that the existing organisational infrastructure was under pressure, the newspaper also remarked that Jewish organisations were efficient in their approach to the plight of East European Jewry. The *Jewish Chronicle* underlined that 7,000 of the Jews at Brody had been forwarded to America with the aid of the Mansion House Fund and 'that this work had been done efficiently and with remarkable celerity, but also with unparalleled economy'.¹⁵² While the American Hebrew Emigrant's Society was criticised for its treatment of migrants and the large financial requests made on European organisations, the *Jewish Chronicle* remained confident that the predicament confronting East European Jewry could be dealt with by the community.

Nevertheless, concerns over mass migration coincided with the publication of the second instalment of consular reports regarding anti-Jewish violence.¹⁵³ The *Daily Chronicle* reported that 'interest in this subject has certainly lessened since the first batch of correspondence was presented to Parliament early in the year; and it has, moreover, been obscured by exciting occurrences elsewhere'.¹⁵⁴ However, the decline in public

¹⁵⁰ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Daily Chronicle* 29 May (1882), p.4

¹⁵¹ 'THE EXODUS OF JEWS FROM RUSSIA', The *Times* 31 May (1882), p.8

¹⁵² 'MANSION HOUSE FUND', The *Jewish Chronicle* 23 June (1882), p.5

¹⁵³ See: NA, 'Correspondence Respecting the Treatment of Jews in Russia, 1882', FO418/12

¹⁵⁴ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Daily Chronicle* 3 Jul (1882), p.4

interest regarding persecution and the concurrent rise in fears regarding a potential refugee crisis was now met by further doubts regarding reports of violence as having been ‘grossly exaggerated’.¹⁵⁵ Although the scope of these doubts was far more reserved than assumptions in previous correspondence, reports further underlined to the daily press the extent to which ‘thousands of Russian Jews have been compelled to seek refuge in other lands’.¹⁵⁶

Although the consular reports admitted the severity of recent outbreaks, officials also asserted that in certain cases East European Jewry had been involved in the manipulation of facts regarding outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence. Correspondence to Earl Granville, from Colonel Maude attested that ‘the noticeable feature in the affair is the great exaggeration to which the Jews have, in many cases, lent themselves. Some of them presented themselves before the justices of the Peace with their faces bandaged [...] but, on the bandages being removed, there was no trace of injury’.¹⁵⁷ Other reports were, however, more restrained in their condemnation of alleged Jewish misconduct. In his investigation of Russian press reporting on the pogroms, Sir E. Thornton noted that the more progressive *Moscow Gazette* had underscored the extent to which severe attacks had been committed against Jews. ‘Whatever the vice and defects of the Jewish character, there can be no justification for the savagery and brutality to which the Jews have been exposed in a European, and at the same time Christian country.’¹⁵⁸ Although the new instalment of official correspondence maintained the ambiguity of previous consular reports, the message constantly conferred by consular officials was that ‘the subject of emigration largely occupies the minds of Polish Jews at this moment’.¹⁵⁹

Although the *Jewish Chronicle* was more supportive of the second volume of diplomatic correspondence and officials were praised for their conduct in relation to sensitivity and accuracy, the newspaper noted that the first set of reports had definitely damaged public opinion in relation to the authenticity and legitimacy of anti-Jewish violence:

¹⁵⁵ ‘Untitled Editorial’, *The Daily Chronicle* 3 Jul (1882), p.4

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.* p.4

¹⁵⁷ NA, ‘Correspondence Respecting the Treatment of Jews in Russia, 1882’, FO418/12 - No.49, Colonel Maude to Earl Granville, p.61

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.* p.58

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.* p.52

the second batch of correspondence issued by the Foreign Office is thus far more satisfactory than the first [...] All the chief scenes were visited by Consuls Wagstaff and his colleagues, and though they point out several inaccuracies, they now grant the substantial truth of the *Times* account, instead of dismissing it as quite illusory.¹⁶⁰

Indeed, the *Jewish Chronicle* remarked that organised migration schemes assisting East European Jewry to the United States were now in order and that reports of anti-Jewish violence showed a decline in outbreaks across the empire. However, the newspaper remained anxious over the situation in London and believed outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence could resume. ‘It must be recognised that both London and the Continental cities where Jewish Committees exist must bear their share of the burden; but the returns show that London has hitherto accepted a very large proportion.’¹⁶¹ In addition, the newspaper lamented that the best migrants had been transferred to the United States and that Britain had been left with the most destitute refugees. In the context of forthcoming outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence, the newspaper was therefore already aware of the potential burden Jewish refugees could have on the Anglo-Jewish community, torn between a duty to assist their coreligionists and a fear that migration of a large number of destitute Jews would attract negative attention and impact their status and reputation:

Many of the most undesirable cases almost refuse to go back, but care must be taken that the Board of Guardians, which is sure before very long to feel the effects of the increased number of helpless paupers in London, shall not unduly suffer through the injudicious forwarding of these poor creatures here, who thereby suffer much unnecessary hardship.¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰ ‘NOTES OF THE WEEK’, *The Jewish Chronicle* 7 July (1882), p.4

¹⁶¹ ‘THE RUSSIAN REFUGEES’, *The Jewish Chronicle* 14 July (1882), p.12

¹⁶² ‘THE RUSSIAN REFUGEES’, *The Jewish Chronicle* 14 July (1882), p.12

Conclusions

The response of the metropolitan daily press towards the outbreak of Russian anti-Jewish violence in the period 1881-1882 was therefore the subject of much debate. Newspapers undoubtedly played an active role in expressing moral indignation and made genuine attempts to confront the Russian autocracy over the plight of East European Jewry. However, in the aftermath of the Mansion House meeting attempts to incite lasting protest were consistently undermined by questions regarding the authenticity of press reporting and an awareness that Russian persecution could potentially lead to a mass 'influx' of East European Jewry.

In part, the failure to reach a consensus over events within Russia was due to hesitancy in asserting the need for a public protest. Newspapers did not adequately account for anti-Jewish violence until the 'Warsaw Outrages' and the majority initially sided with Granville's declaration that intervention would only worsen conditions for East European Jewry. Although the *Jewish Chronicle* asserted that more needed to be done to arouse public opinion, this concern was undermined by apprehension that a public remonstration would be a 'Jewish' event. The newspaper was also initially cautious to criticise the British government and the accusations of Smith further weakened the *Jewish Chronicle*'s attempts to engage public opinion.

While the moral outcry surrounding the 'Warsaw Outrages' did much to raise the public profile of anti-Jewish violence, Novikoff's immediate criticisms similarly undermined sympathy for the plight of East European Jewry. The sensational nature of claims made by 'liberal' antisemites and Russian apologists meant that they always found an outlet for their views in Victorian public opinion.¹⁶³ Their expressions, no matter how absurd or prejudiced, influenced public opinion owing to their shocking and scandalous accusations. Despite the efforts of Jacobs and the *Times* in exposing the severity of attacks on Jews, attempts to reach a consensus were therefore further hampered by the allegations of 'liberal' antisemites and Russian apologists.

¹⁶³ On the Victorian appetite for sensation see: Diamond, M. *Victorian Sensation: Or, the Spectacular, the Shocking and the Scandalous in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Anthem Press, 2003)

In addition, British attitudes towards Russia were sometimes at fault for making judgments on the basis of predetermined assumptions. The views of Russian apologists were therefore not always wrong in perceiving a bias in British opinion, and this made it easy to undermine expressions of moral indignation in response to outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence. The perception of Russia as ‘backward’, ‘savage’ and ‘barbarian’ undoubtedly held weight in reference to the persecution of East European Jewry, however, newspapers tended to make allegations without recourse to alternative sources of information. For instance, accusations regarding the involvement of the Russian autocracy in the organisation of anti-Jewish violence lacked direct evidence, yet sections of the daily press still made allegations regarding the culpability of the central authorities. Such assumptions were easily interpreted as being Russophobic and were therefore effortlessly contradicted by Russian apologists.

Nevertheless, it was the debates regarding the authenticity of press reporting that contributed most towards disrupting the expression of sympathy and compassion for the plight of East European Jewry. Accusations that violence had been grossly exaggerated were supported by the publication of British consular reports and this severely undermined a consensus amongst the daily press regarding events within Russia. Questions regarding the authenticity of press reporting therefore created an environment in which the Russian persecution of East European Jewry could be further discredited by Russian apologists as well as sections of the metropolitan daily press. These accusations also gathered momentum in the immediate aftermath of the Mansion House meeting, and as a result, directly undermined concerns over anti-Jewish violence at the height of public sympathy for East European Jewry.

In addition to these concerns was the expression of fears regarding a potential Jewish refugee crisis. Although there was no direct evidence of the arrival of a large number of Jews during this period, sympathy for the plight of East European Jewry began to be overshadowed by fears that Jews were likely to embark upon a mass westward migration should conditions persist within the Russian empire. The notion of asylum was also not a stable ideology within the realm of public opinion and the movement of Jews towards the Austro-Hungarian border saw newspapers express instant alarm over the prospect of a potential refugee ‘influx’. Indeed, while the link between persecution and

mass migration remained tenuous during this period, the recognition that Britain would become a destination should a refugee crisis develop did much to unsettle press opinion and further disrupted sympathy for the plight of East European Jewry.

The daily press therefore undoubtedly played a crucial role in expressing moral indignation and confronting the Russian autocracy over the plight of East European Jewry during the period 1881-1882. However, attempts to reach a consensus over outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence were consistently undermined by doubts regarding the authenticity of press reporting and fears in relation to a possible ‘influx’ of East European Jewry. In the context of forthcoming outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence, these two factors were to have an increasing impact in disrupting sympathy and compassion for the plight of East European Jewry. Consensus in the daily press over events within Russia therefore always remained ambivalent, and with the arrival of increasing numbers of East European Jews, concern over outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence became increasingly undermined by anxiety regarding a potential refugee crisis.

Chapter 2

The ‘New Exodus’, 1890-1892

The Russian persecution of East European Jewry during the period 1890-1892 differed to previous outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence. Persecution was now largely understood to be legislative and anti-Jewish measures were therefore seen to have their origin in the policies of the Russian autocracy. The Russian government was now believed to have been complicit in the mistreatment of East European Jewry and as a result the daily press became more confident in asserting the need for a public protest.¹ However, reports linking the Tsarist regime to anti-Jewish legislation were immediately contested by a large section of the daily press. Consequently, uncertainty regarding the authenticity of press reporting became a recurrent feature of the British press’ response to the persecution of East European Jewry.

Indeed, aspects of British press reporting *were* inaccurate and Russian apologists were therefore legitimate in their concerns regarding misrepresentation. However, although Russian apologists made genuine criticisms of press reporting, exaggerated news also emerged regarding the mass migration of East European Jewry. This ‘New Exodus’ of East European Jewry was immediately linked to a potential refugee crisis and Russian apologists increasingly played on British fears regarding a major ‘influx’ of Jewish refugees. As Bernard Gainer has remarked ‘new Czarist oppression prompted rumours of an overwhelming exodus of Russian Jewry’.²

Yet a major ‘influx’ of East European Jewry remained largely exaggerated and claims of drastic increases in the number of arrivals were not supported by a significant increase in the immigrant population. Although various newspapers called for the implementation of restrictive legislation, an actual refugee crisis remained the subject of press sensation. Nevertheless, despite these exaggerations, anti-alienism became

¹ Official protest at the Guildhall Meeting was, however, still cautious over offending the Russian empire and Britain remained preoccupied over concerns with Russian foreign policy and imperial expansion.

² Gainer, B. *The Alien Invasion*, p.170

increasingly prominent amongst the Conservative press and greatly impacted upon sympathy and compassion for the plight of East European Jewry. Indeed, fears over increased immigration reached such an acute stage that the daily press was unable to view events concerning the persecution of East European Jewry separate from issues related to a potential refugee crisis. The link between persecution and mass migration therefore became firmly embedded in newspaper discourse.

Sympathy for the plight of East European Jewry during the period 1890-1892 was therefore greatly disrupted by fears over increased immigration and a distinct growth in anti-alienism.³ Although the link between persecution and mass migration had previously been tenuous, newspapers were now convinced that a more definite link existed between events in Russia and the number of Jews believed to be entering Britain. Various newspapers also now asserted the need for restrictive legislation and on occasion directly undermined Britain's 'tradition' of asylum. Anti-alienism also became far more vehement and was linked to an increasing number of negative attributes in relation to concerns over immigration. Indeed, while the government remained relatively unconcerned by alien immigration and had ruled against the implementation of restrictive legislation, the metropolitan daily press became overwhelmed by fears regarding a potential refugee crisis and the mass migration of East European Jewry.⁴

The Persecution of East European Jewry

(i) Russian Anti-Jewish Legislation: Authenticity and Persecution Revised and Revisited

³ Indeed, Jewish immigration and Russian persecution had reached a prominent level in British public opinion during this period, demonstrated by the number of books published on the subject. See: White, A. *The Modern Jew* (London: Heinemann, 1889), Wilkins, W. *The Aliens Invasion* (London: Methuen, 1892). White, A. *The Destitute Alien in Great Britain* (London: Swan Sonnen Schein & Co, 1892), Frederic, H. *The New Exodus: A Study of Israel in Russia* (London: William Heinemann, 1892), Smith, G. *Essays on Questions of the Day* (New York: Macmillan, 1893) and Mommsen, T. *The Russian Jews: Emancipation or Extermination* (London: David Nutt, 1894).

⁴ For instance, the British government had judged legislation to be unnecessary through the House of Commons Select Committee on Alien Immigration (1889). In addition, the House of Lords Select Committee on the Sweating System (1890) also reported that the 'evils of immigration had been much exaggerated. Drastic increases in the number of arrivals therefore largely remained the subject of exaggeration and sensation.

The *Times*' publication of Russian edicts on 30 July 1890 again brought the persecution of East European Jewry to the forefront of the metropolitan daily press.⁵ As with previous outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence, the introduction of anti-Jewish legislation was seen as a further example of Russian 'backwardness', 'savagery' and 'barbarianism', signalling that Russia was still beyond the immediate sphere of Western 'civilisation'.⁶ The daily press immediately protested against the implementation of anti-Jewish measures, the *Daily News* announcing that they were 'wholly unsuited to modern civilisation'.⁷

The governmental origin of the edicts meant that they were immediately distinguished from previous outbreaks of persecution that had remained uncertain regarding the role of the Russian autocracy.⁸ The *Times* asserted that 'in the present case there is no question of doubtful complicity or veiled sanction. The Russian Government, by the new edicts legalizes persecution and openly declares war against the Jews of the Empire'.⁹ Official complicity meant that the daily press was convinced that public protest was justified and carried a moral imperative and *Punch* again published illustrations depicting the Tsar at the centre of anti-Jewish persecution. Although the *Times*' editorial recalled the limited impact of protests in 1882, the newspaper was determined that a public remonstration would now have far greater effect.

However, these claims regarding restrictive measures were immediately refuted by a Russian correspondent of the *Standard*.¹⁰ The newspaper insisted that it had received official information stating that legislation would not be applied since 'its application would involve too extensive a movement of the population'.¹¹ This claim

⁵ Russian anti-Jewish legislation was only a proposal at the time of the *Times* article and had not received official ratification by the Tsar or the Imperial Council.

⁶ The *Jewish Chronicle* immediately published a weekly supplement detailing the persecutions in which the important articles of the daily press were reprinted. The supplement also published reports from various correspondents and commenced a historical investigation into the treatment of the Jews in Russia. The newspaper's intention was to establish that the implementation of the edicts was a feature of a continued anti-Jewish policy by the Russian authorities.

⁷ 'The Jews in Russia', The *Daily News* 1 August (1890), p.4

⁸ However, despite previous accusations regarding the Russian autocracy's involvement in the organisation of anti-Jewish violence, accusations were consistently denied and remained ambivalent.

⁹ 'PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS IN RUSSIA', The *Times* 30 July (1890), p.10

¹⁰ This claim was first made in the Sunday edition 3 August 1890. Incidentally, the *Standard* was the only daily newspaper to consider it unnecessary to maintain a full-time correspondent in Russia.

¹¹ 'THE JEWS IN RUSSIA (FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT)', The *Standard* 6 August (1890), p.5

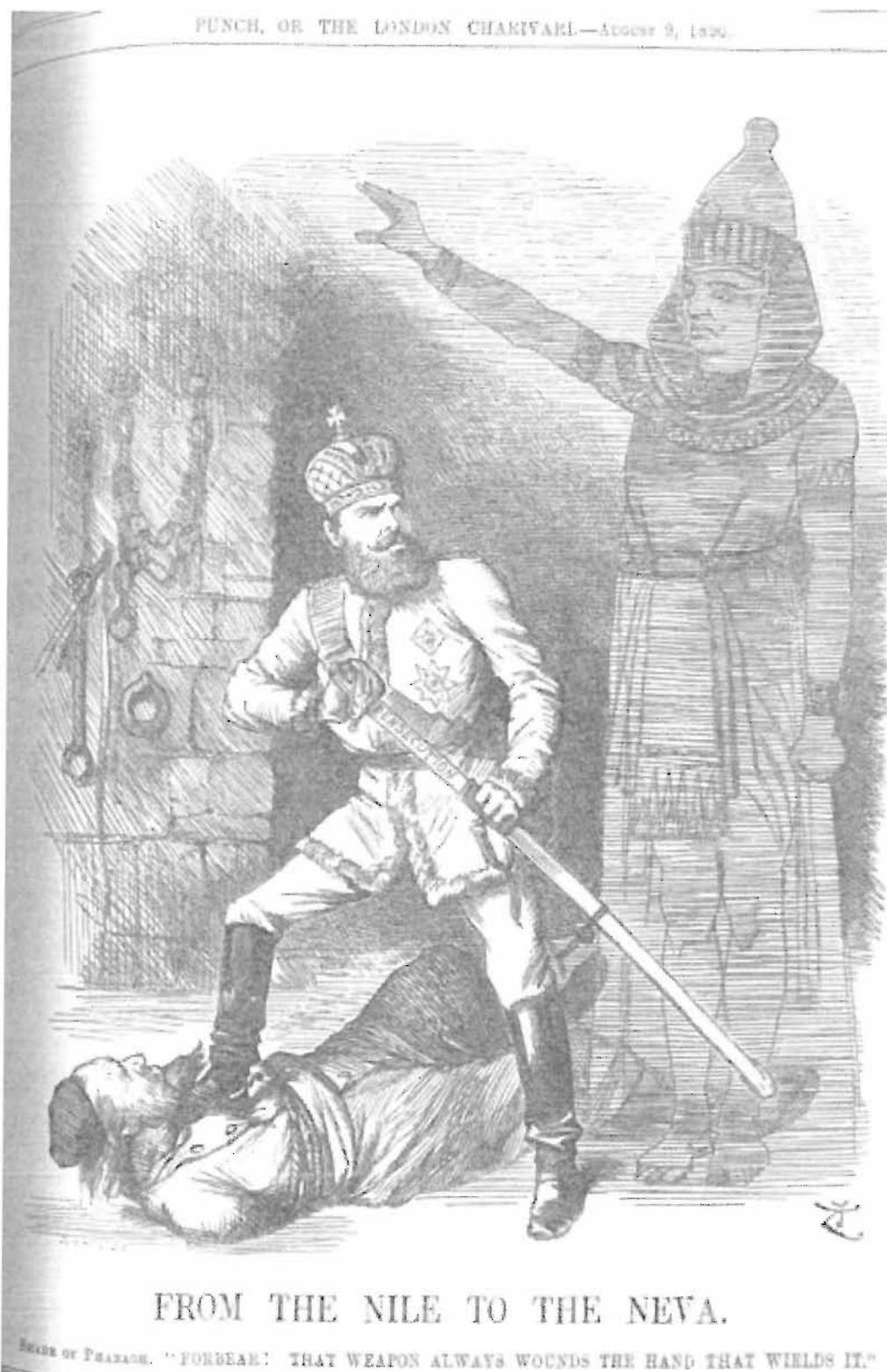


Figure 1 'FROM THE NILE TO THE NEVA', *Punch* 9 August (1890), p.67

was reprinted in other newspapers and also received parliamentary consensus.¹² The *St James's Gazette* immediately made light of the legislation. 'The persecution of the Jews in Russia, if they are really being persecuted, may well provoke a righteous indignation; but it would seem that dreadful atrocities have been committed nearer to home. A dentist has been fined £5 for pulling out the wrong tooth'.¹³

The President of the Jewish Board of Guardians, Benjamin Cohen, responded to the *Standard* by asserting that he had received authoritative letters attesting to the edicts. He underlined the restrictive nature of the legislation and stated that 'civilised' governments should now undertake diplomatic intervention. Although Cohen stated that economic questions regarding mass migration should be neglected in favour of humanitarian concerns, he defended the Anglo-Jewish community against a further influx of refugees. 'It is true that in 1882 there did arrive in this country large numbers of poor Russian Jews, driven from their homes in fear of their lives, after being robbed of all their possessions.'¹⁴ However, Cohen observed that immigration ceased with the end of persecutions and that Parliament had not recommended restriction.¹⁵

Indeed, the *Standard* was soon forced to revise its claims regarding mistruth. Although the newspaper refused an outright apology and rightly asserted that the edicts were merely proposals for the implementation of the May Laws (1882), it was forced to backtrack from its previous position. Nevertheless, the *Standard* lessened the severity of the reported anti-Jewish measures by asserting that Jews could still inhabit many of the Baltic provinces and that there were no restrictions regarding Jewish admission to Russian schools and universities.¹⁶

¹² In the House of Commons, a request was made by Mr. S. Smith for information regarding the implementation of Russian anti-Jewish measures. The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Sir J. Ferguson, replied that, 'her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburg has reported that the Russian Government deny emphatically the truth of the statements which have appeared in the *Times* on this subject.' See: *Hansard* Vol. 348, Col. 99-100 7 August (1890)

¹³ 'NOTES', The *St James's Gazette* 7 August (1890), p.4

¹⁴ 'THE JEWS IN RUSSIA: TO THE EDITOR OF THE STANDARD', The *Standard* 8 August (1890), p.5

¹⁵ The arrival of large numbers of East European Jews occurred towards the end of 1882 after the Mansion House Meeting and the publication of consular reports. Many of the refugees during this period were also transmigrants on their way to the United States.

¹⁶ The *Standard* was wrong to draw this assumption. Quotas on Jewish access to public education were put into effect as a result of legislation in July 1887. See: Baron, S. W. *The Russian Jew Under Tsar and Soviets* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1964), p.57.

The *Jewish Chronicle* was swift in its denunciation of these claims made by the *Standard*. The newspaper humoured that 'news from Russia could not be said to have ever accustomed testimonial to its authenticity till it had been officially denied'.¹⁷ The article progressed by underlining the extent of recent legal restrictions against Jews and supported the need to address the Tsar. The *Jewish Chronicle* stated that if communication with the autocracy could not be made, then emigration to a carefully chosen destination would be necessary. For the first time, the newspaper also supported controlled migration of East European Jews to Britain. 'We are not of those who think immigration disastrous to England itself; on the contrary, we hold it to be profitable to a country to receive fresh supplies of ingenious labour.'¹⁸

Yet despite these assertions by the *Jewish Chronicle* and the *Standard*'s revisions regarding the Russian treatment of East European Jewry, the *Standard* refused to refrain from controversy. Following the debacle over Russian anti-Jewish measures, the newspaper published correspondence urging the implementation of restrictive legislation. The *Standard* noted the increased presence of Jewish immigrants at Gravesend and stated that something should 'be done to stop this influx of penniless strangers, who, as a rule, cannot better themselves in this country, but merely add to the squalor and poverty of the slums'.¹⁹ Although additional correspondence defended Jews as fugitives in transit to the United States, the *Standard* grew noticeably alarmed at the supposed consequences of Russian anti-Jewish legislation.

Nevertheless, support for the plight of Jewish refugees did exist amongst certain Liberal daily newspapers that attempted to evoke much sympathy for those seeking refuge from Russian persecution. An article in the *Daily News* detailed the recent death of immigrant children in the East End and emphasised that newcomers were not actively seeking parish relief nor burdening the local authorities. The newspaper highlighted the tendency for Jews to remain isolated and oblivious to external philanthropy beyond the assistance of the Anglo-Jewish community. The article also remarked that cases such as these were 'frequently occurring amongst the poor people who came from Poland. They were oppressed there, and were no doubt glad to escape anywhere, but when they came

¹⁷ 'THE RUSSIAN JEWS', *The Jewish Chronicle* 8 August (1890), p.9

¹⁸ 'Ibid. p.10

¹⁹ 'FOREIGN IMMIGRANTS', *The Standard* 16 August (1890), p.3

they hid themselves, and if anything happened they were at a loss what to do being ignorant of the customs of this country.'²⁰

Although further correspondence in the *Standard* questioned these assumptions, Cohen again came to the defence of East European Jewry. A letter to the *Standard* underlined the statistical features of Jewish immigration and emphasised that in the past three years the number of Jews relieved by the Jewish Board of Guardians had dramatically decreased. Yet Cohen again asserted the need for concern; 'it is impossible to forget the consequences which ensued from the barbarous outrages in 1881 and 1882, and one cannot but feel anxious at the situation of affairs at present'.²¹ In addition, despite corrections by the *Standard*, debate regarding the authenticity of the proposed legislation gained increasing attention. For instance, the *Daily Chronicle* published an article stating that the Conjoint Foreign Committee of the London Board of Jewish Deputies and the Anglo-Jewish Association had been instructed by the Prime Minister on behalf of the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs 'that no such edict as the one described in the *Times* has been submitted to the council of the empire'.²²

Articles in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* and the *Fortnightly Review* also emphasised uncertainty regarding reports of the Russian legislation.²³ E. B. Lanin was bewildered that 'in these days of rapid communications, "private wires," special correspondents and international journalism, so very little should be known and so very much rashly written in this country about Russia'.²⁴ Indeed, rather than awaiting verification of news regarding the Russian treatment of East European Jewry, the daily press too often relied upon Russophobic assumptions regarding the veracity of correspondence.²⁵ Although legislation was under consideration, it had not been ratified by the Tsar or the Imperial Council. 'No project of law ever passes the Imperial Council in June, July, or August, because there are no sittings of that body all through the summer

²⁰ 'POLISH JEWS IN LONDON', The *Daily News* 22 August, p.3

²¹ 'THE REFUGEE JEWS', The *Standard* 28 August (1890), p.3

²² 'THE JEWS IN RUSSIA', The *Daily Chronicle* 20 August (1890), p.5

²³ See: 'THE TSAR AND THE JEWS', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* October (1890), pp.441-455 and Lanin, E.B. 'THE JEWS IN RUSSIA', The *Fortnightly Review* October (1890), pp.481-509

²⁴ Lanin, E.B. 'THE JEWS IN RUSSIA', p.481

²⁵ Indeed, the *Times* was particularly renowned for its Russophobia. See: Klier, J. 'The Times of London, The Russian Press, and the Pogroms of 1881-1882', p.2

months, and consequently the statement of the [*Times*] correspondent could not have deceived anyone who had any real knowledge of Russia.²⁶

The paradox at the heart of this debate lay in the peculiarity of the Russian autocracy's application of anti-Jewish legislation. The May Laws (1882) had originally been intended as temporary restrictions to bring an end to what the Tsarist regime perceived to be the cause of anti-Jewish violence; Jewish exploitation. However, these laws were not implemented immediately, and the debate in the press instigated by the *Times* concerned rumours of their introduction eight years after their original announcement. Restrictions within the Russian empire were also applied on an *ad hoc* basis and were open to interpretation at many levels of the bureaucracy where they were subject to the whims of various departments and administrators.²⁷

The *Times* article had been based on a dispatch issued by the Minister of the Interior to provincial governors, and although not sanctioned by the Tsar, the legislation was routinely applied by regional authorities.²⁸ It was this uncertainty regarding legislation that led the *Standard* to deny the existence of anti-Jewish measures and enabled the autocracy to offer a complete denial of British press reports.²⁹ As a correspondent of the *Times* later remarked, 'diplomatic falsehoods are among the weapons of persecution in use at the present time. It is sought by this means to keep civilized communities off their guard'.³⁰

(ii) Mass Migration and Public Protest

Nevertheless, the daily press continued its condemnation of Russia and even the *Standard* admitted that 'repressive measures against the Jews are beginning to bear

²⁶ Ibid, p.482

²⁷ See: Rogger, H. 'Russian Ministers and the Jewish Question, 1881-1917' in *Jewish Policies and Right Wing Politics in Imperial Russia* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1986), pp.57-112

²⁸ See: Frederic, H. *The New Exodus: A Study of Israel in Russia* (London: William Heinemann, 1892), pp.171-173

²⁹ The *Times* did publish an article noting that the Imperial Council had failed to ratify the edicts and that legislation had been postponed by the Tsar. The *Times* also remarked that the edicts had been applied by the regional authorities and predicted that they would be ratified by the Tsar the following year. See: 'THE JEWS IN RUSSIA', The *Times* 9 August (1890), p.5

³⁰ 'THE JEWS IN RUSSIA', The *Times* 12 September (1890), p.11

fruit'.³¹ Newspapers emphasised instances of persecution as they unfolded and reported an increase in Jewish migration as a result of restrictions regarding residency rights. The *Pall Mall Gazette* accounted for the 'brutality' of Russian officials on the border, reporting that a number of Jews had been confronted by the Russian frontier guard for lacking the necessary documentation. 'Resistance was offered to the guard, who thereupon fired a volley into the crowd, killing two men, and one woman carrying a baby, and at the same time wounding thirty-seven, several fatally.'³²

Increased reporting of the mistreatment of East European Jewry raised the public profile of anti-Jewish measures and questioned the need for a public remonstration. Gladstone, now in opposition to Salisbury's government, wrote to the *Jewish Chronicle* underlining the important role of the daily press in heightening public opinion towards anti-Jewish legislation. Although Gladstone had failed to intervene diplomatically as Prime Minister in 1881 and 1882, it was no surprise that he found it easier to protest over the treatment of foreign minorities when in parliamentary opposition. 'The only recommendation I can give is that the active exertions of the newspaper press should be invited first to sift the reports to establish the facts, and then, if they shall seem to be established, to rouse the conscience of Russia and Europe in regard to them.'³³

Indeed, the *Jewish Chronicle* hastened its petition for a public remonstration and the newspaper expressed gratitude to the *Times* for a revised two-part article on the treatment of East European Jewry. However, the *Times* was now more restrained in its accusations regarding Russia. 'A recollection of the difficulty which our own progressive step was made and Catholic disabilities removed ought to render us charitable towards Russia, and also, perhaps help to a comprehension of the whole Russo-Jewish question'.³⁴ This qualification was partly made in recognition that anti-Jewish measures were the responsibility of regional authorities and not the central administration. The *Times* now underlined administrative involvement and was cautious not to apportion blame directly upon the Tsar. 'The ukase is his instrument; the

³¹ 'RUSSIA', The *Standard* 13 October (1890), p.5

³² 'RUSSIAN EMIGRANTS STOPPED BY FORCE: THREE PERSONS SHOT DEAD AND THIRTY-SEVEN WOUNDED', The *Pall Mall Gazette* 25 October (1890), p.6

³³ 'THE JEWS OF RUSSIA: LETTER FROM MR GLADSTONE', The *Jewish Chronicle* 17 October (1890), p.5

³⁴ 'THE JEWS IN RUSSIA - I', The *Times* 9 October (1890), p.13

administrative order is the instrument of his officials. It may well be that much is done by one which never was contemplated by the other.³⁵ Nevertheless, while the Tsar was distanced from legislation, the potential consequences of the restrictions were emphasised in terms of a potential refugee crisis. The *Times* anticipated much poverty and destitution as a result of the edicts and supported Jewish migration, albeit to foreign destinations. 'There are undeveloped fields of enterprise in Canada, in the Congo Free State, and in the Lybian deserts, to which their co-religionists in other countries are prepared to direct the streams of emigration.'³⁶

This concern over potential mass migration became an immediate feature of responses to anti-Jewish measures as correspondence in the *Standard* had already demonstrated. The daily press published articles stressing the number of Jews amassing the Russian frontier and estimated numbers far in excess of those in 1882. For example, the *Standard* remarked that 'the number of emigrants is so great that through one town several hundreds are reported to be passing daily, and the frontier police are powerless to stem the larger part of these multitudes'.³⁷ Yet despite the alarm over potential mass migration, pressure also grew in relation to the need for a public remonstration that culminated in the announcement of a public meeting at the Guildhall.

However, the Conservative press remained concerned with the arrival of Jewish immigrants and the evening press reported the supposed arrival of three hundred Jews at Tilbury docks.³⁸ The *Pall Mall Gazette* stated that most of these refugees were destitute and had been sent 'by an emigration agency which has branches throughout Russian Poland, and which represents to the emigrants, who are mainly of the Hebrew faith, that work is abundant'.³⁹ The *St James's Gazette* added to this growing tension in a more abrasive tone and suggested the implementation of restrictive legislation. 'What is to be done about the stream of pauper immigrants which continues to converge upon London?

³⁵ 'THE JEWS IN RUSSIA – II', *The Times* 13 October (1890), p.14

³⁶ *Ibid.* p.14

³⁷ 'EMIGRATION FROM RUSSIA', *The Standard* 10 November (1890), p.5

³⁸ The arrival of Jews at Tilbury docks was refuted by the *Jewish Chronicle*. The newspaper made special inquiries that revealed that no boat docked at Tilbury on Sunday and that the only known vessel arrived on Saturday evening with a total number of 64 aliens (50 adults and 14 children). See: 'THE ALLEGED INFILTRATION OF FOREIGN JEWS', *The Jewish Chronicle* 28 November (1890), p.5

³⁹ 'ARRIVAL OF DESTITUTE EMIGRANTS IN LONDON', *The Pall Mall Gazette* 24 November (1890), p.2

[...] The time is very near when, whether we like it or not, we shall be compelled to establish a rigid control over the admission of pauper foreigners.⁴⁰

As public opinion and concern for East European Jewry increased, an emergent anti-alien discourse therefore undermined sympathy and compassion concerning the persecution of East European Jewry. Although Jews were depicted as victims of the 'backwardness', 'savagery' and 'barbarianism' of the Russian autocracy, they were simultaneously represented as the 'destitute' and 'pauperised' immigrant refugees that would soon populate the East End. As a result, a distinct form of anti-alienism developed in response to the plight of East European Jewry over fears regarding mass migration. In addition, immediate criticism regarding the authenticity of press reporting was levelled against certain newspapers where the tendency to make impulsive judgments against Russia without recourse to further evidence was met with great condemnation.

The Guildhall Meeting and the Growth in Anti-Alienism

Even so, the announcement of a public meeting at the Guildhall by the Lord Mayor signified the height of public concern and sympathy for East European Jewry. Although a Jewish deputation delivered the requisition for the meeting, it was signed exclusively by Christians with the backing of Anglo-Jewry. The daily press published the declaration and gave full support to the proposal. The *Jewish Chronicle* remarked that it 'is an event of single importance in the history, not only of the Anglo-Jewish community, but of our race'.⁴¹ Yet despite the growth in public opinion, increasing fears over mass migration and a potential refugee crisis disrupted the sympathetic discourse protesting against the persecution of East European Jewry.

Madame Novikoff immediately responded to the announcement of the Guildhall meeting by stating that it was 'a great political and humanitarian blunder'.⁴² Through two separate letters to the *Times* she argued that Booth's *In Darkest England and the Way Out* underlined Britain's own internal problems and that atrocities committed in the Congo under King Leopold II of Belgium necessitated the need for diplomatic

⁴⁰ 'NOTES', The *St James's Gazette* 28 November (1890), p.4

⁴¹ 'THE REQUISITION TO THE LORD MAYOR', The *Jewish Chronicle* 14 November (1890), p.11

⁴² 'THE PHILO-JEWISH MEETING', The *Times* 3 December (1890), p.4

intervention far greater than events within Russia. Novikoff also attacked Britain's own imperial record. The brunt of Novikoff's correspondence, however, now played on increasing fears regarding mass migration. She stated that 'thousands, and tens of thousands, will sell all they have and come over to experience the first fruits of the generosity which promises them a new land of Canaan - in the City of London'.⁴³

Yet despite these alarmist warnings, the Guildhall meeting was perceived to be a 'remarkable demonstration'.⁴⁴ The assembly was attended by many esteemed public figures that had 'always been ready to take a leading part in advancing the cause of religious and civil liberty'.⁴⁵ The resolutions protested against the Russian edicts with the aim of petitioning the Tsar to use 'the constitutional and legitimate means in his power, to right what seems to us to be a great wrong'.⁴⁶ The speeches acknowledged the legislative persecution but questioned the role of the Tsar in the implementation of anti-Jewish measures. Like the Mansion House meeting, the Guildhall demonstration was careful not to upset the autocracy over the persecution of East European Jewry. 'The present Emperor is described as a humane man. Is it possible that he can know, and that, if knowing, he can realise, the state in which so large a portion of his subjects exist?'.⁴⁷ The meeting concluded with the declaration that a memorial would be sent to Alexander III with the intention of informing him of the situation in Russia. 'Sire! We who have learnt to tolerate all creeds, deeming it a part of true religion to permit religious liberty, we beseech your Majesty to repeal those laws that afflict these Israelites'.⁴⁸

The Guildhall protest had a similar impact as the Mansion House meeting in intensifying public opinion on behalf of East European Jewry.⁴⁹ The *Morning Post* remarked that 'it seems hard to believe that a race which has given to this country a large number of eminent and respected men should in Russia stand in need of that exceptional

⁴³ 'THE JEWS IN RUSSIA', *The Times* 22 November (1890), 9

⁴⁴ 'OCCASIONAL NOTES', *The Pall Mall Gazette* 11 December (1890), p.2

⁴⁵ Russo-Jewish Committee 'The Persecution of the Jews in Russia: Report of the Guildhall Meeting', *Russo-Jewish Committee* (London: Wertheimer, Lea & Co., 1890), p.32

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p.89

⁴⁷ Russo-Jewish Committee 'The Persecution of the Jews in Russia: Report of the Guildhall Meeting', *Russo-Jewish Committee*, p.83

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p.108

⁴⁹ *The Times*, for example, highlighted the plight of East European Jewry in response to the Guildhall meeting. See: 'LATEST INTELLIGENCE': THE JEWS IN RUSSIA, *The Times* 11 December (1890), p.5

legislation with which it has hitherto been treated'.⁵⁰ However, in recognition of the failure of Mansion House to achieve a substantial impact, the daily press was also immediately sceptical of the role of public opinion in confronting Russia over her treatment of Jews.⁵¹ Although Russia was seen capable of 'civilisation', the treatment of East European Jewry increased the perception of 'backwardness', 'savagery' and 'barbarianism', in addition to disrespect for Western governments and their attempts at intervention. As the *St James's Gazette* remarked:

Russia is a great military Power [...] but the plain fact is that she is not civilised. She has not yet reached the place occupied by France or England in the Middle Ages. To expect her to conform to the usages of a Europe to which she scarcely belongs is to violate the lessons of geography.⁵²

The response of the Russian press did little to halt this sense of futility regarding public protest and the expression of moral indignation.⁵³ Alongside reports detailing the persecution of Jews, articles from *Novoe Vremya* were reprinted in the daily press belittling the Guildhall meeting.⁵⁴ The newspaper stated that Russia would not be treated as an English colony and underlined that 'at the bottom of this movement, the English fear an invasion of their country by the Jews, who might deprive the poor of their bread and enter into competition with the rich'.⁵⁵ Whereas Russian responses had previously stated Russophobia as the root cause of British sympathy, apologists now focussed on British fears regarding a potential refugee crisis.

Indeed, the daily press speculated that further legal restrictions were imminent and that it was doubtful whether the Tsar would accept the Guildhall memorial. Sections of the press also became convinced that anti-Jewish measures would soon lead to a severe 'influx' of Jewish refugees with reports of a movement of thirty thousand East European

⁵⁰ 'Untitled Editorial', *The Morning Post* 11 December (1890), p.4

⁵¹ *Punch* published an illustration mocking the attempt at intervention by European powers: See Figure 2

⁵² 'NOTES', *The St James's Gazette* 11 December (1890), p.4

⁵³ For British scepticism regarding the Guildhall meeting see also: 'OCCASIONAL NOTES', *The Pall Mall Gazette* 11 December (1890)

⁵⁴ The *Novoe Vremya* articles were reprinted across a broad spectrum of the daily press including the *Times*, the *Daily Chronicle*, the *Standard*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Morning Post*, and the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

⁵⁵ 'THE JEWS IN RUSSIA', *The Daily Telegraph* 15 December (1890), p.4



Figure 2 'THE RUSSIAN WOLF AND THE HEBREW LAMB', *Punch* 20 December (1890), p.290

Jews moving towards Hamburg. Although the link between persecution and mass migration had previously been tenuous, it was now becoming firmly embedded in newspaper discourse:

What the position of the Jews in Russia is, what policy the Russian Government pursues towards them, are sufficiently well-known matters. If a belief spreads among these ignorant and unhappy people that a refuge is to be found in the West, they may swarm from that at no time desirable hive which is being made so hot for them. They would certainly not be received in Central Europe, and the alternative is to come here.⁵⁶

These fears became more pronounced in the daily press with editorials calling for restriction. Legislation proposed in the United States was also cited as evidence for the need to prohibit the 'undesirable classes' entering Britain.⁵⁷ For instance, the *Morning Post* stated that America was in a far more advantageous position to accommodate refugees and that the move towards restriction therefore necessitated the need for legislation in Britain. 'If in a country which can without difficulty support seven times its present population such rigid restrictions are necessary, how much more must some judicious regulation of immigration be desirable in our own densely populated island.'⁵⁸ In addition, the editorial argued that Jewish immigrants competed with native labour and that the introduction of 'lower types' eradicated the benefits of state-aided emigration of the British poorer classes. Although the newspaper noted that the Select Committees had denied the need for restriction, legislation was increasingly urged as a result of hysteria regarding reports of the possible 'influx' of thirty thousand East European Jews.

This increased anxiety regarding Jewish immigration also coincided with reports that the Guildhall memorial had been rejected by Russia. The daily press reported the likely sanction of anti-Jewish measures and speculated that the Imperial Council had not

⁵⁶ 'THE PAUPER IMMIGRANT', The *St James's Gazette* 23 December (1890), p.3

⁵⁷ Legislation was passed in the United States in 1891 at the request of the Joint Congressional Committee. The restrictions applied to the health and financial status of migrants and Congress authorised the return of foreigners that had become a public charge within one year of arrival.

⁵⁸ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Morning Post* 26 December (1890), p.4

even presented the Guildhall document to the Tsar.⁵⁹ The *Contemporary Review* published an anonymous article by a Russian apologist commenting that the 'voice of this assembly has penetrated no further than did that of its predecessor'.⁶⁰ In addition, Novikoff wrote an article for *Vanity Fair* in which she exploited the failure of the Guildhall memorial in an attempt to justify Russian treatment of East European Jewry and undermine British concern for the plight of East European Jewry.

For Novikoff, the rejection of the Guildhall memorial had not signified ignorance on the part of Russia, but rather, the failure of Britain to comprehend the necessity of Russian anti-Jewish legislation. Novikoff asserted that the Lord Mayor and members of the Guildhall meeting had failed to understand the true disposition of the 'Russian Jew' and the gravity of the Russo-Jewish question. Mistaken assumptions regarding Tsarist complicity also exhibited British prejudice towards Russia and the tendency of the British press to make impulsive judgments against Russia without recourse to further evidence. 'Their fault was that they mistook malignant rumour for impartial truth, and based ill-considered ideas thereon; as has often enough been done before.'⁶¹

According to Novikoff, the Russo-Jewish question was related solely to state economics.⁶² Jews were guilty of exploiting the peasantry to the extent that national credit was in inverse proportion to the number of Jews inhabiting each province of the Russian empire. 'By sucking the blood of her peasantry, the Jew has debased the national credit throughout Russia; and the Czar's Government are but acting in self-defence in repressing the evil influence'.⁶³ The autocracy was therefore not at fault for its treatment of East European Jewry and was merely defending the peasant population through the implementation of anti-Jewish measures. 'If the Russian peasant were as the English peasant is, we might, perhaps, find fault with the anti-Jewish laws; but he is not.

⁵⁹ The document was actually transmitted to Sir Robert Morier, the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, but was refused by the Tsar. The Lord Mayor then attempted to deliver the document directly as his own correspondence but it was returned through the Russian Ambassador to London.

⁶⁰ Anglo-Russian, 'THE TSAR AND THE JEWS', The *Contemporary Review* March (1891), p.310

⁶¹ Novikoff, M. 'RUSSIAN VERSUS JEW', *Vanity Fair* 4 April (1891), p.309

⁶² These arguments closely resembled Goldwin Smith's accusations regarding Jewish 'tribalism' and their domination of certain trades in the exploitation of the Russian peasantry.

⁶³ *Ibid.* p.309

The ignorance of a people justifies the passing of laws which would be unjustifiable in a more civilised, more educated country.⁶⁴

Indeed, the failure of the Guildhall memorial and the apparent disrespect of Russia towards Britain intensified apprehension regarding Jewish immigration. While the *Daily News* protested that Britain should undertake further action, most newspapers immediately reflected upon the potential consequences relating to rumours of the official ratification of anti-Jewish measures. The *Standard* became increasingly alarmist and began publishing statements from a St Petersburg correspondent regarding the spread of emigration agencies throughout the South Western provinces of the empire. This correspondent remarked that 'there is every expectation of the Jewish exodus to England and America assuming increasing dimensions'.⁶⁵

Nevertheless, anxiety regarding Jewish immigration was downplayed by the more liberal and sober judgement of the *Times* and the *Daily News*. The publication of the Board of Trade Report on Emigration and Immigration detailed that 'evidence does not point to the action of any mass or concerted movement of Russian or German Jews into the United Kingdom [...] the alarmist exaggerations, which have been recently floating, should be authoritatively expelled'.⁶⁶ These newspapers emphasised that the report also disproved accusations regarding competition with native labour and that the previous year's emigration figures exceeded immigration by 160,070.⁶⁷ In addition, the *Daily News* defended immigration on Free Trade principles, remarking that 'our freedom in these matters tends to rectify its own abuses, and that the immigrant alien is no more than an incident of our universal carrying trade'.⁶⁸

However, the *St James's Gazette* countered the Board of Trade Report by exposing supposed inaccuracies. The newspaper claimed that returns were insignificant since officers had only recorded aliens arriving from Antwerp, Hamburg and the Baltic ports. The newspaper stated that recent knowledge attested to large numbers of Jews

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p.310

⁶⁵ 'THE JEWISH IMMIGRATION', *The Standard* 26 March (1891), p.3

⁶⁶ 'Untitled Editorial', *The Times* 3 April (1891), p.9

⁶⁷ 'Untitled Editorial', *The Times* 3 April (1891), p.9

⁶⁸ 'Emigration and Immigration', *The Daily News* 2 April (1891), p.5

arriving from Odessa, Nicolaeff and other Black Sea and Mediterranean ports in an effort not to arouse British public opinion.⁶⁹

Reports of the arrival of increasing numbers of Jews also influenced a number of defences of Jewish immigration in journals. For instance, D. F. Schloss published an article in the *Nineteenth Century* defending Jewish immigrants against alarmist accusations regarding sweated labour and trade competition.⁷⁰ In recognition of the link between persecution and mass migration, Schloss agreed that 'every fresh outburst of persecution in Russia is the signal for the departure to our own hospitable shores of large numbers of Jews'.⁷¹ However, he refused to discuss restriction as a possible solution to the rising agitation. As he further remarked, 'far be it from me, myself a member of the Jewish race, to say one word that might in any way encourage the British nation, for the first time in its glorious history, to shut the door in the face of the victims of persecution'.⁷²

Schloss' preoccupation was the defence of Jewish workers against the charges of a growing section of British industry that stated that Jews ruthlessly competed with native labour. His article denied widespread assumptions that inherent Jewish racial characteristics predisposed East European Jewry towards the domination of certain trades. For Schloss, it was rather a lack of experience in alternative industries that led to a high proportion of refugees seeking employment as semi-skilled artisans in the sweated garment trades.⁷³

Schloss also denied that Jewish workers significantly undercut native labour, asserting that the majority only worked for a lesser rate while developing specific skills. Furthermore, he noted that many natives worked twelve to fourteen hours a day for exceptionally low wages and that the few Jews guilty of undercutting always suffered. 'That it stunts their physique, blunts their mental faculties, and is very often responsible

⁶⁹ 'THE ARRIVAL OF ALIENS IN ENGLAND', *The St James's Gazette* 3 April (1891), p.10

⁷⁰ Schloss had previously contributed to Charles Booth's *Life and Labour of the People in London* and was the only social investigator of Jewish descent to have taken part in the study.

⁷¹ 'THE JEW AS A WORKMAN', *The Nineteenth Century* January (1891), p.96

⁷² *Ibid.* p.96

⁷³ The dominant ideology of the period perceived Jews to be of a specific 'achievement-orientated' ethos that was the product of 'race and religion'. Schloss, however, appears to reject the racial origin of this motivation, asserting that Jews were stimulated more by the desire for self-improvement to escape the poverty of their immediate environment. See: Englander, D. 'Booth's Jews: The Representation of Jews and Judaism in Life and Labour of the People in London' in *Victorian Studies* Vol. 32, No. 4 (1989), p.557

for disease of a severe type [...] no one will deny.⁷⁴ Moreover, the recent animosity regarding Jewish immigration was seen by Schloss as the result of manipulation by newspaper proprietors. Jews ultimately had the same interests as native workers, demonstrated by the number of immigrants that joined British tailors and shoemakers in recent strike activity. 'In truth, the outcry against the competition of Jewish labour is, for the most part, an invention of the aristocratic friends of the British working man.'⁷⁵

Likewise, the *Jewish Chronicle* had grown alarmed at the recent negative press attention. The newspaper asserted the British 'tradition' of asylum and noted the duty of Anglo-Jewry to protect and defend East European Jewry. 'It is the tradition of Englishmen to shelter the exiles. It is the religion of the Jews to harbour their oppressed brethren'.⁷⁶ While the newspaper underlined the negative consequences of increased immigration, it asserted the potential for assimilation and acculturation, praising a somewhat exaggerated notion of Englishness. 'We must hasten to help them to a true naturalisation, not only to an admission to political privileges but to incorporation into English ideas and the sentiments of a land of freedom.'⁷⁷

However, despite this optimism, alarmist reports purporting an increase in Jewish immigration also led the *Jewish Chronicle* to publish its first editorial addressing anti-alienism. Although keen to advocate Britain as a land of refuge, the *Jewish Chronicle*'s conception of hostility reflected the ambivalence at the heart of British attitudes towards refugees and asylum.⁷⁸ While the newspaper made claims regarding the 'liberal tradition', anti-alienism was simultaneously recognised as a consistent feature of British attitudes towards newcomers. Indeed, it was this recognition of prejudice, alongside admiration for the British 'tradition', that caused the newspaper to struggle with a coherent definition of anti-alienism.

For example, the *Jewish Chronicle* appeared reluctant to address the existence of British antisemitism. The newspaper maintained that anti-alienism was not synonymous with antisemitism, despite remarking that 'there are points of contact between the two

⁷⁴ 'THE JEW AS A WORKMAN', *The Nineteenth Century* January (1891), p.101

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* p.103

⁷⁶ 'OUR IMMIGRANTS', *The Jewish Chronicle* 3 April (1891), p.11

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* p.11

⁷⁸ See Chapter One.

creeds'.⁷⁹ In addition, the *Jewish Chronicle* saw moderate anti-alienism as a natural phenomenon that prevented excessive foreign influence from subverting the national interest. The newspaper remarked that for a nation 'to flood itself with foreign ideas would be to show weakness of national backbone and of native character; and to swamp itself with foreign inhabitants would be to invite absorption or transformation'.⁸⁰ For the *Jewish Chronicle*, anti-alienism was therefore accepted on one level as a natural and instinctive response to 'otherness'.

This acceptance of 'moderate' anti-alienism rested upon the assumption that recent expressions of hostility were not widespread and that restriction was a far-off possibility dependent upon a major influx of Jewish refugees. Alongside this perception, the newspaper also maintained an embellished perception of Englishness and the 'tradition' of asylum, despite recognition that anti-alienism was a recurrent feature of attitudes towards newcomers. The *Jewish Chronicle* was reluctant to make accusations regarding British prejudice and appeared convinced that it would take a major transformation in attitudes to see the implementation of restrictive legislation. 'Let anti-alienists storm as they will, it will take long to convince Englishmen that it behoves their country to shut its doors to foreign immigration'.⁸¹ Yet despite this belief, the newspaper still attempted a thorough examination of recent expressions of anti-alienism.

Indeed, the *Jewish Chronicle* divided the expression of hostility into three interrelated terms, perceiving anti-alienism to be discrimination directed against 'paupers', hostility towards foreigners as 'aliens' and prejudice directed solely against immigrants as 'Jews'. The newspaper asserted that current hostility was only directed at 'paupers', as this was the only form of prejudice that appeared concomitant with the *Jewish Chronicle*'s notion of Englishness and the 'tradition' of asylum.⁸² 'Evidently only

⁷⁹ 'ANTI-ALIENISM', The *Jewish Chronicle* 1 May (1891), p.11

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* p.11

⁸¹ *Ibid.* p.11

⁸² That Jews were only to be discriminated on grounds of their poverty was also the defence of anti-alienists. As Arnold White stated in a letter to the *Jewish Chronicle*, 'Jews are to be excluded, from his point of view, not because they are Jews, but because they are poor'. See: 'NOTES OF THE WEEK', The *Jewish Chronicle* 15 May (1891), p.5

the objection to the first category of immigrants will be gravely supported. The pauper immigrant is unwelcome - of that there can be no question.⁸³

For the *Jewish Chronicle*, prejudice directed solely against immigrants as 'aliens' and 'Jews' was deemed politically and socially obsolete, despite the newspaper's claim that anti-alienism and antisemitism were closely related terms. 'In England anti-alienism professes to be aimed only at pauper aliens, but the antagonism lies deeper.'⁸⁴ The *Jewish Chronicle's* first attempt to articulate a defence against growing hostilities therefore failed to articulate a coherent understanding of anti-alienism, even in the face of alarmist reports purporting an increase in Jewish immigration and the recognition that concealed antisemitism existed behind recent expressions of hostility. The newspaper appeared secure in the belief that such prejudice was marginal and that England 'should be the last to put up the bar of national exclusiveness'.⁸⁵

This somewhat ineffectual response to anti-alienism coincided with a highly sensational article in the *Times* in which a Paris correspondent gave credence to reports regarding the negative consequences of Jewish immigration. This article was not typical of the *Times*' usual sober and liberal judgment and the newspaper remarked that the source of the information came from an 'obstinate philanthropist'. However, the report proceeded to exaggerate many of the accusations against Jewish immigration and added to growing anti-alien press attention. For example, the opening paragraph asserted that 'in all great centres on the Continent this is a burning question, and Anti-Semitism is only the natural result of the feeling that these Jews bring'.⁸⁶

Indeed, the article continued with specific reference to London, exaggerating the extent to which philanthropists had expressed apprehension over the negative impact of Jewish immigration. The article was also characteristic of the Russian apologist defence; that Russian anti-Jewish measures were necessary 'on account of the tremendous increase in numbers in this prolific people which threatens to submerge the national race'.⁸⁷ However, the central allegation claimed that a Jewish slave-market existed within the

⁸³ Ibid. p.11

⁸⁴ Ibid. p.11

⁸⁵ 'ANTI-ALIENISM', *The Jewish Chronicle* 1 May (1891), p.12

⁸⁶ 'THE RUSSIAN JEWS', *The Times* 30 April (1891), p.8

⁸⁷ Ibid. p.8

East End, where 'under the form of legal fictions men are bought and sold, and become, like beasts, the property of the buyers'.⁸⁸

Although the report stated that reports of the slave-market were based on an anonymous source that hindered its reliability, the correspondent proceeded to account for many fictions regarding Jewish immigration. The author attested to the belief that 'this population, already formidable, is step by step becoming menacing, because its interests are absolutely removed from those of the rest of London'.⁸⁹ The article then progressed with a derogatory description of Jewish immigrants and sanitation within the East End. The correspondent asserted that 'this entire population of dealers, as disgusting as the goods they sell, speaks the Hebraic-German jargon seen upon the signs, preserves the original type of its northern race, lives in a retreat close and unwholesome, and forms a permanent focus whence issue pestiferous germs that pervade the metropolis'.⁹⁰

However, the existence of a slave-market was beyond doubt the more sensational claim and one that entirely lacked substantial evidence. The article maintained that newly arrived immigrants gathered at a corner of Petticoat Lane where they were organised into a line for inspection. 'There they become the prey of a man who is an actual slave-dealer. He keeps and feeds them till the day of the sale, when they sign [...] a very long engagement as workmen or servants, according to their capacity, in consideration of a certain salary, feeding, and lodging'.⁹¹ What the correspondent was effectively reporting was the arrival of new immigrants and their search for employment under the supervision of master tailors.

Although these claims were denied by the *Jewish Chronicle*, the *Times* correspondent proceeded with a comparison between Huguenots and Jews, asserting that Huguenots had contributed substantially towards the British economy while Jews were merely a burden upon the state.⁹² 'In exchange for the hospitality that they received they

⁸⁸ 'THE RUSSIAN JEWS', The *Times* 30 April (1891), p.8

⁸⁹ Ibid. p.8

⁹⁰ Ibid. p.8

⁹¹ Ibid. p.8

⁹² The *Jewish Chronicle* protested against the *Times* article in announcing that there was no truth in the report, and that the claims of the correspondent were based on the equally dubious assertions of Arnold White. 'We need hardly say that there is no truth in the report, which has been clearly inspired by Mr. Arnold White, who is full of resources in the relentless manner in which he is endeavouring to create

[the Huguenots] bought taste, knowledge, new industries, or new developments of industries established, and often, I repeat, their fortune. But the actual exodus of the Jews driven out of Russia is without compensation.⁹³ Indeed, the *Times* correspondent concluded by asserting the urgent need for restrictive legislation. Yet at the same time, the report also anticipated that forthcoming schemes to be implemented by Lord Rothschild and Baron Hirsch could alleviate concerns regarding increased Jewish immigration. 'Europe will thus be saved from an influx of Jews without resources, and that they will be rescued by labour from famine, shame, and degradation.'⁹⁴

The Guildhall Meeting marked the height of public sympathy and concern for the plight of East European Jewry. However, the declaration was flatly rejected by the autocracy and only served to infuriate Russian apologists in their defence of Russian anti-Jewish legislation. There was also a distinct rise in anti-alienism and a recognition that the persecution of East European Jewry was likely to lead to a potential refugee crisis. Indeed, Novikoff now focussed on asserting British fears regarding increased immigration alongside her attacks on British imperial conduct, while the Russian press highlighted issues regarding a refugee crisis in condemnation of the Guildhall demonstration. In addition, the threat to native labour by immigrants became the focus of more detailed press attention and the *Jewish Chronicle* felt it necessary for the first time to highlight the issue of anti-alienism in editorial. Fears surrounding increased immigration therefore became a prominent feature of the response to the plight of East European Jewry and led to the development of more sustained and hostile expressions of anti-alienism.

Hirsch, Rothschild, Gladstone and the Alleviation of East European Jewry

Indeed, the concern regarding Jewish immigration increased with the announcement of the expulsion of Jews throughout Russia. The *Daily Telegraph* reported that fourteen thousand Jews were to be expelled from Moscow and that anti-

England an anti-Semitic agitation.' See: 'NOTES OF THE WEEK', The *Jewish Chronicle* 1 May (1891), p.4

⁹³ 'THE RUSSIAN JEWS', The *Times* 30 April (1891), p.8

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* p.8

Jewish measures were also to be implemented in St Petersburg.⁹⁵ 'Following up the recent edict prohibiting Jewish artisans from settling in Moscow, the Town Captain of St. Petersburg has issued an order decreeing that the same measure shall also come into force here.'⁹⁶ The *Daily News* added that fifteen thousand Jews were to be expelled from Kieff while other newspapers began relating similar reports of mass Jewish expulsions from across the Russian empire.

Yet while these reports increased fears regarding potential Jewish immigration, the announcement of the Hirsch scheme briefly diverted public attention by convincing some newspapers that organised migration offered a viable solution to the potential refugee crisis. Heralded as the 'Moses-Millionaire' and the 'Jew Money-King in the West', the *Pall Mall Gazette* sensationalised the plan of Baron Hirsch to organise the migration of Jews to South America.⁹⁷ Although the article was riddled with 'rich Jew' antisemitism with references to Hirsch seated on the 'throne of finance' and as a 'Moses, using millions instead of miracles', the newspaper celebrated an end to concerns over mass migration to Britain. 'If we do not want a *Judenhetze* in the East-end, something will have to be done to deflect the stream of Jewish immigration [...] Baron Hirsch's decision, therefore, opens up a way of deliverance with the difficulties of Russia on the one hand and of England on the other.'⁹⁸

Nevertheless, in a more moderate editorial, the *Daily Chronicle* analysed the Hirsch scheme in far greater detail. The newspaper highlighted problems with the initial plan for being too idealistic and noted the current lack of detail. The article also reiterated problems with Jewish immigration increasing poverty within the East End and remarked that 'without in the least degree sharing any unworthy racial or religious prejudices, it is impossible to doubt that the Jews are a fruitful source of difficulty in Europe as things are'.⁹⁹ While the Hirsch scheme presented a means of alleviating the

⁹⁵ On 23 April 1891 the Russian government issued an edict restricting Jewish residence in Moscow that saw the expulsion of around twenty thousand Jews from the city. See: Gutwein, D. The Politics of Jewish Solidarity: Anglo-Jewish Diplomacy and the Moscow Expulsion of April 1891', *Jewish History* Vol.2, No.2 (1991), pp.23-24

⁹⁶ 'THE JEWS IN RUSSIA', The *Daily Telegraph* 23 April (1891), p.8

⁹⁷ See: 'EXODUS: THE NEW MOSES-MILLIONAIRE, A GIGANTIC SCHEME FOR SOLVING THE JEWISH DIFFICULTY, A STARTLING PROPOSITION', The *Pall Mall Gazette* 28 April (1891), pp.1-2

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* p.2

⁹⁹ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Daily Chronicle* 29 April (1891), p.4

potential influx of East European Jewry, the *Daily Chronicle* therefore remained sceptical regarding organised mass migration under the auspices of the Hirsch scheme.

Even newspapers that supported the scheme were unable to move beyond perceived fears regarding increased Jewish immigration. Although the *Pall Mall Gazette* remarked that previous migrant groups had benefited the British economy, Jews were seen as being inherently different on assumptions that bordered antisemitism. For instance, the *Pall Mall Gazette* stated that East European Jews were 'a band of consumers who produce nothing, or produce only to the detriment of the industrious populations among whom they are settled'.¹⁰⁰ The newspaper also published the concerns of Arnold White who had stated at a meeting of the Association for Preventing the Immigration of Destitute Aliens that the Hirsch scheme was likely to create more problems than it would solve.¹⁰¹ 'Only the best of the Russian and Polish Jews would be taken to the new colony. Therefore the worst would either remain or come over here. If they come over here, the evils of pauper immigration will be intensified.'¹⁰²

However, reports of a withdrawal of a substantial Russian loan by the Rothschilds in response to the treatment of East European Jewry was initially seen to have the potential to offer a more long-term solution to the Russian edicts and expulsions.¹⁰³ Although the Rothschilds publicly stated that the loan was not connected to the Russian treatment of East European Jewry, the *Daily News* reported that the impact of the withdrawal of Russian finance marked a new era of toleration, and that Jews 'had been granted a longer notice to quit, and in some cities at least they may now remain for periods varying from one to two years'.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, while much of the daily press followed in reporting the suspension of anti-Jewish measures, the *Daily Chronicle* remained weary of impulsive judgments. 'Despite the equivocating denials of the

¹⁰⁰ 'THE NEW EXODUS: DETAILS OF BARON HIRSCH'S GREAT SCHEME', The *Pall Mall Gazette* 30 April (1891), p.2

¹⁰¹ The Association for Preventing the Immigration of Destitute Aliens was the creation of author and journalist W. H. Wilkins in 1890. However, despite a highly publicised meeting at the Westminster Palace Hotel, the association proved ineffective and had faded into insignificance by the end of 1891.

¹⁰² 'OCCASIONAL NOTES', The *Pall Mall Gazette* 2 May (1891), p.2

¹⁰³ In April 1891 the Rothschilds decided to cancel a Russian loan in response to the Moscow expulsions. However, despite much speculation this information was not made public in agreement with the Russian finance minister, M. Vishnegradski. See: Gutwein, D. 'The Politics of Jewish Solidarity: Anglo-Jewish Diplomacy and the Moscow Expulsion of April 1891', *Jewish History*, 5, 2 (Fall, 1991), pp.23-45

¹⁰⁴ 'THE ABATEMENT OF JEWISH PERSECUTION', The *Daily News* 11 May (1891), p.5

Russian Government, it is clearly at present fixed on its policy to expel the Jews from Muscovy, just as the Moors were expelled from Spain.^{,105}

Indeed, the suspension of the Russian edicts and expulsions proved short-lived and the eventual withdrawal of the Rothschild loan did little to halt the implementation of anti-Jewish legislation. The *St James's Gazette* also embarked upon a campaign against the Hirsh scheme, detailing the vagueness of the proposals and the limited impact the scheme was likely to have on Jewish immigration to Britain. Jews were to be selected according to their potential as colonialists and the Hirsch scheme was seen as little more than a profitable venture for its founder. 'The troublesome residuum is likely, therefore, still to remain in Europe, the scheme being the work of a sharp man of business.'^{,106}

The *Daily Telegraph* responded to news of the enforcement of anti-Jewish measures by urging restriction. In editorial, the newspaper directly related Russian legislation to increased migration and now believed the Tsar to be aware of the edicts. 'The policy of the Czar is thus an English question, for the worst parts of our great cities, already overcrowded by our own poor, are still more congested by the intrusion of foreigners ignorant of our language, our laws, our customs, and our institutions.'^{,107} Like the *Morning Post*, the newspaper highlighted the introduction of legislation in the United States and claimed that this policy necessitated British legislation. 'If, following American precedent, we passed laws forbidding the captains of Hamburg steamers to land any passengers who could not prove their possession of means of support for some months, we should compel Russia to keep her destitution at home.'^{,108}

Although the *Daily Telegraph* recognised the 'old national tradition' of asylum it asserted that events within Russia now made restriction inevitable to prevent increased destitution of the native East End poor. The newspaper also attempted to justify restriction on the assumption that it would influence the Tsar to reform Russian policy:

If we continue to keep our back door open, the Czar can flood England with his expatriated poor and we shall find all our own problems of East-end destitution and

¹⁰⁵ 'Untitled Editorial' The *Daily Chronicle* 11 May (1891), p.4

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. p.4

¹⁰⁷ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Daily Telegraph* 18 May (1891), p.4

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. p.4

dirt greatly intensified by the intrusion of foreign pauperism. The question is therefore dual in its aspect, and although anything like inhospitality will appear ungenerous we must seem cruel to be really kind.¹⁰⁹

Indeed, the daily press continued to report the wider implementation of Russian legislation.¹¹⁰ The *St James's Gazette* also pursued its campaign against the Hirsch scheme and printed an interview undertaken by Reuter's news agency in which Hirsch stated his belief that the Tsar was still ignorant of anti-Jewish measures. Hirsch also remarked that if the Tsar was to be warned of the legislation it would be immediately revoked. However, the article highlighted that the scheme would be drawn out over a twenty-year period and would not be a sudden enterprise to alleviate the immediate concerns of Europe regarding a Jewish refugee crisis. In addition, the *Daily News* featured further details of the interview and underlined Hirsch's naivety for assuming that the Tsar would repeal anti-Jewish legislation.¹¹¹

While the daily press remained sceptical over the announcement of the Hirsch scheme, the correspondence of Gladstone at the request of Samuel Montagu also received similarly negative attention.¹¹² Gladstone had restated his belief that direct governmental intervention would achieve very little and would be 'no better than a dram, which produces only momentary warmth'.¹¹³ Gladstone also emphasised the lack of influence he now had with the Russian autocracy and that his previous intervention during the 'Bulgarian horrors' took much time in preparation. Gladstone reiterated that it was the responsibility of the daily press and 'effective' organisations to collect and document information regarding Russian persecution. 'It seems to me that this difficult work, if seriously executed, might bring a really powerful artillery to play upon a citadel of

¹⁰⁹ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Daily Telegraph* 18 May (1891), p.4

¹¹⁰ The daily press reported that Jews had been removed from legal office and required official authorisation for all business and financial transactions. Reports also detailed a law in preparation to prevent Jews from observing the Sabbath. See: 'THE JEWS IN RUSSIA: A NEW PERSECUTION', The *St James's Gazette* 27 May (1891), p.11

¹¹¹ See: 'THE JEWS IN RUSSIA: A NEW PERSECUTION, INTERVIEW WITH BARON HIRSCH', The *Daily News* 27 May (1891), p.5

¹¹² Montagu's original correspondence to Gladstone had included press cuttings from the *Times* and the *Standard* on the persecution of East European Jewry.

¹¹³ 'MR GLADSTONE ON THE JEWS IN RUSSIA: IMPORTANT LETTER', The *Jewish Chronicle* 29 May (1891), p.7. See also: the *Times*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Morning Post*, the *Daily News* the *St James's Gazette* and the *Pall Mall Gazette* of the same day for the correspondence of Gladstone.

Wrong.¹¹⁴ Gladstone also gave full support to the emigration of Jews to Palestine if the Sultan of Turkey granted permission.

Sections of the daily press ridiculed Gladstone's refusal to act on behalf of East European Jewry. The *Pall Mall Gazette* made reference to the correspondence as nothing more than an advertisement for other agencies to intervene. "Wanted: a companion pamphlet to *Bulgarian Horrors*, on the persecution of Russian Jews." Such is the gist of Mr Gladstone's letter to Mr. Montagu.¹¹⁵ Yet the *St James's Gazette* was more resolute in affronting Gladstone and undertook a prolonged attack on his rhetoric. Gladstone was primarily criticised for his belief that public discourse on the atrocities would be persuasive against the Russian autocracy. 'The artillery would be almost as powerful as, say, half-a-dozen "atrocities" articles in the *Daily News* or the famous memorial from the Mansion House which his majesty declined without thanks.'¹¹⁶ However, animosity ran much deeper and along party-political divisions, the Conservative *St James's Gazette* harshly criticising Gladstone for his 'almost pathetic confession of mistaken judgment'.¹¹⁷

Much of this criticism was directed at Gladstone for his perceived about turn in principle and the Tory party bias of the *St James's Gazette*. 'Let anyone contrast this letter with the speeches and writings of Mr. Gladstone in the years between 1876 and 1880. Let him compare the attitude which the Radicals, as men of humanity, are bound to adopt to-day with that which they took up during the period of the Bulgarian folly.'¹¹⁸ Indeed, Gladstone's conduct throughout the period of the 'Bulgarian horrors' was perceived by the *St James's Gazette* to have been against the national interest where Gladstone had sided with Russia against Turkey, while his appeal in recent correspondence requesting Jews to enter Palestine on the authority of the Sultan was attacked on the principle of double standards. 'Can we believe our eyes? What? The unspeakable Turk, "the great anti-human specimen of humanity" is called upon to set

¹¹⁴ 'MR GLADSTONE ON THE JEWS IN RUSSIA: IMPORTANT LETTER', *The Jewish Chronicle* 29 May (1891), p.7

¹¹⁵ 'OCCASIONAL NOTES', *The Pall Mall Gazette* 29 May (1891), p.4

¹¹⁶ 'THE UNSPEAKABLE RUSSIA', *The St James's Gazette* 29 May (1891), p.3

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* p.3

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* p.3

right the monstrous wrongs that Russia is doing; and this by no other voice than that of the author of the pamphlet on the Bulgarian atrocities!'¹¹⁹

However, the liberal *Daily News* defended the correspondence of Gladstone in its editorial. The newspaper underlined the difference between the Russian persecution of East European Jewry and the 'Bulgarian horrors', and believed that public opinion could make a decisive impact. The newspaper asserted that 'the details of the expulsion of the Jews are before the world. Every day's report of wrong and outrage raises some further feeling, and the public are fast coming to feel not anger at Russian oppression, but pity for its victims [...] the change it affects comes "without observation.",'¹²⁰

Yet communication from the *Daily News*' German correspondent began to relate information regarding the extent of destitution experienced by Jewish migrants. Although reports remained compassionate, refugee numbers were seen to be rapidly increasing and many appeals were reported to have been made to the German public regarding the alleviation of Jewish poverty and suffering. The correspondent reported that 'many had nothing. I saw little children running about in nothing but their shirts [...] The distress which could be read in the haggard features of their parents was more painfully eloquent than any complaints they could have uttered. The misery which the train vomited forth was indescribable.'¹²¹

Additional reports in the *Daily News* also became increasingly alarmist regarding an imminent refugee crisis. This was a noticeable break from the usual liberal and sober judgment of the newspaper and numerous correspondents related information of a mass 'exodus' and began urging some form of restriction. One correspondent reported that several hundred Jews had left Moscow within one week and that Jewish emigration from Kieff had now become a 'general' exodus. The newspaper also reported that British concern for the plight of East European Jewry was proving counterproductive and that emigration societies were emerging and specifically targeting Britain as a principle destination for East European Jewry. 'The warm sympathy manifested in England for the

¹¹⁹ 'THE UNSPEAKABLE RUSSIA', *The St James's Gazette* 29 May (1891), p.3

¹²⁰ 'Mr Gladstone on the Russian Jews', *The Daily News* 29 May (1891), p.5

¹²¹ 'THE JEWISH EXODUS FROM RUSSIA: MISERY OF EMIGRANTS, SCENES OF THEIR ARRIVAL AT BERLIN', *The Daily News* 29 May (1891), p.5

expatriated Russian Jews has called into existence a society for assisting a wholesale emigration of the poor class of Russian Hebrews to the United Kingdom.¹²²

Indeed, the *Daily News*' correspondent sensationaly observed that this society intended to land sixty thousand Jews in London and that this number would rapidly increase the following year. The correspondent added that it would be in the national interest for 'British representatives in Russia to make it clearly understood that England's sympathy with the Russian Jews is not to make England their chief refuge. If one asks twenty intending Jewish emigrants here whither they are going, fifteen will reply that England is their chief refuge.'¹²³

However, in editorial, the *Daily News* was far more moderate regarding restriction. Although the newspaper backed the reports of its correspondents, it warned against an alarmist response. 'That the Russian persecution will increase Jewish emigration to these shores seems absolutely certain, but nothing more is certain except that, to judge by experience, most of the Jews who come here will not remain.'¹²⁴ Yet although the newspaper asserted that Jewish immigration was not a problem of the magnitude assigned to it by a growing section of the daily press, the *Daily News* now appeared more open to the idea of legislation, highlighting the growing tension between the humanitarian response and the developing anti-alien discourse in relation to increased Jewish immigration. 'It would be hateful to have to legislate against the intrusion of the pauper alien when he comes to us as a persecuted fellow creature with every claim on our compassion [...] Yet the right to exclude destitute strangers is elementary and it is one that every country must hold in reserve.'¹²⁵

In an effort to corroborate fears over mass migration, the daily press also reported on the response of the Anglo-Jewish community. Lord Rothschild's address to the United Synagogue had warned that the 'Jewish community could not conceal from itself the fact that it was just now entering upon a period of danger, considering that there was

¹²² 'THE JEWISH EXODUS: THREATENED WHOLESALE EMIGRATION TO ENGLAND', The *Daily News* 1 June (1891), p.5

¹²³ *Ibid.* p.5

¹²⁴ 'The Jews', The *Daily News* 2 June (1891), p.5

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* p.5

reason to apprehend the influx of a large number of their co-religionists.¹²⁶ This self-awareness led the *Pall Mall Gazette* to take an increasingly unsympathetic line, and the newspaper reported that the community should prioritise its efforts towards the existing East End Jewish contingent. 'There is, however, one paramount duty devolving upon the Jewish community - the task of Anglicizing the large numbers of poor foreign brethren already living in the East-end.'¹²⁷

Indeed, the growing fear over Jewish immigration saw the attention of the daily press increasingly focus on the Jewish East End. As Ellen Desart stated in the *Nineteenth Century*, 'the question of the Russian Jew, not as connected with Lord Mayor's meetings, past or present, but as concerning the pauper immigration into the East End of London, has become one of such burning interest to millions of human beings that it is well worth careful sifting and elucidation'.¹²⁸ Punch published an illustration depicting the Tsar ordering the banishment of Jews from Russia and the growing awareness of an alien presence in Britain led the *St James's Gazette* to publish the first comprehensive investigation into London's foreign population.¹²⁹

The attempts of Hirsch, Rothschild and Gladstone to alleviate concerns over migration and aid East European Jewry were therefore seen as naive and unrealistic by the daily press. Newspapers remained convinced that Russian policy towards its Jewish population was 'backward', 'savage' and 'barbarian' and escalating fears over increased immigration prevented the press from examining the expulsions with detachment and objectivity. Indeed, the anxiety over a potential refugee crisis had reached such an acute stage during news of the expulsions that the *Daily Telegraph* had called for the immediate implementation of restrictive legislation. In addition, the liberal *Daily News* had suggested the possibility of needing to prevent a major 'influx' of East European Jewry, while the *Pall Mall Gazette* had made reference to the need to avert a *Judenhetze* occurring within the East End. The persecution of East European Jewry and the development of a more sustained and hostile response towards increased Jewish

¹²⁶ 'PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS', The *Daily Telegraph* 3 June (1891), p.7. See also: The *Times*, the *Standard*, the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *St James's Gazette* 3 June (1891).

¹²⁷ 'THE PERSECUTION OF THE RUSSIAN JEWS: WHAT THE TZAR THINKS ABOUT IT, LORD ROTHSCHILD ON THE SITUATION', The *Pall Mall Gazette* 3 June (1891), p.6

¹²⁸ Desart, E. 'TSAR v. JEW.', The *Nineteenth Century* June (1891), p. 969

¹²⁹ See Figure 3.

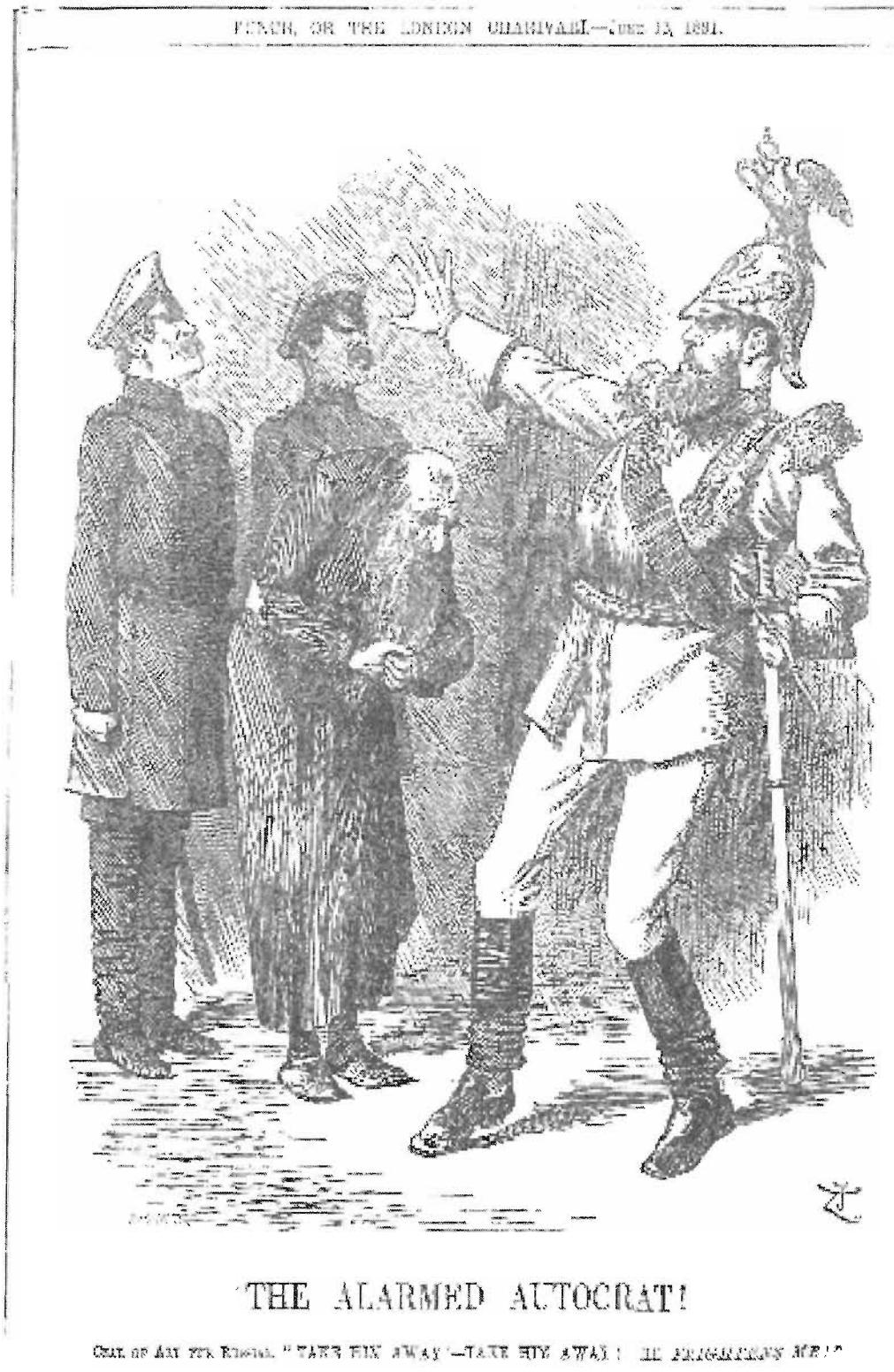


Figure 3 'THE ALARMED AUTOCRAT', *Punch* 13 June (1891), p.283

immigration therefore created an environment in which persecution and migration were seen as two interrelated issues that greatly undermined sympathy and compassion for the plight of East European Jewry.

The *St James's Gazette* and the 'Foreign Colonies' of London

During heightened anxiety over increased immigration, the Conservative *St James's Gazette* launched an investigation into London's foreign population.¹³⁰ This investigation attempted to move beyond sensational accounts of alien immigration and towards a more objective and authoritative examination of London's migrant communities. Despite the newspaper's own reputation for anti-alienism, articles attempted to avoid the use of reductive stereotypes and expressions of hostility surrounding a potential refugee crisis. Indeed, the *St James's Gazette* immediately remarked that Jewish immigration, in particular, was 'being discussed just now with more zeal than knowledge'.¹³¹ The three-part report dealing with the Jewish East End therefore took immediate issue with the *Times*' accusation regarding the existence of a Jewish slave-market.

The *St James's Gazette* asserted that the *Times*' report was at fault for its observation that immigrants assembling in the market place were to be sold as slaves. The procedure that had been observed was merely the arrival of immigrants in search of work that could, in any case, claim limited support from communal institutions. 'To say that they are bought and sold is more than an abuse of language: it is an absolute fiction. Nobody buys and nobody sells [...] behind them is the protection of the shelter and its authorities.'¹³² The *St James's Gazette*'s investigation attempted to establish such sensation as extreme distortion of fact.

Consequently, the newspaper proceeded in underlining the mistaken judgment that the Jewish East End was full of squalor and depravity, and asserted that newcomers

¹³⁰ The *St James's Gazette* was a vocal supporter of the Conservative party and had been founded by the Conservative banker, H. H. Gibbs. It was edited by Frederick Greenwood who had left the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1880 in opposition to its new proprietor's (H. Y. Thompson) decision to turn the newspaper Liberal.

¹³¹ 'FOREIGN COLONIES IN LONDON: JEWS-III.', The *St James's Gazette* 19 May (1891), p.5

¹³² 'FOREIGN COLONIES IN LONDON: JEWS-II', The *St James's Gazette* 12 May (1891), p.4

were provided three weeks board by the Jews Temporary Shelter after which most continued to the United States. Jews who remained were noted to be innocent of direct competition with the native worker and did not undercut native labour. On a broader level, the investigation also warned against a certain predisposition towards the East End that was considered to have formed an essential background to recent expressions of anti-alienism. 'The public cannot be too cautious in accepting highly coloured statements about the East-end. The habit of falling into hysterics at the mention of Whitechapel amounts to an epidemic disorder - a species of mental influenza.'¹³³

Likewise, the *St James's Gazette*'s discussion of immigration attempted to undermine exaggerations regarding the number of Jews entering London. Figures projected by the Association for Preventing the Immigration of Destitute Aliens had recently claimed that thirteen thousand Jews had settled in London within six months, and that four thousand Jews had travelled between Hamburg and Tilbury during a five-week period. Despite having previously made similar assertions, the *St James's Gazette* now ridiculed such assumptions. 'It is only necessary to remark that the total average immigration into London of all classes is not more than 90 per diem, of which the immense majority comes from provincial England.'¹³⁴

According to the *St James's Gazette*, the number of foreign immigrants that entered London from the non-Mediterranean ports of Hamburg, Bremen and Bremerhaven was 10,730 for the whole year.¹³⁵ The figures put forward by the newspaper, therefore, attested an outside limit significantly less than that speculated for just six months by the Association for Preventing the Immigration of Destitute Aliens. From an additional calculation based on the mortality rate of the Jewish community, the net gain from immigration was estimated to be 3,360 in 1889 and 6,680 in 1890. While this represented a substantial rise in immigration, 'the real numbers are, no doubt, considerably less'.¹³⁶

The *St James's Gazette*'s priority, however, was to establish the number of migrants that could be considered 'destitute'. The newspaper quoted statistics from the

¹³³ 'FOREIGN COLONIES IN LONDON: JEWS-I.', The *St James's Gazette* 9 May (1891), p.4

¹³⁴ 'FOREIGN COLONIES IN LONDON: JEWS-III.', The *St James's Gazette* 19 May (1891), p.5

¹³⁵ The newspaper also asserted not all migrants were Jewish.

¹³⁶ 'FOREIGN COLONIES IN LONDON: JEWS-III.', The *St James's Gazette* 19 May (1891), p.5

returns of the Jews Temporary Shelter and the Jewish Board of Guardians that were stated to represent accurate figures regarding the number of Jews that could be classified as 'pauper'. These returns stated that 1,399 Jews received shelter in 1890 and that 380 were forwarded to the United States or returned home, 'leaving 1,019 remaining here permanently or temporarily'.¹³⁷ These figures were then added to the 348 Jews assisted by the Jewish Board of Guardians which gave a total of 1,150 considered as 'pauper aliens' when further adjustments for re-embarkation had been made.

Yet although the *St James's Gazette*'s investigation had been hesitant in expressing alarm over alien immigration, statistics for Jews classified as 'destitute' and 'pauper' saw the newspaper express a degree of anxiety. While these figures challenged those quoted earlier by Cohen for the Jewish Board of Guardians, the newspaper did at least assert that the increase did not excessively damage the local economy. 'Still the fact remains that in the last three years, and especially in 1890, there has been a large and increasing influx of these peoples, who go to swell the East-end labour market. Though not to depress wages to starvation point, as is commonly asserted'.¹³⁸

Nevertheless, the causes for the increase in Jewish immigration were not deemed to be persecution. As the *St James's Gazette* remarked, 'these reasons, if sufficient to account for a steady and even progressive rate of emigration, do not explain the sudden and very remarkable influx into this country last year'.¹³⁹ Rather, the newspaper saw economic opportunity as the principle stimulus for mass migration. 'This is no theory. We know as a matter of fact that such was the motive in the minds of many of last year's newcomers'.¹⁴⁰ However, this recognition did not completely halt anxiety over recent Russian anti-Jewish measures and although the investigation refused to consent to widespread sensation regarding an inevitable influx of East European Jewry, the possibility of a refugee crisis was noted to be cause for concern.

Other migrant groups did not, however, receive such detailed attention in the *St James's Gazette*'s investigation. Although German immigrants were noted to be the 'oldest and largest' of a long established community, they were not perceived with the

¹³⁷ 'FOREIGN COLONIES IN LONDON: JEWS-III.', The *St James's Gazette* 19 May (1891), p.5

¹³⁸ *Ibid.* p.5

¹³⁹ *Ibid.* p.5

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p.5

same degree of anxiety as 'destitute' and 'pauper' Jews, despite 'complaints of foreign competition, and even acts of violence'.¹⁴¹ While each migrant group appeared to receive hostility on assumptions regarding 'poverty' and 'trade' competition, the predicted 'exodus' of a large number of Jewish refugees meant that East European Jews already residing within the East End were given far greater attention.

However, this is not to deny the existence of hostility towards German immigrants. The *St James's Gazette* reported that exaggerated and prejudiced accounts were common and widespread. 'The pleasures of exaggeration, superior even to those of the imagination, and the perpetual exhibition by this or that interested showman of those "honest poor citizens of London," have combined to conjure up a sensational picture and create a feeling of alarm and indignation, for which no real grounds exist.'¹⁴² The newspaper noted that belief in these falsehoods was such that a dockers union had recently reported that, '200,000 Germans are taking the bread out of English mouths, and that they are coming in so fast that in ten years time their numbers will be doubled.'¹⁴³ This claim was made regardless of an estimated population of only 50,000 and 60,000 Germans resident within London.¹⁴⁴

Indeed, the German community remained the largest migrant group in Britain throughout the 1890s until the close of the decade when they were outnumbered by East European Jews.¹⁴⁵ The *St James's Gazette* therefore conducted a thorough investigation of German migrant trades and published extensive statistics regarding their occupations. However, while the newspaper noted the extent of foreign competition stimulated by German labour, it failed to articulate hostility towards this migrant group. The *St James's Gazette* stated that Germans competed as domestic servants, bakers and clerks, yet the closest the newspaper came to raising concern was in reference to the German baking of bread. In any case, the *St James's Gazette* merely noted that 'formerly this business was

¹⁴¹ 'FOREIGN COLONIES IN LONDON: GERMANS-I', The *St James's Gazette* 23 July (1891), p.5

¹⁴² 'FOREIGN COLONIES IN LONDON: GERMANS-II', The *St James's Gazette* 29 July (1891), p.5

¹⁴³ *Ibid*, p.5

¹⁴⁴ See: Panayi, P. *German Immigrants in Britain during the Nineteenth Century, 1815-1915* (Oxford: Berg, 1995), p.14

¹⁴⁵ Colin Holmes has noted that Germans constituted the largest minority group from Europe and that 'this predominance among European-born minorities lasted until the 1890s when the Germans were overtaken by the weight of immigrants who arrived from Russian Poland.' See: Holmes, C. *John Bull's Island: Immigration and British Society, 1871-1971*, p.22

in the hands of Scotchmen; but during the last twenty years or so the Germans have ousted them; and to oust a Scotchman is no small feat'.¹⁴⁶

The three thousand Scandinavians congregated around Wapping and Ratcliff were similarly viewed with less suspicion than Jewish immigrants, partly on account of their less-foreign appearance and 'racial' similarities to their native neighbours. 'You may see a whole roomful of Swedes, Norwegians, and Swedish Finns, and take them all for English.'¹⁴⁷ The investigation also noted the widespread belief in the myth of Jewish dominance in the garment trade and that it was rather the Scandinavian population that competed with the West End tailor. The *St James's Gazette* remarked, 'the policeman, who studies the halfpenny papers, will have it that they are Polish Jews. There may, indeed, be a few Polish Jews in Lexington-street; but the West-end foreign tailors are almost exclusively Germans, Swedes and Frenchmen'.¹⁴⁸ Regardless of the large Scandinavian presence in tailoring and cabinet making, *the St James's Gazette* therefore noted that they did not receive the same animosity as 'destitute' and 'pauper' Jews.

In addition, Spanish immigrants were not viewed with the same degree of hostility as Jews. This was primarily due to the size of the community and that many worked in the importation of specialist produce that was not perceived to compete with native goods nor harm native labour. 'For its size Spain is very modestly represented here. In all the United Kingdom there are hardly 1,500 Spaniards, and those are almost exclusively occupied in trade.'¹⁴⁹ Indeed, the Spanish were noted for being easily contented and did not apparently feel the urgency to migrate. Although Spain had been enterprising in the past, governmental instability was seen to have weakened the Spanish economy. However, the *St James's Gazette* alleged that the Spanish did not feel the necessity to escape their modest environment. 'All the average Spaniard wants is to earn a few pence for the days needs, and enjoy an occasional bull-fight [...] such people, amply provided as they are with all the necessaries at home, have obviously little temptation to emigrate, and least of all, to industrial toiling England.'¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ 'FOREIGN COLONIES IN LONDON: GERMANS-III', *The St James's Gazette* 4 August (1891), p.4

¹⁴⁷ 'FOREIGN COLONIES IN LONDON: SCANDAVAINS-I', *The St James's Gazette* 2 June (1891), p.5

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p.4

¹⁴⁹ 'FOREIGN COLONIES IN LONDON: SPANIARDS', *The St James's Gazette* 14 July (1891), p.5

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.* p.5

In contrast, the estimated 8,000 to 9,000 Italians resident in London did receive a markedly unfavourable response. Divided into three classes of 'itinerants', 'restaurant owners', 'artisans and shopkeepers', the *St James's Gazette* took a noticeable dislike to the first and third group. Like Jews, the primary objection towards these migrants was their recognised status as 'destitute' that was further justified on account of their settlement in Clerkenwell. 'There is no nastier slum left in London. The place reeks with garbage. The population consists of ice-cream vendors, organ-grinders, small shopkeepers, and a few poorer artisans.'¹⁵¹ Of this 'objectionable community', organ-grinders were most despised for their apparent idleness, a trait the *St James's Gazette* believed all Southern Italians possessed. 'The Clerkenwell colony, it is to be hoped, will be swept away in due course [...] of all foreigners these can best be spared, and no one holds that opinion more strongly than the superior Italians themselves.'¹⁵²

Likewise, the French community was seen to consist of a 'bad contingent'. Although the general community was accepted favourably on account of their small number and the belief that most eventually returned home, the French were divided into two distinct groups of 'good' and 'bad'. This division was also made despite reports that the second generation were believed to acculturate rapidly. 'The young men marry, very often English wives, and bring up semi-English families; but even in these cases there is always a tendency to go back to France as soon as a competence has been secured.'¹⁵³

French immigrants, therefore, received a mixed response but were commended where their competition bettered native labour if it benefited the British economy. Much of this esteem appeared to rest on an inherited image from the Huguenot generation that had established a mythical reputation of the French as 'profitable strangers',¹⁵⁴ in addition to an understanding that many recent French arrivals were not 'destitute' and were legitimate refugees from the Franco-German war. However, the *St James's Gazette* progressed by remarking that 'no account of the colony would be complete without a reference to what we will call the Leicester-square contingent.'¹⁵⁵

¹⁵¹ FOREIGN COLONIES IN LONDON: SPANIARDS', The *St James's Gazette* 14 July (1891), p.5

¹⁵² Ibid. p.5

¹⁵³ 'FOREIGN COLONIES IN LONDON: FRENCH-I', The *St James's Gazette* 11 August (1891), p.5

¹⁵⁴ See: Kershaw, A. J. *Strangers, Aliens and Asians: Huguenots, Jews and Bangladeshis in Spitalfields, 1660-2000*, pp.31-37

¹⁵⁵ 'FOREIGN COLONIES IN LONDON: FRENCH-II', The *St James's Gazette* 14 August (1891), p.5

This aspect of the community was initially defended on grounds that it predominantly consisted of other migrant groups. 'Some injustice is generally done to France in this matter by saddling her with all the Belgian, Swiss, and German scum infesting the same quarter; it is all put down as French.'¹⁵⁶ Nevertheless, the *St James's Gazette* continued to describe a number of individuals that migrated on account of having committed major crimes in Paris with the intention of pursuing similar offences of theft and murder in London. 'The French Legislature will be driven before long to grapple seriously with the problem, and the sooner this is done the better, not only for France but also for her neighbours, especially ourselves.'¹⁵⁷

This separation of migrants into two distinct groups of 'good' and 'bad' was restated in reference to the Oriental community. The investigation noted the more impoverished Chinese quarter in Limehouse alongside the existence of a wealthier community in Whitehall. Yet the small Limehouse community was not viewed with significant hostility. The *St James's Gazette* remarked that 'the most vivid imagination cannot manufacture anything very dreadful out of these places. They are quite as inoffensive as any other houses in the same locality, and at least as much may be said of their inmates.'¹⁵⁸ Rather, it was the Strangers' Home in West India Dock Road that was accused of accommodating the worst Orientals in London.

Although the migrants at this institution were noted to be transitory on account that most were sailors, the newspaper maintained a strong aversion to certain elements of the community. Yet this discrimination was claimed not to be manifested on racial lines due to the various different nationalities resident at the Strangers' Home. As the *St James's Gazette* remarked, 'with all this mixture, prejudices of caste and race have to go by the board'.¹⁵⁹ However, this did not lead to a more objective understanding of the 'Oriental' minority, and nationalities were still seen to share certain negative traits. All Japanese seamen were noted for their fondness of alcohol, while the Chinese were distinguished for their addiction to opium and gambling. Overt hostility was therefore

¹⁵⁶ 'FOREIGN COLONIES IN LONDON: FRENCH-II', The *St James's Gazette* 14 August (1891), p.5

¹⁵⁷ Ibid. p.5

¹⁵⁸ 'FOREIGN COLONIES IN LONDON: ORIENTALS', The *St James's Gazette* 15 September (1891), p.5

¹⁵⁹ 'FOREIGN COLONIES IN LONDON: ORIENTALS', The *St James's Gazette* 15 September (1891), p.6

concealed behind the banner of 'destitution', where immigrants were remarked to be 'no good, and often fall into great straits through poverty'.¹⁶⁰

Ultimately, the *St James's Gazette*'s attempt at a more objective representation of immigration did not substantially deviate from alarmist reports regarding a potential refugee crisis. Although the newspaper attempted to downplay claims of a Jewish slave-market and criticised recent statistics attesting to a mass increase in Jewish immigration, the *St James's Gazette* still expressed apprehension at the number of Jews classed as 'destitute' and 'pauper'. In addition, the newspaper underlined that many Jews that had left Russia the previous year had migrated for economic reasons and not because of outbreaks of Russian persecution. The newspaper's analysis also made distinctions between 'good' and 'bad' migrants that gave credence to anti-alien assumptions regarding the increased immigration of 'undesirables'. In the context of renewed attention regarding the authenticity of press reporting, these claims further undermined sympathy and compassion for the plight of East European Jewry.

Russian Atrocities and Anti-Alienism: Authenticity and Persecution Revised and Revisited

(i) Authenticity and the Hirsch Scheme

Indeed, fears over increased immigration received renewed attention in relation to doubts regarding the authenticity of press reporting. The Moscow correspondent of the *Daily News* had accounted for Jews being physically deported in chains and claimed that a considerable number of East European Jews been expelled by this method. Although it was admitted that reports of mass deportations were based on rumour, the correspondent underlined a strong belief in accusations regarding the 'savage' and 'barbarian' treatment of East European Jewry. 'I have only seen two, that is true, but should I have been admitted into the secret of what was going on earlier I should have seen many. For many have thus been sent in chains.'¹⁶¹ These accusations again brought into question the extent to which Jews were being mistreated and the *St James's Gazette* responded by

¹⁶⁰ 'FOREIGN COLONIES IN LONDON: ORIENTALS', The *St James's Gazette* 15 September (1891), p.6

¹⁶¹ 'THE EXPULSION OF THE JEWS: A PITIFUL STORY', The *Daily News* 6 June (1891), p.5

launching a two-part article on the Russian treatment of East European Jewry. The newspaper remarked that while 'full and precise information is exceedingly difficult to get, for many reasons; [...] there is one source from which something may be learned - namely the refugees themselves'.¹⁶²

Refugee testimony was therefore again utilised in order to obtain direct evidence of outbreaks of Russian persecution and did indeed reveal that Jews in the regions of Riga, Kharkov, and Odessa had been subject to internal expulsions. However, the accuracy of press reporting by the *Daily News*' correspondent was also brought into question. While refugee testimony supported information regarding anti-Jewish measures, it refuted the newspaper's accusations exposing forced expulsions from the Russia empire. 'This is a complete misconception which it is important to correct. In no case is a Jew ordered to leave the country, but only to betake himself to certain specified localities. Those who emigrate do so voluntarily.'¹⁶³

Interviews with refugees also revealed that the extent of physical abuse had been highly exaggerated and that conditions had often been misinterpreted by Western observers. On this assumption, the *Daily News*' correspondent had merely witnessed the normal course of action for the removal of persons from an area from which they had been legally prohibited. 'That is the regular procedure in Russia, not only with Jews, but with anybody removed from a place under police surveillance. So far, then, the main assumptions on which much sensation has been based, fall to the ground.'¹⁶⁴

In addition, the *St James's Gazette* asserted that residential restrictions targeted other religious minorities and that this was supported by the recent arrival of many Russian Catholics in London. The Russian anti-Jewish measures were also defended on account of Jews being supposedly better educated and harbouring strong socialist sympathies, and that therefore, 'on both grounds Russia may call them a dangerous element in the population'.¹⁶⁵ Although this resembled elements of the Russian apologist defence of the Russian treatment of East European Jewry and appeared to undermine

¹⁶² 'THE RUSSIAN JEWS: WHAT IS REALLY HAPPENING TO THEM', The *St James's Gazette* 9 June (1891), p.5

¹⁶³ *Ibid.* p.6

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p.6

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.* p.6

sympathy, the newspaper at least continued its refutation of sensationalist claims regarding the numbers of Jews entering Britain. 'The sensational figures appearing in the press are obtained by taking all the foreign passengers from Germany, of whatever race, religion, or condition of life, including those on their way to America, and labelling them "destitute Russian Jews" about to settle in London.'¹⁶⁶

This renewed attention regarding press accuracy was, however, reinforced by Arnold White's return from Russia on a visit on behalf of Baron Hirsch. Upon his arrival, White had written to Lord Rothschild and his correspondence had been published in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, where he had denied alarmist reports of a mass movement of Jews to Britain. White stated that having 'carefully examined the rumours about emigration *en masse* to England. They are devoid of all foundation'.¹⁶⁷ Indeed, the *Times* also participated in raising doubts regarding the accuracy of reporting in relation to the mistreatment of East European Jewry and stated that information relating to the closure of Synagogues in St Petersburg had been false, in addition to previous information regarding the transportation of sixty thousand 'destitute' Jews to Britain by a shipping company. 'The sensational report of arrangements made with a steamship company for transporting some 60,000 destitute Jews to England [...] is utter nonsense.'¹⁶⁸ Indeed, in a subsequent article the *Times* added that:

Inquiries which have been made during the past few days among the various shipping agencies, who would be the first to be aware of any great influx of Jewish refugees, show that, up to the present, at any rate, there has been scarcely any perceptible difference in the amount of their passenger traffic.¹⁶⁹

However, the return of White from Russia also saw renewed interest in the Hirsch scheme where the daily press now paid greater attention secure in the knowledge that Jews were not fleeing Russia to the extent previously reported. White's correspondence had revealed that the autocracy was not actively encouraging Jewish emigration and that

¹⁶⁶ THE RUSSIAN JEWS: WHAT IS REALLY HAPPENING TO THEM', The *St James's Gazette* 9 June (1891), p.6

¹⁶⁷ 'THE NEW EXODUS: TELEGRAM FROM MR ARNOLD WHITE', The *Pall Mall Gazette* 13 June (1891), p.4

¹⁶⁸ 'LATEST INTELLIGENCE: RUSSIAN INTOLERANCE', The *Times* 13 June (1891), p.9

¹⁶⁹ 'RUSSIAN JEWISH REFUGEES IN LONDON', The *Times* 15 June (1891), p.11

a strategy could therefore carefully be developed to encourage any future movement of Jews towards destinations other than Britain and the United States. The *Jewish Chronicle* also detailed White's communications and underlined his concern regarding a plausible solution to the Russo-Jewish question. 'The main point in Mr. White's practical view of the matter in connection with the object of his mission is that, while the Jews, very naturally wish to escape the effects of harsh and unjust edicts and regulations, the door is nevertheless kept shut against them.'¹⁷⁰

This renewed attention and significance given to the Hirsch scheme concerned much debate regarding a Jewish potential for agriculture. A prevalent antisemitic stereotype often propagated by Russian apologists had labelled East European Jewry incapable of rural labour and much of White's investigation had been focussed on establishing the accuracy of these allegations.¹⁷¹ Many foreign correspondents had also reported on the effectiveness of Jews as agricultural workers, and on White's return, the Odessa correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle* had also noted a specific 'Jewish' capability in farming and agriculture:

I have it on best authority that the 12 existing Hebrew colonies of South Russia, in which Jews actually conduct their own agricultural operations, are in a most flourishing condition, and that the statements recently made as to the unfitness of Jews for field work are untrue as far as South Russia is concerned.¹⁷²

Indeed, the publication of White's report promoted this view, and the *Times* published news of White's confidence that a 'proportion of the Jews in Russia are far better adapted for agricultural pursuits than has hitherto generally been supposed'.¹⁷³ Yet while White confirmed East European Jewry's potential for agriculture and established the likelihood of this in assisting the Hirsch scheme, White also remarked upon the extent to which exaggeration had influenced reports of recent anti-Jewish measures. The *Times* asserted that 'Mr. White found that, although cruelties have most undoubtedly been practised [...]

¹⁷⁰ 'MR ARNOLD WHITE'S MISSION', The *Jewish Chronicle* 10 July (1891), .12

¹⁷¹ White's commission was to inquire the extent to which Jews were adapted for agricultural pursuits and to establish how far the Russian government would co-operate in an organised plan to allow Jews to emigrate.

¹⁷² 'JEW-HARRYING IN RUSSIA', The *Daily Chronicle* 11 July (1891), p.5

¹⁷³ 'THE PERSECUTION OF THE RUSSIAN JEWS', The *Times* 16 July (1891), p.7

on the whole their has been much exaggeration in the accounts which have come to hand.¹⁷⁴

In addition, the recognition of Jews as agriculturalists had also led the *Daily Chronicle* to reaffirm doubt on the efficacy of the Hirsch scheme. The newspaper underlined that even if some Jews were capable of agriculture it would not help alleviate their plight since rural labourers would be safeguarded from anti-Jewish measures on account of their utility to the Russian empire. 'We are disposed to conclude, from the nature of their occupations, that their usefulness protects them from the persecutions to which their co-religionists in other parts of Russia are exposed.'¹⁷⁵ The newspaper alleged that those most likely to migrate would therefore be the physically weak urban population that would be less able to succeed in the establishment of agricultural settlements. The *Daily Chronicle* also remarked that White had been far too complimentary in regard to Jewish colonisation and the belief that Jews were capable of inhabiting a number of potential undeveloped territories. 'A population that is fit for settlement in any part of the world, regardless of climate, can exist only in the imagination.'¹⁷⁶

(ii) The Growth in Anti-Alienism

The publication of White's correspondence also coincided with a meeting of the Association for the Prevention of the Immigration of Destitute Aliens that received considerable attention in the daily press. The group had met to raise the profile of the need for restrictive legislation and to lobby the government over legislation originally passed by William IV as a prerequisite to the introduction of more stringent measures. Although the organisation underlined that it did not propose to alter Britain's policy of asylum, the various speakers reassured the alarmist claims previously articulated in the British press. These consisted of accusations regarding increased 'pauperism', the supposed decline in the native workforce from organised emigration schemes, and that healthier and more productive migrants were constantly being forwarded to the United

¹⁷⁴ 'THE PERSECUTION OF THE RUSSIAN JEWS', *The Times* 16 July (1891), p.7

¹⁷⁵ 'Untitled Editorial', *The Daily Chronicle* 18 July (1891), p.4

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.* p.4

States. In addition, W. M'Arthur made the more forceful assertion that restriction was necessary to ensure that England was 'reserved for the Englishman [...] this is a question of preserving the Anglo-Saxon type'.¹⁷⁷

This statement caused much disbelief across the metropolitan daily press and the *Morning Post* paid immediate attention to the meeting and queried M'Arthur's racialist statement. The newspaper asserted that it would 'not go so far as to say with Mr. W. M'Arthur that this is a question of preserving the Anglo-Saxon type'.¹⁷⁸ The *Morning Post* therefore refused to articulate anti-alienism on racial assumptions and also denied that the question was party-political, a factor confirmed by the Association for the Prevention of the Immigration of Destitute Aliens' membership consisting of a broad cross-section of political opinion. For the *Morning Post*, alien immigration was deemed a social question that was reported to be widespread across Britain and now affecting the ports of Hull, Grimsby and Liverpool.

However, the *Jewish Chronicle* saw press attention given to the Association for the Prevention of the Immigration of Destitute Aliens as representative of a new phase in anti-alienism. The newspaper remarked that 'the crusade against pauper immigration has reached an acuter stage'.¹⁷⁹ The article belittled the organisation for its lack of substance and proceeded to highlight inconsistencies in the various declarations of its members. The newspaper also referenced its previous editorial on anti-alienism underlining that moderate anti-alien sentiment was indeed a natural phenomenon. Yet the newspaper now took much firmer issue with the more nationalist and racialist assumptions of M'Arthur and referred to his statement as being equivalent to declaring 'England for the English'. The *Jewish Chronicle* therefore saw anti-alienism as having reached a more intense manifestation and stated that anti-alien sentiment was 'difficult enough without being obscured by pseudo-patriotic generalities which have nothing to do with it'.¹⁸⁰

Indeed, the newspaper's previously ineffectual account of anti-alienism was replaced by a more resolute response to M'Arthur's racial deviation. The *Jewish*

¹⁷⁷ 'PAUPER IMMIGRATION: MEETING AT BISHOP HALL TO INQUIRE INTO EMIGRATION', *The Morning Post* 25 July (1891), p.2

¹⁷⁸ 'Untitled Editorial', *The Morning Post* 27 July (1891), p.4

¹⁷⁹ 'THE IMMIGRATION MOLE-HILL', *The Jewish Chronicle* 31 July (1891), p.11

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.* p.11

Chronicle saw the Association for the Prevention of the Immigration of Destitute Aliens as alarmist and believed the group had failed to consider immigration in light of accurate information. 'There is no common error in political economy than to form conclusions from the mere surface of things [...] It is only to the superficial that this immigration is so palpable and unmistakeable a bogey, so wholly and irredeemably a curse.'¹⁸¹ The editorial noted that the organisation believed the number of aliens entering Britain currently stood at one thousand per week and had claimed that thirty one thousand aliens had arrived the previous year. The *Jewish Chronicle* also observed that the movement was exhibiting a more protectionist stance over what remained a highly sensationalised issue. 'By all means let us legislate, if needs be, for this extraneous growth in the body corporate, but let us have no legislation by panic. Let us not be hurried into amputating a hand to destroy a blister on a finger. As yet the crisis is largely imaginary'.¹⁸²

The *Jewish Chronicle* continued to condemn the organisation in subsequent editorials and having established the irrelevance of M'Arthur's comments, the newspaper emphasised further inconsistencies in the anti-alien outlook. A subsequent editorial took issue with the assumption that Jews were both 'paupers' and competitors with native labour. The newspaper stated that 'the two propositions which thus call in question are, it is clear, mutually destructive. Men who work for smaller wages than the English workmen is willing to accept cannot be paupers; and if they are paupers, how can they injure the labour market?'.¹⁸³ The *Jewish Chronicle* stated that Jewish tailoring did not compete with the native trade and that while Jews experienced poverty and hardship, they should not be classified as 'destitute'. 'The Russo-Jewish immigrant is not destitute, but poor, and sometimes needs assistance; but for that assistance he never looks to any other organisation outside his own coreligionists'.¹⁸⁴

However, the newspaper also began to sound alarm over the need to Anglicise the immigrant community. On one level this served to reassure the general public that the Anglo-Jewish community was aware of current anxieties regarding the East End alien community. As the *Jewish Chronicle* stated 'we are sincerely desirous of checking any

¹⁸¹ 'THE IMMIGRATION MOLE-HILL', The *Jewish Chronicle* 31 July (1891), p.11

¹⁸² Ibid. p.11

¹⁸³ 'THE EAST END PROBLEM', The *Jewish Chronicle* 7 August (1891), p.9

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. p.9

material increase in the Russo-Jewish population of this country; but we are as deeply anxious to Anglicise as quickly as possible those of our Russian brethren who are already settled in our midst'.¹⁸⁵ Yet at the same time this concern was matched by apprehension over effectively dealing with the immigrant population. The *Jewish Chronicle* openly declared that previous attempts had failed to confront the situation and that a new direction was needed in order to calm growing apprehension:

Our machinery for dealing with East-End distress is well-nigh perfect. Our mistake has been in not giving a more far-reaching character to our philanthropy, and in failing to penetrate through the crust of poverty that lies on the surface of East End life to the social and intellectual mischief that exists beneath.¹⁸⁶

Nevertheless, while the *Jewish Chronicle* appeared more robust in the face of anti-alienism and had developed a more resolute response to the Association for the Prevention of the Immigration of Destitute Aliens, the hostile environment in which it now defended the immigrant community had ruptured its earlier confidence. The newspaper now directly addressed its readership over the seriousness of growing hostility. 'Here lies the real problem which the community is called upon to solve. The health of the Anglo-Jewish body-politic and the true welfare of our foreign brethren themselves are clearly at stake [...] The communal policy must manifest itself in new methods.'¹⁸⁷ Indeed, the newspaper now asserted a broad strategy for the 'naturalisation' of East European Jewry and credited work already undertaken by the Jews' Free School in relation to the education of migrant children. However, the editorial noted that the older generation remained full of Russian 'peculiarities'. Although the *Jewish Chronicle* encouraged 'naturalisation', it warned against the danger of isolating and encouraging resentment amongst the adult population through Anglicisation schemes. 'We must no longer pander, in mistaken kindness, to his undesirable prejudices, but our efforts to lift

¹⁸⁵ 'THE EAST END PROBLEM', The *Jewish Chronicle* 7 August (1891), p.9

¹⁸⁶ Ibid. p.9

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. p.9

him above them into the ampler air of English thought and life must not defeat their own object by wounding and estranging him.¹⁸⁸

Accusations regarding the extent of anti-Jewish persecution within the Russian empire therefore led to concerns regarding the authenticity of press reporting. In addition, White's return from Russia further undermined evidence regarding Jewish deportations and asserted that all Jewish migration to date had been voluntary. However, while this disrupted sympathy for the plight of East European Jewry, additional news also cited that there was no evidence of a mass 'exodus' of Jews from the Russia border. This contributed to a more measured response to the Hirsch scheme and a reappraisal of the Jewish capability for agriculture. While the *Daily Chronicle* remained sceptical of the scheme, there was far greater support for planned migration as a solution to the problems confronting Europe in regard to a possible refugee crisis.

Nevertheless, there was also a distinct change in the expression of anti-alienism. While the Association for the Prevention of the Immigration of Destitute Aliens remained a marginal and insignificant organisation, the comments of M'Arthur made a considerable impact on public opinion. The daily press was immediately critical of the racial deviation and refused to allude to notions of Anglo-Saxondom. Indeed, the comments of M'Arthur also saw the *Jewish Chronicle* become more astute in its condemnation of anti-alienism and realise the gravity of the situation. The newspaper now appeared to take the issue of increased anti-alienism far more seriously, especially in consideration that a mass exodus had been largely 'imaginary' and based on the sensation and manipulation of the metropolitan daily press.

Darkest Russia and the Defence of East European Jewry

The increase in anti-alienism alongside the disruption caused to sympathy for the plight of East European Jewry coincided with the publication of *Darkest Russia* as a supplement to the *Jewish Chronicle*.¹⁸⁹ *Darkest Russia* was the result of the intervention of Sir Isidore Speilman and the Russo-Jewish Committee and the first edition appeared

¹⁸⁸ Ibid. p.9

¹⁸⁹ See: Johnson, S. 'Confronting the East: Darkest Russia, British Opinion and Tsarism's "Jewish question," 1890-1914', pp.199-211

on 17 July 1891 and later became a supplement to the *Jewish Chronicle* on 1 August 1891. The journal set out to act as a record of Russian persecution and to expose the consequences of anti-Jewish measures. In recognition of the recent concerns over the authenticity of press reporting, this journal served as an official mouthpiece for Jewish and non-Jewish protest. Indeed, the publication received the immediate support of Gladstone who saw the journal as the fulfilment of his desire that detailed evidence of Russian anti-Jewish measures be presented before public opinion. Nevertheless, while *Darkest Russia* received widespread support, the *Pall Mall Gazette* immediately published an editorial attacking the journal for being motivated solely by 'disinterested sympathy for the sufferings of the unfortunate Jews in Russia'.¹⁹⁰

This attack was based on the common accusation of Russian apologists that perceived moral protest as being Russophobic, rather than the expression of genuine concern for the plight of East European Jewry. The *Pall Mall Gazette* also stated that the only feasible solution to the Russo-Jewish question was through the Hirsch scheme. Although the newspaper had previously criticised Hirsch, like other newspapers it now celebrated the scheme and criticised press reporting for having misled public opinion over Russian persecution. The *Pall Mall Gazette* therefore directly confronted *Darkest Russia* and stated that 'unfortunately it is as enemies of Russia, rather than as friends of the Jews, that the conductors of *Darkest Russia* have turned their organ'.¹⁹¹ The newspaper also remarked that the Guildhall meeting had been built upon false philanthropy and had failed in its motivation to alleviate East European Jewry.

Likewise, White attempted to undermine *Darkest Russia* for the propagation of false information and attacked Gladstone's support for the journal. White believed the journal sensationalised persecution and that although misrepresentation by Anglo-Jewry was forgivable, Gladstone was naive and mistaken in his support for *Darkest Russia*. 'The repetition and circulation of unfounded tales of Muscovite barbarity is not only natural, but excusable, on the part of the English Jewish community. But when Mr Gladstone [...] gives to that publication the weight of his name, it is time to make an

¹⁹⁰ 'THE FALSE FRIENDS OF THE RUSSIAN JEWS', The *Pall Mall Gazette* 14 August (1891), p.1

¹⁹¹ Ibid. p.1

appeal to his pity and his common-sense.¹⁹² Although the tone of Gladstone's support for the journal made his stance susceptible to the charge of Russophobia, White exaggerated Gladstone's prejudice and similarly overstated his own reservations regarding *Darkest Russia*.

White doubted the need for a journal such as *Darkest Russia* because he believed it lacked a clear aim and that educated opinion in Russia was already aware of anti-Jewish measures. In addition, White knew that Russia consistently refused to listen to protests directed by 'foreign Jews'. White also claimed that the journal was likely to encourage European nations already struggling with a 'Jewish question' to become further prejudiced towards their Jewish communities and that protest would only exacerbate problems for East European Jewry. 'Any one who really wants to help the Jews has two courses open to him-he can hold his tongue about Russia, and he can put his hand in his pocket and help some poor family go to South America.'¹⁹³

Darkest Russia responded to the *Pall Mall Gazette* by ridiculing the simplicity of its argument.¹⁹⁴ It criticised the newspaper for asserting that the Hirsch scheme would singularly be able to alleviate Jewish suffering and that even if 'BARON DE HIRSCH and his friends were to devote the sum of five millions sterling to the work of colonisation, they could not, even with that enormous sum, benefit a larger number than 25,000 souls'.¹⁹⁵ As the *Daily Chronicle* had previously asserted, despite Hirsch's generosity, the scheme was exceptionally under-funded and that even if one fifth of the Russo-Jewish population desired repatriation, funds would only equate to £2 per migrant.¹⁹⁶ *Darkest Russia* also asserted that the daily press must remain vigilant of the Russian autocracy and not be susceptible to exaggeration regarding the possible alleviation of East European Jewry through organised migration. 'The Russia which at the moment governs the vast Empire must learn the opinion which enlightened humanity

¹⁹² 'MR. GLADSTONE AND THE JEWS OF RUSSIA', *The Times* 1 September (1891), p.11

¹⁹³ 'MR. GLADSTONE AND THE JEWS OF RUSSIA', *The Times* 1 September (1891), p.11

¹⁹⁴ In addition, N. S. Joseph responded to White through the *Times* in which he stated that the *Jewish Chronicle* did not exaggerate the extent of Russian persecution and that *Darkest Russia* was necessary on account of its evidence being based on Jewish and non-Jewish sources. See: 'DARKEST RUSSIA AND MR ARNOLD WHITE', *The Times* 5 September (1891), p.7

¹⁹⁵ 'THE FALSE FRIENDS OF RUSSIA', *Darkest Russia* supplement to the *Jewish Chronicle* 25 September (1891), p.14

¹⁹⁶ See: 'THE JEWISH COLONIZATION ASSOCIATION', *The Daily News* 12 September (1891), pp.4-5

entertains her acts. She must be told that no Christian nation can grasp her hand while she persecutes her subjects.¹⁹⁷

Despite controversy surrounding the publication of *Darkest Russia*, the journal had the desired effect of increasing the scope given to persecution in the daily press.¹⁹⁸ However, the *Pall Mall Gazette* refused to follow the daily press in the implementation of more objective reporting. Immediately following the publication of *Darkest Russia*, the newspaper published an extract from the *Anti-Jacobin* that supported the newspaper's stance regarding Russian persecution. This article claimed that the Russian treatment of East European Jewry was justified because Jews had been evading long-established legislation, and that, in any case, the Hirsch scheme would receive the full support of the autocracy.¹⁹⁹ 'The Russian authorities hope that they will thereby get rid of the floating mass of Jewish poor, who are a nuisance to them, whose inferior physique unfits them for military service, and whose arrears of taxes have to be written off year after year.'²⁰⁰

Even the *Daily Chronicle* gave a less sympathetic account of Russian persecution. Despite the newspaper's liberal agenda, the *Daily Chronicle* claimed that Britain was incapable of understanding Russian attitudes towards Jews because socio-economic conditions had created a situation that allowed Jews to exploit the Russian peasantry and that this alone justified anti-Jewish sentiment. Indeed, the *Daily Chronicle* now reported that Jews were exacting revenge on their harsh treatment by borrowing large sums from 'peasant merchants' before quitting Russia. The article progressed by attempting to rationalise the expulsions on account of this behaviour, and asserted that if Jews wished to remain in Russia, they should assimilate and discard such 'derogatory' habits. 'Had they behaved in Russia in the same way as the other foreign elements [...] they would

¹⁹⁷ 'THE FALSE FRIENDS OF RUSSIA', *Darkest Russia* supplement to the *Jewish Chronicle* 25 September (1891), p.14

¹⁹⁸ This new attention lacked the sensationalist claims of earlier reporting.

¹⁹⁹ The article was refuted by Oswald John Simon's correspondence in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Simon noted that the article had failed to accurately portray events in Russia and was a complete fabrication. The article asserted that anti-Jewish legislation was implemented by the state and embraced 'every form of tyranny'. See: 'A JEW'S NOTEWORTHY CONFESSION', The *Pall Mall Gazette* 29 September (1891), p.7

²⁰⁰ 'THE CASE FOR THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT: A JEW'S NOTEWORTHY CONFESSION', The *Pall Mall Gazette* 26 September (1891), p.6

never have been persecuted; but, unfortunately, they have a peculiar knack of rendering themselves unpopular in almost every country in which they have settled.²⁰¹

The majority of newspapers, however, remained dedicated to exposing anti-Jewish excesses without resorting to sensation. The impact of *Darkest Russia* therefore saw widespread reporting of the tightening of restrictions that included a detailed account of the rape and death of five Jewish women.²⁰² In response to this heightened concern, *Tit-Bits* also chose to publish a fictional serialisation that told a story of persecution with great authority and sympathy. The narrative gave an account of the persistent harassment of a Jewish community at the hands of the Russian autocracy that led to the eventual death of the hero and the subsequent migration of the heroine to Britain. Indeed, this fictionalisation emphasised the need for Britain to remain a haven for Jewish refugees. The story concluded by stating that East European Jewry 'had been persecuted, but [that] they had found their reward; and from a land of darkness and cruelty they had been delivered into a land of light and freedom'.²⁰³

These later representations of anti-Jewish excesses made specific use of Jewish women as victims of Russian atrocities. Such references were used for their greater ability to shock and were related to pre-existing ideas regarding an idealised image of the Jewess in Victorian culture.²⁰⁴ Joyce Emmerson Muddock's fictional account in *Tit-Bits* juxtaposed the image of a beautiful and virtuous Jewess with that of 'barbaric' Russian male mobs intent on the destruction and desecration of East European Jewry. The violation of Jewish women, often alongside the murder of Jewish children, often played an increasingly dominant role in reports of violent outbreaks of anti-Jewish persecution during the close of 1891. Indeed, *Darkest Russia* often represented Jewish women as victims of horrendous acts of rape and murder, while the daily press highlighted the

²⁰¹ 'WHY THE RUSSIAN JEWS ARE EXPELLED', The *Daily Chronicle* 23 October (1891), p.5

²⁰² See: 'THE ANTI-JEWISH EXCESSES IN RUSSIA', The *St James's Gazette* 31 October (1891), p.8, : 'THE ANTI-JEWISH EXCESSES IN RUSSIA: SHOCKING OUTRAGES', The *Daily News* 31 October (1891), p.5 and "THE BARBAROUS ANTI-JEWISH OUTRAGES IN RUSSIA", The *Pall Mall Gazette* 31 October (1891), p.6

²⁰³ Muddock, J. E. 'FOR GOD AND THE CZAR', *Tit-Bits* 19 April (1892), p.18

²⁰⁴ Nadia Valman has recently traced the literary representation of the Jewess in Victorian literature and argues that the figure of the Jewish woman reveals a contrasting image to much of the antisemitic discourse regarding the 'Jew'. See: Valman, N. *The Jewess in Nineteenth-Century British Literary Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007)

extent of anti-Jewish atrocities by placing the East European Jewess as the helpless victim of Russian 'barbary'.

However, although *Darkest Russia* had raised the public profile of the Russian persecutions, anxiety regarding alien immigration increased as a result of the publication of Wilkins' *The Alien Invasion*. Wilkins stated in his introduction that the issue was now of such importance that 'the Electorate is considering it, the Press—that sure reflex of public opinion—is discussing it, and the leaders of political parties, forced by the growing pressure from beneath, are making up their minds about it'.²⁰⁵ Throughout the text Wilkins asserted the need for the implementation of restrictive legislation in order to protect and improve the condition of the working-classes who were being 'degraded' and 'forced into competition' with the alien. Wilkins also asserted that alien immigration had been brought to public attention on account of two principal reasons and that Parliamentary legislation was the only recourse to alleviate the 'existing evil'. In addition, Wilkins saw Russian anti-Jewish legislation as the main reason behind the present situation:

Two great causes have to bring this question to the front at the present time. One, the recent edicts promulgated by the Czar against his Jewish subjects in Russia, edicts which [...] necessarily have the result of driving many thousands of Russian Jews to seek their fortunes anew in our lands; the other, the action of the United States Government, in passing a law which has the effect of practically closing the Atlantic ports to the poorer class of aliens altogether.²⁰⁶

This concern over increased immigration was also further exasperated by the publication of the Board of Trade report and the contribution of articles to the *Contemporary Review* and the *Nineteenth Century* by White and the Earl of Dunraven. Wilkins' book had received positive reviews in the daily press and had even been declared as a 'monument of self-repression' by the *Daily Chronicle*.²⁰⁷ Indeed, the *Daily Chronicle*'s review agreed with Wilkins' recommendation that the introduction of restrictive legislation was

²⁰⁵ Wilkins, W. H. *The Alien Invasion* (London: Methuen & Co. 1892), pp.1-2

²⁰⁶ Ibid. p.2

²⁰⁷ See: 'ALIEN INVADERS', *The Daily Chronicle* 28 April (1892), p.3

now a necessity. The newspaper remarked that 'the answer is, indeed, simple. All it wants to carry it out is an Act of Parliament. Such an act, as Mr Wilkins profoundly remarks, is sure to "exercise an excellent deterrent effect, and serve to keep away thousands and thousands from our shores"'.²⁰⁸

White's article in the *Nineteenth Century* also served as a more conclusive report from a second visit to Russia on behalf of Hirsch. The purpose of this trip had been an attempt to deliberate more thoroughly with the Russian autocracy over the prospect of participation with the Hirsch scheme. Yet White's article saw him appeal to many aspects of the Russian apologist stance where he even asserted that if the accusations of Novikoff proved correct, Russian treatment of East European Jewry was indeed justified. 'If the indictment brought against the Russian Jew by Madame Novikoff and her school can be seriously and effectively maintained, then the quicker Russian tribulations make an end to Israel the better for the rest of the inhabitants of the civilised world.'²⁰⁹

White also adhered to some particularly crude views regarding Jews that ventured beyond the 'liberal' antisemitism commonly attributed to him. Like Smith, White asserted that Jews controlled international finance, in addition to the European press, and that all liberal professions would soon be occupied by members of the Jewish race. Similar to Russian apologists, White also attempted to justify the policy of the Russian autocracy on the accusation that 'the main object pursued by the governing classes in repressing the Jew in Russia is sheer self-defence'.²¹⁰ However, White's comments were more subdued throughout the remainder of the article and despite displaying views that could be considered vehemently antisemitic, he countered these comments by evoking concern for East European Jewry. White continued to promote Jewish agriculture and claimed that accusations against Jews as rural labourers were equal to 'an accusation against a man for not being able to swim, when, at the same time he is not allowed to approach water'.²¹¹ Money-lending was also noted to be exaggerated and Jews that

²⁰⁸ Ibid. p.3

²⁰⁹ White, A. 'THE TRUTH ABOUT THE RUSSIAN JEW', The *Contemporary Review* May (1892), pp.695-696

²¹⁰ Ibid. p.697

²¹¹ Ibid. p.702

adopted agricultural pursuits were still perceived as 'excellent raw material for colonisation'.²¹²

However, Dunraven's article in the *Nineteenth Century* was consistently hostile and focussed solely on the alleged effects of the 'destitute' alien. Although Dunraven avoided the antisemitism of White and attempted to frame his discourse against all 'foreigners', he candidly expressed that 'the present immigration consists mainly of Russian, Polish, and Roumanian Jews, arriving in a state of destitution so complete that institutions have been founded for the express purpose of assisting them'.²¹³ Dunraven's article was an attempt to underline the 'harmful' effects of alien immigration by highlighting the extent to which Jews undercut native labour. Dunraven also felt that continued Russian anti-Jewish measures meant immigration demanded the full attention of government.²¹⁴ 'Immigration ought by rights to stand at the level of a great national question, and would occupy that position if it were thoroughly understood.'²¹⁵

Indeed, anti-alien sentiment rapidly increased in the aftermath of concerns regarding Russian persecution and newspapers appeared to again focus their attention on a potential 'influx' of Jewish refugees. For the first time a newspaper also appeared to completely dismiss asylum as an outdated concept that no longer held any authority. The *Morning Post* remarked on the complexity of the 'liberal tradition' in relation to restriction, yet attempted to dismiss it simply on the grounds that it should no longer be seen as a 'right' to victims of persecution. 'The difficulty in relation to political refugees is simply one which must be confronted and beaten [...] no man, whatever his opinions, has the right of foisting upon the charity of England.'²¹⁶

In addition, the rapid spread of cholera throughout Europe enlarged the sphere through which anti-alienism was credibly articulated by aligning aliens as carriers of disease. The spread of Cholera throughout the Russian empire during the summer saw the daily press report on the disease as it progressed towards Britain. Although concern

²¹² Ibid. p.705

²¹³ 'THE INVASION OF DESTITUTE ALIENS', The *Nineteenth Century* June (1892), p.987

²¹⁴ Previous to Dunraven's article James Lowther had asked Balfour whether the Conservative government was considering legislation to which Balfour replied that the preparation of the Bill was in the hands of the Home Secretary.

²¹⁵ Ibid. p.985

²¹⁶ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Morning Post* 11 May (1892), p.7

was not initially communicated in reference to immigration, the daily press reported that the real threat came from food imports that had passed through Russia. As the *Standard* remarked 'if the cholera should spread over the whole Russia, all Europe would create a quarantine against her exports both by land and water'.²¹⁷ Nevertheless, this association of Cholera with Russia saw apprehension amongst a growing section of the daily press on the assumption that the country could not effectively prevent the spread of the disease amongst its population.

Indeed, the *Daily Chronicle* soon remarked immigration posed a problem in relation to the spread of cholera and stated that 'the Minister of the Interior has prohibited the entry into Austria of Jewish refugees from Russia on sanitary grounds'.²¹⁸ Although other newspapers did not express immediate alarm over this statement, the spread of cholera was now directly linked to Russian and Polish migrants. As the *Standard* noted 'at noon yesterday the steamer Gemma arrived at Gravesend from Hamburg, having on board some sixty alien immigrants. The captain reported to the Customs authorities that three of them were suffering from suspicious illness'.²¹⁹ The *St James's Gazette* contributed to these reports by greatly misrepresenting the facts and asserting that the three migrants were announced dead on arrival.

Such articles had the effect of heightening concern over cholera in relation to alien immigration. The *Daily Chronicle* stated that 'these immigrants are from Russia mainly, via Hamburg - Russian Jews that is to say - and though their stream will now markedly decrease, the danger will not be entirely obviated'.²²⁰ While most newspapers refused to call for the immediate implementation of restriction, the *Daily Telegraph* saw the spread of cholera through British ports as representative of the need to prevent the further entry of aliens. Indeed, the threat from immigration was now articulated as a danger to the general population regardless of the 'tradition' of asylum:

'It is inevitable that the concurrence of cholera and pauper immigration, and the clear connection of cause and effect which unites the two, will raise in many minds

²¹⁷ 'THE SPREAD OF CHOLERA', The *Standard* 5 July (1892), p.5

²¹⁸ 'THE CHOLERA IN RUSSIA: RENEWED RIOTING', The *Daily Chronicle* 20 July (1892), p.5

²¹⁹ 'CHOLERA PRECAUTIONS AT ENGLISH PORTS', The *Standard* 26 August (1892), p.3

²²⁰ 'THE CHOLERA: WHERE LONDON IS VULNERABLE', The *Daily News* 29 August (1892), p.5

the whole question of the advisability of our present policy [...] why, it is asked, should we, on the strength of a merely traditional policy, inflict negative harm on our citizens'.²²¹

Conclusions

The response of the metropolitan daily press towards Russian anti-Jewish legislation in the period 1890-1892 was complex and the subject of much debate. Concern for the plight of East European Jewry was greatly disrupted by fears over increased immigration and a distinct growth in anti-alienism. However, newspapers also played an active role in expressing moral indignation and made genuine attempts to confront the Russian autocracy over its treatment of East European Jewry. It was only in the aftermath of the Guildhall meeting and the failure of the memorial to reach the Tsar that anti-alienism and apprehension over a potential refugee crisis seriously impacted upon sympathy and compassion for the plight of East European Jewry.

Yet, as with outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence in 1881 and 1882, the authenticity of press reporting became a contentious issue and caused much confusion over the exact occurrence of events within Russia. The *Times* was mistaken in its initial assumptions regarding Tsarist complicity and this greatly undermined concern for East European Jewry. In addition, these mistaken accusations justified the criticism of Russian apologists who also began to underline British fears regarding a potential 'influx' of East European Jews. Later accusations regarding the mass expulsion of East European Jewry were also proven to be mistaken and this only added to the confusion over the Russian persecutions. The daily press therefore again failed to reach a consensus over the treatment of East European Jewry by the Russian autocracy.

The growth in anti-alienism throughout the period also seriously undermined sympathy and compassion for the plight of East European Jewry. The *Jewish Chronicle* was slow to grasp the seriousness of this issue and did not adequately respond to expressions of hostility until they became explicitly racially motivated. In addition, the *Times*' printing of accusations regarding a Jewish slave-market greatly disrupted concern

²²¹ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Daily Telegraph* 29 August (1892), p.4

for the persecution of East European Jewry and contributed to an environment in which anti-alienism was expressed without hesitation. Although various newspapers refuted the newspaper's accusations, the printing of this article marked a decisive turning point in the growth of anti-alienism. In addition, the *St James's Gazette*'s attempt at a more objective account of London's foreign population did not substantially deviate from the tone of alarmist reports regarding a potential refugee crisis.

Expressions of anti-alien hostility also became increasingly sensationalist throughout the period. Anti-alienism was not just expressed in relation to fears regarding the displacement of native labour and issues regarding overcrowding, but also became linked to racial assumptions and the spread of disease in the wake of the cholera epidemic. The development of this more vehement form of anti-alienism that was linked to a larger number of negative attributes greatly impacted upon sympathy and compassion for the plight of East European Jewry.

The daily press also remained convinced that Britain was on the verge of a serious refugee crisis. This anxiety reached such an acute stage that some newspapers initially rejected the Hirsch scheme, as it was seen as incapable of offering the necessary relief for the number of Jews expected to leave Russia. In addition, rumours also circulated in relation to Jews having left Russia voluntarily. This preoccupation with an imminent refugee crisis further undermined concern for East European Jewry.

Sympathy for the plight of East European Jewry between 1890-1892 was therefore greatly disrupted by fears over increased immigration and the development of a more vehement form of anti-alienism. Newspapers were also now convinced of a definite link between events in Russia and the number of Jews supposedly entering Britain. In addition, the daily press was prepared to assert the need for restrictive legislation and on occasion directly undermine Britain's 'tradition' of asylum. In the context of future debates regarding persecution and mass migration, these developments shaped an environment in which concern for East European Jewry was increasingly undermined by the metropolitan daily press.

Chapter 3

‘Kischineff’ and the Limits of Public Opinion, 1900-1903

The Kishinev massacre far outweighed previous outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence in terms of the extent of ‘brutality’ experienced by East European Jewry.¹ The metropolitan daily press was immediately aware of the plight of East European Jewry and this heightened the perception of Russia as ‘backward’, ‘savage’ and ‘barbarian’. Yet as with previous outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence, the authenticity of press reporting became a contentious issue that seriously disrupted the expression of sympathy and compassion for the plight of East European Jewry. The number of aliens resident within Britain had also significantly increased by this period and the metropolitan daily press was quick to underline that Russian persecution was likely to encourage Jewish migration and rapidly increase the alien population.

Sympathy and compassion for the plight of East European Jewry was, however, undermined as a consequence of wider socio-political changes. Britain’s imperial status was no longer so secure and growing insecurities had lead to a decline in national self-confidence.² These changes were also reflected in transformations in the newspaper industry that led to a more sensationalised representation of the alien and a daily press that was less concerned with involving the readership in debates within the public sphere. As a result, the potential for a public protest was not pursued as rigorously as it had been

¹ As Avraham Greenbaum has remarked ‘the very name of Kishinev became a byword for a new government sponsored barbarism, and a whole literature arose around this pogrom. The world was taken by surprise by the reopening of what seemed a closed chapter, and by the increase in brutality: what had previously been rampages of pillage and destruction were now routinely accompanied by murder and rape.’ See: Greenbaum, A. ‘Bibliographical Essay’ in Klier, J. and Lambroza, S. *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Pres, 1992), p.379

² As George Searle has observed ‘the disquieting effects of the Great Depression, the erosion of mid-Victorian prosperity, the decline of London’s traditional industries, and international competition from the U.S and Germany for industrial and military supremacy, all contributed to a sense of malaise and decline. This anxious mood was communicated through representations of London itself, particularly those involving political disorder, urban pathology, and physical degeneration’. See: Searle, G. *The Quest for National Efficiency: A Study in British Politics and Political Thought, 1899-1914* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971), p.2

during previous outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence and a public remonstration similar to that of the Mansion House and Guildhall meeting never became the subject of intense press attention.

The more sensationalised representation of the alien also led to the development of a far more vehement form of anti-alienism. The popular press took a particularly keen interest in the alien and greatly fabricated issues related to increased immigration. Pictorial representation was also used in the development of a more sensationalised style of investigative journalism that led to a prominent caricature of the alien. This allowed newspapers to incorporate crude stereotypes and express anti-alien prejudice more innocently and as a means of amusement and entertainment. The advent of the popular press therefore brought hostilities to the forefront of public opinion and greatly undermined concern for the plight of East European Jewry.

The link between persecution and mass migration was also now firmly embedded in the metropolitan daily press. This meant that Kishinev was seen as having consequences in terms of dramatically increasing the number of Jews already resident within Britain. At the same time, the *Royal Commission on Alien Immigration* delivered its final report that recommended the implementation of restrictive legislation. As a consequence, certain newspapers became more convinced that Britain's 'tradition' of asylum was misguided and that restriction was necessary to prevent the entry of immigrants deemed 'undesirable'. The final report of the *Royal Commission* also had the effect of dividing the daily press into those newspapers that openly supported restriction and those that were explicitly opposed to the implementation of legislation. Although this division already existed, the final report of the *Royal Commission* had the effect of making this rupture more definite and publicly visible.

Sympathy for the plight of East European Jewry was therefore severely disrupted despite the outbreak of particularly 'brutal' episodes of anti-Jewish violence. The metropolitan daily press failed to raise the issue of a public protest and increased alien immigration meant that fears over a mass 'influx' of East European Jewry remained such a provocative issue that they obscured the propensity for moral outrage. Wider socio-political issues and changes within the newspaper industry also meant that fears regarding increased alien immigration became far more prominent. As a result, the Kishinev

massacre did not receive the same extent of press attention as previous outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence and sympathy for the plight of East European Jewry was severely undermined by the threat of a substantial increase in alien immigration.

The 'Roumanian' Persecution of East European Jewry and the Decline in Public Opinion

The Kishinev massacre occurred in the immediate aftermath of the Romanian persecution of East European Jewry for which there had been no public remonstration. Despite the protestation of leading members of the Anglo-Jewish community a public meeting never emerged as a viable platform to engage public opinion in the expression of moral indignation.³ The *Jewish Chronicle* asserted three reasons for this silence. First, the Romanian persecutions lacked the 'drama' of previous acts of discrimination that had made them the focus of so much press sensation. Second, the newspaper remarked that the debate over alien immigration had reached such an acute stage that it had obscured the propensity for moral protest.⁴ Third, the *Jewish Chronicle* simply regretted that 'the days seem to have gone by when people arose in righteous wrath to put an end to oppression abroad'.⁵

This observation regarding a lack of 'drama' held some authority. Romanian Jewry had been discriminated against through a series of anti-Jewish measures that had culminated in the Artisan's Law (1902). This legislation made it necessary to obtain official permission to undertake any form of handicraft and such authorisation was not extended to the Jewish community. This had the effect of rapidly increasing Jewish emigration and although the British government and daily press paid close attention to Romanian anti-Jewish legislation, it was not given the same consideration as Russian anti-Jewish measures of the previous decade.⁶

³ For example, Herbert Bentwich publicly appealed for a 'Guildhall' meeting as leader of the English Zionist Federation. See: 'A Guildhall Demonstration?', *The Jewish Chronicle* 20 January (1903), p.20

⁴ The Royal Commission on Alien Immigration came into existence in 1902 to assess the need for restrictive legislation. The period 1900-1905 has also been marked as the period when alien immigration received most hostile public attention. See: Garrard, J. *The English and Immigration*, pp.36-47

⁵ 'Pros and Cons', *The Jewish Chronicle* 20 January (1903), p.20

⁶ For example, the Foreign Office closely monitored the action of the Romanian government in correspondence from Consular officials and much debate existed over the extent of persecution. However,

Nevertheless, Russian anti-Jewish measures had also been legislative and on the *Jewish Chronicle*'s assumption should have also lacked the 'drama' to make them the subject of so much press sensation. Yet Russian legislation had remained of great interest to the daily press despite the accompanying alarm over alien immigration. The lack of attention given to the Romanian treatment of East European Jewry therefore suggests that the *Jewish Chronicle* was mistaken in its assumption that the absence of 'drama' primarily led to public neglect. Although it undoubtedly remained a factor, it must be suggested that wider socio-political changes and the increased scope given to alien immigration were more responsible for the decline in public opinion regarding the Romanian persecution of East European Jewry.

Indeed, the turn of the century had seen a considerable change in Britain's status through which there had been a transformation in the regulatory ambitions of the British state and a reorientation of the idea of nation.⁷ The passing of the Aliens Act was symbolic of this change, and while liberalism had not become politically obsolete, there was a definite decline in the prominence of the 'tradition' of asylum.⁸ This political and cultural shift was also reflected in changes in the newspaper industry. The growth of 'New Journalism' had created an environment in which a commercialised and 'representative' ideal had delimited the British public sphere.⁹ This challenged the more liberal and 'educational' model of the mid-nineteenth century that had allowed the flourishing of traditional notions of intellectual freedom and self-expression. As Hampton has remarked 'in this atmosphere, the mid-Victorian ideals of self-help and self-reliance, while by no means disappearing, lost some of their credibility'.¹⁰

the Romanian persecutions did not receive the same degree of attention. See: 'Condition of Jews in Roumania', NA, FO 104/159

⁷ See: Feldman, D. 'The Importance of Being English: Jewish Immigration and the Decay of Liberal England', p.79

⁸ As Feldman has remarked, 'the legacy of liberalism was not overthrown and remained a brake upon the state's coercive capacities.' See: Feldman, D. 'The Importance of Being English: Jewish Immigration and the Decay of Liberal England', p.79

⁹ See, for example: Habermas, J. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989), Lee, A. J. *The Origins of the Popular Press in England, 1855-1914* (London: Croom Helm Ltd, 1976) and Hampton, M. *Visions of the Press in Britain, 1850-1950* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004). A further explanation of this shift is explained in the introduction to this thesis.

¹⁰ Hampton, M. *Visions of the Press in Britain, 1850-1950*, p.12

Although the 'representative' ideal maintained that it reflected the concerns of the public and acted in its interest, in actuality the transformation undermined such a claim. The 'representative' ideal had effectively removed the masses from politics by public discussion. Rather than seeking to involve the readership in a discussion or seeking to persuade it through self-expression, those that articulated the 'representative' ideal offered to speak on the reader's behalf.¹¹ In addition, broader concerns regarding the desirability of mass political participation, and the concentration of press-ownership amongst a small number of proprietors driven by commercial incentives, meant that political representation became less of a priority.¹²

These changes impacted upon the treatment of the Romanian persecution of East European Jewry by the metropolitan daily press. Newspapers were no longer so concerned with informing and elevating the readership for participation in the public sphere, and the potential for a public remonstration similar to that of the Mansion House and Guildhall meetings never became the subject of extensive press attention. The proliferation of a more sensationalised 'New Journalism' and the pursuit of mass circulation also meant that the development of the popular press increasingly appealed to what it perceived to be the popular sentiment of an expanding lower middle-class and working-class readership. In this environment anti-alienism became a far more prominent feature of newspaper discourse.

The Popular Press and Anti-Alienism

Prior to the Kishinev massacre the development of the popular press therefore had a profound impact on the representation of the alien.¹³ The advent of the *Daily Mail* (1896), the *Daily Express* (1900) and the *Daily Mirror* (1903) saw rigorous competition

¹¹ See: Hampton, M. *Visions of the Press in Britain, 1850-1950*, p.12

¹² Virginia Berridge has traced this transformation in the Sunday newspaper market of the mid-nineteenth century. She argues that the popular press was very much influenced by an earlier shift in the newspaper industry whereby weekend newspapers had primarily been business ventures that relied on the sensationalist manipulation of popular sentiment. See: Berridge, V. 'Popular Sunday papers and Mid-Victorian Society' in Boyce, G., Curran, J. and Wingate, P. (eds), *Newspaper History from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day* (London: Constable, 1978)

¹³ It is important to note that the evening press also participated in the creation of a more hostile environment surrounding alien immigration. The 'New Journalism' of the *Pall Mall Gazette* and *St James's Gazette* was a precursor to the later sensationalism of the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Express* and the *Daily Mirror*.

over circulation, where each newspaper attempted to attain affinity with an expanding readership through the construction of a reader-identity that incorporated a far more hostile representation of the 'other'.¹⁴ The alien was therefore positioned in subordinate opposition to the dominant cultural values of the host nation, where the popular press articulated certain social norms as the basis of a reader-identity that stood in stark contrast to the depiction of the immigrant as 'destitute', foreign and 'other'.

This more hostile treatment of the alien took place in a variety of new formats where the popular press endeavoured to directly influence public opinion. For example, the *Daily Express* published a prospective Aliens Bill in an attempt to foreshadow the decision of the *Royal Commission* and stop the 'growing scandal of unrestricted alien immigration'.¹⁵ This was characteristic of the 'representative' ideal in that it claimed to represent the interests of the reader while in effect it was an attempt to directly manipulate public opinion. The proposed Bill recommended the examination, registration, exclusion and deportation of aliens, in addition to the documentation of all migrants resident within Britain. Aliens that did not meet the relevant criteria were to be excluded on the assumption that they were, 'felons, ex-felons, lunatics, persons who participate in the proceeds of prostitution, or those likely to become a public charge'.¹⁶ Deportation was a right reserved for any alien found guilty of criminal activity.

Indeed, evidence of alien criminality had increased significantly by the turn of the century and this rise in unlawful behaviour had provided the popular press with a means to further sensationalise the alien question.¹⁷ While this increase was proportionate to the native criminal population, newspapers inflated alien criminality to the extent that it

¹⁴ Martin Conboy's analysis of the construction of an 'imagined community of nation' in the British popular press demonstrates how the discursive cohesion of a readership relies on the exclusion of those considered to be 'outsiders'. As Conboy has remarked, 'the language of this representation has a strongly normative inflection which aims to reinforce a sense of reader identity and in turn a strong sense of national community based not only on a sense of what is shared in common but also on what is shared as a common perception of external challenge or threat to that community.' See: Conboy, M. *Tabloid Briton: Constructing a Community Through Language* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), p.94

¹⁵ 'TO REMEDY THE ALIEN EVIL: A PRACTICAL SUGGESTION TOWARDS EFFECTING THE EXCLUSION OF FOREIGN UNDESIRABLES', *The Daily Express* 19 February (1903), p.4

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p.4

¹⁷ Gainer has noted that by 1902, the proportion of alien prisoners to the alien population was level with the proportion of all prisoners to the general population. Alien prisoners multiplied until about 1904, but declined markedly in the following decade because many convicted aliens were deported. Gainer, B. *The Alien Invasion: The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905*, p.53

became blatantly exaggerated in relation to its actual occurrence.¹⁸ In addition, the popular press frequently incorporated severe fabrications regarding criminal conduct. The alien was repeatedly perceived to operate on a far more crude level than that of the native criminal and such accusations were often based purely on anti-alien prejudice. As the *Daily Express* remarked, 'above all, he develops a capacity for crime, a cunning, a forethought, and an imagination that are utterly beyond the powers of even the most astute of British burglars'.¹⁹

This attention given to alien criminality also saw the popular press sensationalise the alien in relation to 'white slave traffic'. Reports linking aliens to prostitution became far more frequent and the *Daily Mail* paid particular attention to the National Vigilance Association that had taken considerable steps to alleviate the number of foreign women deceived by the prospect of emigration to Britain. Aliens were also seen to be the primary cause of prostitution in London and it was often simply referred to as 'alien immorality'.²⁰ Yet alien involvement in prostitution to the extent cited by the popular press was a distortion.²¹ As Gainer has observed 'it constituted a minor embarrassment rather than a significant problem'.²²

Nevertheless, aliens were directly blamed for the trafficking of foreign and native women. As the *Daily Express* remarked, 'the decoying of girls was one branch of this and it was absolutely organised. Aliens not only imported foreign girls but also exported English girls'.²³ Furthermore, this was a claim that held some authority and was not merely the subject of newspaper sensation, as Jewish immigrants were disproportionately involved in 'white slave traffic'.²⁴ Yet, like alien criminality, the trafficking of women

¹⁸ The popular press also frequently sensationalised common stereotypes regarding Jewish crime. See for example: 'MODERN FAGINS: HOW A BOY OF ELEVEN WAS TRAINED TO CRIME', The *Daily Express* 21 March (1903), p.5

¹⁹ Robinson, B. F. 'CRIMES OF THE ALIEN: The Tricks of the Most Notorious Thieves in London', The *Daily Express* 31 January (1903), p.4

²⁰ 'ALIEN QUESTION: POWERFUL DEMAND FOR THE RESTRICTION AND THE CASE OF EXCLUSION, THE FACTS ESTABLISHED', The *Daily Express* 13 February (1903), p.4

²¹ Lara Marks has noted that while no official figures exist, the actual number of Jewish women involved in prostitution was likely to be no more than one thousand. Marks, L. 'Jewish Women and Jewish Prostitution in the East End of London' in *Jewish Quarterly* 34, 2 (1987), p.8

²² Gainer, B. *The Alien Invasion: The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905*, p.53

²³ 'ALIEN DISGRACE: SENSATIONAL EVIDENCE AT THE ROYAL COMMISSION, SOLD INTO SHAME', The *Daily Express* 24 February (1903), p.5

²⁴ See: Bristow, E. *Prostitution and Prejudice: The Jewish Fight Against White Slavery, 1870-1939* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), Gartner, L.P. 'Anglo-Jewry and the International Traffic in Prostitution,

was a reality that became greatly exaggerated by the frequency with which it was reported.²⁵ In addition, the popular press failed to fully account for the reasons behind the trade in young women and it was generally assumed that trafficking was due to the 'natural' cunning and immorality of the 'Jew'.²⁶

More prominence was also given to alien involvement in the anarchist movement relying on a particularly severe form of sensation and hyperbole. As Shpayer-Makov has observed, 'the media distorted the nature of anarchist activity in Europe and the discrepancy between stereotype and objective reality was remarkably pronounced in Britain'.²⁷ Indeed, although the British movement was particularly small and non-violent, this distortion proved highly influential. The popular press not only exaggerated the anarchist threat, but drew on the significance of Britain's past in harbouring political refugees during the mid-Victorian period. However, in the early twentieth century when Britain was no longer so tolerant of foreign dissidents, the alien was held in contempt for harbouring beliefs that ran counter to those of a more regulatory state.

A strong awareness of the link between East European Jewry and the Russian revolution also made it easier for the popular press to exaggerate the involvement of the alien population in anarchism. In addition, increased criminality meant that it was straightforward to establish a relationship between the alien and subversive political activity. For instance, the *Daily Mail* remarked that anarchism was merely 'another name for organised crime'.²⁸ The popular press therefore monitored the activity of anarchist groups and frequently reported on public meetings in the East End. The *Daily Mail*

1885-1914' in *American Jewish Studies Review* 7, 8 (1982-3), pp.129-178 and Marks, L. 'Jewish Women and Jewish Prostitution in the East End of London' in *Jewish Quarterly* 34, 2 (1987)

²⁵ Edward Bristow has observed that the frequency of reporting of the Jewish 'white slave trade' was more detailed and comprehensive than its actual occurrence. Surprisingly, this was also a factor evident in the European Jewish press. Bristow, E. *Prostitution and Prejudice: The Jewish Fight Against White Slavery, 1870-1939*, p.216

²⁶ As Gartner has observed, the international traffic in prostitution was primarily caused by 'the exceptionally difficult social situation which prevailed in the heyday of the great Jewish migration'. Gartner, L.P. 'Anglo-Jewry and the International Traffic in Prostitution, 1885-1914' in *American Jewish Studies Review* 7, 8 (1982-3), p.178

²⁷ Shpayer-Makov, H. 'Anarchism in British Public Opinion, 1880-1914' in *Victorian Studies* 31 (1988), pp.487-488

²⁸ 'ANARCHISM', The *Daily Mail* 12 September (1898), p.9

insisted that 'anarchism in this country is exotic. Its votaries for the most part are either Italians, Jews of German, but especially of Polish extraction'.²⁹

Aliens were also increasingly considered to be responsible for spreading disease. The cholera epidemic (1892) had been internationally significant in raising the profile of restriction and had seen a shift in British public opinion regarding immigration.³⁰ Yet at the turn of the century, public attention was focussed on the importation of trachoma and a close link was established between this disease and Jewish immigration for which there was 'no epidemiological basis'.³¹ Rather, trachoma had been identified by physicians and port authorities in the United States and subsequently became the subject of press sensation in Britain. As Malgen has observed, trachoma was almost entirely a 'concept' of a disease that had been imported from the United States. 'It became a symbol of Britain's reception of immigrants rejected from America, and an evocative image of 'undesirability' to be used by the anti-alien campaign.'³²

Despite the small number of migrants found to be carrying the disease, the popular press made frequent reference to Jewish immigrants returned from the United States as 'bleary eyed' trachoma sufferers and the fear of disease became an effective means through which to articulate anxiety over immigration to a wider audience.³³ The popular press also made general observations regarding migrant health that often borrowed from eugenicist discourses regarding degeneration. For instance, the *Daily Express* re-published criticism from the *Lancet* that had visited a Hackney children's hospital and discovered that the majority of patients were Jewish. Although this was primarily due to geographical location, the newspaper took large numbers of Jews as evidence for a significant defect in the Jewish condition.³⁴

²⁹ 'ANARCHISM IN ENGLAND', The *Daily Mail* 11 September (1901), p.5

³⁰ See: Merkl, H. *Quarantine! East European Jewish Immigrants and the New York Epidemics of 1892* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1997)

³¹ Malgen, K. 'Importing Trachoma: The Introduction into Britain of American Ideas of an "Immigrant Disease"', 1892-1906' in *Immigrants and Minorities* 23, 1 (March, 2005), p.80

³² Ibid. p.96

³³ The trachoma scare became particularly apparent in the lead up to the passing of the Aliens Act. See for example: 'DISEASED ALIENS: SOME FIGURES FOR THE DEBATE TODAY', The *Daily Mail* 18 April (1905), p.5

³⁴ Marks has argued that Jews were in relatively good health and were resilient to many diseases common to the native population. See: Marks, L. *Model Mothers: Jewish Mothers and Maternity Provision in East London, 1870-1939* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994). However, more recent scholarship has questioned this assumption and asserted that while Jews were not as unhealthy as anti-alienists made out; the evidence

Indeed, degeneration accompanied by wider anxieties regarding national efficiency became particularly significant in relation to the general ethos of the popular press and its treatment of the alien question.³⁵ The dawn of the twentieth century had seen great uncertainty regarding Britain's imperial status and as a result issues relating to urbanisation and foreign competition became the source of great social concern.³⁶ A realisation in the lack of synchrony between the mid-Victorian rhetoric of progress and the reality of widespread poverty amongst the urban poor therefore greatly influenced British public opinion.

Although attempts to locate and alleviate the causes of East End poverty had been a predominant feature of nineteenth century social reform, the new century saw the emergence of an increasing number of anxieties regarding the impoverished condition of the working-class. As with the alien, the representation of the urban poor was also similarly motivated by insecurities surrounding the threat of anarchy, revolution, criminality, prostitution, disease, and mental illness.³⁷ Yet in the circumstance of fears regarding increased immigration, the alien became the scapegoat for anxieties that were equally applicable to the degradation experienced by the native urban population.

For example, the *Daily Mail* had referred to the end of the nineteenth century as the loss of a 'golden age' through which a nostalgic and idyllic perception of pre-industrial Britain had been replaced by the development of large towns and cities that had 'spread like a cancer'.³⁸ The newspaper remarked that the nation was now dependent on 'foreigners', and that 'the dead century has been the loss of much that the England of today would gladly regain'.³⁹ Within this context, eugenicist discourse became far more

for Jewish good health is mixed. Harris, B. 'Anti-Alienism, Health and Social reform in Late Victorian and Edwardian Britain' in *Patterns of Prejudice*, 31, 4 (1997), pp.3-34

³⁵ See: Pick, D. *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder 1848-1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), Searle, G. *The Quest for National Efficiency: A Study in British Politics and Political Thought, 1899-1914* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971) and Searle, G. *Eugenics and Politics in Britain, 1900-1914* (Leyden: Noordhoff International Publishers, 1976)

³⁶ 'EFFICIENCY AND EMPIRE', The *Daily Express* 26 March (1901), p.4

³⁷ See: Dyos, H. J. & Wolff, M. (eds.) *The Victorian City: Images and Realities (2 Vols)* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1973), Keating, P. (ed.) *Into Unknown England, 1866-1913: Selections from the Social Explorers* (Glasgow: Fontana/Collins, 1976), Davies, G. 'Foreign Bodies: Images of the London Working Class at the End of the Nineteenth Century' in *Literature and History*, 14 (1) (Spring, 1988) and Walkowitz, J. R. *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (London: University of Chicago, 1992)

³⁸ 'THE TWENTIETH CENTURY', The *Daily Mail* 31 December (1900), p.4

³⁹ Ibid. p.4

prominent in articulating fears regarding increased immigration. The popular press therefore perceived aliens to be physically unfit, stunted by their urban environment and highly susceptible to disease. As Arnold White commented in the *Daily Express* on his return from Eastern Europe, 'I saw men and women suffering and dying together. Cases of cancer, puerperal fever, Bright's disease, meningitis, fracture, amputation, tumour, and fever [...] irrespective of age or sex'.⁴⁰

In addition, overcrowding and a lack of accommodation became central to the treatment of the alien by the popular press. By the turn of the century, a number of issues relating to slum clearance had led to a severe decrease in available housing in the East End and the construction of residential dwellings to replace those demolished had often provided less living space.⁴¹ Reconstruction also had the undesired effect of contributing towards the overcrowding problem by replacing a large proportion of housing with factories and workhouses.⁴² The tendency for migrants to combine home and workshop also contributed towards concerns regarding sanitation. The growing alien presence was therefore an irritant to an existing problem.⁴³

Indeed, immigrants increased the demand on housing and their capacity to pay higher rents and tolerate lower living standards pushed up existing rent prices and created native displacement. Consequently, the popular press was justified in making accusations regarding the effects of alien immigration and in the context of the *Royal Commission* published extracts of the evidence presented before committee. However, the popular press focussed on the more derogatory aspects of the housing shortage and exaggerated the issue by the frequency with which it was reported.⁴⁴ The popular press regularly commented on the alien practice of 'key-money', where migrants secured

⁴⁰ 'THE WORLD'S RIFF-RAFF: SEVEN REASONS FOR RESTRICTIONS, A NATIONAL EVIL, CONTINENTAL SYSTEM THE ONLY REMEDY', The *Daily Express* 15 January (1903), p.1

⁴¹ For example, railway development from the mid-Victorian period and the Cross Act (1875) displaced 9,000 people between 1875 and 1899. In addition, the Boundary Street scheme in Bethnal Green displaced 5,719 tenants of which only 11 were re-housed in replacement flats. Gainer, B. *The Alien Invasion: The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905*, pp.36-37

⁴² See: Stedman Jones, G. *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between Classes in Victorian Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp.159-178 and Feldman, D. *Englishman and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture, 1840-1914*, pp.172-184

⁴³ Gainer, B. *The Alien Invasion: The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905*, pp.37-38

⁴⁴ As Gainer has observed in relation to overcrowding and displacement, 'the immediacy of the problem and its emotional overtones led to attacks on the alien out of all measure.' Gainer, B. *The Alien Invasion: The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905*, p.44

residences before previous occupants had vacated accommodation. As the *Daily Express* remarked, 'in ten houses, with fifty-one rooms, 254 persons were living. The payment of "key-money" was general. When a man heard that the tenant of a house was leaving he would pay money to that tenant to have the key of the house, and so secure priority of application to the landlord'.⁴⁵

Overcrowding and the lack of accommodation also led to more general accusations regarding displacement. Although allegations regarding the spread of unsanitary conditions were common, the *Daily Mail* made particular reference to a rapid decline in 'Englishness' and the replacement of natives by a growing foreign presence. The newspaper remarked, 'gone are the English faces, gone is the familiar cockney accent. Strong bold faces, with keen eyes and noses that are sometimes fat and sometimes hooked, replace the one; Yiddish, Polish, Russian, or at best broken English replaces the other'.⁴⁶ The *Daily Mail*, however, failed to note the more optimistic aspects of displacement and that Jews had been responsible for the elimination of a large native criminal contingent.⁴⁷ For the popular press, the foreign element in London was simply perceived to be a negative component of the metropolis and one that was believed to be rapidly expanding.⁴⁸

Concerns in relation to labour displacement and the undercutting of native earnings also became a far more prominent feature of anti-alien discourse. While this had been the principal accusation regarding fears over mass migration during the Russian persecutions, apprehension was immediately given a different emphasis by the popular press. Anxiety was now regularly presented as an accepted truth alongside other issues that were perceived to contain an element of authenticity.⁴⁹ As the *Daily Express* remarked, 'the alien poison is responsible for a vast proportion of the miseries that oppress the native population [...] by their willingness to "pig" together with an entire

⁴⁵ 'THE "PECULIAR" ALIEN: WHY THERE ARE HIGH RENTS, LOW WAGES, AND CRIME', The *Daily Express* 9 December (1902), p.5

⁴⁶ 'THE CENSUS IN ODD CORNERS: Numbering John Bull's Strange Citizen's' The *Daily Mail*, 29 March 1901, p.7

⁴⁷ Gainer, B. *The Alien Invasion: The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905*, pp.52-53

⁴⁸ 'THE NEW JERUSALEM: THE HEBREW INVASION OF BENFLEET', The *Daily Mail* 2 November (1897), p.7 and 'ALIEN INVADERS: UNDESIRABLES TREKKING INTO NEW DISTRICTS, COURTS BUSY AGAIN', The *Daily Express* 9 February (1903), p.3

⁴⁹ 'THE PECULIAR ALIEN: WHY THERE ARE HIG RENTS, LOW WAGES, AND CRIME', The *Daily Express* 9 December (1902), p.5

disregard of sanitation, and to take hopelessly low remuneration for their work, they drag down self-respecting English people towards their own wretched level'.⁵⁰

As with accusations regarding the spread of disease, labour competition lacked a basis of truth and was subject to severe misrepresentation by the frequency with which it was reported.⁵¹ It was the continued existence of small-scale production and the structure of the casual labour market that was principally responsible for employment instability, to which migrants and natives were both susceptible. London's status as a finishing centre also meant that production revolved around a small number of key industries that did not necessitate an advanced system of industrial production. Manufacturing was therefore sub-divided amongst small workshops, where the sweating system allowed contractors to increase profits with minimum overheads. Within this environment there was intense competition, yet sweated labour did not compete with the native to the extent claimed by the popular press. While some workers inevitably lost work through foreign competition, the sweated trades were not responsible for mass labour displacement.⁵²

The popular press's development of a more hostile and sensational approach towards the alien question also consisted of the constant denial of any prejudice towards Jewish immigration. The public expression of antisemitism was deemed unacceptable and anti-alienists such as Lowther, White and Evans-Gordon constantly asserted that their campaign was not aimed at the 'Jewish' race.⁵³ Despite the heightened tension regarding the representation of the alien, the popular press was adamant that animosity was not directed against any migrant group on the basis of racial origin. As the *Daily Mail* remarked, 'we do not mention this because of any prejudice against any nationality, but because it is a well-established fact that immigrants of this class are not to be found an

⁵⁰ MATTERS OF THE MOMENT: 'Undesirables', The *Daily Express* 23 December (1902), p.4

⁵¹ As Gainer has asserted, 'the sweating system was a smokescreen, blinding East End tailors and bookmakers to the immigrants' true position'. See: Gainer, B. *The Alien Invasion: The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905*, pp.23-30, Gartner, L. *The Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870-1914* 3rd Edition and Garrard, J. *The English and Immigration, 1880-1910*, pp.50-51

⁵² Feldman has controversially argued against the widespread view that migrant labour did not compete with native labour. He sees the 'sweated' trades as an area of manufacturing that was dependent on 'pandemic economic warfare' that included much rivalry between Jews and the native workforce. While it is likely that more competition existed than that acknowledged by the earlier historians, alien competition did not occur to the extent cited by the popular press. Feldman, D. *Englishman and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture, 1840-1914*, pp.185-214

⁵³ Garrard, J. *The English and Immigration, 1880-1910*, p.63

addition to the economic resources of the country, and they very seldom arrive in any other condition other than that of pauperism'.⁵⁴

However, the popular press appeared unaware of the contradictory nature of its treatment of the alien question. Despite the claim that immigrants were physically inferior, the popular press consistently acknowledged the alien's ability to survive on a level of subsistence that would cause starvation amongst the native population. The popular press also often credited the alien as being physically superior. The *Daily Express* remarked on the medical report of a Leeds practitioner who had compared the health of 300 Jewish children with 300 Gentile children and found that children of migrants were generally better nourished. The newspaper stated that, 'while Christian boys of twelve averaged 77 lbs each, and in a poor district 67lbs each, poor Jewish boys of the same age averaged 85lbs'.⁵⁵

The advent of the popular press therefore had a profound impact on the representation of the alien. Negative reporting greatly increased in frequency and the alien became defined by a limited number of tropes that were mutually reinforcing. While the more established newspapers of the mid-nineteenth century had previously made numerous indictments against the alien, the popular press and its more sensational style of 'New Journalism' brought the anti-alien campaign to a far more prominent level of public opinion. In addition, the more hostile treatment of the alien was also accompanied by pictorial representation that had become a prominent feature of the popular press' preoccupation with sensation and entertainment. Through the use of cartoons and caricatures the popular press brought submerged prejudices to the forefront of the anti-alien campaign. As Wohl has asserted, 'the symbolism and iconography they employed drew on, and so perpetuated, extremely hostile stereotypes [...] They employed imagery to convey what some scholars regard as essential components of a far more virulent and ominous form of antisemitism'.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ 'Alien Paupers', The *Daily Mail*, 5 August (1900), p.4

⁵⁵ 'THE INFERIOR GENTILE: JEWISH BOYS LEAD IN WEIGHT AND HEIGHT', The *Daily Express* 4 May (1904), p.5

⁵⁶ Wohl, A. "'Ben JuJu': Representations of Disraeli's Jewishness in the Victorian Political Cartoon' in Endelman, T. and Kushner, T. (eds.) *Disraeli's Jewishness* (London and Portland: Valentine Mitchell: 2002), p.141

Pictorial Representation and Alien Immigration

Since its inception as the first mass circulation half-penny daily newspaper, the *Daily Mail* had incorporated the use of pictorial representation alongside articles that attempted a more sensational form of social investigation.⁵⁷ Yet in a period when the newspaper was still developing its journalistic style, the *Daily Mail* initially appeared much less committed to the idea of restrictive legislation. Consequently, the newspaper's early articles varied in tone and content, occasionally incorporating hostile assumptions alongside more compassionate and temperate accounts of alien settlement in London.

For example, figure 2 purported to be a 'scientific' and objective physiognomic investigation into national character that incorporated a particularly hostile view of the 'typical' Jewish immigrant. The *Daily Mail* openly remarked that the 'Jewish nose, more especially of the lower sections of the race, with its characteristic "hook," is a sign of selfishness. That the Jews are shrewd, clever, with brains built for business, but also hard and pitiless in their greed for gold, is distinctively indicated by the large incurving nose'.⁵⁸ However, the newspaper also appeared sympathetic towards the alien and showed impartiality in early depictions of the Jewish East End. Whitechapel was initially described positively, as a place of working-class respectability in which native and Jew lived amicably. As the *Daily Mail* observed, 'the costermonger glanced upwards from his volume of 'British Battles' to exchange a gracious nod with a rich Hebrew clothier opposite, who was reading 'The Sea Power in History.' All was clean, orderly and well-lighted. And this was Whitechapel'.⁵⁹

Nevertheless, despite this initial ambivalence, the *Daily Mail's* pictorial representations consistently made use of the image of a particular 'Jewish' type. These representations differentiated Jews on account of their physical appearance in which the characteristic hook previously noted to be a 'sign of selfishness' became a recurring feature of the Jew's body. This image had a long historical association with Jews and

⁵⁷ See: Hughes, C. 'Imperialism, Illustration, and the *Daily Mail*, 1896-1904' in Harris, M. and A. Lee (eds.) *The Press in English Society from the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries* (London: Associated University Press, 1986), pp.187-200

⁵⁸ 'VALUE OF A GOOD NOSE: HOW A MAN'S NATIONALITY AND WORTH MAY BE DISCOVERED', *The Daily Mail* 17 August (1897), p.7

⁵⁹ 'WAY DOWN EAST: Whitechapel not at all What Most People Think It' *The Daily Mail*, May 6 (1896), p.7

was related to a number of negative physiognomic assumptions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.⁶⁰ As Sander Gilman has remarked, 'the nose was one of the central loci of difference in seeing the Jew'.⁶¹

The popular press also made frequent use of a particularly negative representation of the 'Jewish' pronunciation of English that frequently accompanied pictorial representations. Jewish immigrants were typically presented as a source of amusement, and the *Daily Mail* recounted one story of a vendor trying to present his clothes as those once belonging to a member of the Royal family. “‘Vot’ he cried, ‘vash der chentleman think he can puy the Prince of Wales’s overcoat for five shilling? But there-if der chentlemen makes it half a sovereign, the new spring overcoat is his.’⁶²



Figure 1 – 'STRANGERS WITHIN OUR GATES: The Foreign Quarters of London', The *Daily Mail* 18 February (1897), p.7

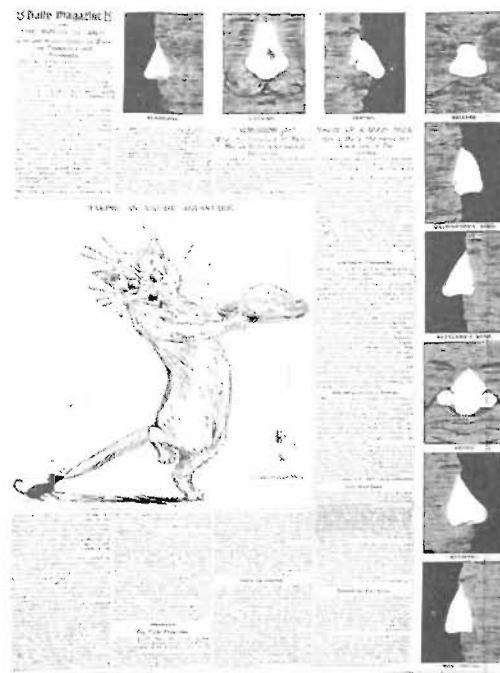


Figure 2 – 'VALUE OF A GOOD NOSE: How a Man's Nationality and Worth May be Discovered', The *Daily Mail* 17 August (1897), p.7

⁶⁰ See: Felsenstein, F. *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes: A Paradigm of Otherness in English Popular Culture, 1660-1830* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995)

⁶¹ Gilman, S. *The Jew's Body* (New York and London: Routledge, 1991), p.180

⁶² 'THEIR BUSY DAY: Where a Thriving Trade will be Driven To-Morrow', The *Daily Mail*, May 16th 1896, p.7



Figure 3 – 'THE NEW JERUSALEM: The Hebrew Invasion of Benfleet', The *Daily Mail* 2 November (1897), p.7



Figure 4 – 'AT A JEWISH PLAY': An East-end Performance in Yiddish', The *Daily Mail* 27 November (1897), p.7



Figure 5 – 'UNDESIRABLE IMPORTS', The *Daily Express* 20 November (1901), p.4



Figure 6 – 'ANOTHER OPEN DOOR', The *Daily Express* 26 November (1901), p.4

This 'Yiddish' inflection was commonly used when Jews were either conducting business or taking part in legal proceedings. It was consistently employed to illustrate a certain resourcefulness and cunning, and was strongly associated with negative assumptions regarding a specific Jewish physiognomy. Jewish immigrants were therefore differentiated visually and linguistically. Although the *Daily Mail* was initially ambivalent in its approach to the alien question, its pictorial representations exposed a certain fixed view of the Jew that increasingly came to the surface in the context of heightened tension regarding the implementation of the Aliens Act.

Likewise, the *Daily Express* similarly made use of pictorial representation and often incorporated the image of John Bull to assert a particular notion of Englishness and confirm support for restriction.⁶³ The image of John Bull was attractive to the newspaper because it crossed class divisions and could be easily identified by a wide audience.⁶⁴ As Surel has remarked, 'the arrival of John Bull in satirical drawings signified the recognition of a social diversity which the unitary and nationalist symbolic system had previously completely failed to take into account'.⁶⁵ The image of a plump, wealthy and forthright Englishman therefore drew on assumptions regarding the nation that could be readily identified by the reader and incorporated into pictorial representations to distinguish the 'otherness' of the alien.

For example, figure 5 associated the entry of aliens with protectionism which the newspaper officially endorsed in 1903.⁶⁶ The image also underlined many established accusations against the alien. The stout John Bull represented the national wealth of a people bursting with food, while the aliens were depicted as destitute, famished and

⁶³ The text to Figure 5 reads, 'In view of the fact that so much undesirable riff-raff and the pauper sediment of other countries are sifting on to our shores, isn't it about time for John Bull to stop giving them the welcome hand.' Figure 6 followed a week later, with John Bull asserting 'I think it's about time I closed it.'

⁶⁴ John Bull had been a long standing feature of the satirical periodical *Punch*.

⁶⁵ See: Surel, J. 'John Bull' in Samuel, R. (ed.) *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity Vol. 3* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), p.10

⁶⁶ Arthur Pearson (proprietor and editor, 1900-1901) claimed that the *Daily Express* was independent. However, the newspaper was instinctively hostile towards alien immigration and in 1903 threw itself behind Joseph Chamberlain's drive for Tariff Reform. Person was also made Chairman of the Tariff Reform League. See: Koss, S. *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain Vol. 2* (London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1984), pp.22-23

physically inferior.⁶⁷ In addition, one of the aliens symbolised the common assumption that immigrants were anarchists, clutching a suitcase clearly labelled 'dynamite', while another held a bag labelled 'microbes', signifying the long-established accusation regarding disease. A third immigrant was illustrated pick-pocketing John Bull which made the additional claim that aliens were criminals stealing from the national wealth. The image was made more powerful by the seemingly endless line of immigrants entering the country and the additional claim that John Bull was welcoming the aliens, much to their own bemusement. The alien was therefore provocatively represented to be hoodwinking the English over their natural generosity.

Published a week later, figure 6 depicted John Bull shutting the 'open door' to unrestricted immigration. As with the first illustration, this image aligned the alien campaign with protectionism by asserting that the failure to legislate was 'ANOTHER OPEN DOOR'. These images therefore underlined the *Daily Express*' attitude towards both types of restriction prior to Pearson's official endorsement of protectionism. Pictorial representation was therefore able to depict the issues raised by anti-alien discourse in simplistic terms and to a wide audience, not necessarily capable of a high level of literacy. Consequently, visual imagery became a powerful means of communication in the struggle for the Aliens Act.

Indeed, the illustrations brought crude attitudes regarding 'Jewishness' to the forefront of the alien question and suggest, as Wohl has underlined, 'that there was, just beneath the surface of liberal England, a large reservoir of inherited, long-standing prejudices and images to reinforce them'.⁶⁸ In addition, the caricatures incorporated stereotypes that allowed the expression of prejudice as a means of entertainment and amusement that enabled newspapers to articulate strong hostilities more innocently than when written in reports and articles. The style of the line drawings also gave the images direct impact and allowed the representation of powerful prejudices that were easily absorbed and understood by the reader.

⁶⁷ Surel has remarked that the image of John Bull was often used to substantiate the myth of a 'well-fed, prosperous English race, gorged on beef and good beer.' This caricature was previously used to contrast a superior image of the English against caricatures of supposed inferior national types; most notably, the Scottish, Irish and French. See: Surel, J. 'John Bull', p.8

⁶⁸ Wohl, A. "'Ben JuJu': Representations of Disraeli's Jewishness in the Victorian Political Cartoon', p.106

These images were, however, also often accompanied by a more investigative style of journalism that had been less common in the more established newspapers of the nineteenth century. The *Daily Express*' publication of a prospective Aliens Bill had been preceded by an investigation that sensationalised the alien question by representing anxieties in a particularly hostile manner (see figure 7). The text of this article was headed and footed by two maps that showed the number of aliens entering the country in a typical month and their geographical dispersion across London. These images were connected by illustrations of immigrants disembarking at the docks (implicitly referring to Jews by placing two images of 'hooked nose' migrants at the top of the picture), and a caricatured diagram comparing the numbers of nationalities currently resident within the city (Russian migrants shown to be almost twice that of the second largest migrant group.)

The text of the article underlined most of the fears associated with increased immigration. The article opened by heightening concerns over rising alien numbers and made direct references to the nation as John Bull. 'Every year sees John Bull's shadowy alien population attaining vaster proportions. Ten years ago the alien element was inconsiderable, to-day it is an alarming menace.'⁶⁹ The article progressed by asserting that a true statistical representation of London's alien population was inconceivable, as many aliens attempted to disguise their identity by anglicising their names. In a direct affront on the former Jewish liberal MP, Samuel Montagu, the *Daily Express* remarked that, 'the difficulty in estimating the numbers will be seen when it is remembered that many of the aliens take elaborate pains to disguise their nationality [...] Samuel Moses becomes Samuel Montagu, and dozens of similar devices are employed'.⁷⁰

The article progressed by underlining that it held no particular bias against any racial group and that the newspaper was primarily concerned with the general 'influx' of all aliens. However, the article was evidently aimed at Jews and the 'hooked' nose image was accompanied by textual references towards East European Jewish immigrants. 'Of all offending countries Russia is the worst. Last month we received 837 more of the lowest class of Russian Jew, and it is these people who will work for nothing, exist on

⁶⁹ 'ALIEN UNDESIRABLES', The *Daily Express* 21 January (1903), p.6

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* p.6

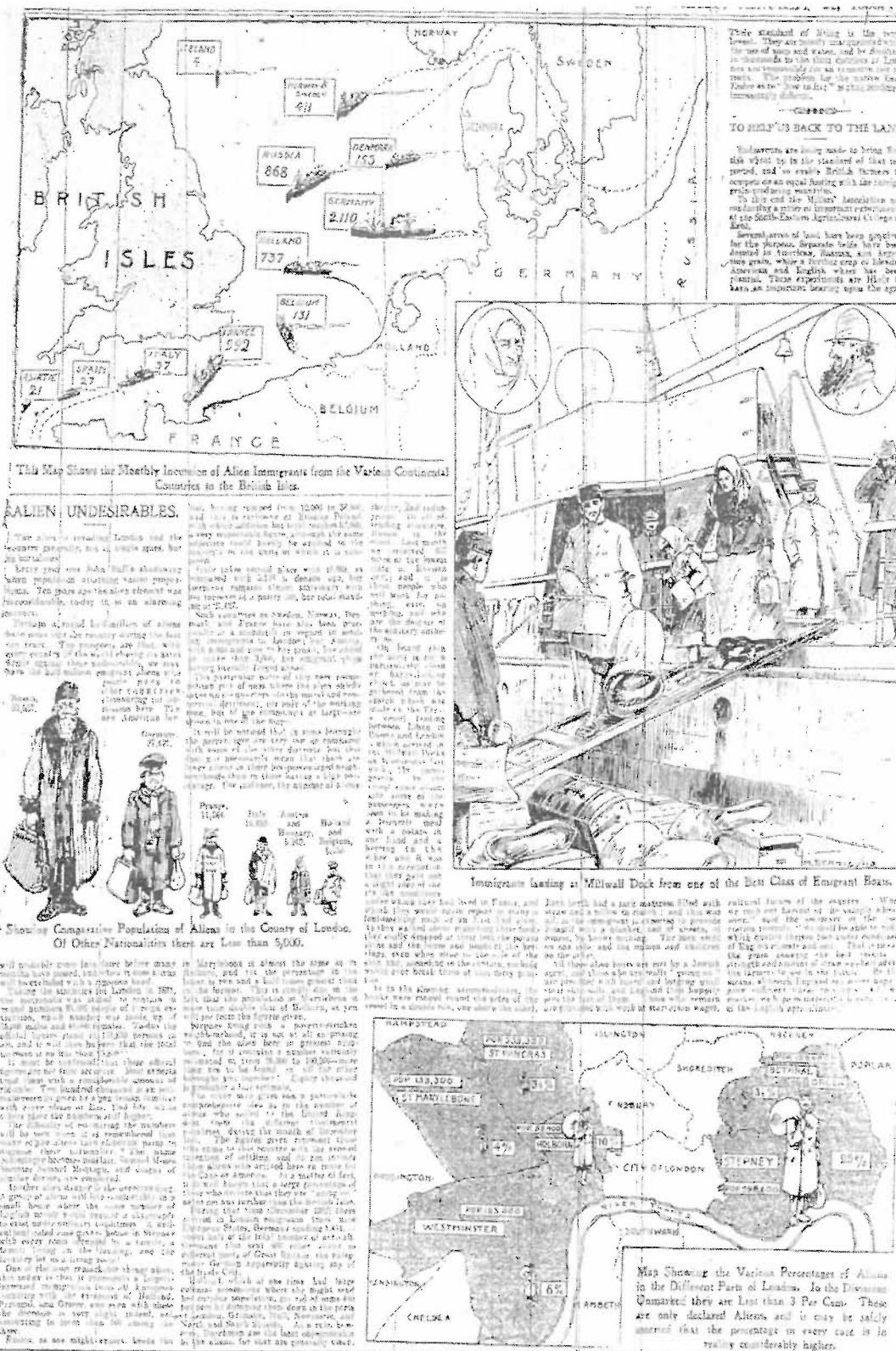


Figure 7 – 'ALIEN UNDESIRABLES', *The Daily Express* 21 January (1903), p.6

nothing, and who are the despair of the sanitary authorities'.⁷¹ These investigations frequently gave onboard descriptions of alien behaviour, using the cramped and unsanitary conditions of the steamship as evidence for the unhygienic and overcrowded conditions that persisted in the East End. 'They gave one a slight idea of the sty-like conditions under which they had lived in Russia, and which they would again repeat in many a foul-smelling room in the East End slum'.⁷²

The introduction of pictorial representation alongside a more sensational style of investigative journalism therefore accompanied increased hostility towards the alien in the popular press. Aliens were stereotyped as 'Jews' through characterisations that drew on recognised negative physiognomic assumptions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Although these assumptions claimed to contain a 'scientific' basis, they had strong links to a more aggressive and derogative antisemitic image that stemmed from the Middle-Ages and had continued under various guises into the late nineteenth century.⁷³ Prior to the Kishinev massacre, developments in the newspaper press therefore had a profound impact on the representation of the alien. In the subsequent struggle for the implementation of the Aliens Act these factors combined to create a more hostile and unsympathetic attitude towards alien immigration.

The 'Kishineff' Massacre and British Public Opinion

(i) The Limits of Public Opinion

The Kishinev massacre, like previous reporting of Russian anti-Jewish violence, was initially surrounded by controversy regarding the authenticity of press reports. Early articles lacked detailed accounts and appeared speculative over the exact occurrence of events and the number of Jews harmed in violent assaults. The *Jewish Chronicle* was outraged that the *Westminster Gazette* had published Russian accounts of the riots that had suggested that Jews were the instigators of violence. The *Standard* was also once again criticised for its mistaken assumption regarding the freedom of Jews to reside and travel throughout the Russian empire. The *Jewish Chronicle* remarked that 'here is

⁷¹ Ibid. p.6

⁷² Ibid. p.6

⁷³ See: Felsenstein, F. *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes: A Paradigm of Otherness in English Popular Culture, 1660-1830*, pp.257-259

another pitiful commentary on the “no persecution” theory. A few months ago a writer in the *Standard* was declaring that the whole of Russia was open to all *bona fide* Jewish merchants and artisans, and that “the only class excluded is... the Jew of the Polish pale”.⁷⁴

Early reports of Kishinev cited that twenty-five Jews had been killed and that two hundred and seventy five Jews had been wounded, while later accounts remarked that between seventy and one hundred and twenty Jews had suffered death as a result of anti-Jewish violence.⁷⁵ Despite the *Standard*’s previous errors in relation to the legal status of East European Jewry, the newspaper was the first to embark upon an in-depth examination of the riots from the perspective of a special correspondent that had witnessed the immediate aftermath of the massacre. In addition to commenting on the number of Jews dead and injured, this report underlined the inaction of the military and the immense devastation caused to Jewish property. ‘Altogether, some two thousand four hundred shops, magazines, stores, and booths were wrecked, and the windows of private houses, public buildings, banks, and commercial offices were wholly or partially shattered.’⁷⁶

The *Standard* noted that violence was primarily due to the ‘uncivilised’ and ignorant fanaticism of the ‘orthodox Slav’, motivated by a need to avenge the crucifixion by persecuting the Jewish population. The newspaper also remarked upon the manipulation of the lower classes by local industrialists that wished to discredit the central and local authorities in order to foment political change. ‘There is just as little doubt, however, that the popular tumult against the Jews was engineered by the organisers of the politically disaffected secret associations of the Russian industrial classes, whose ramifications are taking root all over the country.’⁷⁷ Other newspapers

⁷⁴ ‘Officials v. the Tsar’, *The Jewish Chronicle* 8 May (1903), p.19

⁷⁵ The *Daily Chronicle* originally cited the number of Jews killed to be twenty five, whereas the *St James’s Gazette* later revised the figure to be seventy, while the *Morning Leader* quoted one hundred and twenty victims. ‘ANTI-SEMITIC RIOT IN RUSSIA’, *The Daily Chronicle* 24 April (1903), p.6 and ‘An Easter Outbreak’, *The St James’s Gazette* 1 May (1903), p.4. The official number dead is now determined to be 47-49 killed, 92 wounded and 500 slightly wounded. See: Lambroza, S. ‘The Pogroms of 1903-1906’, p.191

⁷⁶ ‘THE JEWS IN RUSSIA: THE RIOTS AT KISCHINEFF, BRUTALITY OF THE MOB, ORIGIN OF THE OUTBREAK’, *The Standard* 1 May (1903), p.4

⁷⁷ ‘THE JEWS IN RUSSIA: THE RIOTS AT KISCHINEFF, BRUTALITY OF THE MOB, ORIGIN OF THE OUTBREAK’, *The Standard* 1 May (1903), p.4

made less detailed accusations regarding the mass expulsion of Jews from Kieff and expressed fear that the Russian internal political situation was becoming increasingly severe.⁷⁸

Indeed, the Kishinev massacre differed from previous acts of persecution in terms of Russia's internal socio-political situation. At the turn of the century the Tsarist empire was in a state of extreme conflict where high levels of unemployment were rising and the destitute peasant and working classes had begun expressing discontent through organised demonstrations and political strikes. Poor harvests served to heighten existing tensions and although anti-Jewish violence had not occurred *en masse* since 1881, the outbreak at Kishinev was exceptionally violent and had rekindled the old fears of East European Jewry.

The local newspaper, *Bessarabets*, with a circulation of 29,000, had also published articles accusing Jews of exploitation, political subversion, and ritual murder. Headlines called for 'Death to all Jews!' and to 'Let all *Zyds* be massacred!'.⁷⁹ During the spring of 1903, anti-Jewish sentiment worsened and the death of a young Christian boy provided the catalyst to insight mobs to riot. Despite police reports clearly stating that there were no signs of ritual murder, *Bessarabets* claimed that wounds to the boy's body showed signs of a Jewish ritual sacrifice. The suicide of a young Christian girl employed by a Jewish family also led to further rumours of ritual murder. Amongst a superstitious peasantry and an unenlightened proletariat, accusations by *Bessarabets* aggravated an extremely sensitive issue.

The daily press was immediately aware that Kishinev differed from previous outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence. The *St James's Gazette* remarked that 'as fuller information filters through to Western Europe, it becomes evident that the anti-Jewish riots which took place at Old Easter at Kishineff in South Russia, were of a singularly brutal and violent description'.⁸⁰ Likewise, newspapers were aware of the confusing behaviour of the more affluent classes that were reported to have taken a particularly

⁷⁸ See: 'AGITATION IN RUSSIA', The *Morning Post* 1 May (1903), p.8, 'THE MASSACRE OF JEWS IN RUSSIA', The *Daily Chronicle* 1 May (1903), p.5 and 'UNREST IN RUSSIA: INCREASING GRAVITY, OUTRAGES IN JEWS', The *Daily Telegraph* 1 May (1903), p10

⁷⁹ Dubnow, S. *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland: From the Earliest Times until the Present Day* Vol 2 (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1920), p.71.

⁸⁰ 'An Easter Outbreak', The *St James's Gazette* 1 May (1903), p.4

keen interest in the actions of the *pogromshchiki*. The *Daily News* stated that, 'a strange feature of the riot was the behaviour of the better class of the population, who drove about in carriages, watching with intent to which they would devote to a curious spectacle, the acts of savagery which were being perpetrated by the mob'.⁸¹

Despite the attention given to Kishinev by the more established newspapers of the nineteenth century, the popular press was notably reticent in its coverage of the Kishinev massacre. Although the *Daily Mail* sympathised with the suffering that took place and expressed concern that the incident looked likely to recur, the popular press was far less concerned with the persecution of East European Jewry. Popular newspapers appeared preoccupied with increased immigration as well as the pursuit of greater circulation generated by sensational reports linked to support for restrictive legislation. As a consequence, less emphasis was placed upon factors that were likely to draw sympathy towards the plight of refugees. The delimitation of the public sphere and the pursuit of mass circulation also meant the popular press was far less concerned with elevating the readership in moral protest on behalf of East European Jewry.

For example, the *Daily Express* acknowledged that the Kishinev riots were 'of a very serious character'.⁸² Yet the newspaper published significantly less material concerned with outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence compared to the more traditional newspapers of the nineteenth century. Although articles appeared reliable and authoritative, the newspaper tended to focus on the more sensational details of violence, neglecting wider concerns regarding the condition of East European Jewry. As more accurate reports reached Britain, the *Daily Express* also focussed on the more 'barbaric' and 'savage' events of the pogrom. The newspaper remarked of the victims that 'many of the bodies were unrecognisable, as the skull and jaws had been shattered, the nose and the teeth broken, and the eyes driven in'.⁸³ The more sensational and 'brutal' acts therefore took precedence over concerns regarding the prospect of further anti-Jewish violence.

⁸¹ 'ANTI-JEWISH RIOTS: TERRIBLE SCENES', *The Daily News* 4 May (1903), p.5

⁸² 'RUSSIAN RIOTS: MANY KILLED IN ANTI-SEMITIC AFFRAY', *The Daily Express* 27 April (1903), p.1

⁸³ 'LUCKLESS JEWS: EXPELLED BY POLICE, MURDERED BY MOB', *The Daily Express* 1 May (1903), p.5

Although every newspaper emphasised the 'brutal' nature of the Kishinev massacre, the more established newspapers tended to follow such expressions by incorporating genuine apprehension over the difficulties confronting East European Jewry. The *Daily Telegraph* accounted for a carpenter that had both his hands sawn off with his own saw, while the *Daily News* detailed instances of the degradation of Jewish women and children. However, these accounts were usually followed by genuine distress for the Jewish community. As the *Daily News* remarked, 'general panic today prevails in the town, and anxiety is written on nearly every face. Troops are patrolling the different quarters with the object of preventing possible disturbances'.⁸⁴ 'Brutal' violence was therefore used to raise concern for the plight of East European Jewry and was not solely a means of sensation. Likewise, the *Jewish Chronicle* was forthright in its concern for East European Jewry. 'Our one thought must be the tens of thousands of Jews who have been reduced to beggary. Thousands are wandering homeless about the streets and hundreds are permanently disabled and will never again be able to do a stroke of work. There are many hundreds of widows and orphans who are utterly destitute'.⁸⁵

It was now taken for granted amongst all sections of the daily press that anti-Jewish violence and legislation contributed towards an increase in Jewish immigration. In the aftermath of Kishinev, the *Pall Mall Gazette* observed that 'the treatment of the Jews in Russia, as in Roumania, is a matter of very real importance to this country [...] if, in her efforts to exterminate them she terrifies them into flight, it is, as we know by experience, to this country that they will, very largely, flee'.⁸⁶ Whereas the link between persecution and migration had previously been more tenuous and expressed as a fear regarding the potential mass movement of Jews, the severity of violence witnessed at Kishinev made the long-term consequences of Russian persecution far more palpable. The increase in hostile attention given to the alien by the popular press also contributed towards the heightening of the alleged negative consequences regarding immigration, while rumours of the expulsion of Jews from Kieff enhanced the possibility of a mass

⁸⁴ 'KISHINEFF MASSACRE: EIGHT HUNDRED ARRESTS', The *Daily News* 9 May (1903), p.5

⁸⁵ 'THE OUTRAGES AT KISCHINEFF', The *Jewish Chronicle* 15 May (1903), p.9

⁸⁶ 'ISRAEL IN ENGLAND', The *Pall Mall Gazette* 13 May (1903), p.2

'influx' of East European Jewry. As the *Daily Chronicle* stated, 'poor Jewish families, numbering, it is estimated several thousand, have left the town'.⁸⁷

Unlike previous responses to outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence, however, the daily press did not immediately appeal for a public remonstration on behalf of East European Jewry. This failure to provide an immediate platform to engage public opinion in the expression of moral indignation was partly due to limited knowledge regarding the certainty of events. Yet the daily press had not previously been so restrained in moral protestation against the Russian authorities. In relation to previous uncertainty regarding the *Times*' accusations regarding Russian legislation (1890), most sections of the daily press had not been deterred in making indictments against the central government. Allegations were also often based upon Russophobic assumptions regarding the veracity of foreign correspondence, where a broad cross section of the daily press had resorted to a fixed perception of Russia as 'backward', 'savage', and 'barbarian'.

The daily press was therefore much more restrained in its response to the Kishinev massacre. The *Daily News* was the first newspaper to print more outright accusations regarding government culpability, but only did so through the publication of reports by a Jewish survivor. This article attributed the outbreak of violence to a governmental conspiracy that was now attempting 'to try to hush them up'.⁸⁸ The testimony also made the more controversial claim that Kishinev had been directly organised by the central government. 'The cardinal and most important fact of the whole tragic event is that the massacre was organised and abetted by the Russian Government itself. This fact is now as clear as daylight.'⁸⁹ In addition, the testimony made reference to a second witness that asserted that the Governor of Bessarabia had deliberately failed to permit military intervention. 'The Governor during the two days did not leave his house. No telegrams were allowed to be sent to St Petersburg. The police and military, standing as onlookers, were encouraging and enticing the brigands'.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ 'JEWISH SCARE IN RUSSIA', The *Daily Chronicle* 5 May (1903), p.7

⁸⁸ 'RUSSIA AND THE JEWS: THE MASSACRE AT KISHINEFF (By a Russian Jew)', The *Daily News* 11 May (1903), p.6

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* p.6

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* p.6

Through survivor testimony, the *Daily News* also printed more resolute declarations regarding Western intervention. The newspaper made direct correlations between the Russian persecutions and the mistreatment of Armenians under Ottoman oppression. The *Daily News* appeared to undermine concern for East European Jewry by stating that Ottoman persecution had been far more severe and had therefore necessitated a more rigorous response. Yet the purpose of this claim was to emphasise that Russian treatment required a different approach.⁹¹ 'I quite admit the impracticability of a request for armed intervention on behalf of the Jews. And we do not want it. It is not an armed intervention that we look for.'⁹² Rather, the *Daily News* aligned the persecution of East European Jewry with broader concerns regarding Russian foreign policy. 'The question of trade is really of no importance to Russia. As a barbaric and Oriental country it really has no ambition for international trade, in spite of all the show of diplomatic notes and treaties. What Russia cares for is physical force.'⁹³

As with previous interpretations of anti-Jewish violence, the *Daily News* resorted to the 'demi-Orientalism' that had influenced attitudes towards Russia throughout the nineteenth century. However, this outlook was now intensified and Russian ambitions in Asia were now perceived to pose a greater and more general threat towards British imperial interests. On the diplomatic level, British attitudes were therefore influenced by the desire to reach an understanding with Russia and not instigate a strong public condemnation on behalf of the victims of anti-Jewish violence.⁹⁴ The response of the British government was therefore restrained by concerns regarding foreign policy that in turn influenced the response of the metropolitan daily press.

However, moral remonstration was also no longer deemed an effective means of protest. Communication with Russia was seen to be ineffectual and the delimitation of

⁹¹ The response to the Armenian persecution throughout 1895-1897 had been complex and at a political level both parties had considered unilateral action, although it was eventually considered too aggressive. The article in the *Daily News* referred to this aspect of the debate. See: Laycock, J. *Imagining Armenia: Orientalism, History and Civilisation* (Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of Manchester, 2005), pp.101-109

⁹² 'RUSSIA AND THE JEWS: THE MASSACRE AT KISHINEFF (By a Russian Jew)', The *Daily News* 11 May (1903), p.6

⁹³ 'RUSSIA AND THE JEWS: THE MASSACRE AT KISHINEFF (By a Russian Jew)', The *Daily News* 11 May (1903), p.6

⁹⁴ See: Feldman, E. 'British Diplomats and British Diplomacy and the 1905 Pogroms in Russia', pp.602-608

the public sphere alongside wider socio-political transformations had impacted upon attitudes towards political representation and the expression of moral outrage. Indeed, instead of demands for a public meeting, the *Daily News* asserted the need for a moral boycott of Russia and the cessation of diplomatic communication. This also appeared to be motivated by the desire to clear Britain of accountability for the persecution of East European Jewry. 'The civilised world to clear itself of responsibility must say to Russia, "You are not one of us; you are outside the pale of civilised Governments!" There must be a moral boycott of Russia!'⁹⁵

The official Russian report of Kishinev by the Minister of the Interior, V. von Plehve, accentuated the perception of Russia as 'backward', 'savage', and 'barbarian' in the eyes of the metropolitan daily press. Although the report blamed the persistence of the blood libel myth amongst the peasantry and working classes, alongside the propagation of antisemitic accusations by *Bessarabets*, the report considered Jews to have been mostly responsible for the outbreak of violence. Newspapers printed this official report and emphasised that the account directly blamed anti-Jewish violence on the conduct of a Jewish proprietor accused of abusing a Christian woman. 'On Easter Sunday a Christian woman was maltreated by the Jewish proprietor of a merry go-round, and this provided a direct cause for attacking the Jews.'⁹⁶

The *Pall Mall Gazette* responded to the publication of the official report by questioning the grounds upon which Russia could be classed as a 'civilised' nation. The newspaper stated that this 'question may be asked in all seriousness after reading the account of the massacre of Jews at Kishineff'.⁹⁷ The newspaper made further claims regarding the extent of 'brutality' and asserted that the apathetic response of the Russian authorities exceeded the worst examples of hostility against Jews during the Middle-Ages. For the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 'one can only ask whether a power which permits and commits such crimes as these has the right to be reckoned among the number of civilised countries'.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ 'RUSSIA AND THE JEWS: THE MASSACRE AT KISHINEFF (By a Russian Jew)', The *Daily News* 11 May (1903), p.6

⁹⁶ 'RUSSIAN OFFICIAL REPORT', The *Daily Chronicle* 12 May (1903), p.7

⁹⁷ 'Civilised or Savage?', The *Pall Mall Gazette* 13 May (1903), p.2

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* p.2

Likewise, the *St James's Gazette* resorted to the perception of Russia as 'backward', 'savage', and 'barbarian'. The newspaper remarked that Pan-Slavist newspapers were preoccupied with justifying Kishinev as 'a patriotic act of which no real Russian need feel ashamed'.⁹⁹ The newspaper underlined the inadequacy of the police and military, and emphasised that severe outrages had been committed against Jewish women and children. Yet, in addition, the *St James's Gazette* made reference to the likelihood of a mass 'influx' of East European Jews. The newspaper remarked that the 'obligatory exodus of Jews from Kieff is proceeding quietly. The Expulsory Edict affects about thirty-seven thousand persons. Pitiful scenes are daily witnessed among the departing Jews, although the Hebrew women, young girls, and boys stoically strive to suppress external signs of grief'.¹⁰⁰

The *Jewish Chronicle* also developed its response to Kishinev by making direct accusations against the Russian autocracy. Although the newspaper held all sections of Russian society liable for the Kishinev massacre, it now placed overall responsibility upon the central government. The newspaper remarked that 'the whole of Russia, from the bureaucrats who lord it in their offices, down to the well-dressed ladies who shared in the spoil from the looted shops, and the blood-drunken mob, are convicted of this foul crime against civilisation'.¹⁰¹ However, the central government was deemed more responsible on account of persistent anti-Jewish legislation and the influence governmental policy had upon the conduct of the Russian populace. The newspaper also went further in its condemnation by emphasising the inefficiency of the military. The *Jewish Chronicle* recommended the immediate cessation of European diplomatic relations yet, unlike the daily press, the newspaper also asserted the need for some form of public protest. 'If Europe does not on the present occasion dissociate itself from the leprous taint of this barbarian Power, if it has not a word of protest or of abhorrence for the unparralled atrocities that country has connived at, then it writes its humanity down a sham, and its civilisation an organised hypocrisy'.¹⁰² While the daily press was hesitant

⁹⁹ 'ANTI-SEMITISM IN RUSSIA', The *St James's Gazette* 15 May (1903), p.13

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* p.13

¹⁰¹ 'To English Restrictionists', The *Jewish Chronicle* 15 May (1903), p.21

¹⁰² 'Remember Kishineff!', The *Jewish Chronicle* 15 May (1903), p.21

over a public remonstration, the *Jewish Chronicle* therefore initially took a more direct and assertive appeal for a public protest.

(ii) The *Times* Dispatch and the Opportunity for Public Protest

Although the response of the metropolitan daily press did not instigate the need for a public remonstration, as with previous instances of anti-Jewish persecution, the *Times* printed evidence that radically altered the terms by which Kishinev was comprehended. The newspaper's publication of the correspondence of two leading members of the Anglo-Jewish community exposed the culpability of the Russian authorities, while the newspaper also printed a controversial document believed to be written by the Russian Minister of the Interior, V. Von Plehve. This document was dated twelve days prior to Kishinev and clearly instructed the Governor of Bessarabia, Von Raaben, that a riot was imminent and that the authorities should not permit armed military intervention. 'Your Excellency will not fail to contribute to the immediate stopping of disorders which may arise by means of admonitions, without at all having recourse, however, to the use of arms.'¹⁰³

In editorial, the *Times* stated that it could not authenticate the document; however, the newspaper observed that there was no reason to doubt its legitimacy on the assumption that Russia's domestic situation validated the likelihood of official culpability. 'We cannot, of course, vouch that it is authentic, but it appears to be genuine, if judged by internal evidence, and its authority is supported in a very remarkable manner by the narrative set out in the letter sent by MR. ALEXANDER and MR CLAUDE MONTEFIORE.'¹⁰⁴ While historians have acknowledged the document as inauthentic, the publication of the dispatch by the *Times* served to validate prior accusations regarding the Russian autocracy.¹⁰⁵ The letter was taken as evidence that V. Von Plehve knew of the likelihood of riots before they occurred, and that although Von Raaben had been instructed to intercede, he was not directed to do so with full military strength. 'They are

¹⁰³ 'ANTI-SEMITIC OUTRAGES AT KISHINEFF', The *Times* 18 May (1903), p.10

¹⁰⁴ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Times* 18 May (1903), p.9

¹⁰⁵ Lambroza, S. 'The Pogroms of 1903-1906', p.203

a confession of weakness and of fear; a confession which may, we trust lead the TSAR to view with increased dislike a system of mere repression and violence.'¹⁰⁶

Although the dispatch absolved the Tsar of complicity in anti-Jewish violence, it suggested that the emperor was negligent in allowing unstable conditions to persist. Likewise, the correspondence of Alexander and Montefiore corroborated earlier reports of the daily press, while clearing the Tsar of direct responsibility. For some members of the Anglo-Jewish community, the Plehve dispatch implied the need for public protest, although not to the extent of the Mansion House and Guildhall meetings. Rather, Alexander and Montefiore demanded protest through the publication of more detailed newspaper correspondence as Gladstone had urged during previous concern surrounding Russian anti-Jewish legislation. 'We crave the hospitality of your columns for a formal protest against the horrors perpetrated on our co-religionists of Kishineff, Bessarabia, and against the apathetic attitude of the Russian authorities, both local and Imperial.'¹⁰⁷ This correspondence therefore served to further substantiate the view of official culpability for the Kishinev outrages.

The publication by the *Times* had a profound impact on the conception of anti-Jewish violence amongst the daily press. The *St James's Gazette* remarked that earlier reports had accounted for violence as the spontaneous action of antisemitic rioters, influenced by the denunciations of the local press and the governing classes. 'To-day, however, there is published in the "Times" information from two distinct sources which throws a new and almost incredible light upon the history of these outrages [...] the outbreak was deliberately fomented and encouraged, not only by the governing authorities in Kishineff, but from no less supreme a quarter than the Ministry of the Interior itself.'¹⁰⁸ Although the newspaper underlined the possibility that the document was a forgery, widespread Russophobic assumptions regarding the Russian empire served to authenticate the dispatch. 'The credibility which it seems to possess is strongly reinforced by the general policy of Russian officers of lower rank and the Minister of the Interior, who gave the Anti-Semitic movement every chance of free development.'¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Times* 18 May (1903), p.9

¹⁰⁷ 'ANTI-SEMITIC OUTRAGES AT KISHINEFF', The *Times* 18 May (1903), p.10

¹⁰⁸ 'THE POLICY OF SLAUGHTER', The *St James's Gazette* 18 May (1903), p.3

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* p.6

Indeed, the authenticity of the Plehve dispatch received the full consensus of the daily press and various Jewish communal organisations.¹¹⁰ Although reports subsequently detailed Von Raaben's removal from office, and a section of the daily press alleged that this measure illustrated the Tsar's personal intervention on behalf of East European Jewry, newspapers remained convinced that the Russian government was behind the Kishinev massacre. The *Daily Express* broke its previously refrained approach to Kishinev by asserting that it was 'likely that this act of the Czar will have a salutary effect on Russian officialdom, which has hitherto almost invariably encouraged anti-Semitic excesses'.¹¹¹ Yet while this assumption appeared to break from the perception of Russia as 'backward', 'savage' and 'barbarian', the *Pall Mall Gazette* responded to reports of Von Raaben's dismissal with cynicism and distrust.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* alleged that the dismissal of Von Raaben would not prompt the better treatment of East European Jewry. 'If, then, any simple soul imagines that Lieutenant-General von Raaben's removal is due to a tardy awakening of the Russian official conscience, such a one is mightily mistaken.'¹¹² The newspaper rightfully asserted that reports of Von Raaben's complete removal from office were false and that he had merely been transferred to the Ministry of the Interior. Indeed, the *Pall Mall Gazette*'s conviction that the Russian government was 'uncivilised' and vehemently antisemitic was such that the newspaper believed the reassignment of Von Raaben was merely an attempt to further conceal the outbreak of anti-Jewish violence from foreign public opinion. 'It is merely just one of those diplomatic sneers by which the Russian Government indicates to the outraged opinion of the civilised world how perfectly easy it is to use the forms of civilised procedure to mask the barbarous misdoings of an Oriental despotism'.¹¹³

However, the *Daily Chronicle* printed material that attempted to verify the Plehve dispatch. Written by a Russian refugee, now resident in London, the article endeavoured to authenticate the governmental circular on the grounds that this method of

¹¹⁰ The London Committee for the Deputy of British Jews and Anglo Jewish Association consented to the authenticity of the *Times* dispatch.

¹¹¹ 'KISHINEFF MASSACRE: REPORTED DISMISSAL OF THE GOVERNOR', The *Daily Express* 19 May (1903), p.1

¹¹² 'Disgraced!', The *Pall Mall Gazette* 20 May (1903), p.2

¹¹³ *Ibid.* p.2

communication was common throughout the internal administration of the Russian autocracy. 'Hundreds are sent out by the Ministers of State, but as the emancipation movement has sympathisers everywhere, nearly all come into the possession of the Russian newspapers issued abroad, and are published to the world.'¹¹⁴ Like the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the newspaper also made the additional claim that the removal of Von Raaben was an attempt to redirect foreign attention away from the central government. 'The complicity of the authorities had been so obvious, that the central Government had been forced to take some action to pacify public opinion, and by dismissing the Governor hoped to demonstrate its own innocence'.¹¹⁵

The Russian press published strong denunciations regarding the Plehve dispatch and stated that the document was a definite forgery. The *Daily News* printed an article from the *Official Messenger* of a declaration from the Ministry of the Interior that refuted accusations made by the *Times* in reference to the Plehve dispatch. 'No letter containing such statements was ever sent by the Minister of the Interior to the Government of Bessarabia, and no information whatever as to the impending riots was made by the Central Government authorities to the local authorities of Bessarabia'.¹¹⁶ The *Official Messenger* was certain that the document was the fabrication of an opponent of the Russian empire, and emphasised that reports of the Plehve dispatch had only appeared in the Western press, specifically naming the *Times*, the *Muenchener Neueste Nachrichten* and the *Daily News*. The newspaper therefore stated categorically that accusations in the Western press had no basis of truth and that 'reports have been invented'.¹¹⁷

Despite this condemnation, the *Jewish Chronicle* expressed gratitude to the *Times* for its publication of the Plehve dispatch and continued to detail the brutality of anti-Jewish violence at Kishinev. Yet as with the Romanian persecutions, the newspaper articulated concern that public opinion had not been sufficiently raised in the expression of moral indignation by the daily press. 'But all these riots at Odessa, Ekaterinoslav, Elisabethgrad, and in scores of other towns or villages are nothing in comparison with

¹¹⁴ THE KISHINEFF RIOTS: A Russian View', The *Daily Chronicle* 21 May (1903), p.7

¹¹⁵ Ibid. p.7

¹¹⁶ 'RUSSIA AND THE TIMES: THE SUPPOSED DE PLEHVE LETTER, DECLARED TO BE A FORGERY', The *Daily News* 1 June (1903), p.7

¹¹⁷ Ibid. p.7

what has occurred in the last place of butchery, Kishineff. And yet it seems that the massacres have stirred up public opinion less than similar though less bloody occurrences in former years.¹¹⁸ The newspaper also acknowledged the transformation in attitudes towards public protest and the more compromising diplomacy towards Russia by the British government. However, through the correspondence pages of the *Jewish Chronicle*, contributors began to advocate a more resolute response on behalf of East European Jewry, demanding a public remonstration on the scale of previous public meetings at Mansion House and the Guildhall.

(iii) The *Jewish Chronicle* and the Expulsion of the *Times* Correspondent

Indeed, the Plehve dispatch had undoubtedly provided the means through which readers of the *Jewish Chronicle* felt justified in petitioning for a public protest. The newspaper remarked that 'given the Plehve dispatch everything else, of course, follows. We can now easily understand all the rest of the acts of official connivance which have been reported from day to day'.¹¹⁹ Although the daily press continued to print extracts from the *Official Messenger* denying the accusations of the western press, correspondence in the *Jewish Chronicle* remained adamant that a remonstration was now justified.¹²⁰ Yet the editorial line of the newspaper was far less obstinate in support for a public protest, despite previous assertions regarding the need for a demonstration on the scale of Mansion House and the Guildhall meetings. The *Jewish Chronicle* asserted that a large remonstration would almost certainly have an adverse effect on the difficulties confronting East European Jewry and lead to retaliation from Russian antisemites. Although the newspaper did not rule out further action, it was far more hesitant in its response to Kishinev than it had been to previous outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence. 'We realise that the question of taking further action in respect of the Kishineff massacre is a very difficult and delicate one. [...] The question, however, is, what kind of action should now be taken.'¹²¹

¹¹⁸ 'The Kishineff Atrocities', *The Jewish Chronicle* 22 May (1903), p.6

¹¹⁹ 'The Lord Mayor's Invitation to St. Petersburg.', *The Jewish Chronicle* 22 May (1903), p.17

¹²⁰ See: 'SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE'S MISSIONS AND THE KISHINEFF MASSACRES.', *The Jewish Chronicle* 29 May (1903), p.8

¹²¹ 'Kishineff', *The Jewish Chronicle* 29 May (1903), p.18

The *Jewish Chronicle* therefore faltered between advocating some form of moral protest and asserting the limits of public opinion. The newspaper was certain that any public remonstration should be moderate and restrained, yet appeared to favour other means of demonstrating on behalf of East European Jewry. 'There need be no violent invective, not a syllable need be uttered calculated to set the patriotism and humanitarianism of our friends in conflict; all that need be asked for is justice for our brethren.'¹²² However, the newspaper also seemed convinced that a large scale public protest would be futile against the might of the Russian autocracy. The *Jewish Chronicle* remarked upon the failure of previous attempts at intervention and suggested that a moral and financial boycott of Russia was likely to have a greater impact. 'A correspondent in our columns recently suggested a financial boycott of Russia. The suggestion seems at first sight a promising one. [...] A Power whose credit is impaired, will think twice before embarking on hostilities.'¹²³

Although the *Jewish Chronicle* failed to develop a clear and coherent approach to the publication of the Plehve dispatch, the newspaper did attempt to use evidence of official culpability to undermine the campaign for restriction. The *Jewish Chronicle* asserted that knowledge of anti-Jewish violence and reports concerning the responsibility of the central authorities necessitated a reappraisal of support for the implementation of restrictive legislation. Despite the subdued nature of public opinion, the newspaper therefore attempted to affirm a more principled response towards anti-Jewish violence in relation to the impending conclusion of the *Royal Commission*. 'Will Englishmen, with their splendid traditions, become a party to these deeds of hell by closing their shores to the victims. [...] What species of English patriotism is it that requires that these people be held fast in their inferno, till, perchance, another outbreak releases them altogether from their misery?'¹²⁴

This uncertainty of the *Jewish Chronicle* regarding a public remonstration was matched by the failure of the daily press to effectively deal with the question of public protest. Although the *St James's Gazette* broke this silence, the newspaper again used the lack of public opinion to attack the Liberal party, rather than effectively responding to the

¹²² 'The "Pale of Civilisation" and the "Pale of Settlement", The *Jewish Chronicle* 19 June (1903), p.11

¹²³ 'A Simple Test', The *Jewish Chronicle* 12 June (1903), p.19

¹²⁴ 'To English Restrictionists', The *Jewish Chronicle* 22 May (1903), pp.21-22

plight of East European Jewry. The newspaper asserted that party politics had interrupted governmental condemnation of the Kishinev massacre and that other minorities had received more detailed attention from official channels:

It is a curious illustration of how largely humanitarian agitation in this country is governed by party prejudice, that the atrocities committed by Russians on the helpless Jews at Kishineff have aroused no such fury of impassioned agitation as would have been excited by similar outrages if the victims had been Armenians or Macedonians.¹²⁵

Indeed, the *St James's Gazette* observed that British public opinion was much reduced in comparison to previous expressions of moral indignation. The newspaper remarked that France and the United States had taken the initiative in the organisation of mass public meetings that had received widespread support amongst their respective populations. 'There is no doubt that while opinion in this country has remained strangely and unusually apathetic, American, as well as French, sympathies have been strongly stirred, and that any representations that the Washington Government might be induced to make to St Petersburg would have the support of public opinion in the States.'¹²⁶ Yet despite this observation, the *St James's Gazette* failed to implement a more direct campaign for a public remonstration on behalf of East European Jewry.

However, the expulsion of the *Times*' Russian St Petersburg correspondent for alleged hostility towards the Russian government had a further impact on the comprehension of the Kishinev massacre. This expulsion was understood to be the direct result of the newspaper's printing of the Plehve dispatch. The *Daily News* remarked that 'it is possible that the Kishineff massacre and the expulsion of "The Times" Correspondent from St. Petersburg are not directly associated with each other; but such an assumption is highly improbable'.¹²⁷ Indeed, the banishment of the *Times* journalist had the immediate impact of intensifying public opinion in relation to anti-Jewish violence and further justifying the authenticity of the Plehve dispatch. The daily press

¹²⁵ 'RUSSIAN ATROCITIES', The *St James's Gazette* 30 May (1903), p.3

¹²⁶ Ibid. p.4

¹²⁷ 'KISHINEFF MASSACRES: "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT EXPELLED', The *Daily News* 30 May (1903), p.4

noted that the expulsion represented the 'brutal' and repressive nature of the Russian empire and printed extensive details of Russian conduct towards the *Times* journalist. 'By expelling at a moment's notice the "Times" correspondent from St Petersburg, the Russian Government has given the most conclusive proof that there is something it desires to hide from the knowledge of the civilised world.'¹²⁸

Although the *Times* initially refrained from making any direct accusations, the newspaper defended its journalist against the expulsion. The *Times* outlined events with caution and stated that information was currently insufficient to cast wider aspersions regarding the Russian autocracy. 'For the present we must therefore suspend our judgment as to the motives that have actuated the Russian Government in adopting a course which, on the face of it, is scarcely calculated to raise its credit in this or in other civilised countries.'¹²⁹ The *Times* assured its readers that its foreign reporting was accurate and that the journalist in question had always written with impartiality and in consideration of the difficulties confronting Russia. 'He has displayed conspicuous judgment and moderation in the discharge of his responsible duties; and we have every reason to know, from his private, as well as from his published, correspondence, that he lacked neither sympathy with the best qualities of the Russian nation nor appreciation of the peculiar difficulties.'¹³⁰

The *Times* also remarked that the correspondent was not associated with the publication of the Plehve dispatch, and that the document had been communicated through a different channel. 'He is merely the whipping-boy at whose expense, because he happens to be within their reach, they wish to read *The Times* a lesson.'¹³¹ As more information reached the *Times*, the newspaper asserted that the expulsion represented the insecurity of the central government and that it was merely a course of action intended to suppress public opinion. 'The expulsion of our Correspondent can, indeed, only be regarded as a sign of weakness, in those who brought it about-in those who, like M. De Plehve, seem to think that the process of intellectual and social fermentation which is

¹²⁸ 'AN EXPULSION FROM RUSSIA', *The St James's Gazette* 29 May (1903), p.3

¹²⁹ 'Untitled Editorial', *The Times* 29 May (1903), p.7

¹³⁰ *Ibid.* p.7

¹³¹ 'Untitled Editorial', *The Times* 30 May (1903), p.11

going on at the present moment all over Russia, and amongst all classes, can be arrested by trying to suppress the evidence of its existence.¹³²

While the expulsion of the *Times* journalist had the immediate effect of intensifying public opinion, the long-term effects had a negative influence upon the public comprehension of the Kishinev massacre. Rather than eliciting acts of anti-Jewish violence in relation to the need for a public remonstration, the banishment of the *Times*' journalist had the more permanent consequence of detracting attention from the propensity for a public protest. As more information regarding the journalist's expulsion came to the attention of newspapers, the narrative became more significant in representing the difference between East and West. Indeed, Russia was now perceived as being more belligerent for its suppression of the truth rather than the mistreatment of East European Jewry. As the *Daily Chronicle* remarked, 'of late years there has seldom been a more despotic act than to silence truth and honest criticism'.¹³³

In addition, while *Punch* had previously illustrated hostilities against East European Jewry in relation to the propensity for Western intervention, Kishinev was now given graphic significance in terms of the suppression of truth by the Russian autocracy. Figure 8 depicts the expulsion of the *Times*' journalist and was the only attempt at pictorial representation made by the journal. Rather than defining Kishinev in relation to violent acts of persecution and legislative discrimination, the journal instead represented the mistreatment of the *Times*' correspondent. The journal also failed to consider any need for a public remonstration. The Russian autocracy was still perceived to be 'brutal' in its conduct, and its 'barbaric' demeanour was portrayed by the established depiction of Russia as a bear. Yet while previous *Punch* illustrations had relied upon images of anti-Jewish violence and diplomatic intervention, the journal failed to articulate this aspect of Russian persecution. The banishment of the *Times* journalist therefore had a negative impact on the opportunity for a moral remonstration, and although Kishinev far outweighed previous outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence in terms of its 'barbary' the pogrom failed to establish itself in British public opinion.

¹³² 'Untitled Editorial', The *Times* 6 June (1903), p.11

¹³³ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Daily Chronicle* 1 June (1903), p.4



Figure 8 – 'BEYOND HIS POWER', *Punch* 17 June (1903), p.10

Indeed, the only support given to the organisation of a public meeting was the encouragement shown towards a small contingent of Jewish trade unionists that had marched from Mile End to Hyde Park.¹³⁴ The *Daily Telegraph* observed that 'while with most people the Kishineff massacres have been a passing horror, with the Jewish population in East London they have been fully realised and most bitterly resented'.¹³⁵ This event was reported alongside public meetings in France and the United States where newspapers noted that speakers at the demonstration had attested to the limits of British opinion and that more could be attempted in remonstrating against the mistreatment of East European Jewry. The chairman of the trade union march, Mr J. F. Green, 'pointed to the protests which had come from France and the United States, and regretted that so far no similar condemnation had been uttered in London'.¹³⁶

Likewise, foreign attempts at public protest remained the subject of intensive newspaper attention in the aftermath of the expulsion of the *Times*' correspondent. The daily press reported on two public remonstrations held by religious leaders in Australia and remarked that the resolutions would be communicated to the Lord Mayor in London. The *Daily Telegraph* outlined the nature of indignation and abhorrence of the Australian delegation and that the public meeting had directed its attention at addressing the Russian central authorities. The newspaper stated that 'the Anglican Bishop of Melbourne moved a resolution, which was unanimously carried, declaring the meeting's abhorrence of the merciless outrages committed upon the Kishineff Jews, including helpless women and children, and its hopes that the Russian Government would take effectual measures to prevent the repetition of crimes'.¹³⁷

Similarly, the attempts of the United States to address Russia received much attention in the daily press and newspapers offered detailed accounts of their efforts to undertake diplomatic intervention on behalf of East European Jewry. The *Daily*

¹³⁴ This protest was supposed to be attended by British trade unionists. However, they refused to participate on the grounds that Jewish workers continually undermined native strike action and consistently sided with employers. The native trade unionists remarked that Jewish workers deprived the British of work, reduced wages, enhanced rents and demoralised labour. 'KISHINEFF MASSACRES: ANTI-RUSSIAN DEMONSTRATIONS', The *Daily Telegraph* 22 June (1903), p.6

¹³⁵ 'KISHINEFF MASSACRES: ANTI-RUSSIAN DEMONSTRATIONS', The *Daily Telegraph* 22 June (1903), p.6

¹³⁶ 'KISHINEFF MASSACRES: Protest Meetings at Mile-end and Hyde Park.', The *Daily Chronicle* 22 June (1903), p.6

¹³⁷ 'JEWS IN RUSSIA: FURTHER RESTRICTIONS', The *Daily Telegraph* 5 June (1903), p.9

Telegraph reported that President Theodore Roosevelt had addressed his administration with regard to conducting a public meeting in protest over the Russian treatment of East European Jewry. However, the newspaper also noted that the motivation for a public meeting appeared to be grounded in political concerns as much as it was moral considerations:

The President is anxious to take some action which, while not offending Russia, will allay public feeling. Politically the position of the Administration is embarrassing. The residential election next year necessitates a careful nursing of public sentiment. The Jewish vote is tremendous, and Jewish bankers are large contributors to the campaign fund.¹³⁸

The *Daily Chronicle* made minor reference to the Lord Mayor having made a representation in 'the proper quarter touching the recent deplorable atrocities at Kishineff'.¹³⁹ While the *Jewish Chronicle* remarked that it was 'glad to say that his lordship has received assurances which tend to allay the anxiety entertained throughout the civilised world with regard to the recurrence of such outrages'.¹⁴⁰ Yet, despite such acknowledgments, the daily press did not pursue the opportunity for a public protest and attention was diverted to the action of the United States. Although reports referred to rumours of further minor outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence throughout the Russian empire, the daily press remained inconsistent with previous responses to Russian discrimination and persecution.¹⁴¹

In addition, the *Jewish Chronicle* announced that the Anglo-Jewish Association had dismissed the question of a public meeting. The newspaper observed that a protest officially endorsed by representatives of the Jewish community had been abandoned due to fear that a remonstration would worsen conditions for East European Jewry. It was

¹³⁸ 'KISHINEFF MASSACRES: AMERICAN BITTERNESS', The *Daily Telegraph* 8 June (1903), p.10

¹³⁹ 'THE JEWS IN RUSSIA: Reassuring Statements, Assurances Received by the Lord Mayor', The *Daily Chronicle* 9 June (1903), p.7

¹⁴⁰ 'Action by the Lord Mayor', The *Jewish Chronicle* 12 June (1903), p.11

¹⁴¹ Throughout June the daily press reported on rumours of further outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence and feared the spread of hostilities throughout the Russian empire. See, for example: 'THE JEWS IN RUSSIA', The *Standard* 13 June (1903), p.7 and 'JEWS IN POLAND', The *Daily Chronicle* 18 June (1903), p.4

also asserted that a representative of the Anglo-Jewish Association had suggested that outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence were 'settled events fated to recur, like the seasons; and we must accustom ourselves to monstrous cycles of murders and desolation'.¹⁴²

Indeed, the *Jewish Chronicle* was disappointed by this response but failed to offer firm resistance to the Anglo-Jewish Association. The newspaper stated that France and the United States should have also been silenced if intervention was likely to result in antisemitic repercussions. However, the *Jewish Chronicle* also suggested that the daily press could have accomplished more, and that in the realm of public opinion there was little difference between public protest and the expression of moral indignation:

What difference there is between a protest on the platform and a protest in the newspapers we cannot understand. The contention that carries weight is the confidential assurance from important quarters that, as a matter of fact, injury would be done to the humane efforts now proceeding. We can hardly believe that a moderate meeting making its appeal to the Tsar could have had such an effect.¹⁴³

Indeed, the daily press completely abandoned the question of a public meeting and instead directed attention towards reports that the United States was preparing to present a resolution to the Tsar. Despite the eventual rejection of this memorandum by the United States on the grounds that Russia would punish civilian offenders responsible for the outbreak of anti-Jewish violence, a large section of the daily press supported the American government throughout its attempt at diplomatic intervention. However, at the same time certain newspapers remained reluctant to fully support President Roosevelt's memorandum on the grounds that it could potentially upset a delicate diplomatic situation. 'Whether the petition on behalf of the Jews is altogether well advised is a question that we do not feel called upon to discuss.',¹⁴⁴

Kishinev was therefore practically discarded by the daily press even though the British government published the consular reports of foreign diplomats. These reports were criticised for their reluctance to pursue the Russian authorities and ascertain more

¹⁴² 'The Question of a Public Meeting', *The Jewish Chronicle* 26 June (1903), p.17

¹⁴³ Ibid. p.17

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. p.16

detailed evidence regarding official Russian conduct. The *St James's Gazette* remarked that the Russian authorities had hindered the British enquiry and that 'the report on the Kishineff massacres which has been drawn up by the British Vice-Consul at Odessa, and published as a Parliamentary paper, is a document which needs to be read in the light of the circumstances of its compilation'.¹⁴⁵ The newspaper asserted that those involved in the production of the report had not been allowed to view official papers and that the search for authoritative evidence behind the riots had been futile.

The *Morning Post* also observed that the consular reports offered little information regarding the facts behind the conduct of Russian officials and that evidence remained insufficient so far as the exact circumstances of the riot were concerned. 'The mystery is left unsolved in Mr Bosanquet's report; but the facts lend a strong air of probability to the assertion that the Governor's hands had been tied by special instructions from St Petersburg'.¹⁴⁶ However, the consular reports were also overshadowed by the publication of the report of the *Royal Commission on Alien Immigration*. While the response of the daily press towards the Russian treatment of East European Jewry was already fraught, the conclusion of the *Royal Commission* meant that the debate over alien immigration reached such an acute stage that it further obscured any propensity for moral protest. As the *Morning Post* remarked 'after all, the first duty of a nation, as of a family, is to itself'.¹⁴⁷

The Kishinev massacre was therefore surrounded by controversy regarding the authenticity of press reporting. Although newspapers were aware that the riot was far more violent than previous outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence, it was now taken for granted that persecution contributed towards an increase in Jewish immigration. As a result, the severity of violence witnessed at Kishinev meant that mass migration was perceived to be an inevitable consequence of Russian persecution. While this undoubtedly undermined concern for the plight of East European Jewry, newspapers were also no longer so concerned with informing and elevating the readership for participation in the public sphere. Consequently, the potential for a public remonstration similar to that of the Mansion House and Guildhall meeting never became the subject of

¹⁴⁵ 'A HANDICAPPED ENQUIRY', The *St James's Gazette* 13 August (1903)p.3

¹⁴⁶ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Morning Post* 13 August (1903), p.4

¹⁴⁷ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Morning Post* 14 August (1903), p.4

extensive press attention. In addition, with the publication of the final report of the *Royal Commission* the link between persecution and mass migration became far more pronounced and anti-alienism developed into a more vehement and hostile means of asserting the supposed 'evils' of alien immigration.

The Royal Commission on Alien Immigration

The *Royal Commission* and the failure to elicit public opinion on behalf of East European Jewry therefore further accentuated the relationship between persecution and mass migration. As a consequence, following the final report of the *Royal Commission*, and in reference to the Russian trials of suspects involved in the organisation of the Kishinev massacre, the daily press became increasingly concerned that a mass movement of Jews was imminent. The *Standard* observed that circumstances in Russia were nothing but an 'incentive to the ever-swelling volume of Jewish emigration [...] it is utterly vain, therefore, to anticipate - as certain foreign journals appeared to do - any general or material improvement or amelioration of the condition of Jews as a direct or indirect consequence of the Kishineff trial'.¹⁴⁸

Despite the recommendations of the *Royal Commission* asserting the need for the restriction of 'undesirable' aliens, fears over a major increase in Jewish immigration became a permanent feature of anxieties regarding anti-Jewish violence. The severity of violence at Kishinev meant that a mass movement of Jews was now seen as inevitable and that persecution was perceived beyond all doubt to be the primary cause of Jewish emigration. This conviction now influenced attitudes towards the alleviation of Jewish suffering and it was frequently alleged that philanthropy supported mass migration, and that Britain would soon face a large 'influx' of Jewish refugees as a result of financial assistance given to emigration schemes. As the *Standard* further remarked, 'the greater portion of the funds subscribed in America and elsewhere for the succour of destitute Jews will, undoubtedly, be utilised for assisting the emigration of the recipients to the United Kingdom and the United States'.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ 'THE MASSACRE AT KISHNEFF: RESULT OF THE TRIAL, EMIGRATION OF JEWS', The *Standard* 22 December (1903), p.5

¹⁴⁹ 'THE KISHINEFF RIOTS', The *Standard* 28 May (1903), p.7

Indeed, the various stages of the *Royal Commission* served to bring heightened concerns over persecution and mass migration to greater public attention. The metropolitan daily press printed extracts from the committee and the *Royal Commission* was seen to be crucial in preventing the further 'influx' of East European Jewry by concluding in favour of the need for the implementation of restrictive legislation. A growing section of the daily press also focussed on sensationalising evidence from the *Royal Commission's* consultations. For instance, the *Daily Express* asserted that the *Royal Commission's* very existence represented mass support for the implementation of restrictive legislation. 'Public opinion is undoubtedly ripe for prompt and effective legislation against the undesirable immigrant.'¹⁵⁰

The popular press devoted much attention to intensifying public opinion and hoped that the *Royal Commission* would conclude before the end of the Parliamentary session. The *Daily Express* bragged of its role in relation to the supposed increase in public support for restriction and was confident that legislation would soon be enforced. These declarations were again characteristic of the 'representative' ideal, in that they claimed to represent the interests of the reader, while in effect were an attempt to directly manipulate public opinion. 'No effort must be spared to secure the early transformation of this promise into performance. [...] It is well to be quite clear as to what it is demanded by public opinion and the facts of the case'.¹⁵¹

In addition, the popular press remained adamant that the *Royal Commission* was free from anti-Jewish prejudice and that concerns over alien immigration were merely attempts to restrict a certain type of migrant. The *Daily Mail* reiterated that 'it is neither Anti-Semitism nor a fanatical or "jingo" hostility to the foreigner, as such. The creed of the alien immigrant has nothing to do with it; the fact that he or she is a foreigner is not in itself a cause of complaint'.¹⁵² According to the *Daily Mail*, the *Royal Commission* was justified in its desire to restrict immigrants that were deemed 'undesirable' and stated that those considered 'harmless' would always be welcome. 'The Alien Commission and the Government's legislation, we trust, will make a sharp and sound discrimination between

¹⁵⁰ 'MATTERS OF THE MOMENT: Aliens and Aliens', The *Daily Express* 27 January (1903), p.4

¹⁵¹ Ibid. p.4

¹⁵² 'The Alien Immigrant', The *Daily Mail* 12 May (1903), p.4

the harmless, whom we shall receive as before, and the pestilent off-scourings, of whom we have had more than enough.¹⁵³

Newspapers therefore made use of the *Royal Commission* to heighten public opinion towards restriction by further sensationalising the alien question. For example, the Conservative supporting *Pall Mall Gazette* asserted that restrictive legislation was necessary and that an Aliens Act was required to prevent actual outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence occurring within Britain. Like the *Daily Mail*, the newspaper downplayed any hostility towards Jews and remarked that 'it is quite a mistake to suppose that any question of antagonism to the Jewish race is involved in the matter. On the contrary, we readily admit that many of its members are among the most sober, virtuous, and law-abiding of the King's subjects'.¹⁵⁴ However, the newspaper emphasised that if numbers of aliens increased at the rate of the previous year there would undoubtedly be outbreaks of antisemitism and anti-Jewish violence in Britain as there had been within the Russian empire. The *Pall Mall Gazette* remarked that 'the Royal Commission had best bustle up, or the general indignation of Londoners will soon reach such a point that they will take matters into their own hands without waiting for any report'.¹⁵⁵

Likewise, the Conservative supporting *St James's Gazette* made exceptionally negative references to Jewish immigrants that were far in excess of its previous accusations against the alien. Reporting in the aftermath of the conclusion of the *Royal Commission* and the offer of Uganda to the Zionist movement, the newspaper purported to be genuinely concerned over the future plight of East European Jewry. Yet the comments of the *St James's Gazette* were deeply hostile and made no attempt at denial or restraint regarding anti-alien prejudice or antisemitism. The newspaper remarked that the 'Jew's' 'parasitical habit of preying upon those amongst whom he is allowed to live on terms of complete equality by ousting the poor from their homes by his capacity for living under conditions impossible to others is objectionable and expensive [and] cannot be denied'.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³ 'The Alien Immigrant', *The Daily Mail* 12 May (1903), p.4

¹⁵⁴ 'Aliens', *The Pall Mall Gazette* 14 January (1903), p.2

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.* pp.2-3

¹⁵⁶ 'THE WANDERING JEW', *The St James's Gazette* 26 August (1903), p.3

Indeed, the *St James's Gazette* incorporated further antisemitic references in its support for restriction. The newspaper made assumptions that were intended to embody positive and negative attributes of the Jewish immigrant, yet, in the case of these descriptions, the *St James's Gazette* made accusations that were wholly antisemitic whether in relation to optimistic or pessimistic assumptions. 'We may see the pathos and nobility of Shylock, or we may see only the cold-blooded passion for revenge and the inexorable fulfilment of the laws of usury; we may welcome the Jew as a wealthy trader who assists the circulation of money, or abhor him as a vampire who sucks the blood of his somnolent host'.¹⁵⁷ In addition, the *St James's Gazette* mocked Zionism as a solution to the problems confronting East European Jewry and made further disparaging comments regarding the itinerant status of the 'WANDERING JEW'. 'The nations of the earth whose self-invited guest he becomes by turns are practically unanimous in desiring the success of the Zionist movement, provided that it can be assured at no expense to themselves'.¹⁵⁸

The *Royal Commission* therefore had a profound impact on the development of alien discourse and further legitimised hostilities towards alien immigration. However, recommendations regarding the implementation of restriction also had the effect of dividing newspapers into those that openly supported legislation and those that were explicitly opposed. The daily press therefore now sided with the issue more rigorously and made thorough attempts to influence public opinion in regard to alien immigration. In addition, while the popular press had previously been more sensationalist in its reporting, traditional newspapers also became increasingly hostile towards the alien in a more sensational manner aimed at arousing popular sentiment.

Yet the only newspaper to entirely oppose the *Royal Commission's* recommendations for the implementation of restrictive legislation was the *Daily News*. This Liberal daily observed that the committee had not provided enough evidence to support the recommendation for an Aliens Bill and that the investigation had rather exposed the superficiality of the need for legislation and the extent to which the question had been exaggerated. 'Nothing can be more instructive as to the methods of the

¹⁵⁷ THE WANDERING JEW', The *St James's Gazette* 26 August (1903), p.3

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.* p.3

Protectionists than the process of evaporation which set in when the Commission began to inquire the facts. The aliens, we are told, are as a rule healthy and fairly clean.¹⁵⁹ The newspaper emphasised that the *Royal Commission* had done more to undermine the anti-alien campaign and that accusations regarding the harmful effects of alien immigration had been greatly exaggerated. 'They cannot be considered destitute, and, so far as the industrial problem is concerned, their competition, has not resulted in the direct displacement of English labour.'¹⁶⁰

Although the newspaper acknowledged problems regarding housing and overcrowding, the *Daily News* maintained that this was not the direct responsibility of the alien. 'But, the case against the alien, so far as one exists, is that he lives in overcrowded conditions, fails to come up to our standard of domestic space, if we can be said to have one; and so enables British landlords to drive out British tenants by raising their rents.'¹⁶¹ The *Daily News* also criticised the *Royal Commission's* recommendations and asserted that the housing and overcrowding problem was a domestic issue, and that restriction would not offer a solution to the present difficulties. The newspaper remarked that legislation would do nothing to alleviate the shortage of housing, as it would 'not provide a single new house or check a single case of overcrowding, and the net result will be the creation of a system of espionage of the most un-English type'.¹⁶²

The *Daily News'* own recommendation for restricting immigration rested on the relationship between persecution and mass migration. The newspaper observed that the only solution to prevent an increase in Jewish immigration was the improvement of conditions within the Russian empire. 'The report serves a useful purpose, however, in reminding us that many of the aliens who seek refuge here are flying from the oppression which is the lot of the Jew in Poland, in Russia, and in Roumania'.¹⁶³ Indeed, despite the limitation of public opinion regarding the expression of moral indignation, the *Daily News* essentially saw the need for a public protest as a solution to concerns regarding Jewish immigration. 'Can we not spare a little of our humanitarian energies for the task

¹⁵⁹ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Daily News* 13 August (1903), p.6

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.* p.6

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.* p.6

¹⁶² *Ibid.* p.6

¹⁶³ *Ibid.* p.6

of awakening the conscience of Europe to the mournful and persistent tragedy which the centuries have brought down to us? And could England do better than to take the initiative in such a work?¹⁶⁴

However, attitudes towards restriction did not simply correspond to political partisanship and both Liberal and Conservative newspapers approved of the new impetus for restrictive legislation surrounding the *Royal Commission*. While the *Daily Chronicle* remained loyal to its Liberal origins, the newspaper did not entirely object to all recommendations of the *Royal Commission*.¹⁶⁵ For instance, the newspaper supported the central proposition of the report to restrict aliens identified as 'undesirable'. 'We are glad, however, to observe that the Commissioners have by no means given themselves over completely to the policy of restriction and exclusion. Rather they have taken the line which has often been suggested in these columns, and drawn a sharp distinction between immigrants in general and "undesirables."'¹⁶⁶

Yet the newspaper asserted that some of the committee's recommendations were unreasonable and that there would be great difficulty in determining the 'desirable' from the 'undesirable'. The *Daily Chronicle* noted the ambivalence at the heart of British attitudes towards immigration, and its own position under the editorship of William Fischer ultimately reflected this aspect of the alien question. 'Our national practice and sentiment in this matter are conflicting. In all ages the English have been celebrated for a certain condensation towards foreigners; for their haughty exclusiveness. But while despising the foreigner within our gates, we have utilised and absorbed him.'¹⁶⁷ The *Daily Chronicle* therefore maintained a certain ambiguity towards legislation, celebrating past generations of migrants that had contributed towards the economy while supporting the restriction of those deemed 'undesirable'.

Although the *Times* continued in its tradition of political independence, the newspaper was more committed to legislation than the *Daily Chronicle*. Unlike the

¹⁶⁴ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Daily News* 13 August (1903), p.6

¹⁶⁵ Indeed, during this period the *Daily Chronicle* was edited by William Fisher and was not as Liberal as it had been under the editorship of Henry Massingham between 1895 and 1899 who had resigned over pressure from the newspaper's proprietors not to criticise the government over the Boer War. As A. J. Lee has remarked, this change in editor 'certainly demoralised radicals and robbed them of what has been their strongest journal.' See: Lee, A.J. *The Origins of the Popular Press in England, 185-1914*, p.164

¹⁶⁶ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Daily Chronicle* 13 August (1903), p.4

¹⁶⁷ Ibid. p.4

popular press, however, the newspaper did not consider the *Royal Commission* to have the full support of British public opinion. The *Times* rightly asserted that alien immigration was only acute in certain areas of settlement and that 'it is not general enough to rouse any widespread public resentment'.¹⁶⁸ While the *Times* remained sensitive to the British 'tradition' of asylum and stated that the recent growth in alien immigration was due to persecution rather than economic motivations, the newspaper still asserted that immigration was a problem likely to have future negative repercussions. 'It is, however, a growing evil, and it undoubtedly calls for careful watching.'¹⁶⁹

The *Times* attempted to verify these claims by emphasising common anti-alien assumptions regarding labour competition. The newspaper remarked that 'these aliens undoubtedly compete for the occasional and unskilled labour by which alone an unpleasantly large proportion of the native population obtain their living'.¹⁷⁰ The newspaper continued by further denigrating the alien for having a detrimental impact on the nation and by failing to benefit society economically as previous migrant groups. Indeed, the *Times* appeared to underline many of the allegations against the alien that the popular press had previously made central to its demands for restrictive legislation. 'They bring no element that is of the slightest value to any society; they are degraded themselves and they tend to the degradation of enforcing the community of which they are allowed to fasten themselves.'¹⁷¹

However, the *Times* also observed the impractical nature of the recommendations of the *Royal Commission*. Although the newspaper agreed with the principle of restricting those deemed 'undesirable', the newspaper noted the difficulty in distinguishing between the 'desirable' and the 'undesirable' and felt that this prevented the implementation of a fair and unanimous restrictive policy. As the *Times* asserted, 'this is a very modest instalment of reform, but, modest, as it is, the practical difficulty of carrying it out is obvious'.¹⁷² The newspaper also accused immigration agencies of having the potential to undermine the *Royal Commission* by providing counterfeit

¹⁶⁸ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Times* 13 August (1903), p.7

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. p.7

¹⁷⁰ Ibid. p.7

¹⁷¹ Ibid. p.7

¹⁷² Ibid. p.7

documents that would reassure port authorities of the good health of migrants. The newspaper also believed the *Royal Commission* had failed to provide an effective solution to problems associated with alien immigration. 'So the thing goes on, and so we fear it will go on until larger reforms are insisted upon than any that the Commissioners have ventured to suggest.'¹⁷³

While the *Times* and the *Daily Chronicle* accepted the need for legislation to restrict aliens deemed 'undesirable', the Conservative supporting *Morning Post* responded to the final report of the *Royal Commission* with a strong denunciation of the 'tradition' of asylum. The newspaper saw asylum as a sentimental and misguided gesture and remarked that 'the opposition to any restriction of immigration has been partly philanthropic and partly sentimental [...] the catchword of a Free Asylum has been employed to keep open the doors of England to the scum of all nations'.¹⁷⁴ Indeed, the *Morning Post* progressed by further condemning the British 'tradition' and argued that the policy had become superfluous in light of concerns regarding increased immigration. The newspaper asserted that domestic issues should take priority over the needs of refugees and that other countries had already legislated against the entry of 'undesirables':

'It is time that we stopped this parrot-cry, and faced the situation like sensible people, without any undue leaning towards the sentimental [...] Stringent immigration laws are in force in America and in Australia, two countries which, one might suppose, were less in need of restriction than any others.'¹⁷⁵

Yet the *Morning Post* appeared to deny Jews the status of refugees and asserted that asylum was a policy under which only those subjected to extreme abuses in the past such as the Huguenots should benefit. East European Jews were therefore only deemed to be 'undesirable' aliens and were not perceived in the same manner as previous immigrant groups. 'But the Right of Asylum is in its essence a phrase that implies asylum for political or religious refugees which crossed the Channel after the revocation of the Edict

¹⁷³ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Times* 13 August (1903), p.7

¹⁷⁴ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Morning Post* 14 August (1903), p.4

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.* p.4

of Nantes or at the time of the French Revolution'.¹⁷⁶ The *Morning Post* emphasised that the report of the *Royal Commission* still left open the possibility for the entry of refugees; however, the newspaper also asserted that the committee had deprived Jewish immigrants of this status. 'To confuse such immigrants with the undesirables and paupers who have for a long time been flooding our cities is illogical and receives no encouragement from the report of the Commission.'¹⁷⁷

Indeed, the *Morning Post* supported all recommendations of the *Royal Commission's* final report. The newspaper did not perceive any problems with the actual enforcement of legislation and commended the committee for producing a report that provided an adequate solution to problems allegedly linked to alien immigration. 'The commission has grappled with a thorny subject, and may be heartily congratulated alike on its courage and its impartiality.'¹⁷⁸ The *Morning Post* therefore strongly advocated the implementation of restrictive legislation and appeared to welcome an Aliens Act at the expense of Britain's liberal 'tradition' of asylum. The newspaper was also certain that immigration was solely responsible for the social difficulties in areas of dense alien settlement. 'The condition of the East-end of London has become notorious. Overcrowding is rife; the native population is being ousted rapidly; and as a direct result rents have risen, increasing the margin of starvation, and the sweater flourishes. [...] It is time that this state of affairs ceased'.¹⁷⁹

The Unionist supporting *Daily Telegraph* and Conservative *Standard*, however, failed to account for the final report of the *Royal Commission* in editorial. While both newspapers had followed the various stages of the committee and advocated the implementation of restriction, neither newspaper commented on the report's recommendations in great detail. Rather, the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Standard* printed the report in its official format and outlined each recommendation. In a subsequent article, the *Standard* also contributed its own recommendation that the newspaper felt had been omitted from the *Royal Commission's* final report. The newspaper now alleged that the superior level of Jewish philanthropy was responsible for native displacement and

¹⁷⁶ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Morning Post* 14 August (1903), p.4

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.* p.4

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.* p.4

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.* p.4

held the Anglo-Jewish community responsible for labour competition. The *Standard* remarked that 'the Jewish system of outdoor relief here is really a more potent factor in bringing about the displacement of English-born craftsmen than the alleged frugality of the foreigner'.¹⁸⁰

Likewise, the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *St James's Gazette* failed to remark upon the final report of the *Royal Commission* in editorial. Rather, both newspapers commented on the recommendations of the committee through their opinion columns. The *Pall Mall Gazette* observed that the report achieved little more than emphasising what had been long established by the metropolitan daily press. The newspaper also emphasised that previous migrant groups had benefited the British economy. 'But the indiscriminate welcome given to a criminal and destitute riff-raff who can do no good to anybody is another matter, and what the report blissfully puts on record is a proof of national supineness in the presence of grave mischief to the body public.'¹⁸¹

In addition, the *St James's Gazette* underlined that the *Royal Commission* had only proposed the restriction of 'undesirable' aliens and supported this recommendation on the assumption that it would prevent the entry of those likely to become a burden on the state. The newspaper also backed the *Royal Commission's* suggestion to exclude aliens from certain areas of the East End where extreme evidence of overcrowding existed. 'There can be no doubt that an overwhelming case has been made out for legislation dealing with this urgent question, and we trust that, no matter how engrossing other matters may become before the next session of Parliament, the Government will give a foremost place in their programme for a Bill.'¹⁸²

The popular press welcomed the recommendations of the *Royal Commission* and devoted much attention to detailing each proposal. The *Daily Mail* used the report of the *Royal Commission* to legitimate its claims regarding alien immigration. 'Every allegation that has been made against the character of the alien invasion in these columns is fully justified by this report.'¹⁸³ Indeed, the alien was now 'officially' classified as pauper,

¹⁸⁰ 'THE ALIEN INQUIRY: AN OMITTED POINT', The *Standard* 5 September (1903), p.3

¹⁸¹ 'The Alien Commission', The *Pall Mall Gazette* 13 August (1903), p.3

¹⁸² *Ibid.* p.4

¹⁸³ 'THE UNDESIRABLE FOREIGNER: DRASTIC PROPOSALS OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION', The *Daily Mail* 13 August (1903), p.4

criminal and lunatic, guilty of competing with the native worker while benefiting from the generosity of the ratepayer. The *Daily Mail* also alleged that certain parts of the report were inaccurate, and claimed that Jews had not benefited British industry by introducing new trades. 'Foreign Jews are engaged in producing articles of commerce which, but for their presence, would be produced by the native workers under better industrial conditions.'¹⁸⁴ The newspaper therefore welcomed restriction to prevent further overcrowding and asserted that Jews had a bad moral effect through the displacement of natives. The *Daily Mail* also attempted to emphasise that its support for restriction was liberal and that it had no objection towards migrants able to support themselves. Its only objection was Britain being used as 'the dumping-ground for the human waste product of other nations'.¹⁸⁵

Likewise, the *Daily Express* welcomed the report of the *Royal Commission* and observed that 'their recommendations are a remarkable parallel to the line of the Bill which was drafted for and published in the "Express" last February'.¹⁸⁶ Like the *Daily Mail*, the newspaper used the report to substantiate its own hostilities against the alien and to further assert the need for restrictive legislation. The *Daily Express* maintained that the report only intended to restrict those deemed 'undesirable' and that 'against the foreigner as foreigner, on the ground of his race, nationality, or religion, no bar was ever desired'.¹⁸⁷ The newspaper disputed claims by sections of the daily press that asserted previous migrants had benefited the economy, and claimed that even if Jewish immigrants were more competent in the manufacture of certain commodities, their ability to undercut the native worker undermined any economic advantage. The *Daily Express* claimed that the report of the *Royal Commission* meant that 'there ought to be no delay in the translation of these thorough proposals into an urgent Government Bill'.¹⁸⁸

The *Jewish Chronicle*, however, gave a far more detailed examination of the *Royal Commission* that exposed certain misrepresentations of the daily press and the anti-

¹⁸⁴ 'THE UNDESIRABLE FOREIGNER: DRASTIC PROPOSALS OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION', The *Daily Mail* 13 August (1903), p.4

¹⁸⁵ Ibid. p.4

¹⁸⁶ 'ALIEN DANGER: COMMISSIONERS' DRASTIC REPORT' BARRING THE CRIMINAL, IMMEDIATE ACTION IS URGED', The *Daily Express* 12 August (1903), p.1

¹⁸⁷ 'For Immediate Use', The *Daily Express* 12 August (1903), p.4

¹⁸⁸ Ibid. p.4

alien campaign in the use of the document to further the cause for restriction. 'To listen to some of the speeches delivered upon this question, one might almost imagine John Bull perspiring profusely under a crushing burden of foreign paupers. But the Report prosaically pricks this highly coloured bubble.'¹⁸⁹ The newspaper emphasised that the report only underlined that competition existed at the lowest end of certain trades and that labour competition was minimal. The *Jewish Chronicle* also asserted that the committee had found that aliens were not of the diseased and degenerate type as the popular press had maintained. Like the *Daily News*, the *Jewish Chronicle* simply stated that the *Royal Commission* revealed that the alien 'is comparatively poor: not too clean (thanks to the voyage), and housed in unfavourable conditions'.¹⁹⁰

Yet despite declaring that the report of the *Royal Commission* undermined many of the assumptions made by anti-alienists, the *Jewish Chronicle* supported some of the recommendations made by the committee. The newspaper backed proposals to delimit overcrowding, register aliens and also asserted that the main problem was in determining what constituted 'undesirable'. The newspaper observed that 'the Commission takes the extraordinary course of completely shirking this vital point, and lays down no test whatever'.¹⁹¹ This aspect of the *Royal Commission* was deemed unacceptable and the *Jewish Chronicle* asserted that the report required further preparation in order to determine the exact terms of reference. 'All we can say is that, in that case, there should first be a clear and definite legislative definition of this class of undesirable; and secondly, that there should be a right to appeal to a higher authority (in America there is an appeal in the Secretary of the Treasury).'¹⁹²

Although the *Jewish Chronicle* failed to state a direct position in relation to restriction, like the popular press, the newspaper denied that the *Royal Commission* had been motivated by prejudice. 'It is the barest honesty to admit that the Commission conducted the inquiry with exemplarily impartiality and admirable tact.'¹⁹³ However, the *Jewish Chronicle* remarked upon the difficulty in providing a fair and indiscriminate

¹⁸⁹ 'The Alien Immigration Report', *The Jewish Chronicle* 14 August (1903), p.8

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.* p.8

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.* p.8

¹⁹² *Ibid.* p.8

¹⁹³ *Ibid.* p.17

system by which to assess aliens deemed 'undesirable'. Indeed, the *Jewish Chronicle* resembled the *Daily News* in emphasising the need for public protest and diplomatic intervention to bring an end to mass Jewish migration. 'The truth is that the alien immigration into England or the United States must, if it is to be stopped, be damned at its source in Russia itself. How this is to be done is a question that may well engage the attention of European statesmen.'¹⁹⁴

Conclusions

The response of the metropolitan daily press towards the outbreak of Russian anti-Jewish violence at Kishinev was therefore the subject of much debate. The authenticity of press reporting remained a contentious issue and this greatly undermined the expression of sympathy and compassion for the plight of East European Jewry. In addition, the number of aliens resident within Britain had significantly increased by this period and newspapers were quick to underline that Russian persecution was likely to encourage Jewish migration and rapidly increase the alien population.

However, wider socio-political changes had also created an environment in which anti-alien hostilities were more pronounced and far more vehement. Britain was no longer so secure as a leading imperial power and these insecurities lead to a decline in self-confidence that saw domestic anxieties regarding alien immigration increasingly come to the forefront of public opinion. These changes were also reflected in transformations in the newspaper industry that led to a more sensationalised representation of the alien and a newspaper industry that was less concerned with involving the readership in debates within the public sphere.

Indeed, the advent of the popular press had the effect of rapidly sensationalising the issue of alien immigration and the alien was now defined by a limited number of tropes that were mutually reinforcing. This heightened concern over the likely negative impact of increased immigration and the alien was perceived to be involved in criminal activity, prostitution and anarchism, and was believed to be responsible for the spread of disease, degeneration, overcrowding and labour competition. Pictorial representation

¹⁹⁴ 'The Only Was', *The Jewish Chronicle* 21 August (1903), p.17

also contributed to the wider circulation of these accusations and brought anti-alien hostilities to the forefront of public opinion as means of entertainment.

The final report of the *Royal Commission* served to heighten these concerns and its recommendation for the implementation of restrictive legislation meant that the daily press showed greater commitment to the introduction of an Aliens Bill. Newspapers also became more outspoken regarding the issue of asylum as a misguided and sentimental policy that no longer held any relevance. Despite the outbreak of extreme 'brutality' towards East European Jewry at Kishinev, fears over a potential refugee crisis therefore contributed towards disrupting the expression of sympathy and compassion for the plight of East European Jewry. Indeed, the link between persecution and mass migration was now so acute that outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence were often immediately seen as being responsible for a mass 'influx' of East European Jewry.

The potential for a public protest was also not pursued as rigorously as it had been during previous outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence. Changes in the newspaper industry had seen the proliferation of a more sensational and commercialised journalism that was more concerned with the pursuit of mass circulation than the elevation of the readership towards more active participation in the public sphere. This meant that a public remonstration similar to that of the Mansion House and Guildhall meeting never became the subject of extensive press attention. Alongside heightened anxieties over alien immigration, this greatly undermined the expression of sympathy and compassion for East European Jewry.

In the aftermath of the Kishinev massacre the metropolitan daily press therefore failed to raise the issue of a public protest and increased alien immigration meant that fears over a mass 'influx' of East European Jewry remained such a provocative issue that they obscured the propensity for moral protest. Wider socio-political issues and changes within the newspaper industry also meant that fears regarding increased alien immigration became far more prominent. As a consequence, the Kishinev massacre did not receive the same extent of press attention as previous outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence and sympathy for the plight of East European Jewry was severely undermined by the threat of a substantial increase in alien immigration. The link between persecution and mass migration was also now firmly embedded in the outlook of the

metropolitan daily press, and in the context of the *Royal Commission*'s recommendation for restriction, a large section of the metropolitan daily press was committed to the implementation of the Aliens Act.

Chapter 4

The Passing of the Aliens Act and the Odessa Massacre, 1904-1906

The passing of the Aliens Act marked the peak of anti-alien agitation in relation to fears over increased immigration. During this period support for the implementation of restrictive legislation had reached such an intensity that it far outweighed previous backing for legislation. Expressions of anti-alienism had also become far more vehement and were greatly enhanced by Chamberlain's campaign for Tariff Reform. Indeed, protectionism was responsible for radically altering the previous consensus amongst the daily press in support of Free Trade and initiated the basis for further support for the implementation of restrictive legislation. The importation of foreign goods and the 'influx' of foreign labour were therefore often seen as a 'double burden' and greatly increased the extent to which fears over a potential increase in East European Jews were expressed in terms of a more aggressive form of anti-alienism.

Anti-alienism had become such a powerful and effective means of asserting fears over increased immigration that negative assumptions regarding the alien far outweighed concern for the plight of East European Jewry. In addition, political debate over the passing of the Aliens Act had reached such an acute stage that it obscured the propensity for public protest and the expression of moral indignation. Both these factors were concomitant in limiting the scope for public concern in relation to fresh outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence. However, since the *Royal Commission*, the daily press had also become increasingly bold in its denunciation of the principle of asylum in relation to criticism over the drafting of the Aliens Bill. Changes in the newspaper industry had also seen the proliferation of a more sensational and commercialised journalism that was more concerned with the pursuit of mass circulation than the elevation of the readership towards more active participation in the public sphere.

These changes in the newspaper industry greatly influenced attitudes towards restriction and the Russian persecution of East European Jewry. Anti-alienism was frequently expressed in terms of a racial discourse and the ‘tradition’ of asylum was consistently perceived to be an out-dated policy. Responses towards the Russian persecution of East European Jewry also failed to initiate public opinion in relation to public protest and anti-Jewish violence was consistently seen as an unfortunate, but necessary, consequence of the larger revolutionary uprising against the Russian autocracy. In addition, the Conservative press now dominated the newspaper industry and was able to undermine the Liberal press’ attempts to protest against the implementation of restriction. Liberal opposition towards restriction was also undermined by the *Daily Chronicle*’s inconsistent attitude towards legislation. There was therefore a failure by the Liberal press to confront Conservative and Unionist support for the Aliens Act.

The link between persecution and mass migration was also now so firmly embedded in the metropolitan daily press’ attitude that outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence were immediately perceived in terms of an increase in the alien population. The Aliens Act had ‘safeguarded’ the principle of asylum and while sections of the daily press supported this measure they also appeared to fear an ‘influx’ of Jews despite the implementation of legislation. Fears over a perceived ‘influx’ of East European Jewry therefore remained a constant factor in relation to outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence. Indeed, the expression of genuine sympathy and compassion that emerged in relation to earlier outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence was now exceeded by fears over a mass ‘influx’ of East European Jewry. Heightened anti-alienism surrounding the passing of the Aliens Act alongside outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence at Odessa therefore served to heighten anxieties over the mass migration of East European Jewry.

Protectionism and the Anti-Alien Campaign

(i) Protectionism and the Division of the Metropolitan Daily Press

Although the *Royal Commission on Alien Immigration* made the division regarding restrictive legislation amongst the daily press more definite and publicly visible, this

division was further augmented by Joseph Chamberlain's pledge for protectionism. Indeed, Chamberlain's scheme had a decisive impact in disrupting the previous unanimity amongst the metropolitan daily press in support of Free Trade, and while the relationship between protectionism and restriction had long been established, the public profile of Chamberlain's campaign brought greater publicity for the implementation of restrictive legislation.¹

Yet while agitation towards the principles of Free Trade had occurred during earlier peaks of hostility towards immigration, negative assumptions regarding the importation of foreign goods were now expressed with far greater emphasis alongside anxieties regarding immigration.² Protection and restriction were therefore seen to be synonymous, in the sense that goods made abroad were believed to undercut native labour, while products made in Britain by alien labour were believed by restrictionists to lead to the mass displacement of the native workforce.³ However, Chamberlain's use of the anti-alien campaign was also opportunistic, as it was easy to appropriate the aliens question in the aftermath of the *Royal Commission* and its recommendations for the implementation of restrictive legislation.⁴ Chamberlain was also aware of the growing power of mass circulation journalism and that the success of protectionism depended upon the support of the lower-middle and working-classes that could be easily reached through a rapidly expanding newspaper market.⁵

¹ At the close of 1903 Lord Rosebury succinctly underlined the significance of the schism caused by Chamberlain and his pledge for Tariff Reform amongst the British press: 'At the beginning of last May I suppose there were hardly any newspapers in the country who realised that they were not as much attached to Free Trade as to the British Constitution and the Union Jack. All of a sudden there comes forward this magic musician. Who plays a few notes on his pipe, and in a moment the whole mass of this highly respectable, and I thought, firm and convinced Free Trade Press began to caper. Some are very old newspapers, who almost wore out their youth on behalf of Free Trade; some are middle-aged papers which I never suspected of these frolics; some are young and active and enterprising papers with enormous circulations. It matters very little what they are – large circulations or small – they all go hopping and bounding and skipping after the magic piper who has summoned them.' See: Koss, S. *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain, Vol. 2: The Twentieth Century*, p.19

² Indeed, Eugene Black has asserted that 'the issue of restricting alien immigration must thereafter be seen as what it is, in fact, was – an important part of the struggle against the mid-Victorian gospel of Free Trade'. See: Black, E. C. *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry, 1880-1920* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), p.279 and Gainer, B. *The Alien Invasion: The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905*, p.132

³ Ibid. p.132

⁴ Ibid. p.143

⁵ See: Koss, S. *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain, Vol. 2: The Twentieth Century*, p.19

The metropolitan daily press therefore became preoccupied with protection alongside its support for restriction that had gained renewed vigour in the aftermath of the *Royal Commission*. Yet although the *Royal Commission* had clearly divided newspapers over the issue of legislation, the division regarding protectionism did not initially correspond directly to that of restriction. For instance, the *Daily Chronicle* had accepted the need to legislate against 'undesirables' but failed to support Chamberlain's pledge for Tariff Reform. The newspaper greeted Chamberlain's maiden speech at Birmingham with great condemnation, and although the newspaper agreed with some basic principles, it believed Chamberlain had neglected domestic reform in favour of imperialism. 'We are as much in sympathy with the Imperial idea as Mr. Chamberlain himself; but Imperialism which walks on stilts and disdains as parochial all questions affecting the welfare of the heart of the Empire is Imperialism gone mad.'⁶

Likewise, the *Daily News* saw protectionism as neglectful of domestic concerns and accused Chamberlain of suffering a 'delirium of megalomania'.⁷ The newspaper also questioned Chamberlain's financial assumptions regarding the importation of foreign goods and believed tariffs would have negative consequences on the economy. The *Daily News* therefore disagreed with Chamberlain's analysis of foreign imports and asserted that his policy would fail in all of its objectives. 'Our trade with foreign countries, in other words, is nearly three times as great as our trade with the Colonies. And yet Mr Chamberlain wants to handicap the cause of the Empire by punishing our foreign trade at the expense of the Empire!'⁸

However, these Liberal morning dailies were the only newspapers to wholly object towards protectionism throughout the course of Chamberlain's campaign and remain devoted to the liberal principles of Free Trade. While the Conservative *Standard* was surprisingly antagonistic towards Tariff Reform and appeared to disagree with the central tenets of protectionism, Pearson's purchase of full control in November 1904 saw the newspaper turn fervently protectionist.⁹ Nevertheless, the *Standard* was initially

⁶ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Daily Chronicle* 16 May (1903), p.6

⁷ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Daily News* 16 May (1903), p.7

⁸ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Daily News* 18 May (1903), p.7

⁹ In 1903 Pearson had also purchased the *St James's Gazette* and turned the newspaper towards a more protectionist orientation. See: Lee, A.J. *The Origins of the Popular Press in England*, pp.176-177

hostile towards protectionism on the assumption that foreign competition was not as drastic as Chamberlain had proclaimed. ‘Mr Chamberlain has made a mistake in conjuring up unreal terrors. Sound policy should not be recommended as an alternative to imagined disaster.’¹⁰

Although the *Times* was not openly hostile towards Tariff Reform, the newspaper was initially ambivalent in regard to Chamberlain’s proposal.¹¹ The *Times* welcomed Chamberlain’s announcement and felt that his speech underlined a possible means of imperial cohesion. Yet the newspaper also noted that Chamberlain’s scheme lacked a clear and coherent programme by which to implement Tariff Reform, and what the newspaper supported in principle, it questioned in terms of expediency. ‘Not only can we give nothing to our colonies in return for what they give us, but we do not even protect them from direct reprisals by protectionist States’.¹²

Of the more established nineteenth century morning dailies, the Conservative *Daily Telegraph* and *Morning Post* supported protectionism unequivocally. The *Daily Telegraph* believed Tariff Reform was necessary to provide greater imperial unity and asserted that the future of the empire depended upon Chamberlain’s scheme. ‘It concerns the welfare of generations yet unborn whether this Empire, unique in its character as unrivalled in its opportunities, is knit close into one homogenous whole’.¹³ The *Morning Post* also believed the future of the empire depended upon the protection of colonial imports and that Chamberlain had established ‘the future of the nation and of the Empire, and the policy on which that future depends’.¹⁴ Of the evening newspapers, both the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *St James’s Gazette* also agreed with protectionism on the assumption that it would provide greater imperial unity.

¹⁰ ‘Untitled Editorial’, The *Standard* 16 May (1903), p.5

¹¹ See: *The History of the Times: Vol. 4 (Part 1) The 150th Anniversary and Beyond, 1912-1948* (London: Times Publishing Company, 1952), pp.9-11 and Koss, S. *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain, Vol. 2: The Twentieth Century*, p.21

¹² ‘Untitled Editorial’, The *Times* 18 May (1903), p.9

¹³ ‘Untitled Editorial’, The *Daily Telegraph* 16 May (1903), p.4

¹⁴ ‘Untitled Editorial’, The *Morning Post* 16 May (1903), p.6

However, the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Express*' support for protectionism was based largely on the realisation that Britain faced obstacles as an imperial power.¹⁵ Although this was evident in the rationale of all support for Tariff Reform, the popular press was more thoroughly motivated by this negative focus of Chamberlain's campaign. As the *Daily Mail* remarked, 'he pleaded with his countrymen to sink all minor differences and work for the consolidation of the Empire, since on what we do in the next few years, depends whether we stand together as one great nation or fall into separate States, each selfishly seeking its own individual interest'.¹⁶

Protectionism was therefore responsible for radically altering the previous consensus amongst the daily press in support of Free Trade and had a profound impact on support for restrictive legislation. After Chamberlain's Glasgow speech, the initial ambivalence of the *Times* was replaced by full support for Tariff Reform where the newspaper saw Chamberlain as a pioneer, prepared to disavow the party line for the benefit of the nation. 'He is a pioneer who has ceased to be officially connected with the party only because a pioneer must walk ahead, but who is ready, if that party be attacked, to fall back into line and play his part in the fight.'¹⁷ Likewise, Pearson's acquisition of the *St James's Gazette* in 1903 and the *Standard* in 1904 saw both newspapers fall behind protectionism with the offer of full support for Chamberlain's scheme.¹⁸ This transformation amongst the daily press and the shift away from the liberal principles of Free Trade led to greater support for the implementation of restrictive legislation amongst the Conservative and Unionist press.

(ii) Protectionism and Anti-Alienism

Indeed, the link between protection and restriction was consistently exploited by the Conservative and Unionist press to attack the Liberal party. This tension had originated during Conservative and Liberal debate over fiscal policy during the Great

¹⁵ Chamberlain received his first backing from Alfred Harmsworth with support for protectionism from the *Daily Mirror* and the *Daily Mail* in 1903. See: Lee, A.J. *The Origins of the Popular Press in England*, p.176

¹⁶ 'THE OUTLOOK: Mr Chamberlain versus Mr Balfour.', The *Daily Mail* 18 May (1903), p.4

¹⁷ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Times* 7 October (1903), p.7

¹⁸ Pearson also became chairman of Chamberlain's Tariff Reform League in July 1903.

Depression where protectionism had been revived by the Conservatives under the banner of Fair Trade. Throughout this period the Liberal party had been consistently portrayed as 'weak' for maintaining support for Free Trade and this accusation was now reiterated in reference to the party's 'open door' policy towards imports and immigration. However, the Conservatives had now attained the backing of a greater number of metropolitan newspapers than the Liberal party and were therefore able to easily undermine the Liberal party's opposition to Conservative policy.¹⁹ For instance, the *Pall Mall Gazette* made use of pictorial representation to establish the perception of the 'GREAT FREE TRADE PARTY' as the party in favour of the unrestricted importation of foreign goods and the free entry of aliens. The newspaper printed a provocative image of the Liberal leader (See Figure 1) welcoming stereotyped images of Jews that resembled earlier representations in the *Daily Express*.²⁰ Yet the bags that immigrants carried now simply made reference to the supposed effects of Free Trade and unrestricted immigration in relation to the displacement of native labour.

While this image attempted to emphasise the negative impact of unrestricted immigration by inserting the solitary figure of an unemployed worker overlooking Campbell-Bannerman, it also underlined the further politicisation of the alien question. The result of the *Royal Commission's* recommendations and the failure of the first attempt to pass legislation, alongside the impact of Chamberlain's pledge for Tariff Reform, meant that the daily press was now prepared to openly side over legislation on party-political lines.²¹ Although certain newspapers attempted to maintain that protectionism was not a party-political issue, restriction became a means through which the Conservative and Unionist press increasingly emphasised a perception of Liberal weakness that came to the forefront of public opinion in subsequent debates regarding the

¹⁹ See: Lee, A.J. *The Origins of the Popular Press in England, 1855-1914*, pp.162-167

²⁰ See: Chapter 3

²¹ On the daily press and party politics during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century see: Lee, A.J. *The Origins of the Popular Press in England, 1855-1914*, pp.131-180

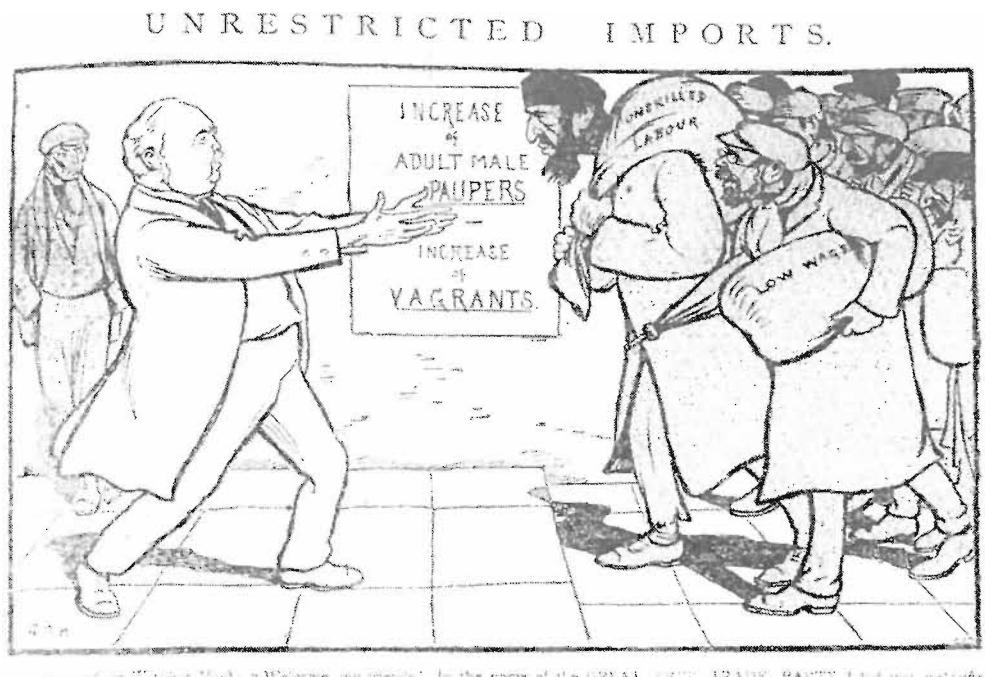


Figure 1 – ‘UNRESTRICTED IMPORTS’, The *Pall Mall Gazette* 13 November (1903), p.3

implementation of restrictive legislation. Indeed, this animosity was part of a wider drive by Conservatives to wrestle press power from the Liberals.

However, protectionism reached its zenith in heightening public opinion in relation to restrictive legislation when Chamberlain addressed the East End in December 1904. Although the daily press had made frequent reference to parallels between Tariff Reform and restriction throughout Chamberlain’s campaign, it was during December that Chamberlain made his most obvious attempt to entice the working-classes with explicit reference to the need for the implementation of legislation on account of accusations regarding the displacement of native labour.²² As the *Daily Chronicle* remarked:

In addressing an East-end audience he made a great point of the alien question. These unhappy persons – whom, by the way, Mr Chamberlain would like to send to

²² For example, the *Pall Mall Gazette* launched a two-month campaign entitled ‘OUR TRADE WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES’ that made frequent reference to the need for restrictive legislation throughout February and March 1904 on account of native displacement.

some other country under the aegis of the British flag - are, it seems, taking the bread out of the mouths of British men.²³

Indeed, while the *Daily Chronicle* had previously responded to the *Royal Commission* in support of restriction, the newspaper now appeared less enthusiastic over the prospect of legislation. This was partly due to changes implemented by its new editor, Robert Donald, who had reduced the price of the newspaper to a halfpenny and returned it to a more orthodox Liberal position.²⁴ The *Daily Chronicle* stated that Chamberlain lacked new arguments and asserted that Free Trade was crucial to Britain's stability, as the country increasingly relied upon foreign imports financed by domestic exports. 'Free Trade is more essential to this country than it was [...] We have become more than ever dependent on supplies of foreign food, and on exports to pay for them.'²⁵ The *Daily Chronicle* now also remarked that it wished to 'confront' the view that aliens undercut native labour and were responsible for the mass displacement of workers. The newspaper stated that aliens introduced new trades and that direct competition was minor and insignificant. 'The matter is comparatively trivial, and it is idle to pretend that it has any great effect on the general status of trade and employment in the country.'²⁶

The *Daily News* also remained hostile towards Chamberlain and criticised the East End meeting for having pre-selected its audience to represent the interests of its speakers. In addition, the newspaper remarked that Chamberlain omitted many subjects that were also detrimental to the working-classes and that alien immigration was trivial in comparison. 'The most remarkable features of the speech were Mr Chamberlain's omissions.'²⁷ The *Daily News* therefore emphasised the misuse of the aliens question and stated that should there be a second attempt at legislation, the Liberal party would defend the free entry of aliens alongside the principles of Free Trade. The *Daily News* stated that Chamberlain had been 'playing on the preference of those who would exclude all aliens

²³ 'MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S RE-HASH', *The Daily Chronicle* 16 December (1904), p.4

²⁴ See: Lee, A.J. *The Origins of the Popular Press in England, 1855-1914*, p.164

²⁵ 'MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S RE-HASH', *The Daily Chronicle* 16 December (1904), p.4

²⁶ *Ibid.* p.4

²⁷ 'MR CHAMBERLAIN AT LIMEHOUSE', *The Daily News* 16 December (1904), p.6

from our ports [...] if Mr Balfour raises the issue again they [the Liberal party] are ready to fight, for Free Trade is living men and women'.²⁸

The majority of daily newspapers, however, supported Chamberlain's speech and made positive reference to his appropriation of the aliens question. The *Morning Post* believed Chamberlain had delivered a speech that would 'destroy' the case for Free Trade. 'MR CHAMBERLAIN went on to show the intimate connection between a constructive social policy and the Imperialism which he is advocating. He dealt in particular with the question of alien immigration, and its relation to the maintenance of the standard of life of the working classes.'²⁹ The *Morning Post* also used the aliens question to emphasise the perception of Liberal weakness and the party's dependence upon an economic policy that was no longer appropriate to British imperial policy. 'They [the Liberal party] have shown, in relation to alien immigration, exactly the same want of practical sagacity as they have on the fiscal question.'³⁰

Likewise, the *Times* and the *Daily Telegraph* used Chamberlain's East End speech to emphasise support for the implementation of restrictive legislation. Although the *Times* believed that the aliens question was only part of a wider social issue regarding employment, it used the East End meeting to attack the Liberal party's conduct over the Conservative party's attempt to pass legislation in 1904. 'The Opposition have thwarted legislation to prevent the influx of the least desirable populations of Europe [...] It is highly proper that those who would leave our workmen to be thrown out of work by foreign tariffs should see no harm in swamping them with immigrants.'³¹ The *Daily Telegraph* also emphasised the perception of the Liberal party as both weak and divided over protection and restriction. 'Do the electors of the United Kingdom, or of the Colonies, imagine they will find any such harmony in a party led by Sir HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN?'.³²

This animosity towards Liberal support for Free Trade and the free entry of immigrants was part of a wider attack on the Liberal party by the Conservative press.

²⁸ 'MR CHAMBERLAIN AT LIMEHOUSE', *The Daily News* 16 December (1904), p.6

²⁹ 'Untitled Editorial', *The Morning Post* 16 December (1904), p.4

³⁰ *Ibid*, p.4

³¹ 'Untitled Editorial', *The Times* 17 December (1904), p.11

³² 'Untitled Editorial', *The Daily Telegraph* 16 December (1904), p.6

Under the proprietorship of Pearson, the *Standard* also used Chamberlain's speech to bolster support for the Unionist party and stated that if legislation was not passed at the next opportunity, the party would suffer great political losses if it remained divided over the issue of protectionism. Yet since the newspaper had been purchased by Pearson it had begun to express the need to legislate with far greater contempt for the alien that frequently relied upon an explicitly racialised discourse. As the *Standard* remarked:

we punish debasement of the national coinage and encourage debasement of the national blood. We prohibit the adulteration of food and allow the wholesale adulteration of citizenship. We breed higher types of animals and promote in the midst of the greatest city in the world the vicious increase of lower types of men.³³

Similarly, the evening press made a more concerted and disdainful effort to emphasise the need for protection and restriction by asserting the more derogatory aspects of the alien question in referring to the 'poisoning' of British 'stock' by the influx of 'lower grades'. These more vehement expressions of anti-alienism marked a further stage in the development of a more explicitly racial alien discourse. The *Pall Mall Gazette* stated that the importation of foreign goods and foreign labour needed to be legislated against and linked this to the supposed loss of a fit and healthy native workforce through state-aided emigration to the colonies:

We must either exclude the lower grades of foreign labour along with their products or abase our native producers to the same level [...] In this country we lose a balance of many thousands yearly, sending away the best, the strongest, and the most energetic of our British stock to make room for elements which are at their best emaciated and at their worst unspeakably corrupt and poisonous.³⁴

The *St James's Gazette* also launched an attack on unrestricted immigration and was certain that the government would implement legislation in the forthcoming Parliamentary session. 'We have the Prime Minister's promise that an Aliens Bill will be

³³ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Standard* 16 December (1904), p.6

³⁴ 'THE TRAIL OF CHEAPNESS', The *Pall Mall Gazette* 16 December (1904), p.1

the Government's earliest preoccupation when Parliament reassembles'.³⁵ The newspaper also adhered to the belief that the native worker suffered the 'double burden' of the importation of cheap foreign goods and the entry of cheap foreign labour. However, the *St James's Gazette* chose not to articulate this in terms of a racial discourse. 'The East Ender labours under a double penalty. His employment is being taken from him by the economic condition of the country, and being as the man who hath not, the alien is allowed to take from him "even what he seemeth to have."'³⁶

Nevertheless, the popular press remained far more hostile towards alien immigration in relation to Chamberlain's speech than the more established newspapers of the nineteenth century. The *Daily Mirror* compared Chamberlain to Gladstone for embarking upon a nationwide campaign to broaden support for Tariff Reform and made particular reference to Chamberlain's remark regarding the enforced deportation of aliens to a colonial territory under British protection. As with the *St James's Gazette*, the *Daily Express* perceived the lack of legislation as a 'double problem' for the native worker and supported the need for protectionism alongside restriction. However, the newspaper also framed its hostility in direct criticism of Britain's 'tradition' of asylum. 'Under our policy of the open door we have built a bridge between the countries in which these people suffer and our own, which is already far too full.'³⁷

The *Daily Mail* chose to reiterate many of the arguments that had come to prominence over the duration of the anti-alien campaign and did not merely focus on the economic burdens associated with Free Trade and the free movement of people. The newspaper remarked that 'the main cause of this distress is the steady and uninterrupted inflow of pauper, diseased, and criminal foreigners, who eat the cheap loaf of which the free traders are so exceedingly proud'.³⁸ The *Daily Mail* referred to the supposed lower standard of living amongst immigrants and the propensity for aliens to undertake criminal activity in order to establish themselves. The newspaper also attacked the Liberal party for its previous opposition towards restriction and asserted that they 'sacrifice the

³⁵ 'MR CHAMBERLAIN AT LIMEHOUSE', The *St James's Gazette* 16 December (1904), p.1

³⁶ *Ibid*, p.1

³⁷ 'ALIENS AND LITTLE ENGLANDERS: MR CHAMBERLAIN'S PATRIOTIC SPEECH IN THE EAST END', The *Daily Express* 16 December (1904), p.4

³⁸ 'THE OUTLOOK: The Voracious Alien', The *Daily Mail* 17 December (1904), p.4

Englishman to the stranger, admit foreign products untaxed to British markets, and permit the alien to take his job from the British toiler'.³⁹

Indeed, the *Jewish Chronicle* attempted to defend the alien against these wider allegations printed in the *Daily Mail*. The newspaper remarked that Chamberlain's support for restriction as a deterrent to increased immigration was unfounded and that the introduction of legislation in the United States had not impeded the number of Jews entering the country. 'The American precedent, upon which the Restrictionists love to dwell, shows that, with all the deterrent effects claimed for it, vast numbers of Jews can still enter the United States every year.'⁴⁰

The *Jewish Chronicle* also refuted the rise in alien criminality and the claim that a large proportion of Jews were infected with disease. Although the increase in alien criminality may have been of a higher percentage than native criminality, the newspaper asserted that 'Russo-Jewish aliens' only represented thirty three percent of the alien population and therefore only contributed towards twenty per cent of all alien criminality. 'The disproportionate foreign crime was mainly the result of German and American work, the latter of which does not seem, somehow to rouse the fulminations of the Bench or the wrath of the sensational press.'⁴¹ Chamberlain's reference to alien disease was also noted to contradict evidence presented to the *Royal Commission* and conflict with the committee's final report.

Chamberlain's campaign for protectionism was therefore responsible for radically altering the previous consensus amongst the daily press that had stood in support of the liberal principles regarding Free Trade. Accompanying this transformation, the alien question became increasingly politicised where the Conservative and Unionist press were far more hostile towards the Liberal party and articulated anti-alienism in reference to a far more aggressive and racialist discourse. The preoccupation with trade and employment also enabled these newspapers to present the case for restriction more innocently as a means to protect the working-classes from the threat of foreign labour. In addition, the daily press continued to openly declare contempt for Britain's liberal

³⁹ 'THE OUTLOOK: The Voracious Alien', The *Daily Mail* 17 December (1904), p.4

⁴⁰ 'Mr Chamberlain in the East End', The *Jewish Chronicle* 23 December (1904), p.10

⁴¹ 'His Charges against the Aliens', The *Jewish Chronicle* 23 December (1904), p.10

‘tradition’ of asylum despite widespread knowledge of the Russian persecution of East European Jewry. Protectionism and restriction were therefore concomitant in creating an environment in which a more antagonistic form of anti-alienism became widely expressed amongst a broader cross section of the metropolitan daily press.

The Passing of the Aliens Act

(i) The Aliens Bill and Liberal Obstruction

The link between protection and restriction therefore played a crucial role in heightening public opinion towards restrictive legislation and from the outset of Parliamentary intervention the daily press made frequent reference to the Aliens Bill alongside Chamberlain’s pledge for Tariff Reform. For instance, the first announcement of the Government’s intention to implement legislation at the King’s speech (1904) saw the *Daily Chronicle* mock protection on Campbell-Bannerman’s assumption that much of Chamberlain’s argument was self-contradictory. As the newspaper asserted, ‘then there is an Aliens Bill - a Bill, as Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman well said, for keeping out undesirable visitors from those protected countries where, according to Mr Chamberlain, every man finds work and comfort’.⁴²

Yet despite the more aggressive and racialist tone anti-alienism had taken, the daily press received the initial announcement of the Aliens Bill with a degree of disinterest. Liberal daily newspapers remarked that all legislation announced for the new Parliamentary session was ‘minor’ and ‘insignificant’, and instead focussed on undermining Chamberlain’s pledge for Tariff Reform for which the government had forecast no legislation. ‘To most people, the legislation proposed will seem of very small importance; to only one set of people in the country, can it possibly seem urgent.’⁴³ Likewise, the *Daily News* saw the Aliens Bill as a piece of legislation that would have been of secondary importance had there been the announcement of more significant legislation. As the newspaper asserted, ‘the other measures forecast - such as an Aliens

⁴² ‘Untitled Editorial’, The *Daily Chronicle* 3 February (1904), p.6

⁴³ Ibid. p.6

Immigration Bill, and the Port of London Bill - are measures that would at other times have taken their place as measures of second rank'.⁴⁴

However, while it was obvious that Liberal dailies would downplay the introduction of legislation, Conservative and Unionist newspapers that had previously taken a more hostile line in support of restriction also failed to comment extensively on the announcement of the Aliens Bill. For example, the *Morning Post* had shown rigorous support for the implementation of restrictive legislation, yet failed to note the announcement of the Aliens Bill in editorial during the opening session of Parliament. Similarly, the *Standard*, the *St James's Gazette*, the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *Times* failed to immediately comment editorially on the proclamation regarding the implementation of restrictive legislation. Each newspaper appeared to prioritise Tariff Reform and gave far greater significance to Parliament's omission of Chamberlain's proposal to implement legislation in relation to protection.

Indeed, while protection had previously heightened public opinion in relation to restriction, the failure of the government to implement Parliamentary legislation in relation to Chamberlain's scheme saw the daily press preoccupied with Tariff Reform at the expense of the Aliens Bill. Newspapers appeared to prioritise protection as the key issue affecting the future of Britain and the empire. As the *Times* remarked, 'this is the inevitable result of the emergence of a question which, as involving something like a revolution in our traditional habits of thought, demands the closest attention and study from every citizen [...] rather than one to be immediately determined in all its developments upon the floor of Parliament'.⁴⁵

Nevertheless, the *Daily Telegraph* welcomed the announcement of the Aliens Bill. Despite the lacklustre response of its contemporaries, the newspaper attempted to lead public opinion in an attempt to unite Unionist disagreement over the announcement of legislation. The *Daily Telegraph* saw the new Parliamentary session as the first opportunity for social reform since the accession of King Edward and therefore asserted its support for restriction and protection unequivocally, stating that the session was to be 'most lively, and may prove the most critical session of Parliament which has been held

⁴⁴ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Daily News* 2 February (1904), p.8

⁴⁵ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Times* 2 February (1904), p.7

since the King ascended the Throne'.⁴⁶ Indeed, the newspaper observed that the Aliens Bill had been a contentious issue for such a period that legislation was long overdue. This observation was also couched in the language of protectionism where the *Daily Telegraph* referred to the arrival of immigrants as alien 'importations.' 'A measure dealing with undesirable alien importations has long been promised, and with certain minor Bills completes the legislative programme of the Session.'⁴⁷

Like the more established newspapers of the nineteenth century, the popular press also focussed on the absence of Tariff Reform from the Parliamentary agenda. However, at the same time, the popular press also celebrated Parliament's announcement of the Aliens Bill and greatly exaggerated the need for restrictive legislation. As the *Daily Mail* remarked, 'the East of London and all our great towns are looking anxiously for drastic proposals, while not a day passes that the evils of the present haphazard system are not illustrated in our police courts and our criminal records'.⁴⁸ In addition, the *Daily Express* attempted to further underline its own influence in representing public opinion and bringing about legislation by stating that the Aliens Bill was practically identical to the bill previously drafted by the newspaper. 'It is understood that this measure, with the exception of one provision, is practically identical with those of the Bill drafted last year by a well-known legal authority for the "Express."'⁴⁹

Yet despite the hostility of the popular press, the *Jewish Chronicle* remained optimistic over the announcement of legislation, having accepted the likelihood of Parliamentary intervention since the report of the *Royal Commission*. The newspaper expected the Aliens Bill to take prominence in the forthcoming session and mocked the government on the assumption that it was 'going to devote the best of its energies to discussing how a number of Jewish refugees can be prevented from earning a crust of bread in a free land'.⁵⁰ The newspaper also remained publicly confident that dispersal schemes and developments within the East End were bringing about improvements to housing and overcrowding, and that the Anglo-Jewish community would overcome the

⁴⁶ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Daily Telegraph* 2 February (1904), p.8

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* p.8

⁴⁸ 'The Outlook: The Opening of Parliament', The *Daily Mail* 3 February (1904), p.3

⁴⁹ 'ALIENS BILL: MINISTERIAL MEASURE TO BE INTRODUCED, FORECAST OF CLAUSES, "EXPRESS" BILL PROVISIONS EMBODIED', The *Daily Express* 30 January (1904), p.1

⁵⁰ 'The King's Speech and Aliens', The *Jewish Chronicle* 5 February (1904), p.1

present difficulties. ‘The times are propitious. Cheap and rapid transit is coming, and great re-housing schemes are in process of completion. According to the promptness and resoluteness with which it seizes the present opportunity, the community will show its wisdom and its sense of the troubles which undoubtedly lie ahead.’⁵¹

However, despite the initial disinterest of the daily press, the first reading of the Aliens Bill received much detailed attention and once again brought the issue of restrictive legislation to the forefront of public opinion. The *Morning Post* immediately reiterated the connection between protection and restriction and remarked that it was ‘bad enough to have foreign goods dumped into this country to the injury of workpeople and manufacturers. It is worse that workpeople should be driven out of their homes and employment by men from overseas whose standard of living is ridiculously low compared with that which obtains here’.⁵² The newspaper also developed the link between Liberal opposition and free trade, asserting that ‘opponents of the Bill, whether they know it or not, are advocating free trade in sweated labour’.⁵³

Newspapers that supported the Aliens Bill also attempted to distance anti-alienism from the more vehement racial discourse that had become increasingly prominent during the campaign for restrictive legislation. The Conservative and Unionist press claimed that antisemitism was far more prominent on the Continent and was not a motivation for the Aliens Bill. The daily press maintained that restriction had been implemented across Europe and in the United States, and that legislation was only necessary to prohibit the entry of those deemed ‘undesirable’. However, this denial of prejudice was still often undermined by references to aliens being ‘undesirable from a racial point of view’.⁵⁴ Although the newspaper praised Huguenots as ‘good’ migrants, newspapers continued to assert that ‘undesirable’ aliens were detrimental to the country in relation to a more racialised alien discourse. As the *Morning Post* further commented ‘immigration that will strengthen the race - such as that of the French Protestants - have always been

⁵¹ ‘The King’s Speech and Aliens’, *The Jewish Chronicle* 5 February (1904), p.1

⁵² ‘Untitled Editorial’, *The Morning Post* 30 March (1904), p.6

⁵³ *Ibid.* p.6

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* p.6

welcome, but the country has no use, to use an American phrase, for aliens whose progeny will be a deteriorative element in the breed'.⁵⁵

While expressions of racial anti-alienism continued to become increasingly prominent amongst the Conservative and Unionist press, the Liberal dailies remained hostile towards the implementation of restrictive legislation. The *Daily Chronicle* asserted the inconsistency regarding imperial policy where the British government had encouraged the 'importation' of Chinese labour to the colonies and the restriction of foreign labour to Britain.⁵⁶ 'In the Transvaal, the British government is importing yellow men under servile conditions; at home, it is seeking to shut out white men from a free country.'⁵⁷ Likewise, the *Daily News* underlined the conflicting nature of concerns regarding the empire against those directly concerning the nation. 'While they are creating an artificial importation of 'undesirables' into one part of the British Empire, they desire to check the free flow of immigration into another.'⁵⁸

However, both newspapers differed over the extent to which they objected towards restriction and the *Daily Chronicle* continued to support legislation against aliens deemed 'undesirable'. The newspaper asserted that 'we see no reason of principle why British ports should not be closed to criminals, prostitutes, and persons suffering from infectious or loathsome diseases'.⁵⁹ Indeed, before the newspaper took on a more orthodox Liberal position under the editorship of Robert Donald, the *Daily Chronicle* only opposed legislation if it was likely to hinder those genuinely seeking asylum. The newspaper was therefore similar to the Conservative and Unionist press in its support for the Aliens Bill and fell behind elements of the anti-alien campaign in the belief that the further entry of 'undesirables' should be prevented.

Yet the *Daily News* objected to restriction unequivocally on the assumption that anti-alienism was based purely on sensation and exaggeration. The newspaper asserted that statistics had been greatly inflated and that aliens were not the source of 'evil' that the 'sensational' press had claimed. The *Daily News* also stated that aliens were not

⁵⁵ 'Untitled Editorial', *The Morning Post* 30 March (1904), p.6

⁵⁶ This criticism was also ironically stated in the context of the race of migrant groups.

⁵⁷ 'The Undesirable Alien', *The Daily Chronicle* 30 March (1904), p.4

⁵⁸ 'THE EASTER PAUSE', *The Daily News* 30 March (1904), p.6

⁵⁹ 'The Undesirable Alien', *The Daily Chronicle* 30 March (1904), p.4

guilty of spreading degradation in areas of settlement. ‘The Jews of the East-end have won a reputation for their orderly and wholesome domestic life, which might well serve as a model to some of their Christian neighbours, and if demoralisation has crept in here and there that is surely no reason for depriving aliens as a class of their character.’⁶⁰ The newspaper also noted that the term ‘undesirable’ was far too ambiguous and that only a small minority could be accurately defined by this expression. ‘Why should an alien who happens to be living in an overcrowded area be said to be called an ‘undesirable’?’⁶¹ The *Daily News* was therefore initially the only newspaper to completely oppose the implementation of restrictive legislation.

Nevertheless, while the *Daily Chronicle*’s support for restriction meant that on the surface it differed very little from the Conservative and Unionist press, after the first reading of the Aliens Bill a growing section of the daily press began to suggest more assertively that asylum was an out-dated concept, distancing the *Daily Chronicle* from more hostile and vehement expressions of anti-alienism. Conservative and Unionist newspapers became more self-assured in criticising Britain’s liberal ‘tradition’ of asylum. As the *Daily Telegraph* remarked, ‘we have every sympathy with the Russian or Pole who is the victim of brutal tyranny in his native land. But our first sympathies are with the English workers, whom the Russian or the Pole throws out of employment’.⁶² The *Morning Post* also shared this view and again addressed the issue on racial assumptions in relation to the supposed degenerative effects of alien immigration. ‘It would be deplorable if our unusual and often unwise charity towards oppressed citizens of foreign nations were to reduce the standard of our physique.’⁶³

While this decline in the perception of asylum as a ‘tradition’ was not unanimous, the issue shaped much Parliamentary debate during the first and second readings of the Aliens Bill and was the basis of much Liberal opposition towards restriction throughout both attempts to pass legislation. However, even the *Times* briefly questioned the principle of asylum as an out-dated concept in an attempt to undermine the Liberal defence of asylum. The newspaper asserted that ‘it is quite another thing to say that we

⁶⁰ ‘SLUM SENSATIONALISM’, The *Daily News* 2 September (1904), p.6

⁶¹ ‘THE NEW ALIEN BILL: IS IT PRACTICABLE?’, The *Daily News* 2 April (1904), p.12

⁶² ‘Untitled Editorial’, The *Daily Telegraph* 30 March (1904), p.9

⁶³ ‘Untitled Editorial’, The *Morning Post* 30 March (1904), p.6

are not to be free to do what seems good for our own people, lest we should run the risk of incidentally making it more difficult for the refugee to get here'.⁶⁴ Although the *Times* did not assert this as a broad statement, or plea directly with its readership, the mere questioning of asylum marked a decisive transformation in addressing public opinion in regard to restriction. As the *Daily Mail* remarked, 'the changed circumstances of our time have rendered legislation such as this absolutely necessary'.⁶⁵

Indeed, the second reading of the Aliens Bill saw the Liberal dailies fall behind asylum as the principle defence against the implementation of restriction.⁶⁶ While the *Daily Chronicle*'s support for legislation had previously seen it on similar grounds to Conservative and Unionist newspapers in relation to the restriction of 'undesirables', the newspaper remained firmly dedicated towards the preservation of asylum as a right for all refugees throughout both attempts to pass restrictive legislation. 'The policy of the open door conforms, moreover, to a political ideal. It is the pride and glory of England that she has been a school and bulwark of liberty'.⁶⁷ The newspaper listed many benefits Britain had gained from immigration and paid detailed attention to various stipulations of the bill.

In addition, the *Daily Chronicle* raised two doubts in relation to the term 'undesirable' despite its support for legislation on this principle. Firstly, the newspaper objected towards the possible restriction of those genuinely seeking asylum as it felt there were no visible signs by which to accurately distinguish a genuine refugee from an 'undesirable'. 'Here, then, it seems to us, the Bill runs counter to those principles which we set forth. It may tend to exclude useful recruits; and it can hardly fail to endanger the right of asylum in this country'.⁶⁸ Secondly, the newspaper underlined Charles Dilke's opposition to the bill regarding areas prohibiting alien settlement to prevent further overcrowding, remarking that this issue diverted attention from more harmful issues under which the working-class really suffered. 'There is much truth in it being said that

⁶⁴ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Times* 30 March (1904), p.9

⁶⁵ 'Refusing the Refuse', The *Daily Mail* 30 March (1904), p.2

⁶⁶ Although in the case of the *Daily Chronicle* this was only doubts in relation to legislation and was not complete rejection of the Aliens Bill.

⁶⁷ 'THE HALF-OPEN DOOR', The *Daily Chronicle* 26 April (1904), p.4

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* p.4

this Bill seeks to make the aliens the scapegoat for our own neglect.⁶⁹ The *Daily Chronicle* therefore saw elements of the Aliens Bill flawed by problems regarding the definition of 'undesirable' and the effect certain provisions would have on alleviating increased alien immigration.

Indeed, while the Conservative and Unionist press continued to support the bill throughout the second reading, controversy over certain definitions within the legislation saw these newspapers increasingly focus on the obstruction of the bill by the Liberal party in an effort to divert attention from doubts regarding concerns over the practicality of legislation. Although the Liberal press presented obstruction as a sincere attempt at questioning the Aliens Bill, supporters of legislation criticised the protracted nature of the committee's deliberations and the deliberate attempts by ministers to obstruct the bill. Indeed, the *Daily Chronicle* defended the action of the Liberal party on the assumption that 'a serious Bill on a grave subject cannot be too carefully considered, and Ministers themselves are admitting by the acceptance of amendments that the Bill can be improved'.⁷⁰ Likewise, the *Daily News* noted that slow progress was a consequence of the seriousness of questions regarding legislation that could potentially disrupt Britain's liberal 'tradition' of asylum.

The Conservative and Unionist press, however, commented on the small number of amendments passed at each sitting and held Liberal members directly responsible for a deliberate strategy of obstruction. The *Daily Telegraph* remarked that 'OBSTRUCTION, naked and unashamed, is to be the order of the day'.⁷¹ Indeed, these comments served as a further attempt by Conservatives to undermine the Liberals and newspapers failed to articulate the Conservative party's own insecurities over the passing of legislation. The evening press heavily criticised the slow progress of the bill and gave detailed commentary on events throughout the committee stage. The *St James's Gazette* held the Liberal party directly responsible for the long drawn out nature of proceedings and remarked that this should not be allowed to interfere with the determination of the government to pass legislation that was essential for the protection of the British

⁶⁹ Ibid. p.4

⁷⁰ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Daily Chronicle* 29 June (1904), p.6

⁷¹ 'ALIENS BILL: SEVEN MORE WORDS PASSED', The *Daily Telegraph* 28 June (1904), p.7

working-class. ‘The opposition are as clever as they are, politically unscrupulous. They have mastered the art of obstruction, and that of political strategy as well.’⁷²

Indeed, the popular press took evidence of Liberal obstruction as a serious affront to the government’s attempts to legislate. While the *Daily Chronicle* commented on the decision of the government to send the bill to committee as evidence of their own doubts regarding the practicality of legislation, the popular press regarded Liberal opposition as being solely responsible for the sabotaging of the Aliens Bill. The *Daily Chronicle* suggested that the government was aware ‘that the Bill is only a little bit electioneering business, meant more for show than practical effect, and really not worth serious debate’.⁷³ However, the *Daily Mail* believed that the Liberal party was directly responsible for ‘obstructing an Aliens Bill, which is specifically designed to prevent the competition of foreign labour against the British working man’.⁷⁴

Likewise, the *Daily Express* and the *Daily Mirror* were anxious to underline Liberal obstruction of the Aliens Bill. The *Daily Mirror* held Liberal members accountable for the slow progress of the bill and commented negatively on the number of amendments. The newspaper asserted that ‘the Radical friends of the foreigner have so succeeded in obstructing the progress of the Aliens Bill through the Standing Committee on Law that in seven days only three lines of one clause have been passed.’⁷⁵ Similarly, the *Daily Express* warned of the danger the Liberal party posed towards the bill and claimed that the tactics of the opposition were increasingly agitating the working-class. ‘The obstructionist tactics of the Opposition in Committee on the Alien Immigration Bill are arousing great resentment among the working classes of British nationality in the East End.’⁷⁶

The Liberal dailies denied these accusations and celebrated the eventual dismissal of the Aliens Bill. Accusations over obstruction were also countered by allegations regarding the belief that the Conservative party had desired to kill the bill by deliberately

⁷² ‘SO MUCH FOR OBSTRUCTION’, The *St James’s Gazette* 8 July (1904), p.2

⁷³ ‘Untitled Editorial’, The *Daily Chronicle* 29 June (1904), p.6

⁷⁴ ‘The Danger of Government’, The *Daily Mail* 29 June (1904), p.4

⁷⁵ ‘EUROPE’S DUSTHEAP STILL: Aliens Bill Withdrawn on Account of Radical Obstruction’, The *Daily Mirror* 8 July (1904), p.4

⁷⁶ ‘ALIENS BILL’S DANGER’, The *Daily Express* 4 July (1904), p.5

sending badly prepared legislation to committee.⁷⁷ ‘It is characteristic of a Government which has lost its enthusiasm for action and clings only to a bed-ridden existence that it killed a useful measure by adding to it a bad pendant.’⁷⁸ The newspaper also made use of Arnold White to dismiss legislation as having been nothing but an attempt at electioneering. Indeed, White’s eagerness to see legislation passed led him to write an article for the newspaper stating that the bill had not been a genuine attempt to legislate as it had not made a serious effort to account for the principle of asylum and therefore had remained unworkable. ‘Anyone acquainted with English history and with the English character knows that no tampering with the right of asylum will be allowed in our time, and that when the traditions are reversed that brought us the Huguenots from France and the Low Countries, the day of our doom is fixed.’⁷⁹

White underlined the common Liberal belief that legislation had been a ‘bogus bill because it was drawn in such a form to make it impossible of acceptance’.⁸⁰ Indeed, White’s visits to Eastern Europe on behalf of Baron Hirsch had led him to conclude that legislation must deal with specific regions from which migration was occurring in order to effectively deal with large numbers of Jews that continued to journey from specific European ports. ‘If the Government had been sincere in carrying out the provisions of the Bill they would have scheduled, not certain portions of London or the great cities, but certain areas in Russia, Poland, Germany, and Austria from whence immigration should be disallowed.’⁸¹ However, White undermined any attempt to appear moderate in also asserting conspiratorial views in relation to Balfour having deliberately sent the bill to committee to be killed under pressure from certain Jewish influences:

His motives are obvious. If the Aliens Bill had passed he would have strained the political allegiance of the vast financial interests of New-court and its allies, the

⁷⁷ See: Gainer, B. *The Alien Invasion: The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905*, p.189

⁷⁸ ‘THE ALIENS BILL’, *The Daily Chronicle* 11 July (1904), p.4

⁷⁹ White, A. ‘CABINET AND ALIENS: Bogus Bill Used as a Counter in the Party Game’, *The Daily Chronicle* 11 July (1904), p.3

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* p.3

⁸¹ *Ibid.* p.3

house of Rothschild, to its honour be it said, being firmly against any change in the statute law of England on the subject of alien immigration.⁸²

Any assumptions that Balfour had deliberately sabotaged the Aliens Bill were, however, completely neglected by the Conservative and Unionist press. The focus of these newspapers was solely on a deliberate Liberal strategy of obstruction. As the *Daily Mail* remarked, ‘the opposition have killed the Aliens Bill. They are delighted with their success so far as it disappoints the Government’.⁸³ Predictably, the newspaper concluded its editorial with a summary of the various accusations that had now become the principal components of anti-alienism. The newspaper asserted that the failure to legislate meant that aliens were ‘to be welcomed to England, to further pollute the East End, to drive English people from their homes, to undersell their labour, and to fill our hospitals, workhouses, and gaols’.⁸⁴ Indeed, the failure to pass legislation at the first attempt had not prevented the Conservative and Unionist press from asserting ‘evils’ associated with the entry of ‘undesirables’.

The failure to pass legislation was therefore seen as the direct result of the Liberal party’s tactic of obstruction by the Conservative and Unionist press. While this also served as part of a wider Conservative drive to wrestle press power from the Liberals, Conservative and Unionist newspapers alleged that the Liberal party was solely responsible for the destruction of the bill. However, support for the Aliens Bill had also led to an increasingly vehement form of anti-alienism amongst the Conservative and Unionist press. Although these newspapers had attempted to distance themselves from earlier and more extreme statements regarding race, the denial of prejudice was somewhat undermined by constant references to aliens being ‘undesirable’ from a racial perspective. As a result, a racialist discourse became increasingly prominent in reference to the implementation of legislation. In addition, these newspapers appeared to gain increasing confidence in asserting that the ‘tradition’ of asylum was an outdated concept. Indeed, while newspapers were quick to underline that their support only referred to the

⁸² White, A. ‘CABINET AND ALIENS: Bogus Bill Used as a Counter in the Party Game’, The *Daily Chronicle* 11 July (1904), p.3

⁸³ ‘The Destruction of the Aliens Bill’, The *Daily Mail* 8 July (1904), p.4

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* p.4

restriction of ‘undesirables’, there was a growing consensus that the expression of negative attitudes regarding the British ‘tradition’ of asylum were widely acceptable within the realm of public opinion.

(ii) The Passing of the Aliens Act

The failure to implement legislation at the first attempt did not, however, lead to a decline in support for restriction amongst the Conservative and Unionist press and newspapers remained focussed on the need for legislation to prevent the further entry of aliens. The government’s commitment towards restrictive legislation therefore remained the subject of detailed press attention and a number of issues kept the question at the forefront of British public opinion.⁸⁵ As Bernard Gainer has remarked, ‘Chamberlain’s speech at Limehouse in December 1904 increased the Tariff Reform and East End pressure for the Bill, and the Mile End by-election of January 1905, though a dubious mandate in itself, left restriction a possibly useful electoral tool.’⁸⁶ In addition, certain newspapers embarked upon their own anti-alien campaigns that played a crucial role in heightening public opinion towards restrictive legislation.

For example, the *Standard* commenced an investigation into the character of the alien in which the newspaper asserted the ‘seriousness’ of the situation brought about by Chamberlain’s East End speech. The newspaper played down the failure of the government to pass legislation and asserted that it was ludicrous to assume ‘that the danger of Alien Emigration has been exaggerated for the purposes of party politics’.⁸⁷ This investigation lasted an entire month and attempted to establish an impartial overview through an examination of conditions throughout Central and Eastern Europe. However, the enquiry remained prejudiced from the outset, the newspaper commenting that other

⁸⁵ See: Pellow, J. ‘The Home Office and the Aliens Act, 1905’ in *Historical Journal* (June, 1989), pp.369-385

⁸⁶ Gainer, B. *The Alien Invasion: The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905*, p.190

⁸⁷ ‘THE PROBLEM OF ALIEN IMMIGRATION: METHODS OF EXCLUSION, THEIR EFFECT ON ENGLAND’, *The Standard* 2 January (1905), p.8

'civilised' nations had already implemented legislation, and that 'England is practically the only country which still keeps the door wide open'.⁸⁸

The *Standard* focussed much attention on exaggerating the various accusations against the alien. This involved inflating the numerous characteristics that defined the alien as 'undesirable' and undertaking an inquiry into the causes of Jewish emigration.⁸⁹ The newspaper also attempted to further establish Britain's policy of asylum as outdated by depicting Britain as the primary destination for all of Europe's 'undesirables'. The *Standard* claimed that various authorities interviewed in Hamburg found British policy absurd and that the nation was the 'laughing-stock' of Europe. 'In circles where the whole question is understood, a mild and amused surprise at the imbecility of our attitude towards alien immigration characterises any expression of opinion on the subject.'⁹⁰ The newspaper also attempted to undermine the status of aliens as genuine refugees in an effort to further weaken Liberal support for asylum. 'The stories which originated in the offices of the *Union Israelite* as to persecution and expulsion are not based on fact. There never has been any expulsion of the Jews from Russia.'⁹¹

Although this accusation was correct, insofar as Jews had been deported to the Pale of Settlement, the implementation of the May Laws (1891) had confined East European Jewry to an area where it was difficult to attain a basic level of subsistence. Russian legislation had therefore been the indirect cause of mass migration and the accusations of the *Standard* had once again failed to recognise the often-complex nature of Russian persecution.⁹² This was further demonstrated by the *Standard*'s belief that Jews had invented stories of persecution and expulsion to disguise the 'fact' that they had originally migrated for economic reasons. 'It was only then that we heard of persecution

⁸⁸ 'THE PROBLEM OF ALIEN IMMIGRATION: METHODS OF EXCLUSION, THEIR EFFECT ON ENGLAND', The *Standard* 2 January (1905), p.8

⁸⁹ The *Jewish Chronicle* complained of antisemitism throughout the *Standard*'s investigation. See: 'Notes of the Week: The Standard and Jewish Characteristics', The *Jewish Chronicle* 17 February (1905), p.7

⁹⁰ 'THE HOME OF THE ALIEN: BISMARCK'S OPINION, HOW ENGLAND IS MADE A LAUGHING-STOCK- III', The *Standard* 7 January (1905) p.2

⁹¹ *Ibid.* p.2

⁹² See Chapter 2.

and expulsion, and it was then that the stream of alien Jews began to set West. In 1891 we were flooded here in Hamburg with destitute people of this origin.⁹³

However, the *Standard* did not completely deny Russian mistreatment of East European Jewry and persecution was used to further emphasise the need for restrictive legislation.⁹⁴ Indeed, the newspaper asserted that restriction was necessary to improve conditions within Russia. ‘England at the present moment is one of the very few countries which is open to the destitute Polish Jews. If she closes her doors upon the physically unfit and pauper thousands which Russia annually eructates upon her shores, Russia will soon be brought to face a burning question which at present she is shirking.’⁹⁵ The *Standard* therefore attempted to justify restriction on grounds of compassion for the plight of East European Jewry, where the passing of restrictive legislation would lead to the improvement of conditions within Russia. This comment was made despite widespread knowledge that legislation in other countries had not impeded immigration nor improved conditions within the Russian empire. ‘If Russia would only treat the Jews like human beings we should not be forced to legislate in order to put a stop to an intolerable nuisance which is infecting our cities, starving our workmen, and crowding our women and children out of their homes and into the streets.’⁹⁶

Likewise, the *Daily Mirror* embarked upon an anti-alien campaign through the use of pictorial representation that utilised the distinctive Jewish racial stereotype now prevalent amongst the popular and evening press. This characterisation differentiated Jews on account of their physical appearance where a hooked nose had become a recurring feature of the Jew’s body.⁹⁷ However, the *Daily Mirror* also attempted to further undermine Liberal opposition towards legislation. Figure 2 attacked Campbell-Bannerman’s rejection of restriction in the same manner as the *Pall Mall Gazette* by representing aliens as a horde of protesters holding banners that made use of the common

⁹³ ‘THE HOME OF THE ALIEN: BISMARCK’S OPINION, HOW ENGLAND IS MADE A LAUGHING-STOCK- III’, *The Standard* 7 January (1905) p.2

⁹⁴ The *Standard*’s argument for legislation was typically contradictory, simultaneously denying the severity of persecution while also using it to further the argument for the need of restriction.

⁹⁵ ‘THE HOME OF THE ALIEN: MISERY AND WANT, HOW ENGLAND SUFFERS FOR RUSSIA’S NEGLECT-X’, *The Standard* 16 January (1905), p.2

⁹⁶ ‘THE HOME OF THE ALIEN: MISERY AND WANT, HOW ENGLAND SUFFERS FOR RUSSIA’S NEGLECT-X’, *The Standard* 16 January (1905), p.2

⁹⁷ See Chapter 3.

The Passing of the Aliens Act and the Odessa Massacre, 1904-1906



Figure 2 - 'READY TO WELCOME THEIR FRIEND "C.B." TONIGHT', *The Daily Mirror* 8 November (1904), p.4



Figure 4 - 'IT WAS ALL VERY WELL TO DISSEMBLE YOUR LOVE, BUT WHY DID YOU KICK ME DOWNSTAIRS?', *The Daily Mirror* 13 January (1905), p.3



Figure 3 - 'HOW THE ALIEN DRIVES THE NATIVES FROM THE EAST END', *The Daily Mirror* 5 December (1905), p.6

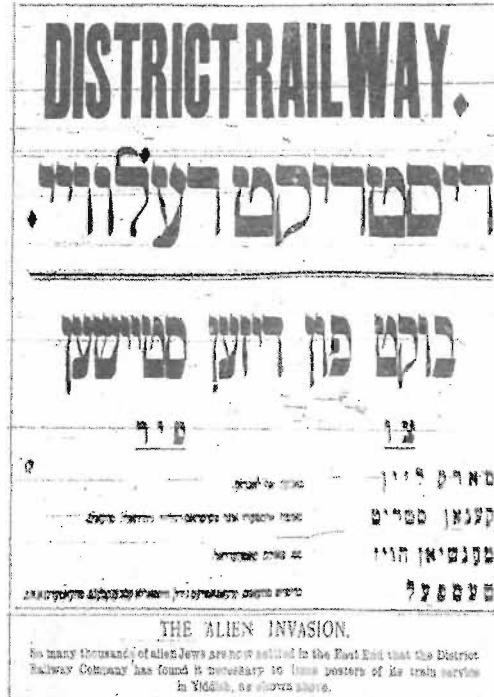


Figure 5 - 'DISTRICT RAILWAY', *The Daily Mirror* 14 January (1905), p.6

EAST END POLICE OF THE FUTURE.



Constables in the East End of London are to be taught Yiddish and German to enable them to cope with the increasing masses of aliens. Soon we shall have to go a step further and have alien policemen.

Figure 6 - 'EAST END POLICE OF THE FUTURE', The *Daily Mirror* 1 February (1905), p.7

Yiddish inflection, in declaring, 'DOWN MIT CHAMBERLAIN' and 'LONG LIEVE OUR VRENDT C-B'.⁹⁸ In addition, figure 4 attacked the Liberal party in reference to the East End by-election, in recognition of Bertram Straus's break from the official Liberal line in his last-ditch effort to gain working-class support by proposing some form of restrictive legislation.

Yet additional images used by the *Daily Mirror* also focussed on common anti-alien assumptions. Figure 3 represented the common accusation regarding overcrowding, where the alien was pictured displacing the native and subsequently reclining in triumph. This image was accompanied by a statement by Major Evans-Gordon regarding the impact increased immigration was assumed to have on the 'working-man'. Figure 4 also attempted to illustrate the impact 'Jewish' immigration had on the nation in terms of the introduction of a foreign element, where the newspaper claimed that the District Railway had introduced Yiddish signage to cater for the 'many thousands of alien Jews'. In addition, figure 6 made an additional reference to the supposed negative impact of this foreign element by stating that the police were being taught Yiddish and German to cope with increased alien criminality.

While these campaigns undoubtedly heightened public opinion towards restriction, the Mile End by-election also increased awareness of the issue of restrictive legislation in the aftermath of the failure to pass restrictive legislation. The liberal press attempted to undermine the Unionist campaign by dismissing the tactics of certain newspapers that had supported the Unionist candidate and the *Daily News* complained of the manipulation of Board of Trade statistics in stating that popular newspapers had not adequately accounted for immigration figures throughout the course of the election campaign. 'The Harmsworth-Pearson Press greatly distinguished itself yesterday by its handling of the returns of alien immigration for the last year.'⁹⁹ Indeed, the *Daily News* asserted that these newspapers had failed to explain that figures actually accounted for a large percentage of transmigrants and were not reflective of the number of aliens designated as permanent settlers. The newspaper also remarked that this strategy had been deliberately adopted to increase support for the Unionist candidate:

⁹⁸ This image was also dependent on the assumption that aliens were political subversives and anarchists.

⁹⁹ 'ALIEN MULTIPLACEMENT', *The Daily News* 12 January (1905), p.6

By dint of repressing the explanatory memoranda of the Board of Trade, and treating all aliens not described as en route for places outside the United Kingdom as permanent settlers, the journals in question are able to announce an influx of close upon 100,000 foreigners. No doubt these tactics are resorted to in the hope of influencing the result at Mile End.¹⁰⁰

In addition, the *Daily News* attempted to undermine the *Daily Mirror*'s recent pictorial campaign that had supported the implementation of legislation. The newspaper asserted that the *Daily Mirror* had not commented in editorial on the result of the election and that its interest in alien immigration had been superficial and a means of increasing circulation through sensational journalism. 'The "Daily Mirror" which tried hard to prejudice the issue by the publication of pictures intended to work up feeling against the East-end aliens, have no editorial comment whatever.'¹⁰¹ The *Daily News* also broadened this observation to include the majority of newspapers that had supported restrictive legislation to increase support for the Unionist campaign. The newspaper commented that 'the Ministerial and Chamberlite press has singularly nothing to say about the result of the Mile End election'.¹⁰²

However, while this assertion was accurate in relation to the popular press, the majority of daily newspapers did comment on the result at Mile End. The *Morning Post* made specific reference to the appointment of the Unionist candidate as a mandate to proceed with legislation. The newspaper also remarked that the election had been fought solely on the issue of alien immigration in a district where there were over six hundred Jews on the electorate. 'Mr. Lawson had to stand or fall by the view of the majority on the question of alien immigration [...] in Mile End there are at least six hundred Jews on the register, and the extent to which the alien influence enters into all the life of the district can hardly be overstated.'¹⁰³ The *Morning Post* therefore saw the result as a clear signal for the government to proceed with legislation. 'The reintroduction of an Aliens

¹⁰⁰ 'ALIEN MULTIPLACEMENT', The *Daily News* 12 January (1905), p.6

¹⁰¹ 'MILE END: OPINIONS OF THE PRESS', The *Daily News* 14 January (1905), p.4

¹⁰² *Ibid.* p.4

¹⁰³ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Morning Post* 13 January (1905), p.4

Bill is one of the first and most obvious duties of the Government, and it is but one of many matters carried over from the last session.¹⁰⁴

The announcement of the second bill was indeed greeted with the approval of Conservative and Unionist newspapers that immediately attempted to undermine the previous Liberal tactic of obstruction. The *Standard* made immediate reference to earlier Liberal opposition in the belief that this would not be a feature of political debate during the discussion of the new bill. The newspaper also remarked that public opinion was now fully aware of the negative consequences of immigration and made specific reference to alien criminality and other countries that had already implemented restriction. Indeed, the daily press now frequently used examples of foreign legislation as a means of exerting urgency for Britain to introduce its own Aliens Act. As the *Standard* observed:

When public opinion is already ranged on the side of a principle, there is little need of elaborate argument to commit it to the judgment of the legislature [...] We are adopting, late in the day, the methods which have long been in force in the United States, and in those of our colonies that have been exposed to the risks of a large and unsuitable influx.¹⁰⁵

Nevertheless, Liberal opposition to the new bill was hindered by the *Daily Chronicle*'s decision to continue its support for restrictive legislation. While the newspaper had previously supported the restriction of the 'undesirable' on the condition that the principle of asylum was protected, the newspaper now supported restriction on the assumption that Britain's status as a haven for refugees had been 'safeguarded' by much improved legislation. The *Daily Chronicle* remarked that the bill was 'an improvement on the first; and that we see no reason why the Bill of this Session should encounter uncompromising opposition'.¹⁰⁶ The newspaper also reasserted the belief that the restriction of 'undesirables' was justified and that not all Liberals opposed restriction - so long as asylum was upheld as a right to all refugees. 'We have always said that the

¹⁰⁴ 'Untitled Editorial', *The Morning Post* 13 January (1905), p.4

¹⁰⁵ 'Untitled Editorial', *The Standard* 18 April (1905), p.6

¹⁰⁶ 'ALIENS – SECOND EDITION', *The Daily Chronicle* 19 April (1905), p.4

exclusion of “undesirable” aliens is in itself a proper proceeding, if it be safeguarded from any abrogation of the right of political asylum.¹⁰⁷

However, the *Daily Chronicle* also undertook another detailed examination of the proposed working of the new bill and although the newspaper supported the restriction of the ‘undesirable’ it continued to cast doubt on the application of restriction on the assumption that it was difficult to ascertain the true disposition of an alien deemed ‘undesirable’. Indeed, the *Daily Chronicle* again asserted the difficulty in determining aliens that could potentially become a public charge, and remarked that while it was beneficial to exclude this type of migrant, most aliens had always established themselves on account of hard work and determination. ‘Evidence was produced before the Royal Commission to show that many such visitors, by their thrift, industry, and sobriety, speedily raise themselves into useful members of the community.’¹⁰⁸

The *Daily Chronicle* therefore expressed concern over the likelihood of successfully identifying aliens likely to become a public charge. The newspaper also asserted that it was doubtful whether the implementation of legislation would make a substantial difference in relation to the number of aliens entering the country. ‘If people expect great results, and especially great economic results, from this Aliens Bill they will be sadly disappointed [...] In the United States, during 1904, the total number of alien immigrants refused admission was 7,994, as the total number admitted was 812,000.’¹⁰⁹ Therefore what the newspaper appeared to support in broad principle it continued to question in terms of practicality and further doubted whether restriction would have the impact desired by restrictionists.

However, the ambivalence of the *Daily Chronicle* did little to halt support for the bill amongst the Conservative and Unionist press. These newspapers continued to assert a direct correlation between an increase in immigration and an increase in criminality and suggested that Britain was severely disadvantaging itself by not introducing legislation as other countries. Indeed, in the context of insecurity regarding increased foreign competition and Chamberlain’s pledge for Tariff Reform, Britain was increasingly seen

¹⁰⁷ ‘ALIENS – SECOND EDITION’, The *Daily Chronicle* 19 April (1905), p.4

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. p.4

¹⁰⁹ ‘ALIENS – SECOND EDITION’, The *Daily Chronicle* 19 April (1905), p.4

to be lagging behind other nations in the realm of protection and restriction. As the *Daily Telegraph* remarked ‘the whole question is absolutely simple. Every other country but England has laws to check the influx of undesirable immigrants. These enactments may vary in severity, but they are all directed to the same end, that of excluding the foreigner who is likely to become a burden to the community into which he intrudes himself without invitation’.¹¹⁰

The new legislation was an improvement on its predecessor insofar as it safeguarded the principle of asylum, no longer included clauses that prohibited alien settlement in certain areas of the East End, and had removed stipulations requiring confirmation of an alien’s character from their country of origin. The bill also gave aliens the right to appeal against a decision to an immigration board. These revisions were part of the reason the *Daily Chronicle* now supported the bill and had also limited the scope for Liberal opposition.¹¹¹ In addition, these modifications meant that the popular press could appear more moderate in support of the new bill. Indeed, the *Daily Express* began to assert its support for the legislation on grounds that it would advantage the ‘desirable’ immigrant. The newspaper stated that the bill would improve the quality of aliens arriving in Britain and that those capable of supporting themselves should never be refused entry. ‘We do not desire to keep out anyone who can maintain himself and his dependents in decent circumstances. Our object is to prevent this country being made the receptacle for the rejected of other countries.’¹¹²

The second reading of the bill passed with a large majority and even the *Daily Chronicle* had warned in advance that ‘the Liberal Party, if they are wise, will not oppose the second reading of the Aliens Bill’.¹¹³ The newspaper strongly asserted its support for the bill on the assumption that asylum had been safeguarded and that legislation would only restrict the entry of those deemed ‘undesirable’. Despite previously asserting doubt over the definition of this term, the *Daily Chronicle* now resembled Conservative and Unionist press opinion in stating that ‘political asylum is one thing; a rubbish heap is

¹¹⁰ ‘Untitled Editorial’, The *Daily Telegraph* 19 April (1905), p.8

¹¹¹ See: Gainer, B. *The Alien Invasion: The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905* (London: Heinemann Educational, 1972), pp.191-192

¹¹² ‘DESIRABLE ALIENS’, The *Daily Express* 20 April (1905), p.4

¹¹³ ‘THE ALIENS BILL’, The *Daily Chronicle* 2 May (1905), p.4

another'.¹¹⁴ Likewise, the Conservative and Unionist press appeared to accept the Liberal line in asserting satisfaction that Britain would remain a haven for those seeking refuge from persecution. Even newspapers that had previously criticised asylum as an outdated concept were content with the Aliens Bill. The *Standard* remarked that 'we shall not shut out the man or woman who has become compromised in political agitation'.¹¹⁵

Yet the *Jewish Chronicle* criticised the new bill for neglecting overcrowding in removing the stipulation regarding areas that prohibited alien settlement. The newspaper felt that anti-alienists had protested so much over this issue that to disregard it was to undermine the basis upon which restriction had previously been justified. In addition, the newspaper also dealt with the issue of racial prejudice in relation to Sydney Buxton's Parliamentary speech. Buxton had asserted that the only objection justified against immigration was hostility towards Russians and Poles on the assumption of their 'race', 'religion', 'feeling', 'language' and 'blood'. The *Jewish Chronicle* remarked that by Russian and Pole the inference was 'Jew', and that Buxton's hostility differed little from the continental antisemitism that restrictionists had claimed did not exist in the anti-alien mindset. As the newspaper remarked:

After such a declaration how can it be said that the sponsors of the alien legislation are thinking of the immigrants as aliens only and not Jews [...] His objection is not to the foreigner, but to the Jew, and in its form of words Mr BUXTON'S statement constitutes the purest doctrine of anti-Semitism as it is preached by the murderous Muscovite mobs and German Jew-haters.¹¹⁶

In addition, the *Jewish Chronicle* also criticised Aretas Akers-Douglas's manipulation of alien statistics in his speech during the second reading of the bill. The newspaper asserted that the home secretary had failed to take into consideration figures for emigration and commented that the alien question had to be fully considered if legislation was to be fully justified. Like the *Daily Chronicle*, the *Jewish Chronicle* also remarked that the bill was unlikely to make a considerable impact and that various clauses could

¹¹⁴ 'ALIENS', *The Daily Chronicle* 3 May (1905), p.4

¹¹⁵ 'Untitled Editorial', *The Morning Post* 2 May (1905), p.6

¹¹⁶ 'THE ALIENS BILL IN PARLIAMENT', *The Jewish Chronicle* 5 May (1905), p.7

easily be evaded by aliens. ‘On the whole, the debate confirms our belief that this Bill will not achieve the aims of those who are promoting it. These aims, as we have already pointed out, consist in the protection of the British working man from an alleged alien rivalry, and the drastic reduction in the stream of incoming aliens.’¹¹⁷

Despite these concerns, it was not until committee stage that the bill received genuine opposition from the Liberal party that impacted upon opinion in the daily press. Although the *Daily Chronicle* had supported the new legislation, certain amendments suggested by the Liberal party led the newspaper to again question the general application and working of the bill. The newspaper now asserted that many aspects appeared impractical and that the government should reconsider some of the articles regarding the restriction of those deemed ‘undesirable’. ‘The Aliens Bill is loose, as well as not lucid. That is to say, it does not really provide workable machinery for excluding undesirable aliens.’¹¹⁸ Indeed, the *Daily Chronicle* agreed with Herbert Asquith’s criticism that the bill would not restrict aliens that entered the country in small numbers. ‘Mr. Asquith said roundly yesterday that “it would be possible to steer a whole Channel fleet loaded with undesirables through the Act.” His criticism is justified; for though the Bill would exclude undesirables if they chose to come in herds, it would not exclude them if they came by twos or threes.’¹¹⁹

Likewise, the *Daily News* opposed the new bill on account of its general application. Although the newspaper differed to the *Daily Chronicle* in objecting towards restrictive legislation regardless of the ‘safeguarding’ of asylum, the *Daily News* also criticised the bill on the assumption that it would not restrict the entry of ‘undesirables’ travelling in small numbers. ‘A ship which brings twenty or more immigrants travelling steerage to a scheduled port will be liable to inspection, whereas one that carries only nineteen will be exempted.’¹²⁰ The *Daily News* also framed this opposition on the assumption that it could easily restrict the entry of genuine refugees, while criminal aliens in possession of a third class ticket could easily avoid police inspection by not travelling as steerage passengers. ‘The successful criminal, in short,

¹¹⁷ ‘THE ALIENS BILL IN PARLIAMENT’, *The Jewish Chronicle* 5 May (1905), p.8

¹¹⁸ ‘A LOOSE BILL’, *The Daily Chronicle* 29 June (1905), p.4

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* p.4

¹²⁰ ‘THE ALIENS BILL’, *The Daily News* 29 June (1905), p.6

will be welcome, whilst the political refugee who has been hunted from his fatherland will be welcomed by the police, and sent back again unless he can produce satisfactory evidence - say, a warrant for his arrest - that he is a bona fide refugee.'¹²¹

Indeed, the *Daily News* did not agree with the *Daily Chronicle*'s assumption that the new bill provided adequate 'safeguarding' of asylum. 'This monstrous practical joke, involving as it does the sacrifice of traditions of which we are rightly proud, is a measure of the extremity to which our present rulers are reduced.'¹²² The newspaper stated that the government was attempting too much in one piece of legislation and that it would be far better to assist the working-class by passing specific legislation dealing with unemployment issues. The *Daily News* also stated that the alien question was not a genuine problem on the scale purported by the daily press and that the real issues regarding the alleviation of the working-classes would not be achieved through restrictive legislation. 'If the Government feel compelled to exhibit themselves as friends of the workingmen, why cannot they put aside this wretched imposture and set themselves to pass the Unemployed Bill, which deals with a real and not a manufactured grievance, and which is awaited by the unskilled workers with eager expectation.'¹²³

Although the *Daily Chronicle* had supported the new bill on the assumption that it would restrict 'undesirables' while upholding the principle of asylum, criticism of the bill now influenced the newspaper to question its previous support. In addition, the announcement of the decision of the government to attain closure by 'guillotine' saw the *Daily Chronicle* condemn the administration for not allowing proper discussion of the legislation. 'As it is, a Bill which is both obscure in its real purpose, and confused in its machinery, will be passed without adequate discussion, and the actual working of the Bill when it becomes law is likely to disappoint many expectations, if also perhaps to dissipate some fears.'¹²⁴ The newspaper also now asserted that the passing of the bill posed a genuine threat to the nature of public debate and the accountability of government. 'This is a most inefficient manner of legislation, and the whole subject of Parliamentary procedure requires careful consideration by the public [...] we have

¹²¹ 'THE ALIENS BILL', The *Daily News* 29 June (1905), p.6

¹²² Ibid. p.6

¹²³ Ibid. p.6

¹²⁴ Ibid. p.6

legislation by the guillotine; and draftsmen, in preparing Bills, think not how to express enactments in the clearest language, and most convenient form, but how to elude or curtail discussion'.¹²⁵

Yet despite this opposition from the Liberal dailies, the third reading and subsequent closure of the Aliens Bill received the unanimous support of the Conservative and Unionist press. The *Daily Chronicle* also continued its ambivalent attitude towards legislation and appeared incapable of deciding whether it supported or opposed the bill. While the newspaper had previously shown contempt for the government's handling of legislation, the newspaper now declared that there was 'greater protection for political and religious refugees than the Government had proposed to give'.¹²⁶ In addition, while the *Jewish Chronicle* had previously opposed the implementation of legislation, the newspaper now applauded the government's deliberations regarding the 'safeguarding' of asylum. 'To put the matter briefly, the Government have agreed to admit refugees who have fled in consequence of a fear that they will be persecuted or punished for some political or religious offence, or in order to avoid a religious persecution involving a danger of imprisonment or bodily hurt'.¹²⁷

The passing of the bill also saw the daily press reiterate the claim that the new legislation was not antisemitic. The *Morning Post* remarked that 'there is no antisemitism in this country, and the loyalty, skill, and enterprise of our Jewish fellow-subjects are fully recognised. They have the same right to protection against an invasion of undesirables as any other section of the community'.¹²⁸ However, this claim was immediately undermined by the printing of an illustration in the *Daily Mirror*. The image made use of the widespread and common Jewish racial stereotype common in the popular and evening press and presented an alien immigrant with a plaster placed over his hooked-nose in an attempt to appear more of an 'ENGLISH-MANSKI'.¹²⁹ This

¹²⁵ 'THE ALIENS BILL', *The Daily News* 29 June (1905), p.6

¹²⁶ 'THE ALIENS BILL', *The Daily Chronicle* 20 July (1905), p.4

¹²⁷ 'NOTES OF THE WEEK: The Government and Religious Refugees', *The Jewish Chronicle* 21 July (1905), p.7

¹²⁸ 'Untitled Editorial', *The Morning Post* 20 July (1905), p.6

¹²⁹ See Figure 7.

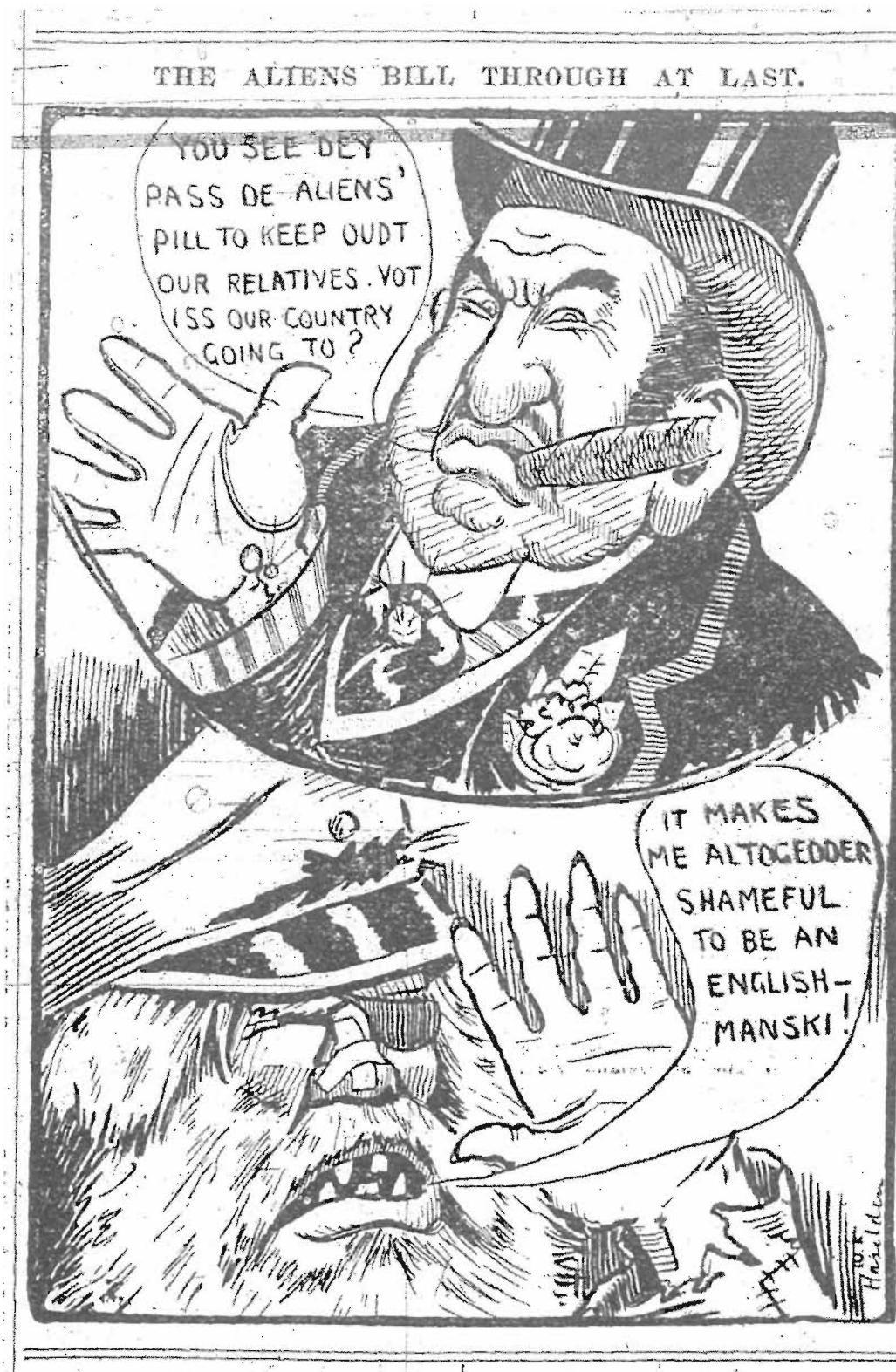


Figure 7 - 'THE ALIENS BILL THROUGH AT LAST', *The Daily Mirror* 21 July (1905), p.7

illustration represented the height of animosity against the alien immigrant and simultaneously ridiculed the Anglo-Jewish community in showing a ‘rich’ Anglicised Jew alongside a poor ‘undesirable’ alien that were both asserting contempt for the passing of legislation.

Indeed, the illustration is significant for its direct affront on the Jewish community and its lack of caution in expressing virulent antisemitism publicly. The image directly condemned all Jews as aliens despite the long history of Jewish settlement in Britain and the extent of acculturation achieved by the Anglo-Jewish community. The common Yiddish inflection also characterised both individuals as foreigners and mocked Jewish attempts at Anglicisation through their pronunciation of English. The *Daily Mirror* therefore appeared to advocate the view that Jews were unwelcome additions to society due to an immutable alien essence that could not be shifted regardless of efforts at acculturation. Consequently, the newspaper was able to mock the protestation of Anglo-Jewry over the passing of the Aliens Act on the assumption that they had no right to dispute the decision of the government of a country to which they would always be considered alien. In addition, the article accompanying the illustration asserted that legislation was a victory for British public opinion. ‘THE passing of the Aliens Bill is a good example of what can be done by the force of public opinion.’¹³⁰

The response of the metropolitan daily press towards restrictive legislation therefore saw the continuation of the expression of a more vehement form of racial anti-alienism that was accompanied by criticism of Britain’s liberal ‘tradition’ of asylum. The successful passing of restrictive legislation saw the Conservative and Unionist press retreat from this position in recognition that the new Aliens Bill accounted for the restriction of ‘undesirable’ aliens alongside the ‘safeguarding’ of asylum. However, this was somewhat undermined by the *Daily Mirror*’s celebration of the Aliens Act and the Conservative and Unionist press remaining convinced of the ‘evils’ associated with increased alien immigration. The celebration of the ‘safeguarding’ of asylum therefore

¹³⁰ ‘MEANINGLESS!’ *The Daily Mirror* 21 July (1905), p.7

remained superficial and British newspaper opinion had always reflected an ambivalence towards the unrestricted entry of refugees.¹³¹

Nevertheless, the passing of the Aliens Act was more significant for the failure of the Liberal press to successfully counter anti-alien agitation from Conservative and Unionist newspapers. The success of the Conservatives in dominating the newspaper market was partly responsible for this, yet the *Daily Chronicle* also remained inconsistent in its attitude towards restriction and therefore undermined Liberal opposition towards the bill. Although the *Daily News* remained obstinate in its refusal to accept the alien question as a genuine problem, the *Daily Chronicle* shifted between supporting and criticising both pieces of legislation due to shifts in editorial opinion. In addition, the *Daily Chronicle* failed to undermine the more virulent expressions of anti-alienism in the same manner as the *Daily News*. The Conservative and Unionist press was therefore able to successfully blame Liberal obstruction for the failure to implement legislation and this seriously undermined Liberal opposition towards the second bill. As a consequence, the passing of the Aliens Act was facilitated by the lack of firm and stable Liberal resistance to Conservative and Unionist newspaper opinion and its support for the implementation of restrictive legislation.

The Russian Revolution and the Odessa Massacre

The passing of the Aliens Act was followed by fresh outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence in the wake of social and political upheaval surrounding the Russian revolution. Although the Conservative and Unionist press had celebrated the passing of legislation for preserving the right of asylum, newspapers continued to fear large numbers of Jews fleeing Russia as a result of fresh outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence. As a consequence, apprehension over alien immigration continued to preoccupy the daily press in relation to reports of the persecution of East European Jewry. Newspapers also made little attempt to express moral indignation and elicit public opinion in relation to protest or diplomatic intervention. Where the daily press had once voiced much outrage and determination to

¹³¹ See: Chapter 1.

confront Russia over the treatment of East European Jewry, there was now a muted response in relation to intervention over fresh outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence.

The decline in public opinion regarding the expression of moral indignation that occurred in response to the Kishinev massacre therefore remained a consistent factor in relation to anti-Jewish violence. The British government was also cautious not to upset the autocracy and remained preoccupied with Russian foreign policy. As Feldman has remarked of correspondence from British consular officials during this period, ‘they certainly did not encourage the British government to come out with a strong public condemnation of the massacres and to take vigorous diplomatic action on behalf of their victims’.¹³² In addition, the link between persecution and mass migration remained a potent factor in debates regarding the Aliens Act. As the *Daily Chronicle* observed in the immediate aftermath of initial revolutionary turmoil, ‘the alien question, which threatens to become the battle ground of English politics in the next Session of Parliament, is closely affected by the outbreak of revolution in Russia’.¹³³

The daily press therefore continued to underline the fear that Russian treatment of East European Jewry would lead to a dramatic increase in the number of aliens entering Britain. Newspapers began reporting on the number of Jews deserting the Russian armed forces and the *Daily News* stated that according to reports ‘from Lemberg (Austrian Poland) 12,000 Russian deserters, mostly Poles and Jews, are now there, the majority of them being absolutely destitute’.¹³⁴ Indeed, Jewish desertion became the focus of popular press sensation and the *Daily Mirror* published photographs taken at the Jews Free Shelter of aliens that had fled the Russian armed forces.¹³⁵ The newspaper remarked that ‘our representative found that these men were Russian reservists who had fled their country to escape being sent to the war’.¹³⁶

¹³² Feldman, E. ‘British Diplomats and British Diplomacy and the 1905 Pogroms in Russia’, p.602

¹³³ ‘THE REVOLUTION: Russian Situation Full of Peril to Europe’, The *Daily Chronicle* 23 January (1905), p.4

¹³⁴ ‘EXODUS FROM RUSSIA: 12,000 DESERTERS AT LEMBERG, ENORMOUS INFLUX INTO AMERICA’, The *Daily News* 11 January (1905), p.7

¹³⁵ See figure 8.

¹³⁶ ‘RUSSIAN DESERTERS IN ENGLAND’, The *Daily Mirror* 8 December (1904), p.1



This photograph was taken at the Jewish Free Shelter, just after a batch of aliens had been brought at the London Docks. (Mr. representative found this time of these numerous Russian deserters who had fled their country from their being sent to the war.)

Figure 8 – ‘RUSSIAN DESERTERS IN ENGLAND’, *The Daily Mirror* 8 December (1904), p.1

The *Daily Mirror* continued to pay close attention to the subject of desertion and printed illustrated articles to raise the public profile of those fleeing the Russian army.¹³⁷ Yet, unlike later articles, stories of ‘Refugee Deserters’ originally attracted sympathy from the newspaper and were used to emphasise Russian ‘brutality’. Although this was partly due to early arrivals being small in number and mostly transmigrants whose final destination was the United States, the *Daily Mirror* noted in detail the suffering experienced by deserters while on active service in the Russo-Japanese war. The newspaper remarked that a ‘man immediately put up his hands above his head, and bending his legs almost double proceeded crab-like, across the room. “They had to march like that for one, or two, or three miles with men behind them with whips.”’¹³⁸

¹³⁷ See figure 9.

¹³⁸ ‘RUSSIA’S CONSCRIPTS DESERT HER ARMY’, *The Daily Mirror* 19 February (1904), p.11

However, as the passing of restrictive legislation became a more prominent issue, desertion developed into another means through which the daily press heightened hostility towards the alien. Despite the strong awareness of the brutal conditions to which Jews had been subject to in Russia, the Conservative and Unionist press continued to see Russian persecution as being directly responsible for increasing the numbers of aliens entering Britain.¹³⁹ As Black has observed, ‘the watchful popular press was always hinting that behind each army ‘deserter’ was a wife who had sold off whatever assets the family had and who would follow her husband to whatever his final destination might be.’¹⁴⁰ In addition, Conservative and Unionist newspapers increasingly chose to downplay the harsh treatment of East European Jewry on the assumption that the threat posed to Britain through mass migration was far more significant. As the *St James’s Gazette* remarked in relation to the journalist responsible for the *Standard*’s investigation into the character of the alien:

He shows with terrible clearness the deplorable circumstances in which the submerged of Poland and Russia are, first, brutalised almost beyond human semblance, and then crushed and forced into emigration to this country, where the whole trend of their invasion is toward reducing the conditions of life for our own hungry poor to the level it has reached in Poland and in “deep” Russia.¹⁴¹

Indeed, the Russian revolution also drew much support from Jews residing within the East End and increased the perception of the alien as a political subversive. Newspapers noted the outburst of excitement over initial news from Russia and directly linked this to the belief that the majority of aliens were anarchists. The *Morning Post* gave an in-depth description of celebrations within the Jewish East End and typically described the area as a place of squalor and depravity. ‘These are the streets of London for the alien-noisome, squalid streets they are with a perpetual reek of fish fried oil, a pungent odour of onions and garlic, and in the thoroughfares themselves you meet unwashed and unshaven men,

¹³⁹ For example, see figure 8.

¹⁴⁰ Black, E. C. *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry, 1880-1920*, p.300

¹⁴¹ ‘ALIEN TORRENT: HOW THE JEWS LIVE IN WARSAW’, The *St James’s Gazette* 19 January (1905), p.15

The Passing of the Aliens Act and the Odessa Massacre, 1904-1906

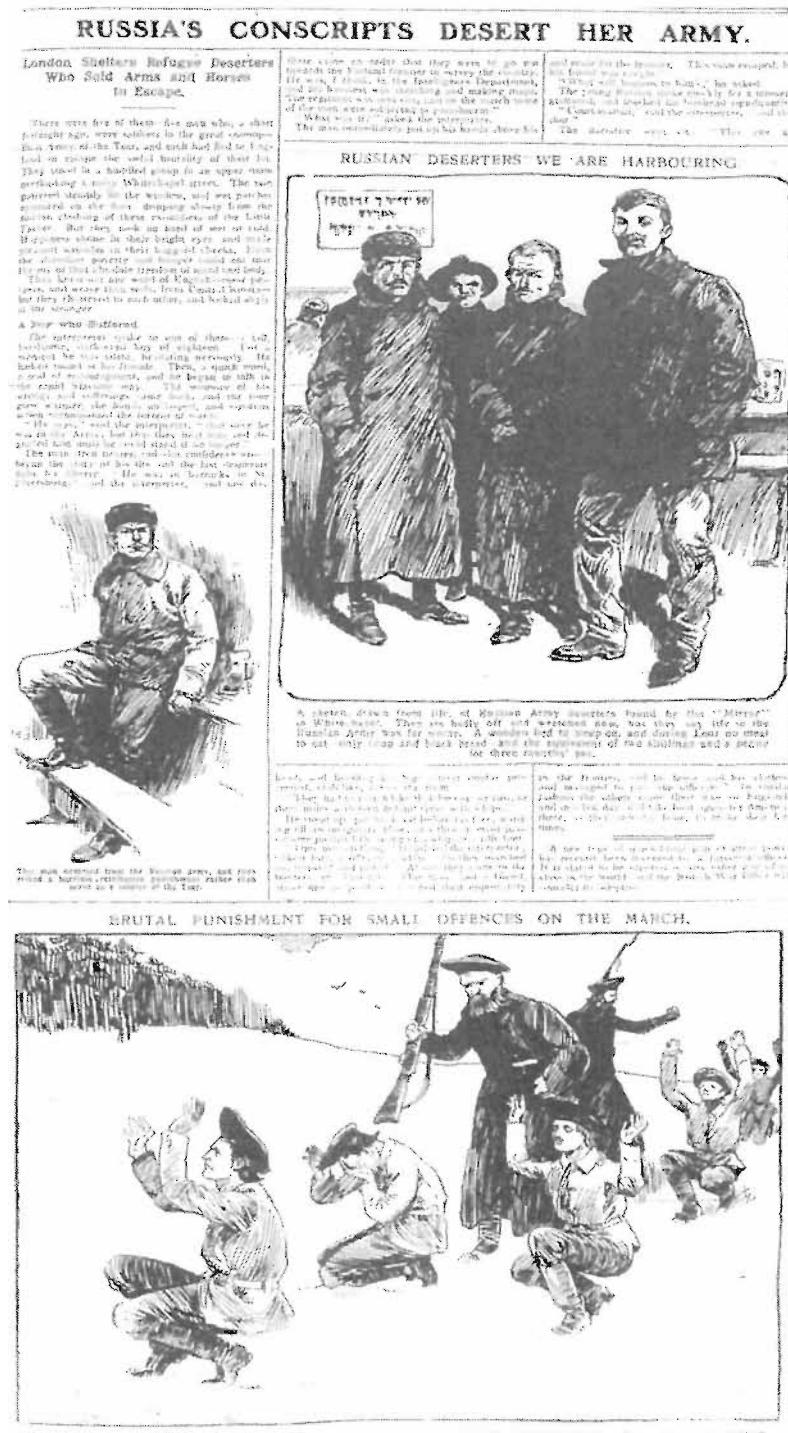


Figure 9 – ‘RUSSIA’S CONSCRIPTS DESERT HER ARMY’, The *Daily Mirror* 19 February (1904), p. 11.

ported unkempt and frowsy women; and children, poor things, ragged and bare foot.¹⁴² The newspaper proceeded in describing rumours of the existence of an anarchist bomb factory and gave the impression that all migrants were anarchist sympathisers intent on undermining the Russian autocracy.¹⁴³ ‘To a man, to a woman, and even to a child, if the juvenile were old enough to think, these people were friends of and sympathisers with the new movement which has broken forth in Russia.’¹⁴⁴

However, reforms proposed in the immediate aftermath of initial revolutionary turmoil were seen as offering signs of improvement within Russia. Newspapers predicted that social reform would provide greater tolerance of religious minorities and hinted that conditions may improve to the extent that further Jewish migration would be reduced. Yet despite these reports, a section of the daily press remained convinced that unless restrictive legislation was implemented, the number of aliens entering the country would continue to rise. Indeed, certain newspapers appeared incapable of escaping fears over escalating immigration figures and even Liberal dailies reported that statistics were much higher than those of the previous year. As the *Daily Chronicle* remarked ‘there was a considerable increase of alien immigration for the month of January, as compared with January of last year’.¹⁴⁵ The *Daily Telegraph* also reported that the autocracy was intent on assisting the emigration of its Jewish population. ‘The Ministry of Railways and the Ministry of Finances have made arrangements to issue travelling tickets to Jews intending to emigrate to European countries at one-fourth the ordinary fares.’¹⁴⁶

Apprehension over alien immigration therefore continued to preoccupy the daily press despite and undermine sympathy for the plight of East European Jewry. Even the outbreak of more severe anti-Jewish violence following the eruption of further revolutionary turmoil failed to reverse this aspect of the daily press’ attitude. Newspapers also made no attempt to elicit public opinion to protest over diplomatic intervention despite refugee testimony and a number of early reports underlining the

¹⁴² ‘RUSSIANS IN LONDON: POPULAR EXCITEMENT, STATEMENTS BY REFUGEES’, *The Morning Post* 24 January (1905), p.5

¹⁴³ See: RUSSIANS IN LONDON: RESOURCES FOR REFORMERS, ALLEGED BOMB FACTORY, *The Morning Post* 25 January (1905), p.5

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p.5

¹⁴⁵ ‘MORE ALIEN VISITORS’, *The Daily Chronicle* 3 March (1905), p.8

¹⁴⁶ ‘JEWS IN RUSSIA’, *The Daily Telegraph* 9 February (1905), p.10

extent to which Jews had been persecuted. As the *St James's Gazette* remarked, 'refugees who arrived at Philadelphia by the steamer Freisland yesterday state that soldiers killed men, women and children by hundreds at Odessa, where the revolution started weeks ago, also at Warsaw and other places [...] They declare that at least 2,000 were killed outside St Petersburg'.¹⁴⁷

Nevertheless, the outbreak of extreme anti-Jewish violence at Warsaw did see the daily press outline the brutal nature of Russian persecution of East European Jewry in greater detail. Yet, at the same time, newspapers were equally concerned that riots posed a threat towards increasing the number of Jews fleeing persecution and seeking refuge in Britain. This was also the case in the Liberal press, where newspapers emphasised the mass departure of Jews from Poland. As the *Daily News* stated, 'owing to rumours that there would be another massacre of Jews at Lodz, twenty thousand members of that community left the city to-day, overcrowding all the trains'.¹⁴⁸ In addition, the *St James's Gazette* remarked that those fleeing Russian persecution were intent on continuing anarchist activity in Britain and the discovery of an anarchist circular calling for the assassination of the King of Spain led the newspaper to call for the advanced 'progress' of the Aliens Bill. The newspaper also referenced asylum as an outdated principle that was consistently abused by migrants. The *St James's Gazette* asserted that 'the Anarchist circular gives the other side to the picture so often drawn by "lovers of freedom" of England as the last refuge of the oppressed'.¹⁴⁹

The daily press predicted that fresh outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence would be severe and were likely to resemble the extent of brutality witnessed at Kishinev. Yet unlike earlier outbreaks of violence, Jews were noted to be planning resistance against rioters through active self-defence. 'It is feared that the movement may spread all over the country, repeating Kishineff memories on a wholesale scale. About a third of the population of Warsaw is composed of Jews, who are determined to fight for their

¹⁴⁷ 'REFUGEES STORIES OF SLAUGHTER', The *St James's Gazette* 25 January (1905), p.12

¹⁴⁸ 'MARTIAL LAW AT LODZ: CONFLICTS AT WARSAW, JEWISH GIRLS ARMS HACKED OFF', The *Daily News* 27 June (1905), p.7

¹⁴⁹ 'Aliens and Anarchists', The *St James's Gazette* 20 June (1905), p.3

lives.¹⁵⁰ However, while Jews were seen to be victims of instability caused by the revolution, the daily press increasingly showed support for the Russian people for its opposition towards the Tsarist administration. ‘That the mass of the British nation does sympathise with the Russians who are striving for revolution seems to be clear.¹⁵¹ Indeed, newspapers began to reiterate the long held belief that Russia was ‘backward’, ‘savage’ and ‘barbarian’ and that rebellion against the regime was justified. ‘Everything in Russia which is done by the Autocrat is feeble and unwise, while over everything that is done by the Bureaucrats there hangs a persistent cloud of corruption and self-interest.¹⁵²

Likewise, the *Daily Chronicle* emphasised the brutal approach of the autocracy in its deliberate attempts to undermine Jewish complaints of mistreatment by police during outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence. The newspaper reported that Jews had drafted criticism to the Governor-General of Odessa to protest over the actions of the Russian police and that many officers were stated to have been directly involved in the planning and organisation of pogroms. The *Daily Chronicle* stated that the authorities were attempting to blame Jews for revolutionary activity in an attempt to justify brutality towards them. According to Russian police officials, ‘it has been the Jews themselves who have caused all the disorders here, and that it is invariably in Jewish houses that the police find all the revolvers, bombs, and prohibited literature’.¹⁵³

Russian persecution of East European Jewry therefore increasingly became the focus of reports in the daily press as news of the severity of violence at Odessa and Warsaw reached the West. Newspapers printed news of anti-Jewish measures that emphasised the hostile attitude of the government towards its Jewish population and although the press failed to instigate a protest on behalf of East European Jewry various newspapers commenced a more thorough investigation of conditions within the Russian empire. Indeed, while anti-Jewish violence increased the perception of Russia as

¹⁵⁰ ‘JEW-BAITING: GRAVE FEARS OF A MASSACRE AT WARSAW’, *The Daily Express* 20 June (1905), p.1

¹⁵¹ ‘WHY DO WE SYMPATHISE WITH THE REVOLUTIONARIES?’, *The Daily Mirror* 1 July (1905), p.7

¹⁵² *Ibid.* p.7

¹⁵³ ‘JEW'S "IMPERTINENCE.": Extraordinary Proclamation by the Governor of Odessa’, *The Daily Chronicle* 27 July (1905), p.8

'backward', 'savage', and 'barbarian', the announcement of constitutional reform subsequent to initial revolutionary turmoil was seen as offering scope for the improvement of conditions for East European Jewry. As the *Standard* remarked:

The Jews, who see no chance of obtaining direct representation, should lead the chorus of condemnation. But it must be remembered that at the present moment the state of Poland is one of scarcely veiled rebellion, and that for Jews in Russia not to be altogether excluded from the active rights of citizenship marks a considerable advance in political enlightenment.¹⁵⁴

The announcement of further reforms under the October Manifesto furthered this perception of Russia as a country on the brink of change. Newspapers announced that the autocracy had finally responded effectively to the demands of the people and that social conditions were likely to improve for the majority of Russians. Although the *Times* felt that the new constitution offered too little and lacked a degree of sincerity, most newspapers believed that the manifesto would benefit all sections of society with the extension of civil liberties. As the *Standard* proclaimed, 'the enjoyment of civil liberty is to be granted to all the people. The legislative powers conferred upon the Duma by the existing scheme are to be enlarged, and no law can be passed without its sanction, while the suffrage for the election of the delegates is to be made more liberal'.¹⁵⁵

However, despite this initial enthusiasm reports of further outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence at Odessa transformed the attitude of the press towards events within Russia. Newspapers began to report that anti-Jewish violence was occurring despite governmental reforms and that civilians were carrying out acts of violence in celebration of the October Manifesto. The *Standard* reported that 'the victory of the crowd in the struggle with authority was celebrated by a wholesale attack upon those perennial objects of ill-will, the Jewish workers and traders'.¹⁵⁶ Although the daily press believed that conditions within Russia had changed as a result of reforms implemented by the autocracy, reports attested to severe acts of 'brutality' that far outweighed previous

¹⁵⁴ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Standard* 22 August (1905), p.4

¹⁵⁵ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Standard* 31 October (1905), p. 6

¹⁵⁶ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Standard* 3 November (1905), p.6

occurrences of anti-Jewish violence. As the *Standard* further remarked, 'the Kishineff tragedy was last night exceeded in Odessa'.¹⁵⁷

The *Jewish Chronicle* immediately underlined the extent of brutality that had occurred at Odessa. However, the newspaper was also critical of the lack of moral protest on behalf of East European Jewry. 'If Europe were not morally effete and eaten up with its own sordid aims, it would spare a little of the righteous wrath it pours upon the Sultan for the Russian criminals.'¹⁵⁸ The newspaper proceeded in denying Jewish responsibility for provoking acts of violence and believed that attacks on Jews had been planned well in advance and encouraged by local police authorities. The *Jewish Chronicle* also declared that there was widespread feeling that anti-Jewish violence had been used by the authorities to divert discontent away from the autocracy and weaken attempts at social reform. 'The object was perfectly plain. It was sought to strike terror into the revolutionaries, and such a plan was best carried out by striking a blow at the most vulnerable portion of the revolutionary army - the Jews.'¹⁵⁹

The *Jewish Chronicle*'s concern over the lack of moral protest on behalf of East European Jewry was reflected in criticism in the metropolitan daily press. The *Daily Telegraph* noted that Jews had been victims of the revolution and felt that their sacrifice had passed 'unnoticed'. As the newspaper remarked:

These horrors have passed comparatively unnoticed, as a mere episode in a great upheaval, of which, the centre has been St. Petersburg, and the attention of the world has been so fixed on the Russian capital and the future of the Tsardom that the martyrdom of the Jews in the great provincial cities has evoked little more than a cry of horror.¹⁶⁰

Indeed, the plight of East European Jewry in the wake of the revolution had not received anywhere near the attention given to previous outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence. Persecution was also consistently seen as an unfortunate but necessary consequence of

¹⁵⁷ 'MARTIAL LAW IN ODESSA: 5,000 RIOTERS DISARMED, FATE OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN', The *Standard* 3 November (1905), p.7

¹⁵⁸ 'Russian Savagery', The *Jewish Chronicle* 10 November (1905), p.9

¹⁵⁹ 'Who is Responsible', The *Jewish Chronicle* 10 November (1905), p.9

¹⁶⁰ 'Untitled Editorial', The *Daily Telegraph* 10 November (1905), p.8

the larger uprising against the autocracy. Even the *Daily Telegraph* was culpable of reporting in this manner despite its observation regarding the lack of moral protest on behalf of East European Jewry. ‘With the exception of the appalling and fiendish Jew-baiting in many of the provincial cities of the Empire, which, though subsiding is by no means suppressed, there seems to be a marked improvement in the internal condition of the Russian Empire.’¹⁶¹

The daily press therefore failed to treat the Odessa massacre with the same integrity as previous outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence. In addition, newspapers once again turned their attention to the issue of mass migration. The *Daily Express* remarked that ‘a number of Jewish refugees from Odessa and other Southern Russian cities have arrived in Austria. Some say they escaped massacre by bribing the police. Others hung crosses around their necks and so passed the mob mistaken for Christians.’¹⁶² Indeed, these reports became increasingly frequent amongst the popular press where the threat of a mass ‘influx’ of Jewish refugees was perceived as a certainty despite the recent passing of restrictive legislation. ‘The Jews are leaving Russia in thousands. The movement from St. Petersburg is in the direction of Finland, the refugees finding it easy to take ship from Helsingfors for England [...] Every Jew who has sufficient funds is arranging for the removal of his family either to England or America.’¹⁶³

In addition, newspapers also stated that the autocracy was not directly responsible for outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence and was only accountable for allowing unstable conditions to persist. Police officials and local authorities were also only seen to be guilty of acting with indifference and had not directly encouraged violence against Jews despite previous reports attesting to more direct involvement. In the immediate aftermath of anti-Jewish violence, responsibility was generally seen to be associated with counter-revolutionary groups such as the Black Hundreds. Indeed, the central autocracy was seen to be innocent of any involvement in anti-Jewish disturbances:

¹⁶¹ ‘Untitled Editorial’, The *Daily Telegraph* 6 November (1905), p.8

¹⁶² ‘REFUGEES IN AUSTRIA’, The *Daily Express* 8 November (1905), p.1

¹⁶³ ‘EXODUS FROM RUSSIA: THOUSANDS OF JEWS FLEEING FROM THE COUNTRY’, The *Daily Express* 13 November (1905), p.1

‘No one would be so far an accuser of human nature to lay the charge on the responsible officials, that they deliberately contrived these and kindred outrages [...] The worst indictment that can be framed against the system of central autocracy is that it created an atmosphere in the provinces which paralyses every effort to enforce civilised principles.’¹⁶⁴

The autocracy was therefore not held to be responsible for the organisation of anti-Jewish violence and the most extreme accusation perceived the government to have used anti-Jewish violence to divert popular discontent. Nevertheless, the *Jewish Chronicle* began to assert the need for Anglo-Jewry to protest against the treatment of East European Jewry to the central authorities. Although the newspaper agreed that the autocracy was innocent of planning anti-Jewish disturbances, it felt it necessary to protest directly to the Tsar over anti-Jewish violence. In addition, the newspaper feared that the issue would be appropriated by Zionist groups to further their own agenda and potentially expose East European Jewry to further outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence. ‘Indeed, if the danger of violent utterances were a real one, then it was the duty of the responsible leaders of the community to arrange a demonstration to prevent the lead falling into the hands of irresponsible bodies like the Zionist and Territorialists, who might be tempted into verbal excesses.’¹⁶⁵

However, support for a public remonstration was strictly support for a ‘Jewish’ protest. The *Jewish Chronicle* stated that ‘Christian’ public opinion was unlikely to be roused in response to the Russian persecution of East European Jewry as there had been too many atrocities against religious and ethnic minorities in the early twentieth century. ‘In the first place, we doubt whether the conscience of Christendom is even yet roused to the horrors that have been perpetrated [...] The peoples of Europe have been so sated with massacres - they have supped on atrocities so many times in these opening years of the 20th century - that their moral palate has become dulled.’¹⁶⁶ Indeed, while the daily press supported Anglo-Jewish protests over the treatment of East European Jewry they did not openly call for a large public remonstration against the Russian autocracy.

¹⁶⁴ ‘Untitled Editorial’, *The Standard* 8 November (1905), p.6

¹⁶⁵ ‘The Question of a Public Meeting’, *The Jewish Chronicle* 17 November (1905), p.9

¹⁶⁶ ‘Why a Meeting Should be Held’, *The Jewish Chronicle* 17 November (1905), p.9

Newspapers noted the meeting of various Jewish organisations and reported on a memorial service held by the Chief Rabbi.

Despite support amongst the daily press for an Anglo-Jewish protest and the promotion of the need for funds to alleviate Jewish suffering, newspapers also remained convinced that a major influx of aliens was imminent. The *St James's Gazette* announced that a telegram had apparently been sent to the Tsar from counter-revolutionary groups seeking permission to attack Romanian Jewry. The newspaper stated that, 'permission is asked to massacre the Jews or to chase them over the frontier'.¹⁶⁷ Indeed, reports of Jewish refugees crossing the Russian border became increasingly common and the popular press reported that potential aliens were willing to fight their way into the country if they were to be denied entry.¹⁶⁸ The *Daily Express* also stated that these migrants were far more destitute than previous aliens and that their suffering in the East End was equal to that they had experienced in Russia. 'Hundreds of Refugees who escaped massacre at Odessa and elsewhere, and fled to London, are finding starvation in the streets as intolerable as the fear of death from the mobs of hooligans in the Russian towns [...] All these refugees were penniless, homeless, and suffering from hunger.'¹⁶⁹

However, the *Jewish Chronicle* continued to focus on the question of a public meeting and supported the announcement of the Board of Deputies that an 'authoritative' protest would take place in the new year.¹⁷⁰ This meeting was planned to be held at the Queens Hall and was to be attended by both Jews and Christians. Although this meeting lacked the stature of the previous Mansion House and Guildhall protests it did receive the attention of the daily press. However, the implementation of the Aliens Act alongside further reports that a large number of Jews were amassing the Romanian border featured far more prominently than news relating to the Queens Hall meeting. Newspapers therefore focussed on the movement of migrants and the extent of preparations under way

¹⁶⁷ 'THE JEWS IN ROUMANIA: TELEGRAM FROM THE HOOLIGANS TO THE CZAR', The *St James's Gazette* 12 December (1905), p.9

¹⁶⁸ See: 'IN TERROR OF CZARDOM: RUSSIAN REFUGEES STARVING IN LONDON, HOMELESS JEWS', 30 November (1905), p.1

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.* p.1

¹⁷⁰ See: 'A Grave Necessity: A Public Meeting to be Held', The *Jewish Chronicle* 22 December (1905), pp.10-11

for the Aliens Act. Indeed, the *Pall Mall Gazette* remarked that 'almost every ship from the Baltic and Black Sea ports brings large numbers of poor Russian Jews, who are fleeing wholesale in order to escape Jewish massacres, which, according to their stories, are elaborately prepared by the police authorities in nearly every town'.¹⁷¹

Despite the passing of the Aliens Act the metropolitan daily press therefore remained fearful of a major 'influx' of large numbers of Jews fleeing Russia as a result of outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence surrounding the Russian revolution. Although newspapers had celebrated the implementation of restrictive legislation for 'safeguarding' the principle of asylum, the link between persecution and mass migration meant that the daily press remained disturbed by the threat of a major refugee crisis. In addition, newspapers made little attempt to express moral indignation and elicit public opinion in relation to protest or diplomatic intervention over the persecution of East European Jewry. Anti-Jewish violence was also consistently seen as an unfortunate but necessary consequence of the larger uprising and the British government remained cautious not to upset the autocracy. Indeed, where the daily press had previously asserted moral indignation at the Russian treatment of East European Jewry there was now a muted response in relation to any form of intervention over fresh outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence.

Conclusions

The response of the metropolitan daily press towards the passing of the Aliens Act and the Odessa massacre highlights the extent to which the link between persecution and mass migration undermined sympathy and compassion for the plight of East European Jewry. Support for the implementation of restrictive legislation had reached such an intensity that it obscured the propensity for the expression of moral outrage, while changes in the newspaper industry had seen the proliferation of a more sensational and commercialised journalism that was more concerned with the pursuit of mass circulation than the elevation of the readership towards more active participation in the

¹⁷¹ 'A WARSAW ORPHAN'S STORY: RUSSIAN REFUGEE'S LIFE IN LONDON', *The Pall Mall Gazette* 30 December (1905), p.11

public sphere. These factors were concomitant in limiting the scope for the expression of public concern in relation to fresh outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence.

In addition, anti-alienism had become such a powerful and effective means of asserting fears over increased immigration that negative assumptions regarding the alien far outweighed concern for the plight of East European Jewry. The Conservative party also now dominated metropolitan press opinion and was able to undermine Liberal opposition towards the implementation of restrictive legislation. This greatly increased the scope for the expression of anti-alien sentiment and contributed towards a more virulent and racialist form of anti-alienism. Conservative and Unionist newspapers were also prepared to renounce the ‘tradition’ of asylum as an outdated policy.

Yet Conservative and Unionist press opinion was also reinforced by the failure of the Liberal press to offer firm resistance to the proliferation of anti-alien sentiment. While Chamberlain’s pledge for Tariff Reform had disrupted the previous unanimity amongst the metropolitan daily press in support of Free Trade, the *Daily Chronicle* also failed to develop a consistent attitude towards prospective legislation due to changes in its editorship. The newspaper therefore faltered between offering support for the restriction of ‘undesirables’ and criticising the practicality of legislation in defining what constituted an ‘undesirable’ immigrant. Although the newspaper remained committed to the ‘tradition’ of asylum, this inconsistency greatly undermined Liberal opposition to confront Conservative and Unionist press in relation to the Aliens Act.

Protectionism also greatly contributed towards Conservative and Unionist press support for the implementation of restrictive legislation and the public profile of Chamberlain’s campaign conveyed greater publicity for the passing of the Aliens Act. Chamberlain’s East End speech did much to accentuate existing fears over increased immigration in relation to the supposed impact on native labour and this heightened public opinion towards the issue of labour displacement. The importation of foreign goods and the ‘influx’ of foreign labour were therefore often seen to be synonymous and this greatly increased the extent to which anxieties over a potential ‘influx’ of East European Jewry were expressed in terms of a more aggressive form of anti-alienism.

In addition, although the Aliens Act had ‘safeguarded’ the principle of asylum, and the Conservative and Unionist press had eventually supported this aspect of

legislation, these newspapers continued to fear a refugee crisis. Anxieties over the migration of a large number of East European Jews therefore remained a consistent factor in relation to outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence even after the passing of restrictive legislation. The expression of genuine sympathy and compassion that had emerged so strongly in relation to earlier outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence was therefore further exceeded by fears over a mass 'influx' of East European Jewry.

The link between persecution and mass migration had therefore become firmly embedded in the attitude of the metropolitan daily press. Outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence were immediately perceived in terms of an increase in the alien population and this greatly undermined concern for the plight of East European Jewry. Heightened anti-alienism surrounding the passing of the Aliens Act alongside outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence at Odessa had therefore served to heighten anxieties over the mass migration of East European Jewry. Where the British press had once instigated mass protest to confront Russia over the treatment of East European Jewry, there was now a muted response in relation to intervention over fresh outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence. Where there had once been a policy of unrestricted immigration, there were now measures to determine the desirable from the 'undesirable' and control of the entry of persons into Britain.

Conclusion

The British Press and the Limits of Liberalism

This thesis traced the development of attitudes towards alien immigration in the metropolitan daily press during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It examined attitudes towards the Russian persecution of East European Jewry and set them against growing anxieties over increased alien immigration. This enabled an investigation of the expression of sympathy and compassion for the plight of East European Jewry and the extent to which this was undermined by the development of anti-alien sentiment throughout the period. In addition, the thesis examined the impact that transformations in the newspaper industry had on debates regarding alien immigration and the extent to which these changes influenced attitudes towards the Russian persecution of East European Jewry and alien immigration.

The outbreak of anti-Jewish violence across the Russian empire became the subject of intense press attention in Britain during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The metropolitan daily press played a crucial role in realising the full extent of Russian persecution and asserting the need for public protest. British public opinion was therefore guided towards a more comprehensive understanding of events within Russia and was made aware of the harsh treatment of East European Jewry. However, British attitudes towards Russia and Eastern Europe were complex and were marked by a tendency to make judgments on the basis of crude assumptions. Russia was consistently perceived to lack the level of ‘civilisation’ of Western Europe and was represented as ‘backward’, ‘savage’ and ‘barbarian’. While these observations undoubtedly held weight in reference to outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence, newspapers tended to make allegations without recourse to alternative sources of information.

On this basis, Russian anti-Jewish violence was constantly undermined by debates regarding the authenticity of press reporting. Accusations in relation to exaggeration were frequently asserted and severely disrupted the expression of sympathy and compassion for the plight of East European Jewry. Questions regarding the authenticity

of press reporting therefore created an environment in which the Russian persecution of East European Jewry was often easily discredited by Russian apologists and liberal antisemites, as well as sections of the metropolitan daily press that cast doubt on the reports of their Russian correspondents.

As Russian persecution gained increasing public attention, concern for the plight of East European Jewry also began to be overshadowed by fears of a potential refugee crisis. Although anti-alienism was not initially expressed to the extent that it was during the passing of the Aliens Act, instability across the Russian empire saw sections of the daily press convey anxiety over the likelihood of large numbers of Jewish refugees entering Britain. Belief in the right of asylum was not stable within the realm of public opinion and subsequent outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence and the successive movement of Jews towards the Russian border saw newspapers express alarm over a potential 'influx' of East European Jewry. Although there was no direct evidence of the arrival of a large number of Jews during early outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence, the daily press quickly became aware that the persistence of turbulence within the Russian empire was likely to instigate the mass migration of East European Jewry. A link between persecution and mass migration therefore developed and became firmly embedded in newspaper discourse.

Sympathy for the plight of East European Jewry was also further undermined as a consequence of wider socio-political changes. By the turn of the century Britain's imperial status was no longer so secure and growing anxieties led to a decline in national self-confidence. These changes impacted upon attitudes towards alien immigration that became more hostile and were linked to wider concerns regarding a sense of malaise and decline from an idealised golden age of mid-nineteenth century prosperity. In addition, transformations in the newspaper industry led to a more sensationalised representation of the alien and a daily press that was less concerned with involving the readership in debates within the public sphere. The growth of 'New Journalism' created an environment in which a commercialised and 'representative' ideal delimited the British public sphere and challenged the more liberal and 'educational' model of the mid-nineteenth century that had encouraged intellectual freedom and self-expression. As a result, the potential for public protest was not pursued as rigorously as it had been during

earlier outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence and a public remonstration similar to that of the Mansion House and Guildhall meeting never became the subject of intense press attention in relation to anti-Jewish violence at Kishinev and Odessa.

The more sensationalist and vehement form of anti-alienism also meant that hostility was not just expressed in relation to fears regarding the displacement of native labour and issues regarding overcrowding, but also became linked to racial assumptions regarding degeneration, anarchism and accusations over the spread of disease. In addition, certain newspapers became increasingly convinced that Britain's 'tradition' of asylum was misguided and that restriction was necessary to prevent the entry of immigrants deemed 'undesirable'. The popular press took a particularly keen interest in the alien and greatly fabricated issues related to increased immigration. Pictorial representation was also used in the development of a more sensationalised style of investigative journalism that led to a prominent caricature of the alien. The advent of the popular press therefore brought hostilities to the forefront of public opinion and greatly undermined sympathy and compassion for the plight of East European Jewry.

Heightened anti-alienism surrounding the passing of the Aliens Act marked the peak of agitation in relation to fears over increased immigration. Support for the implementation of restrictive legislation amongst the metropolitan daily press reached such an intensity during this period that it far outweighed previous backing for legislation. Expressions of anti-alienism also became even more vehement and were greatly enhanced by Chamberlain's campaign for Tariff Reform. Protectionism was responsible for radically altering a previous consensus amongst the daily press that had supported Free Trade and initiated the basis for further support for the implementation of restrictive legislation. The importation of foreign goods and the 'influx' of foreign labour were therefore often seen as a 'double burden' and greatly increased the extent to which fears over a potential increase in immigration were expressed in terms of a more aggressive form of anti-alienism.

In addition, debate over the passing of the Aliens Act reached such an acute stage that it further obscured the propensity for public protest and the expression of moral indignation in relation to the outbreak of anti-Jewish violence at Odessa. As a result of the *Royal Commission*, the daily press also became increasingly bold in its denunciation

of the principle of asylum. Responses towards the Russian persecution of East European Jewry at Odessa failed to initiate popular concern in Britain in relation to public protest and anti-Jewish violence was consistently seen as an unfortunate, but necessary, consequence of the larger revolutionary uprising. The Conservative press also now dominated the newspaper industry and was able to undermine the Liberal press' attempts to protest against the implementation of restriction.

By this period the link between persecution and mass migration was so firmly embedded in the metropolitan daily press' attitude that outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence were immediately perceived in terms of an increase in the alien population. Although the Aliens Act had 'safeguarded' the principle of asylum and sections of the daily press supported the measure, newspapers also appeared to fear an 'influx' of Jews despite the implementation of legislation. Fears over a perceived 'influx' of East European Jews therefore remained a constant factor in relation to outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence. Indeed, the expression of genuine sympathy and compassion that emerged in relation to earlier outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence were now exceeded by fears over a mass 'influx' of East European Jewry. Heightened anti-alienism surrounding the passing of the Aliens Act, alongside outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence at Odessa, therefore served to heighten anxieties over the mass migration of East European Jewry.

The passing of the Aliens Act marked a definitive turning point in British history and has been seen as part of a larger process of a decline in English liberalism. As David Feldman has emphasised, 'in looking at the anti-alien movement in its own terms we will be better placed to see the 1905 Aliens Act as one of the turning points in the decline of liberal England: a revealing response to the creeping transformation of Britain's place in the world'.¹ This thesis has established that this political and cultural shift was reflected in changes in the newspaper industry. The liberal ideals of the mid-nineteenth century that had encouraged intellectual freedom and self-expression were gradually replaced by those of a more commercial industry that transformed the orientation of the newspaper market. As L.T. Hobhouse, social philosopher and leading 'new liberal' journalist stated in 1909, 'the Press, more and more the monopoly of a few rich men, from being the organ

¹ Feldman, D. 'The Importance of Being English: Jewish Immigration and the Decay of Liberal England', p.57

of democracy has become the sounding-board for whatever ideas commend themselves to the great material interests'.² The proliferation of the 'New Journalism' and the pursuit of mass circulation meant that the metropolitan daily press increasingly appealed to what it perceived to be the popular sentiment of an expanding lower middle-class and working-class readership. In this environment, anti-alienism became a far more prominent feature of newspaper discourse and saw the emergence of a more sensational and hostile attitude towards alien immigration that overshadowed the expression of sympathy and compassion for the plight of East European Jewry.

² Quoted in Lee, A.J. *The Origins of the Popular Press in England, 1855-1914*, p.15

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