Alien Immigration
and the
London School of Economics:
Some Early Connections

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1. INTRODUCTION

The ideas for this paper go back to 2002 when I was reading through early LSE Calendars for some research I was doing at that time. I was intrigued by two items that I noticed during my search. The first was to see that in the opening session in 1895-6 the Rev. W. Cunningham, D.D., D.Sc., Fellow and Lecturer of Trinity College, Cambridge; Tooke Professor of Economic Science and Statistics at King’s College, London was listed in the Calendar to give three lectures on ‘Economic Effect of Alien Immigrations.’ The second item of interest was finding in later issues of the Calendar a publication by F. Bradshaw entitled Alien Immigration: Should Restrictions be Imposed?. They were intriguing, but not relevant to my research at that time. A third strand that did not seem to be related at the time had occurred sometime earlier, when the British Library was disposing of unwanted books by offering them for sale to academics and, for some reason I cannot now recall, I paid £4.00 to purchase Volume II (F—M) of Palgrave’s Dictionary of Political Economy (Palgrave 1900). As we shall see, this volume has a link to Charles Booth’s Life and Labour of the People of London that provides a retrospective Prelude to this discussion of the alien immigrant.

A more recent piece of research that necessitated a Calendar search reminded me of the first two items and now, armed with the modern research tools of Google and Amazon, I decided to investigate LSE’s early connections to immigration and its analysis.

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1 I am greatly indebted to Sue Donnelly, the Chief Archivist at the British Library of Political and Economic Science (BLPES) and her colleagues for help and advice over consulting the archives at the BLPES.

2 A clue as to why Cunningham was invited to lecture may be provided by a letter from Sidney Webb to William Hewins, dated 9 April 1895 (see MacKenzie 1978, 2008, p. 34):

Dear Hewins,

I have just seen Murray, the Secretary of the London Chamber of Commerce, who thinks there would probably be no difficulty in lending us their room (holding 100 or more) at St Botolph House, Eastcheap for the ‘Higher Commerce’ side of the School – for one or two evenings a week, free. Cunningham has just been giving a private course there to the clerks of their subscribers, and has had audiences averaging 50 or so. He thought there might be some difficulty in having Foxwell there, objection being made to his Bimetalism. …

It might be worth while getting a short course from Cunningham to carry on the tradition. Think about this.

Sidney Webb

This is confirmed by Dahrendorf (1995, p. 21), who in discussing Hewins and his earlier failure to be appointed to the Tooke Chair at Kings College, writes “Now Hewins enlisted the man appointed [to the Tooke Chair] at the time, Cunningham, to lecture on ‘the economic effect of alien immigrations’.”
The next section of the paper will provide a brief historical introduction to the state of immigration to Britain in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the period during which the three books appeared. Sections 3 and 4 will then discuss the contents of the books by Cunningham and Bradshaw, Section 5 will consider the light thrown on immigration by some of the entries in Booth’s survey and Section 6 will draw some conclusions.

2. ‘ALIEN’ IMMIGRATION TO BRITAIN IN THE LATE 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURIES

While, as we shall see below, there were periodic negative reactions to immigrants in Britain before the 19th century, they tended to be small and regionally localised. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries events occurred in the Balkans and Eastern Europe that changed both the number and racial balance of the immigrants coming to Britain and led to rising tensions and unrest. These events had the effect of increasing the number of Jews emigrating to Britain and the United States and intensifying anti-Semitism.

The Position of Jews in the Ottoman Empire and the Balkans. After the expulsion of the Jews from their homeland they were widely dispersed and many settled in countries around the Mediterranean. The geographical spread of Islam after the Battle of Yarmouk in 636 absorbed these Jews and the process continued with the dominance of the Ottomans during the 14th Century and beyond the fall of Constantinople. There was a large expansion in their numbers when Sultan Beyazid II issued a formal invitation to the Jews being expelled from Spain and Portugal to settle in the Ottoman Empire. They were dispersed through the Empire, but many settled in the European provinces with concentrations in cities, such as Sarajevo and Salonica. While their fortunes varied, some prospered and reached high positions in commerce and trade.

The status of the Jews within the Ottoman Empire depended to some extent on the whims of the Sultan and there were periodic outbreaks of violence against them, but overall they were treated with tolerance.3 They were subject to restrictions, but these were general restrictions

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3 "The Ottoman Empire was unique not only for its slave system of administration but also for its unequalled degree of religious tolerance. In a period when Catholics and Protestants were massacring each other and when Jews were being hounded from one Christian state to another, the subjects of the Sultan were free to worship as they wished with comparatively minor disabilities.

The explanation is to be found partly in the religious law of Islam and partly in Ottoman political strategy. The sacred law recognized the Christians and Jews as being, like Moslems, People of the Book. … It permitted them to practice their faith with certain restrictions and penalties. …
that were imposed on Ottoman subjects of other religions, such as Orthodox Christians and Armenians, as well as Jews.

During the 19th Century, as the power of the Ottoman Empire declined and the European provinces gained their independence, the Jews living in these provinces now found themselves under Christian rule in Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia, as did the Jews in Bosnia were brought under Austro-Hungarian rule with the occupation of Bosnia in 1878

**Anti-Semitism in the Balkans and Russia.** The degree of anti-Semitism varied between the Balkan countries and Jews seem to have been treated relatively well in Bulgaria and Serbia. Having flourished in Greece under Ottoman rule, the Jews suffered somewhat from the spirit of Greek nationalism after independence. As Romania gained independence from the Ottoman Empire it had the largest Jewish population in the Balkans. They came to be regarded as aliens who could not be assimilated and this led to increasing discrimination. The Romanian Constitution of 1866 restricted naturalisation to foreigners who were Christian.

**Russia.** The partitions of Poland that took place in 1772, 1783 and 1795 gave Russian over 60% of the former Polish territory and brought a significant number of Jews under Russian rule. Whereas there had been some degree of tolerance for Jews in Poland, in Russia they were now faced with a much more hostile environment. Catherine II established the Pale of Settlement, which included Lithuania, Poland, Ukraine and the Crimea and Jews were restricted to residence within the Pale. There were restrictions on what the Jews could do and periodic outbreaks of violence.

**The 1877-8 War between Russia and the Ottoman Empire and the Congress of Berlin**

Russia quickly defeated the Ottoman Empire and liberated most of the Ottoman possessions in Europe. The Treaty of San Stefano that ended the war would have granted independence to Bulgaria, Montenegro, Romania and Serbia and greatly increased Russian power in the Balkans. This expansion in Russian power worried the governments in Austria, Britain, France and Germany and Otto von Bismarck organised a congress in Berlin to discuss the situation in the Balkans.

Islam also laid down exact rules for all the concerns of life. It was both a religious and civil code. Consequently, in tolerating the religions of the non-Moslems it also accepted their usages and customs.” (Stavrianos, 2000, p. 89).
Concern over the treatment of Jews in the Balkans, particularly in Romania, led the leaders of Jewish communities in a number of countries, including Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Austria and Hungary, to put pressure on the delegates at the Conference to consider this problem. A memorandum was submitted to the Conference that outlined the plight of the Jews in the Balkans and requested that in the final treaty the equal civil rights of the members of all creeds and races should be guaranteed. This matter was taken up and despite strong opposition from the Russian delegate, Prince Gorchakov, who argued that the Jews of Serbia, Romania and Russia could not be put in the same category as the Jews in Western Europe. Despite this opposition a clause was introduced into the final treaty that made the granting of equal civil rights to members of all races and religions a condition for the granting of degrees of independence to Bulgaria, Montenegro, Romania and Serbia.

Despite this clause there was increasing hostility towards and discrimination against the Jews in Romania and about 75,000 Romanian Jews emigrated in the period 1881-1914, mainly to the United States, but some settled in England.

**The Assassination of Alexander II in 1881 and the May Laws of 1882.** Tsar Alexander II (1818-1882) ascended to the throne in 1855 at the age of 37 and undertook a number of important reforms. Perhaps the most striking was the abolition of serfdom, which became law in 1861. There were also reforms of the armed forces and the bureaucracy and, at the time of his death, he had developed a new constitution that would have created two new legislative commissions consisting of indirectly elected representatives. This might have led the country to a form of constitutional monarchy in time.

Despite his liberal policies, Alexander was the object of a number of assassination attempts (in 1866, 1867, 1879 and 1880) and on 13 March 1882 he was killed by a bomb, thrown by members of the Narodnaya Volya (“People’s Will”) anarchist movement. He was succeeded by his son, Alexander III (1845-1894), a reactionary anti-Semite who prevented the plans for an elected Duma from proceeding.

There were rumours that the members of Narodnaya Volya involved in the assassination were Jewish and this led to an outbreak of pogroms in various parts of Russia, particularly in the Ukraine. The government took action and, following a conference held at the Ministry of the Interior, a set of Temporary Regulations were issued on 15 May 1882. These became known as the ‘May Laws’ and although labelled ‘Temporary’ were to remain in force for more than
The Laws imposed economic, educational and political restrictions on Jews and these increased in severity over time. K. Pobedonostsev, the head of the governing body of the Russian Orthodox Church, formulated the objectives of Alexander III’s government (though in Russian) as the hope that: “one-third of Jews will convert, one-third will die, and one-third will flee the country.” The restrictions, coupled with waves of pogroms – such as those between 1903 and 1906 -- increased the pressure to escape and between 1881 and 1914 more than 2,000,000 Jews left Russia.

**Reaction to ‘Alien’ Immigration in Britain.** While Russian Jews were residing in Russia there was a good deal of sympathy in Britain for the victims of the pogroms, but this sympathy was greatly reduced as Jewish refugees arrived in the country. Though the number of Jewish immigrants was relatively small, they tended to concentrate in certain areas, such as the East End of London, which created a greater impact than if they had been more dispersed. The increase in numbers and growing impact in particular areas began to lead to calls for action over ‘alien immigration’. Parliament responded by setting up the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Sweating System. Foot (1965) notes that:

> In 1889 a House of Commons Committee investigated the immigration question. The Committee concluded that the number of aliens was ‘not large enough to cause alarm’, that their health was good, but that they were clotted in specific areas which had unreasonably to deal with too large a problem, and that they disobeyed the sanitation by-laws. The Committee was not prepared to recommend control legislation, but added that it ‘contemplated the possibility of such legislation becoming necessary in the future.’” (p. 86)

However, these views did not halt the growing concern with immigration and in 1892 the Conservatives announced that they intended to bring in legislation to control immigration, but were defeated before action could be taken. In July 1894 Lord Rosebery proposed a Bill in the House of Lords to reform the current legislation relating to aliens, but this was withdrawn in August 1894 after its second reading. Arguments for restricting immigration were important in the General Election in 1895 and in 1898 the Earl of Hardwicke reintroduced an Aliens Bill in 1898. After receiving a full discussion there it was not proceeded with.

**Major Evans-Gordon and the British Brothers’ League.** William Eden Evans-Gordon (1857—1913) was educated at Cheltenham College and at the Royal Military College. In 1877 he was commissioned as a second Lieutenant in the 67th Foot, but was transferred to the
Indian Army in 1880 and spent the rest of his military career in India. He was promoted to the rank of Major in 1896 and retired with a pension in 1897.

He returned to England and became involved in politics. He stood as the Conservative candidate at a by-election in Stepney 1898 and lost to the Liberal journalist, W.C. Steadman by 20 votes, but was elected as the MP for Stepney in the General Election of 1900 running on an anti-alien platform. He received a knighthood in 1905 and held the Stepney seat until 1907, when he retired from politics.

The British Brothers’ League (BBL) was founded in east London in 1901 by Captain William Stanley Shaw to campaign for restricting the immigration of ‘destitute foreigners into this Country’ with the slogan ‘England for the English’. There was strong support from Major Evans-Gordon, who chaired a major BBL rally in January 1902. Initially the BBL was not anti-Semitic and opposed to the entry of poor immigrants regardless of their race, but in the end Jews became the main target. The marches and demonstrations of the BBL were widely reported in the press and provided support for MPs, such as Evans-Gordon and Sir Howard Vincent (MP for Sheffield), who were pressuring the government to do something about immigration. Vincent wrote to the Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury in August 1901 claiming that almost 240,000 aliens had settled in Britain between 1897 and 1901. The government responded and in March 1902 a Royal Commission on Alien Immigration was appointed.

The Royal Commission on Alien Immigration (1903). The Warrant for the Royal Commission was signed on the 21st March 1902 and the members of the Commission signed their report on 10th August 1903. During the relatively short period of its work it held 49 public meetings, examined 175 witnesses and collected a large quantity of statistical data. The Report stated that there were 286,925 aliens in the United Kingdom in 1901 (p. 14), which represented 0.58% of the UK population (p.21). Using census data from twelve other

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4 See Benewick (1969).

5 The members of the Commission were: The Right Honourable The Lord James of Hereford (Chairman), The Right Honourable The Lord Rothschild, The Honourable Alfred E. Lyttelton, K.C., M.P., Sir Kenelm E. Digby, K.C.B., Major W.E. Evans-Gordon, M.P., Henry Norman, M.P. and William Vallance. James was the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; Rothschild was a banker and philanthropist; Lyttelton was a lawyer who became Secretary of State for the Colonies in October 1903; Digby was one of the Under Secretaries of State to the Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department; Evans-Gordon was MP for Stepney, Norman was the Liberal MP for Wolverhampton, and Vallance was the Clerk to the Whitechapel Board of Guardians.
countries, the 0.58% was the third lowest (the figure for Spain was 0.23% and Sweden was 0.09%) and compared with 14.76% for the United States; 3.19% for Denmark; 2.95% for France; 2.60% for Belgium and 2.41% for Norway (p. 21). Of the 286,925 aliens in the UK, 135,377 were resident in London (p. 16), whose population was 4,536,541 (p. 14). Of the aliens resident in London, 54,310 were resident in Stepney and 11,831 resident in Westminster (p. 16). Among the total number of aliens, 95,245 were Russians and Poles and 53,537 of these were resident in London.

The evidence of one witness is of particular interest in terms of the discussion to follow. Charles Herbert Lewis Emanuel (1868—19??), Secretary and Solicitor of the Jewish Board of Deputies gave evidence for two days and criticised the statistical claims made by the anti-aliens. He questioned the numbers provided by Sir Howard Vincent and suggests an explanation for the large numbers of immigrants claimed to be entering Britain. The Board of Trade collected data on the number of foreigners arriving from Continental Europe and published them monthly as the Alien Lists. The arrivals were classified into two groups: (1) those en route to America, and (2) those not stated to be en route to America. While many in the second category would go to America or other countries, Sir Vincent interpreted the group as “those not en route to America” and therefore resident in the UK, thus producing the inflated statistics put forward by those demanding restrictions. Emanuel is highly critical of this method of calculation:

That is to say, Sir Howard, while professing to work on the Board of Trade figures, represented to the Premier, as a ground for restrictive legislation, that five times as many alien settlers had come into this country within four and a half years as were found by the Board of Trade (working with the same figures) to have entered in eight years. Moreover, Sir Howard, by implication, branded all his huge total as being of the class rejected by all other countries. …

It is impossible to regard Sir Howard’s mis-quotation as a mere mistake. Not only is a term actually mis-quoted, but his arguments are entirely based on the mis-quotation. (p. 591).  

On the 10th of August 1903 the members of the Commission signed off their Report. There were seven recommendations, the most important of which were Recommendation 2, which

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6 Further details of the Royal Commission’s Report will not be presented here as this information forms the basis of the material used by Frederick Bradshaw and Charles Emanuel in making the cases for and against the introduction of controls on immigration and will be discussed in Section 3 below. Page references here are to Royal Commission on Alien Immigration (1903a)
proposed to establish a new Department of Immigration and Recommendation 4, which outlined in detail the wide-ranging powers this new department was to have.

Two of the signatories, Sir Kenelm Digby and Lord Rothschild, disagreed with some of the findings and attached Memoranda of Dissent. The strongest criticisms were made by Digby in his submission:

I regret that while agreeing in the main with the conclusions of fact arrived at by my colleagues, I am unable to concur with some of the recommendations made by the majority of the Commission. The recommendations from which I differ appear to me not to be supported by the evidence brought before the Commission, or by the conclusions of fact at which the Commission has unanimously arrived.

With regard to the object aimed at by the recommendations to which I refer there can be no difference of opinion. It is no doubt desirable that we should have amongst us as few as possible of the class of immigrants who are sought to be excluded, and that the overcrowding which prevails to a great extent in the East End of London in connection with the alien Immigration should be abated. But I cannot agree with some of the proposed remedies for such evils as are stated to exist. I believe that legislation carrying out the recommendations in question would be found impracticable, and would fail to accomplish the object aimed at. (p. 45)

Having provided detailed criticisms of some of the conclusions drawn by his fellow commissioners from the evidence presented to the Commission, he concludes:

For the reasons above given I am unable to assent to the parts of the Recommendations numbered 4 and 5, to which I have referred. I also think that there are not sufficient reasons for the establishment of a separate Department of Immigration as suggested in Recommendation 2. It is found in the Report that the main evil to be remedied is of a local character, and it might in my opinion be dealt with by the existing Public Departments. (p. 51).

One interesting by-product of the work of the Commission was that Major Evans-Gordon visited Eastern Europe to collect information on the situation there. An account of his travels was published in Evans-Gordon (1903). In the Preface he states:

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7 Rothschild’s contribution is brief (about a half-page) in which he states that he supports Digby’s reservations and suggests that the estimates in the Report of the number of English and Alien Jews in London are overstated. For Rothschild’s participation in the Royal Commission, see Cooper (2015), pp. 126-30; 133-5.

8 Sir William Evans-Gordon’s active part in the work of the Commission was noted somewhat ironically by Landa (1911):

Sir William Evans Gordon shone throughout the inquiry. He did not miss a single sitting, he spent the recess travelling through Russia, Galicia and Rumania, he obtained a statement as to the practice of the American ports, and he displayed exceptional keenness and knowledge. Not only did he hold a brief for the restrictionists, he led the agitation, framed the indictment, applied for the issue of the warrant by getting the Commission
The Alien Immigrant has been the subject of prolonged and bitter controversy, in which both sides have been guilty of some exaggeration. On the one side, there are those who uphold the newcomers as an unmixed advantage to this country; on the other, there are many who denounce their advent as an unmitigated evil. The object of this volume is to put both aspects of the case as impartially as I can. (p. vii)

After three brief chapters outlining the problems that alien immigrants were accused of causing the rest of the book gives an account of his travels and his impressions of the background conditions from which the immigrants are escaping. Overall, his account shows considerable sympathy for their plight.

On the position of the Jews in Russia he concludes:

The margin between life and starvation is so narrow that the least disturbance or crisis becomes a catastrophe and leads inevitably to increased emigration. It is impossible to conceive what object the Russian Government has in deliberately creating so disastrous a state of things for a portion of its own subjects. (p. 63)

He is also critical of the government in Romania:

I came to the conclusion that in Roumania the exodus of the Jewish population is due to the action of the Government. The Jewish question was a burning one before Roumanian independence was granted, and it has been so ever since. At the time of the Berlin Conference in 1878, an attempt was made to place the Jewish subjects of Roumania upon a footing of equality with the rest of the population.

The evident intention of the Powers throughout the negotiations on the subject was to secure complete religious and civil emancipation for the Jews. The policy of the Roumanian Government was then, and is still directly opposed to this intention. Rightly or wrongly, they have always asserted that such equality, if given to the Hebrew race, would end in the subjugation of their country by an alien people, and far from complying with the conditions laid down by the great Powers, their policy has been deliberately directed towards the suppression, political extermination, and expulsion of the Jews. (pp. 163-4)

The final chapter summarises the conclusions of the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration and, despite the sympathy shown earlier in the book, he ends with a strong call for the imposition of controls:

And it is not fair to pit our sympathy with the oppressed in Russia against our sense of duty to our own people. “Charity begins at home” is a saying that sounds selfish. But when altruism towards aliens leaves some of our poorest folk without homes and

appointed, practically got up the case against the defendant, cross-examined with great skill, was himself a witness, one of the jury who drew up a verdict suggesting a very drastic sentence, and finally one of the members of the Court of Parliament which passed sentence. This perfectly legitimate Gilbertian plurality made his impress most marked throughout the hearing and the Report. (pp. 175-6)
without work, it is time to say that the burden of solving the problems of Eastern Europe is not to be laid on them (p.295).9

The Aliens Act (1905). The recommendations proposed by the majority of the members of the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration provided a basis for action and both William Evans-Gordon and Sir Howard Vincent pressed the government for legislative action. As a result, the King’s Speech in 1904 announced that there would be legislation to deal with ‘the evils consequent on the entry of destitute aliens’. There was strong opposition to the proposed Bill from the Liberals and it was withdrawn in July 1904. In February 1905 the King’s Speech promised another Bill to deal with the problem of alien immigration and this time the Conservatives were able to pass a somewhat watered-down version of the original proposal and the Bill became law at the end of August 1905.10

It may be argued that the evidence presented to the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration failed to provide a convincing case that there was a national alien problem, and that the case put by Digby in his Minority Report that the problems of immigration, such as sweated labour and over-crowding that occurred in the East End of London and parts of some Northern cities, were local problems that could be dealt with by existing laws and powers. However, sufficient has been said here to provide a background for the discussion of the two books being considered.

3. WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM AND ALIEN IMMIGRANTS TO ENGLAND

William Cunningham (1849—1919)11 went to Edinburgh University in 1864 and, having spent three months at the University of Tübingen in 1868 learning German, graduated in 1869. In the same year he went to Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge to read moral

9 While Evans-Gordon was indefatigable in his campaigning against aliens, there are questions over whether he was anti-Semitic. He argued that while he was horrified by the suffering of the Jews in Russia he did not see the solution as transferring thousands of poverty-stricken and helpless aliens to over-crowded areas in English cities, but rather encouraging their settlement through a Jewish Territorial Organization somewhere in the British Empire. For this reason he was a supporter of Zionism and kept up a regular correspondence with Chaim Weizmann. For a full account of the somewhat chaotic plans to settle Jews in East Africa see Feldman (2007).

10 For a detailed discussion of the passing of the Act see Garrard (1971) and Gainer (1972).

11 For further biographical details see A. Cunningham (1950) and Clarkson (2004).
sciences and then won a scholarship to Trinity College. He was joint senior in the moral science tripos in 1872 and took his MA in 1873. Having failed to obtain a fellowship at Trinity College he began to lecture for the Cambridge Extension Syndicate in the North of England before returning to Cambridge, where in 1884 he became university lecturer in history and began teaching for a new paper on political economy and economic history. His teaching experience suggested the need for a textbook and in 1882 his book *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce* was published.\(^{12}\)

The book received severe criticism from Thorold Rogers, whose approach to analysing economic data Cunningham rejected.\(^{13}\) Other reviews though critical were more positive and Cunningham was encouraged to revise the work:

> The author himself felt that this criticism was just, and set himself to rectify the defect. He made his lectures work in with his writing, and was able to get valued cooperation from his pupils in working out fresh points. He set members of his class to spell out parts of Domesday Book which concerned their own homes and got to know something of the differences between different counties. He encouraged the best students to make special studies of certain subjects, and thus improved the book with every edition. G. M. Trevelyan put him right on many points connected with the Peasants’ Revolt and he learned a good deal about the Gild Merchant from F. A. Hibbert, and about alien immigration from several old pupils. (A. Cunningham, 1950, pp. 57-8).

He developed his analysis in a number of areas and Audrey Cunningham states that:

> In a book on *Alien Immigrants in England* he traced the points of contact between economic development in that country and on the Continent, and in a two-volume essay

\(^{12}\) This work became a major effort on his part and grew from a single volume in 1882 to three volumes by the time of the fifth edition in 1910. However, Wood (1983, pp. 193-4) quotes from a letter that Cunningham wrote that suggests the its emergence might have been somewhat fortuitous:

> It was rather accidentally that I came to devote myself to economic history. It had a place in the History Course at Cambridge from the first (1878), and as there was no teacher for the subject, I was asked by the History Board to do my best with it. I had some knowledge of Political Economy and did my best to get up the History. I found a textbook was much needed and managed to write one in 1880.

\(^{13}\) Audrey Cunningham in her biography of her father explains the difference as follows:

> Thorold Rogers’ standpoint was so different that it was not easy for him to appreciate what Cunningham was doing. Rogers discussed prices and the rates at which things were exchanged in terms of money; he collected quotations of prices assiduously, but did not attempt to interpret the facts. Cunningham had tried rather to get at the condition of industry where natural economy prevailed and marketing was an exceptional incident. He believed he must try to get at the social environment in order to see in the right light the data which Rogers tabulated. (A. Cunningham, 1950, p. 56).
on Western Civilization he aimed at showing the course of economic progress among European peoples, and the part played by England. (A, Cunningham, 1950, p. 61).

The Second Edition of The Growth of English Industry and Commerce grew to two volumes, with the first, subtitled During the Early and Middle Ages, appearing in 1890 and the second, subtitled, The growth of English industry and commerce in modern times appeared in 1892. The first of these was reviewed by W.J. Ashley in the Political Science Quarterly in March 1891 and overall the review was positive:

The author is admirably fitted for the task by his many-sidedness; and for dealing with the middle ages in particular, by his strong interest in Mediæval theology and ecclesiology. Economists have been made out of classical tutors, mathematicians, lawyers and men of business; it is an agreeable change when one is made out of a theologian and casuist. I use the last term, it may not be amiss to add, in its original sense. (Ashley, 1891, p. 153).

There were some detailed criticisms, among which was a questioning of Cunningham’s assertion that “there was a large immigration of artisans which began soon after the [Norman] conquest” and Ashley asked:

what are the grounds for holding that there was a large immigration of craftsmen?

If we look at the various pieces of evidence which Mr. Cunningham adduces, it will be plain, I think, that he has put his theory into them, instead of getting it out of them. (Ashley, 1891, p. 155)

Cunningham did not react immediately to this review, but in 1910 in the Fifth Edition there appeared Appendix E: ‘The Immigration of Alien Craftsmen into England in Norman and Angevin Times’, which was a detailed response to Ashley’s criticisms. Given that his book Alien Immigrants to England is listed in the bibliography, there is, perhaps, a degree of irony in Cunningham’s comment early in the Appendix that:

The history of alien immigrations into England is of more than local importance, however; and could only be adequately treated in a book devoted exclusively to the subject. (Cunningham, 1910, p. 641)

The number of entries on ‘aliens’ and ‘immigration’ in the indices increase in successive editions of The Growth of English Industry and Commerce, but the clearest summary of Cunningham’s view are to found in his book on alien immigrants.

Cunningham’s book Alien Immigrants to England was published in 1897 by Swan Sonnenschein and Co as part of the Social England Series edited by Kenelm Digby Cotes,
M.A. (Oxon). It was the third volume in the series, being preceded by *The Troubadours and Courts of Love* (J.F. Rowbotham, M.A.) and *The King’s Peace: A Historical Sketch of the English Law Courts* (F.A. Inderwick, Q.C.). According to the publishers, the following volumes were ‘In Preparation’:

- **Social and Imperial Life of Britain**  
  The Editor
- **Chivalry**  
  F.W. Cornish, Vice-Provost of Eton
- **History of the Fine Arts**  
  Professor G. Baldwin Brown
- **The English Manor**  
  Professor Vinogradoff
- **The Evolution of the English House**  
  Sidney O. Addy
- **The Evolution of English Household Implements**  
  Henry Balfour
- **Mysteries and Miracle Plays**  
  Lucy Toulmin Smith
- **Life in an Old English Town**  
  M. Dormer Harris
- **The Social Position of Women**  
  C. Fell Smith
- **The Navy**  
  W. Laird Clowes

In the ‘Editorial Preface’ he provided for Cunningham’s book, Cotes criticises the tendency of historical studies to concentrate on personalities:

> Undoubted as is the influence of personality upon history, the attention directed to it has hitherto been rather one-sided; the entire course of national life cannot be summed up in a few great names, and the attempt to do so is to confuse biography with history. (p. vii).

The “Social England” series rest upon the conviction that it is possible to make a successful attempt to give an account, not merely of politics and wars, but also of religion, commerce, art, literature, law, science, agriculture, and all that follows from their inclusion, and that without a due knowledge of the last we have no real explanation of any of the number. (p. ix).

The central idea is that the greatness or weakness of a nation does not depend on the greatness of weakness of any one man or body of men, and that the odd millions have always had their part to play. To understand how great that was and is, we must understand the way in which they spent their lives, what they really cared for, what they fought for, and in a word what they lived for. To leave out nine-tenths of the national life, and to call the rest a history of the nation, is misleading; it is so misleading that,
treated in this mutilated manner, history has no pretension to be a science: it becomes a ponderous chronicle, full of details which, in the absence of any guiding principle, are held together by chronology. (p. ix).

In his Introduction, Cunningham takes a broad view of the process of human development:

There is some reason to believe that the whole civilization of the globe is one; the marked steps in invention and discovery have been taken once for all, and then have been followed in one region after another. It is almost certain that this occurred in regard to the invention of money; it is at least probable in regard to the alphabet. There may be arts which have been simultaneously developed in different lands, or arts which have been lost and rediscovered; but, on the whole, there has been an ever-increasing tradition of culture, which has been passed on from distant ages by one generation after another. The principal method by which the culture, thus gradually attained has been diffused over the globe has been by migration. Even in this present day, when the opportunities of intercommunication and the means of transmitting knowledge are so easy, ideas and opinions do not travel rapidly from advanced too backward countries, unless through the personal medium of those who are imbued with the advanced ways of thinking (Cunningham, 1897, pp. 8-89)

Cunningham presents a detailed historical examination of immigration and the picture that emerges from his study is that Britain was a somewhat backward country compared with economic developments in continental Europe and the effect of immigration was to import technical progress, as the immigrants provided either new skills or improved levels of existing skills.

He begins his study by pointing out the difficulty of defining a starting point:

So many diverse tribes and stocks have contributed to the formation of the English nation that it is not easy to draw a line between the native and foreign elements. After all, the Jutes and the Saxons and Angles were themselves immigrants, who came to this island in historic times; the main stock was transplanted, and is no more native to the soil than the branches which have been grafted into it from time to time. It seems a little arbitrary to fix on any definite date and designate the immigrants of earlier times, component parts of the English race, while we speak of the later arrivals as aliens. (p.4).

However, a point had to be chosen and Cunningham chose to begin at the reign of Edward the Confessor, so that the first wave of immigration to be considered is the Norman Invasion. The analysis ends with a short chapter (contributed by a Miss Ruth Anderson of Girton College) on the inflow on Émigrés after the French Revolution.14

14 Despite its title, Cunningham’s research covers immigration in Scotland and Ireland as well as England and Wales. As Scotland was an independent kingdom for much of the period covered and Ireland’s political situation was very different from that of England and Wales, I shall concentrate on England and Wales in summarising his findings.
The picture of England and Wales that emerges from Cunningham’s detailed analysis is of a state that was relatively backward in technology as compared with its continental neighbours. When it came to building churches and castles the Normans brought in materials and builders from Europe:

Much of the building stone which was used came from Caen, and some of the workmen were probably drawn from the same district. Flemish masons were also in high repute; they were employed by Bishop Poor at Salisbury; and there is reason to believe that some of them had a hand in the erection of Llandaff Cathedral and Caerphilly Castle. (p. 57)

Later, at the time of King John, the increasing need to move money around saw the development of letters of credit and “It appears that practically the whole of this business was in the hands of foreigners; and from this the important consequence follows, that for all matters of commercial practice and money account we are indebted to aliens.” (p. 60).

Other examples of immigrant’s employment are given:

Aliens were engaged at the Mint from time to time, there being between two and three hundred employed there under Edward I, and Germans, miners, were brought by Richard of Cornwall at the end of the thirteenth century, to work at the Cornish mines. We hear of the sporadic immigration of aliens who came to practise other trades—of linen weavers from Flanders and clockmakers from Delft, under Edward III.; local tradition speaks of Flemings as settled in South-East Lancashire in this same reign, and attributes the introduction of clogs to them. But it is not easy to be sure that all of these immigrants had much effect on the industry of the country at large, either at the time or in the future. (pp. 116-7).

There were new developments after 1492:

The discovery of America and the importations of silver from the New World had turned attention all over Europe to the possibility of discovering the precious metals nearer home, while it gave a great impulse to the metallurgical arte generally. France, and especially Germany, were in advance of other countries in Europe in engineering and chemical science at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Men from Brittany were brought to work in the tin mines of “St. Hersue” in Cornwall. … By the end of the century copper was being extensively worked in Cornwall, at Treworthy, Perrin Sands, St. Just, and Logan; these mines were worked by Dutchmen. (pp. 121-2).

Cunningham’s research turned up an interesting list of firsts that may be attributed to immigrants: the elaborate ruffs that feature in portraits of Queen Elizabeth I would not have been possible without the efforts of Mrs Dingham van der Plasse, the daughter of a Flemish knight, who introduced the art of starching linen into England. (p. 148). Another Flemish immigrant, William Boonen, is credited with introducing the use of coaches into England and
is said to have acted as coachman to Queen Elizabeth I. (p. 149). A return of 1616 suggested immigrants were responsible for the introduction of glass-engraving, silk-weaving, thread-making, linen-weaving, printing, the making of gallipots, parchment, and lace-making. (p. 177). Dutch engineers were responsible for the draining of the Norfolk fens and an Italian engineer for the draining of the Plumstead Marshes. (p. 181). For clock making, there was reliance first on French clock makers and later on skilled workers from Holland and the use of gunpowder in mining was brought to England by miners from Germany. (p. 215). The origins of the potteries in Staffordshire may be traced back to two Dutch brothers in 1688 (p. 216) and large scale brewing was developed by a German brewer under Elizabeth and Dutch brewers during the reign of James I (p. 217). Immigrants may also claim the origin of the Friendly Society:

But though the Friendly Society, with its offshoot the Trades Union, is characteristically English now, it is not a native institution; it seems to have had its origin in the Elizabethan colonies of refugees. They were responsible for the maintenance of their own poor, and in their method of fulfilling this duty they set an example of organized frugality which native Englishmen began to copy in the eighteenth century. (p. 187).

Much of the early immigration was economic, with workers coming or being brought to England to take advantage of economic possibilities. “Till the middle of the sixteenth century there had been little occasion for popular migration on purely religious grounds. … But so long as Christendom was united, there was little reason for persons engaged in secular callings to migrate from one country to another on religious grounds.” (p. 137). The Reformation changed this situation:

From the time when Europe was rent in twain by religious differences all was changed; there was now a deeply drawn line of demarcation which affected all social relations; to a large portion of the industrial population in Germany, the Low Countries, and France, migrating became a practical necessity. Their prime reason for migrating was religious; and their prime object was, not to discover a country that offered special advantages for their own calling, but to secure an asylum where they could live according to their convictions. (p. 138).

While many of the immigrants fleeing persecution had economic skills, this was not true of all and with the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes\(^{15}\) “at this time we come in contact with the

\(^{15}\) In 1598 Henry IV of France issued the Edict of Nantes, which gave Calvinist Protestants (known as Huguenots in France) the right to practice their religion. In 1685, with the Edict of Fontainebleau, Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes, which led to the persecution of the Huguenots and many fled abroad to escape.
destitute alien, who had lost all for conscience sake. He might be an admirable person, but he added to the overwhelming difficulties of existing pauperism.” (p. 138)

However, things were to change:

In the fifteenth century we have evidence of a considerable immigration of artisans under somewhat different conditions to those already described. They came to manufacture those finer goods in which Englishmen were at that time unskilled; and the evidence regarding the movement is almost entirely derived from the statutes that were passed to protect home industries. (p. 117).

A petition to King Richard III gave a list of the grievances against the aliens:

Moreover, a great number of artificers and other strangers, not born under the King’s obeisance, do daily resort and repair to the city of London, and other cities, boroughs and towns of the said realm, and much more than they were wont to do in times past, and inhabit by themselves in the said realm with their wives, children and household, and will not take upon them any laborious occupation, as going to plough and cart, and other like business, but use the making of cloth and other handicrafts and easy occupations, and bring and convey, from parts beyond the sea, great substance of wares and merchandize to fairs and markets, and all other places of this realm at their pleasure, and there sell the same, as well by retail as otherwise, as freely as any of the King’s subjects use to do, to the great damage and impoverishment of the King’s said subjects, and will in no wise suffer not take any of the King’s said subjects to work with them, but they take only into their service people born in their own countries, whereby the King’s said subjects, for lack of occupation, fall into idleness, and be thieves, beggars, vagabonds, and people of vicious living, to the great perturbance both of the King and of all his realm. (p. 119)

Richard III responded in 1484 with a measure to control alien immigration and ensure those here had English apprentices. “The whole meaning of the measure was to limit the alien invasion, and to insist that those who had come teach their arts to Englishmen.” (p. 165) In 1523 a further measure which was passed “enforces the same general principle; no stranger was to have an alien apprentice, or to have more than two alien journeymen; they were not to work apart from Englishmen, but in such a fashion that natives might learn all the secrets of their trades. They were also brought under strict surveillance so far as the quality of their work was concerned; in London and in other towns, where companies of trades existed, the wardens of these companies were to have supervision over all the strangers practising a craft;
and in other towns the municipal authorities were empowered to search and refuse strangers.” (p. 165).

In his discussion of Later Immigrations, Cunningham suggests (p. 228) that the exodus of Huguenots from France to England brought both gains in terms of the skills of the immigrants and also capital gains, as many of the refugees succeeded in emigrating with their households and their properties.

The final example he considers is the group of Émigrés who arrived in Britain after the start of the French Revolution. On the one hand:

> The Government was unwilling to espouse the cause of those Frenchmen who had come to England, and there was also a certain reluctance on the part of the authorities to receive persons who might prove to be holders of revolutionary tenets cloaking themselves under the guise of royalist émigrés. (pp. 256-7)

On the other:

> Despite this lurking dread, however, much public sympathy was aroused for the émigrés; their circumstances were calculated to excite compassion. All were poor; many had endured great hardships. (p. 257).

Cunningham sums up the effect of this alien immigration as follows:

> Two observations may be made as to the outcome of this invasion. It has had little apparent result on the material welfare of the kingdom, and at the time it must have been a tax on the country; but it did not produce a distaste for the alien immigrant. This point comes out clearly in the discussion on the Alien Bill of 1824. In the intervening period England had been a refuge for political fugitives. While advocating the retention of certain restrictions on alien residents in this country, as safeguards against political plots, the supporters of the measure expressed satisfaction that this country was still an asylum. This, though a sincere expression of sympathy, was slight as compared with the cordiality for strangers which found expression in the terms in which the proponents

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16 Cunningham (p. 168) quotes from a petition of 1616 that contains a reference to relative productivity that has a modern ring:

> The State, noteing their diligence, and yet preventinge the future inconvenience enacted two speciall laws:--

> That they should enterteine Englishe apprentices and servants to learne those trades, the neglect whereof giveth them advantage to keepe their misteries to theirselves, which hath made them bould of late to devise engines for working of tape, lace, ribbin and such, wherein one man doth more amongst them than seven Englishe men can doe; soe as their cheape sale of these commodities beggereth all our Englishe artificers of that trade and enricheth them.
of the measure denounced some of the provisions of the Bill. Any conditions attaching to immigration were, in their opinion, a sign of pandering to tyrants abroad. When such a measure was stigmatised as an odious Act, which would disgrace the country, and one which would lend apparent sanction to oppressions, it is clear that the English sympathy for fugitive strangers had come to be deeply rooted and widely spread. (p. 260).

In his Conclusion, Cunningham provides a very positive view of the benefits of alien immigration:

   It is not easy to summarise the results of the varied influences which have been traced in the preceding pages. There is the least difficulty in gauging them in regard to the industrial arts; it is clear that for the whole of our textile manufacture, for our shipping, for numberless improvements in mining, in the hardware trades and in agriculture, and for everything connected with the organisation of business, we are deeply indebted to the alien immigrants. Their influence on other sides of life is less easy to assess and trace; but it is none the less real. It may suffice to say that all through the Middle Ages our isolated country was behind the rest of Europe in many ways, and that it has been through the agency of immigrants that we have been brought into contact with higher civilizations, and thus been enabled to learn from them. (p. 263).

Despite this positive summary of the past, Cunningham was more cautious with regard to the current situation:

   There is a general impression in the present day, when the alien question has once more become prominent in the Metropolis, that the matter may be treated as a res judicata, and that, despite local jealousies, the advantages to the community as a whole, which accrue from permitting the immigration of aliens are established beyond dispute by the experience of the past. Personally I cannot feel that this opinion is justified. (pp. 265-6)

The reason for his caution is his view of how technical progress took place historically:

   So long as manual dexterity was the chief factor in the production of goods, new arts could only be transferred and planted by the migration of persons who had the special skill that was requisite. But since the era of invention began, and since machine production has been substituted for manual labour in so many directions, it is by the introduction of the newest machines, rather than by bringing skilled workmen, that an industry is maintained. For purposes of foreign competition manual skill is of far less importance than formerly; it was only those who had special skills whose advent was an undoubted boon in bygone times; the unskilled labourer was a burden long ago, and it is not clear that he is a benefit now. (pp. 266-7)

Given the logic of this argument it one might expect that Cunningham would question the continuation of alien immigration, but he draws back from this conclusion and states that:

   At the risk of appearing to be the victim of the haughty spirit in which Englishmen have in all ages depreciated aliens, I would yet urge that the alleged benefit of the immigration of any particular aliens in the present day should be discussed on its
merits, and on them alone. In former times it could be generally stated what precise gift
the Flemings, or Walloons, or Huguenots brought with them; and we may fairly ask of
any new-comers in the present day, what it is that they are able to do better than we can
ourselves? Unless this question can be clearly answered, there is not the same industrial
justification for the admission of aliens as there was; that there may be advantages, in
the elements of blood or character which they introduce, is true enough; though even if
advantages cannot be specified, there ought to be hesitation on the part of a nation with
a history like ours, in changing from welcoming aliens to refusing to admit them. (p.
267)

He appears to be suggesting that his fellow-countrymen should not follow through the logic
of his argument, but respond to an appeal to their generosity and honourable past treatment of
alien immigrants. This may perhaps be the appeal of a moralist who disapproved of what was
happening to alien immigrants at the time.

In 1969 Frank Cass published what was described as a ‘Second Edition of Alien Immigrants
to England, (Cunningham 1969), but was in fact a reprint of the original 1897 edition, with a
new introduction by Charles Wilson\(^{17}\) replacing the original Editorial Preface by Kenelm D.
Cotes. In discussing the two passages quoted immediately above Wilson concludes that
Cunningham’s “closing cadences are liberal and humanitarian.” (p. xix). With the benefit of
hindsight he argues that:

Yet even on purely economic grounds, Cunningham’s doubts were exaggerated. True,
the bulk of the new immigrants were ‘unskilled’ workers, but without them the ‘needle
trades’ of London and Leeds could never have become the important element in the
manufacturing economy they are. An important minority brought enterprise,
commercial skill and inventive ingenuity to large sections of British trade and industry.
(pp. xix-xx).

He sees the continued relevance of Cunningham’s work to the situation in the 1960s\(^{18}\):

No-one re-reading Alien Immigrants today is likely to forget that the problems it
handles, including that of the settlement and assimilation of the earlier immigrants
vividly illustrated in London, Norwich, Colchester and elsewhere, are still crucial in the
1960s, and in more acute form. Previous ages were hardly concerned with race or
colour, though the ferocity of religious, national and linguistic differences reached a
pitch that bears comparison with the disputes of Hindu and Moslem, Arab and Jew,
Black Moslem and White Supremist in our own day. (p. xxi) …

\(^{17}\) See Mathias (2000) for information concerning Charles Wilson.

\(^{18}\) Enoch Powell’s ‘Rivers of blood’ speech was delivered to the General Meeting of the West Midlands Area
Conservative Political Centre in Birmingham on 20 April 1968.
All these churning movements of men and ideas make the present age another of those restless periods of migration of which the Reformation and Counter-Reformation were forerunners. Yet again in the wake of the mass human suffering there may yet come compensating benefits, at any rate to posterity. To assess the relative degree of social or material achievement reached by denizens and newcomers respectively is necessarily a matter of impressions rather than of scientific observation. Yet there does seem to be a *prima facie* case for supposing that, unless overwhelmed by circumstances, the immigrant often survives to make a unique and lasting mark on his surroundings. Men, like plants, sometimes seem to thrive exceptionally if transplanted into new soil. (p. xxii)

Cunningham might well have approved of this sentiment concerning the alien immigrant.

**Conclusion:** I have been unable to find any record so far of what Cunningham actually said to LSE students in the three lectures he offered in 1895, but from the proximity of the lectures to the publication of *Alien Immigrants to England*, it may be reasonable to speculate that the lectures summarised the book and made a case for the positive effects of earlier inflows of aliens. Perhaps, if he referred to the situation in 1895 he might have put the moral case for a generous reaction to the alien immigrants of that time.

**4. FREDERICK BRADSHAW AND ALIEN IMMIGRATION: SHOULD RESTRICTIONS BE IMPOSED?**

Frederick Bradshaw was born in Leeds in 1877 and after Leeds Grammar School he attended Brasenose College, Oxford from 1897 to 1900, when he graduated with a First Class BA in History. He was awarded an M.A. in 1903. From 24 May 1901 to 21 January 1902 he studied History at the Berlin Humboldt University.\(^{19}\) He came to LSE and was awarded a Doctor of Science (Economics) (London) in 1903. In 1904 he was appointed Lecturer in the Department of Modern History at Armstrong College\(^{20}\) and held that position until he became Librarian in 1921. He took an active part in the work of the Historical Association and the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries. He died in 1935 at the age of 58.\(^{21}\)

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\(^{17}\) I am grateful to Georgina Edwards, Archivist at Brasenose College and Antje Kreienbring and Dagmar Seemel at the Berlin Humboldt University for providing background information about Bradshaw’s studies.

\(^{20}\) Although located in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Armstrong College was part of a federal University of Durham with campuses in both cities. This arrangement continued until 1963, when the facilities in Newcastle were separated to form a new University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

\(^{21}\) This information was obtained from an obituary that appeared in the *Journal of the Chemical Society*, (1937, p. 1327). I have yet to discover Bradshaw’s link to this journal.
The LSE Connection: The first connection is his study at LSE that resulted in the award of the Doctor of Science. After that, for a number of years publications by F.W. Bradshaw are listed in the LSE Calendars. For example, in the Calendar for Fourteenth Session 1908-9, (pp. 93-5) the list of publications is preceded by a statement of publishing policy:

One of the original objects of the School was ‘the publication of works containing the results of researches in economic and political subjects conducted by the teachers of the School or under their supervision’. Since the School was opened the following works have been published in the School series of

STUDIES IN ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.

There follows a list of fifteen publications and, at number 11, there is


The list is followed by a further statement on the School’s publication policy:

This list, however, forms only a small part of the contributions of the lecturers and students of the School to research since 1895. Many more books and articles have been published, but not included in the series, amongst which may be mentioned the following:--

and listed among these publications is

Alien Immigration: The Case for Restriction. By F. Bradshaw, M.A., D.Sc. (pp. 94-5).

The next listing in the Calendar is

ARTICLES, ETC., IN DICTIONARIES, ENCYCLOPÆDIAS, AND SCIENTIFIC PERIODICALS:--

and there is an entry for Bradshaw:

F. BRADSHAW, M.A., D.Sc.—‘The Canadian Preferential Tariff.’
(Read to Section F of the British Association.)

22 There is no record in the archives at LSE on the subject of Bradshaw’s D.Sc. but the Preface to this book states that: “This volume is the result of research work carried on in the seminar of the Director at the London School of Economics and Political Science.”, which suggests it may by based on the D.Sc. thesis.
‘The Black Death in Durham’ (Read before the University of Durham Philosophical Society.)
‘The Decline and Fall of Serfdom in Durham.’ (Read before the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.)
‘The Black Death in Durham, according to the Manorial Documents.’ (Article in *Archeologia Aeliana*, 3rd Series, Vol. III.)

Bradshaw reappears in the LSE records in 1934, with an entry in the *Register 1895—1932*, (Beveridge 1934, p. 18):


**Alien Immigration: Should Restriction be Imposed?: The background.** The intention was that this book would be published in the Isbister “Pro and Con” Series, edited by Henry Murray, which was advertised as:

A series of volumes dealing with the more important debated questions of public interest, in which the subjects shall be treated, not, as is usual, from one side only, but impartially by acknowledged authorities on both sides.

The first five titles and authors in the proposed series were:

1. *Old Age Pensions* PRO” Frederick Rogers; CON” Fredrick Millar.

2. *Spiritualism: Is Communication with Disembodied Spirits a Possibility?* PRO” E. Wake Cooke; CON” Frank Podmore.


5. Alien Immigration: Should it be Legislatively Checked? PRO” Frank [sic] Bradshaw; CON” Charles Emanuel.

For the Series Editor, Henry Murray, involvement with the project was not a happy experience. In his autobiography (Murray 1901, pp.198-9), after bemoaning some publishing misfortunes in 1900, he writes:

A year of two later I made a bargain with Messrs. Isbister to edit a library of books to be called “The Pro and Con Series.” Each volume was to have consisted of two essays, written from diametrically opposite points of view by well-known experts on some debatable subject of actual interest, such as the Nationalization of the Railways and the Land, Capital Punishment, Conscription, the Influences of the Turf, Municipal Trading, and the like. I entered on the undertaking with a light heart, recking little of the huge amount of correspondence and the number of personal interviews its performance would entail, almost all of which work was doomed to be wasted. Messrs. Isbister produced one volume of the projected series, that on “Old Age Pensions,” and then went into liquidation.23

Alien Immigration: Should Restrictions be Imposed? The book does not provide a dialogue, but rather two monologues with some overlap among the arguments being made. The Editor provides neither an Introduction nor comments on the merits of the rival cases.

PRO: The case for restrictions is presented by Frederick Bradshaw in an Introductory Note and five chapters (pages 3-123).24 The Introductory Note sets the tone for the PRO case by asserting that without restrictions Britain will be flooded by “the scum of the earth” that no other country will take. Chapter I: The Alien’s Origin begins with a brief and sympathetic account of the persecution and suffering of the Jews and then describes some of their national characteristics. He argues that in Austria the Jew is free, but wretched and in Russia he is persecuted but wretched, so there must be something in the Jew’s habits that accounts for the unpleasant conditions of the Austrian or Russian Ghetto. Chapter II: Alien Town begins by questioning official statistics, which Bradshaw argues underestimate the number of alien immigrants. He quotes some inconclusive evidence from Major Evans-Gordon to argue that the arriving aliens are diseased. He uses the term ‘Alien Town’ to describe areas in London

23 In fact Miller was overly pessimistic: items (1) and (2) were published, while the CON part of (3) was published by Porter as The Dangers of Municipal Trading and the PRO part of (4) was published by E.R. Pease as The Case for Municipal Drinks Trade.

24 A detailed summary of the arguments PRO and CON is presented in Table 1 below.
where the number of aliens has increased between 1861 and 1901 and alleges that criminality has greatly increased in these area. **Chapter III: The Alien as a Neighbour** argues that the influx of aliens has led to overcrowding, high rents and natives being forced out of the areas. The immigrant’s ignorance of English and tastes in food has driven many native shopkeepers out of business. He concludes that the alien is not a desirable neighbour. **Chapter IV: The Alien and Industry** Here Bradshaw argues that because aliens are prepared to live in squalid conditions they can accept work at lower wages than can the native and hence drive them out of business. One practice of which he is particularly critical is the sub-division of labour that allows the employment of unskilled labour. **Chapter V: The Alien as Citizen** Here Bradshaw argues that there is evidence of Jews faking bankruptcies to avoid paying their debts, of alien prostitutes displacing their British counterparts and an increase in a wide range of criminal offences. As a counter to these problems he closes his case by outlining the ways in which the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration would improve the situation. He concludes by sympathising with the persecuted Jew, but suggests that the solution is not migration to Britain but the establishment of a Zionist State in either British East Africa or Palestine.

**CON:** The case for the Immigrant is put by Charles Emanuel in five chapters (pages 127-216). In **Chapter I: The Aliens on Trial** Emanuel begins with an argument similar to that of William Cunningham on the important role of immigrants in bringing new ideas to a Britain that would otherwise have stagnated. The rest of the chapter is concerned to correct Sir Howard Vincent’s statistics and to defend the accuracy of the Census of 1901. **Chapter II: The Aliens on Trial (continued)** provides some historical background to the settlement of Jews in the East End and the reduction of living accommodation in the area. He agrees that newly arrived immigrants, being accustomed to poor living conditions from life in the Ghetto, accept them in London as the price to be paid for gaining the opportunity for employment. He argues that for some this will be a temporary situation and they will emerge as employers. He has little sympathy for Bradshaw’ shopkeepers whose businesses were affected negatively by the influx of immigrants and suggests that the fact that many of them remained in Stepney lamenting their fate rather than moving to follow their former customers “shows how unsuited they are for the modern struggle for existence.” (p. 164). Finally, he argues that the settlement of immigrants has actually reduced crime in the area. **Chapter III:**
The Alien on Trial (continued) Emanuel discusses ‘sweating’ and argues that rather than being a system that exploits unskilled workers, it is one in which the unskilled worker is taught new skills while being paid a wage that is appropriate to his low productivity during the learning process. Once taught, the worker’s wage increases to represent his new level of skills. Emanuel then provides a clear explanation of how the division of labour works: whereby an unskilled worker by concentrating on some single part of the production process may, through repetition, acquire skill in his action that makes possible large scale production of the product. He suggests that one reason that the immigrant lives better than the native even on a smaller income is that he is not a slave to the Demon Drink: what the native spends on drink the immigrant spends on the household and savings. Chapter IV: The Aliens on Trial (continued) argues that while immigrants have a difficult time when they first arrive their critics distort the facts to claim all immigrants live thus. He then paints what is perhaps a somewhat idealised portrait of the high standard of living and “almost perfect” family life of the immigrant. Emanuel then puts forward arguments against claims that immigrants are responsible for increased crime, displacing native workmen, being destitute and a change on the rates and, finally, questions the extent to which immigrants are the cause of overcrowding in the East End. Chapter V: The Alien Bill Emanuel is critical of the Alien Bill on the grounds that it won’t achieve its objectives, but will have serious negative effects on honest immigrants.

Conclusions: In making the cases for and against restricting alien immigration, both Bradshaw and Emanuel quote from the evidence presented to the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, both from the statistical material and the evidence presented by individuals.

Bradshaw seems to be concerned with the effect of migration on the status quo, seeing sweatshops and the division of labour a threats to native employment and the overcrowding of immigrants in the East End driving out the natives. His view of the future is that this process will continue unless restrictions are imposed on the inflow of immigrants. His general view of the immigrants is a very negative one and he sees no redeeming features in their characters or behaviour.

Emanuel takes a more dynamic view of the situation: he sees overcrowding as a temporary stage in the process of the settlement of the immigrants and has a perceptive analysis of the
importance of the division of labour in the large scale mass-production of goods. He predicts that with time the most enterprising immigrants will better themselves, become businessmen and provide employment in the area.

On balance, Emanuel’s analysis seems to have been a better predictor of what happened to the alien immigrants in the period before World War I and also of the dynamics of later waves of migration that occurred in the United Kingdom.

5. BOOTH’S CONTRIBUTION TO THE ANALYSIS OF IMMIGRATION

The Prelude: Out of curiosity I consulted Volume II (F-M) of Palgrave’s Dictionary of Political Economy (Palgrave 1896) to see what it had to offer on ‘Immigration’, as it had appeared just before the publication of the book by Cunningham. The entry for ‘Immigration’ was written by Richmond Mayo-Smith, Ph.D., Professor Columbia University, New York City (Mayo-Smith 1900) and dealt entirely with immigration into the United States, but one of the possible negative effects of high levels of immigration listed there had a familiar ring:

(d) Immigration of masses of men accustomed to a lower standard of living than prevails in the new country may have a disastrous effect on the economic well-being of the community. An example of this is the Chinese immigration into the States. The Chinese are industrious and thrifty; they, however, are accustomed to live in a way which is impossible for the American workman to imitate. They never assimilate with the Americans or adopt western civilisation. Besides the social danger arising from the presence of such an alien element in a new country, there is the economic danger lest the standard of living of the whole labouring class should be brought down to their level. Some of the recent immigration from southern and eastern Europe raises the same question. (Mayo-Smith 1900, p. 359)

Of rather more relevance is the entry on ‘Foreign Labour’ by Stephen N. Fox (Fox 1896).

This entry discusses the economic impact of immigrants into the East End of London and,

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25 A check on Volume I (A-E) of Palgrave to see if ‘Alien immigration’ merited an entry discovered only technical legal entries on ‘Alieni juris’ and ‘Aliens’ by E. Schuster (Doctor Juris, University of Munich), Lincoln’s Inn (see Palgrave 1894, pp. 31-2).

26 Stephen N. Fox was an economist who is listed as a member of the British Economic Association in 1891, where his affiliation is given as Vice-President of the Women’s Industrial Council (see BLPES: BOOTH/A/22). The Women’s Industrial Council, whose President was Clementina Black (1853—1922) (see King 2000), emerged from an earlier organisation, the Women’s Trade Union Association, for which Fox had co-authored a pamphlet on the Truck Acts with Black (see Fox and Black 1894).
using information from Charles Booth’s survey (Booth 1889), presents a picture of work in a number of trades. The picture is mixed: in Baking “Few foreigners, if any, compete in the wholesale business, nor does foreign competition seem to have seriously affected wages throughout the trade.” (p. 101). In Boot and Shoe making, it seems that “the unskilled labour of the “sweated” Jews in the “finishing department leads to a considerable increase of employment on the part of a large body of well-paid and skilled English workers.” (p. 101). In Cabinet making while the average wage for the alien was somewhat lower than for the domestic labour, the alien “has not imported into this industry a standard of life or work economically degrading.” (p. 102). Tailoring provided a high level of employment for immigrants, particularly in the manufacture of cheap clothing, where competition was mainly with one another, rather than with domestic workers. One interesting effect here is that the output in cheap clothing was sufficient not only to supply domestic demand but also to provide a boost to British exports (p. 103). One negative characteristic of the alien immigrants is their resistance to unionisation, a problem as “increased combination amongst the workers stands first among the needs of the time. Trade unions have undoubtedly put the English workman on a better footing as regards his employers.” (p. 104). His summing up is mixed:

To sum up the situation regarding foreign labour in this country, we arrive at the following conclusions. That against the better class of Workmen, who take fair wages and compete on an equal footing with domestic labour, no valid objection exists. That, as regards the wholesale coat-industry, it cannot be justly demurred to on the ground of its competing with native produce, but lies open to the reproach of barring the path of industrial reform. That in the retail tailoring department the immigrants do injuriously affect the earnings of both English men and women. That in the lower class of boot and shoe making, the immigrants have appropriated work formerly executed by native operatives, but that it is open to doubt whether the aggregate domestic industry has suffered. That in cabinetmaking and other minor trades in which they are found, the foreigners have not exercises any appreciable effect. That while there are grave objections from both an economic and social point of view to any large influx of impecunious aliens, the amount of immigration that has hitherto taken place does not call for any immediate action of a restrictive character. (pp. 104-5).
Fox had already discussed alien immigration in an earlier article ‘The Invasion of Pauper Foreigners’ (Fox 1888):

A select committee of the House of Commons has recently been appointed to inquire into the immigration of foreign paupers. The subject is one fraught with difficulty, owing to the absence of any published returns of such immigration, and the following remarks are penned, partly in the hope of lightening the labours of the Committee, but chiefly by way of reply to an article [White 1888] by Mr. Arnold White under the above heading (p. 855).27

He notes that White had not presented any statistics “indeed, he does not appear to attach any particular value to them’ the question, he says, is not how many immigrants there are, but what is the effect produced by those who actually settle among us.” (pp. 855-6). In contrast, Fox presents a great deal of statistical evidence, both from official sources and from Booth’s survey. One new approach presented here is to look at net migration, rather than merely quoted the number of immigrants. Having carried out the analysis, Fox concludes:

The upshot of the whole matter, then, seems to be this: we, a nation pouring forth every year from our shores over 300,000 emigrants, are asked to close our ports to the free entry of eight thousand per annum more or less indigent foreigners, less than 2000 of whom are members of the Semitic faith. (p. 865).

As a warning against hasty and ill-thought-out regulation he points out that

France also has her foreign labour question, and the immigration of indigent aliens is exciting as much interest there as in this country. The cheap Italian is the bête noire of the French workman, and he is alleged to be always to underbid native labour. …

Now in France a commission reported (a) in favour of excluding foreign workmen from French public works, (b) the imposition of a residential tax upon all foreign workmen in

27 White states his concern at the beginning of his article:

With a population growing at the rate of 320,000 a year it is indisputable that the subjects of emigration and colonisation cannot fail to assume greater national importance in the future than in the past. (p. 414).

The figure of 320,000 has a certain contemporary ring to it.
France, and (c) the taxation of all French companies which give work to foreigners. What was the attitude of the Government towards the proposals? The Minister of Public Works informed the commission that their proposals were impracticable; that the abrupt dismissal of workmen on the ground that they were foreigners would amount to a violation of international law and be unjustifiable in the sight of the world; and that the taxation of foreigners would be a breach of existing international treaties by which the contracting powers are pledged to mutual fairness towards one another’s citizens. (p. 866)

That Fox should appeal to Charles Booth’s survey for statistical support is perhaps not surprising as he had been one of the team of assistants that helped Booth carry out the survey: he contributed a chapter on ‘Tobacco Workers’ (Fox 1889) and was joint author of chapters on ‘Hemp, Jute and Fibre’ (Fox and Argyle 1903) and ‘Bakers and Confectioners’ (Booth and Fox 1896).

The volume of Booth’s survey that contained Fox’s chapter on Tobacco Workers also contained three other chapters of interest to the study of alien immigration. These were by Beatrice Potter on ‘The Docks’ (Potter 1889a), ‘Tailoring’ (Potter 1889b) and ‘The Jewish Community’ (Potter 1889c).

Beatrice Potter (1858—1943) began her work among the poor when she became a voluntary rent collector in an experimental housing scheme in December 1884: her sister Kate had been carrying on this work for a number of years and when she left to get married Beatrice took it over. (MacKenzie, 2000, p. 53). Her contact with Charles Booth came after his marriage to her cousin, Mary Macaulay. They developed a close friendship as she became interested in the analysis of social problems and aware of his forthcoming survey. Simey and Simey (1980) suggest that

the intensity of the interest which her own account reveals her as having focused upon the subject of the investigation of social problems, must have given great encouragement to Booth in the initial stages of his venture, and it is perhaps not too
much to suggest that it may indeed have served as a decisive influence in bringing his plans to fruition. (p. 73) …

Beatrice was possibly the only one among his colleagues who shared his passionate interest in the method of the Inquiry, as distinct from its results, and there is no doubt that it was on the basis of this common interest that their friendship developed along such profitable lines. (p. 82)

In addition to the time she spent interviewing for the Survey, she also undertook training in ‘besting’ (the art of finishing a pair of trousers) and went seeking work. (“Miss Potter, aping the manner and accent of a working-girl, enquires ‘do you want a plain ‘and?’” (Harrison, 2000, p. 146).) Eventually, she spent two days working in a sweat shop.

Her chapter on ‘The Docks’ has only a negative contribution to offer to the study of the migrants, as she states:

At least the docks are free from the reproach of other London industries; they are not overrun with foreigners. The foreign element is conspicuous by its absence—unless we are to persuade ourselves that the Irish are foreigners. For Paddy enjoys more than his proportional share of dock work with its privileges and its miseries. (p. 194)

In the chapter on ‘The Tailoring Trade’ Potter argues that there is no competition between the skilled English tailor, who makes the whole garment, and the Jewish contractor producing machine-made garments using a division of labour in which individual parts of the garment are made by well-trained but unskilled workers. The real competition is between the Jewish contractor and women working in provincial factories in England. She is not impressed by the results of this process of production:

Thus subdivision of labour, yesterday the fetish of the economist, to-day the bugbear of the trade-unionist, is, in the tailoring industry, innocent alike of art or fraud; incapable of producing the coat for “the gentleman who knows how to clothe himself,” but utterly disdainful of the soaped-up garments which lose shape and substance in the first London fog. Honestly made balloons, adapted to the wear of a tasteless middle class are its only, but its numerous progeny. (p. 228).
While discussing the hard conditions in small-scale production and low wages, she recognises that ‘greeners’ may earn low wages while they are learning the trade:

We must, however, in noting the scanty earnings of unskilled labour in Jewish coat-making, recognise one striking distinction—I mean the difference between permanently low wage and what may be considered a form of trade apprenticeship. Machinists and pressers receiving less than five shillings for thirteen hours’ work may be regarded as learners—a state from which they are bound to rise if they have the average strength and capacity. (p. 224).

To explain the “indefinite multiplication of small masters in the Jewish coat trade” (p. 232) Potter suggests a racial characteristic:

In the East End tailoring trade the characteristic love of profit in the Jewish race has a two-fold tendency; to raise the workers as a mass of individuals, and to depress the industry through which they rise. Contractors and workers alike ascend in the social scale; taken as a mass they shift upwards, leaving to the new-comer from foreign lands the worst paid work, the most dilapidated workshops, and the dirtiest lodgings. (p. 233, *italics* in the original).

There is a more extended discussion of immigrants and their characteristics in her chapter on ‘The Jewish Community’. The chapter begins with an historical account of the growth of the Jewish population in London and the important roles of the Chief Rabbis (there being two, one each for the Sephardic and Ashkenazite communities). An important institution in Jewish life is the ‘Chevra’, “which combine[s] the functions of a benefit club for death, sickness, and the solemn rites of mourning with that of public worship and the study of the Talmud.” (p.567). While the Chevras and synagogues provide support for the middle and the lower middle class of East End Jews, Potter points out that

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28 This argument is similar to that put forward by Charles Emanuel above; see the summary of his Chapter III in Table 1.

29 In preparation for writing on this subject she acknowledged considerable help from the Rev. Herman Adler, the Delegate Chief Rabbi. She also had fruitful discussions with Joseph Blank, “who was … the son of poor immigrant Polish Jews who had made good. … Talking to him certainly set Beatrice thinking: ‘Reading the Talmud’, she noted down and, in parenthesis, ‘What is Talmud?’” (O’Day and Englander, 1993, p. 80).
there remains some 20,000 to 30,000 Jews—men, women, and children—too poor or too indifferent to attend regularly a place of worship, but who nevertheless cling with an almost superstitious tenacity to the habits and customs of their race. This poorest section of the Jewish community is composed, with a few exceptions, of foreigners or the children of foreigners. Individuals are constantly rising out of it into other classes, or leaving England for America; but their places are quickly taken by new-comers from Poland and Russia. It forms, therefore, a permanent layer of poverty verging on destitution. (pp. 570-1).

The Jewish community tended to support its poorest members through charitable donations and the Jewish Board of Guardians played an important role is distributing financial support, of which “more than 50 per cent. may be considered given in the form of business capital of one kind or another, enabling the recipients to raise themselves permanently from the ranks of those who depend on charity for subsistence.” (p. 573). However, this apparently positive charitable process can, according to Potter, cause problems:

Money lent or given for trade purposes fosters the artificial multiplication of small masters, and is one of the direct causes of the sweating system; efficient assistance of the mechanic out of work enables him to exist on reduced or irregular earnings, and thereby lowers the general condition of his class. In truth there seems no escape from the tragic dilemma of charitable relief. (p. 574).

Turning more directly to the inflow of Jewish migrants, she highlights the actions of the Russian government in persecuting them (“Alone among the great nations of Europe, Russia has resolutely refused political and industrial freedom to her Jewish subjects. Under the Russian Government oppression and restriction have assumed every conceivable form.” (p. 578). She suggests that this persecution itself has had a number of effects on the Jewish community. One positive effect has come from the restrictions imposed to prevent Jews entering public life:

Social isolation has perfected home life; persecution has intensified religious fervour, an existence of unremitting toil, and a rigid observance of the moral precepts and sanitary and dietary regulations of the Jewish religion have favoured the growth of sobriety, personal purity, and a consequent power of physical endurance. (p. 579).

The Talmud plays an important role in the development of these positive virtues:
For in those ten volumes of Talmudic lore the orthodox Polish Jew finds not only a store-house of information and a training-ground for his intellectual and emotional faculties, but the key to all the varied perplexities and manifold troubles of his daily existence. (pp. 579-80).

The second effect of the persecution has been negative: in order to survive Jews have had to resort to dishonest and unlawful practices:

Once again in the history of the world penal legislation has proved a powerless weapon against the superior mental equipment of the Jew; and it has simply forced the untiring energies of the Hebrew race into low channels of parasitic activity, undermining the morality and well-being of their Christian fellow-subjects. (p. 578)

Potter ends her chapter by raising and suggesting answers to two questions:

The East End Jewish problem therefore resolves itself into two central questions:—(1) What are the reasons of the Jewish success? (2) Why is that success resented by that part of the Christian community with whom the Jew comes in daily contact? (p. 585).

She suggests that the answer to the first question is the superior education of the Jew:

First we must realize (in comparing the Polish Jew with the English labourer) that the poorest Jew has inherited through the medium of his religion a trained intellect. … The children of Israel are a nation of priests. Each male child, rich or poor, is a student of the literature of his race. … In the Jewish inhabitants of East London we see therefore a race of brain-workers competing with a class of manual labourers. (pp. 585-6).

While the Talmud supplies a superior education, it only goes so far:

To quote the words of Deutsch, the Talmud, besides comprising the poetry and the science of the people, is “emphatically a Copus Juris: an encyclopedia of law, civil and penal, ecclesiastical and international, human and divine.” Beyond this law the pious Israelite recognizes no obligations; the laws and customs of the Christians are so many regulations to be obeyed, evaded, set at naught, or used according to the possibilities and expediencies of the hour. (p. 580).

She is at pains to make clear that her comments refer to the Polish and Russian immigrants and not to Jews in general:

The Polish or Russian Jew represents to some extent the concentrated essence of Jewish virtue and Jewish vice; for he has, in his individual experience, epitomized the history of his race in the Christian world. But he can in no sense be considered a fair sample of Jews who have enjoyed the freedom, the culture, and the public spirit of English life. I should wish it therefore to be distinctly understood that I do not offer the slight description in the following pages of the manners, customs, and industrial characteristic of East End Jews as a picture of the Jewish community throughout England. (p. 580).
When it comes to answering her second question she suggests this lack of commitment to Christian laws and customs may contribute to anti-immigrant hostility:

For the reader will have already perceived that the immigrant Jew, though possessed of many first-class virtues, is deficient in that highest and latest development of human sentiment—social morality.” (p. 589).

She gives some examples of Jewish immortality and concludes the chapter:

The small manufacturer injures the trade through which he rises to the rank of a capitalist by bad and dishonest production. The petty dealer or small money lender, imbued with the economic precept of buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market, suits his wares and his terms to the weakness, the ignorance, and the vice of his customers; the mechanic, indifferent to the interests of the class to which he temporarily belongs, and intent only on becoming a small master, acknowledges no limit to the process of underbidding follow-workers, except the exhaustion of his own strength. In short, the foreign Jew totally ignores all social obligations other than keeping the law of the land, the maintenance of his own family, and the charitable relief of co-religionists.

Thus the immigrant Jew, fresh from the sorrowful experiences typical of the history of his race, seems to justify by his existence those strange assumptions which figure for man in the political economy of Ricardo—an Always Enlightened Selfishness, seeking employment or profit with an absolute mobility of body and mind, without pride, without preference, without interests outside the struggle for the existence and welfare of the individual and the family. We see these assumptions verified in the Jewish inhabitants of Whitechapel; and in the Jewish East End trades we may watch the prophetic deduction of the Hebrew economist actually fulfilled—in a perpetually recurring bare subsistence wage for the great majority of manual workers. (pp. 589-90)

A number of reviews of this volume in the Booth investigation singled out this chapter for special mention. Ashley (1890) quoted a summary of the penultimate paragraph in the quote immediately above and continued:

31 In her diary for October 4, 1886 Potter had written:

But as I understand Ricardo’s economics, he does not attempt to discover, he merely assumes. It is possible that his assumptions may turn out to be an account of normal action, but he does not prove that his assumptions represent fact. But then, he does not seem to think that proof is necessary. (Quoted in Webb, 1926, 1979, p. 294).

It would seem that here she was providing the missing discovery.
These evil tendencies are unfortunately strengthened by the policy of the Jewish Board of Guardians,—the dispensers of the charity of wealthy English Jews towards their miserable fellow-believers. (p. 518).

Another review (Huntington 1889) wrote:

The chapter on the “Jewish Community”, by the way, is particularly interesting, and presents a very vivid picture. Popular prejudice has so distorted our ideas of the Jew that to many readers it may be a surprise to find how many good qualities he has. Hunted out or Russia or Poland, he has brought with him, not material wealth, but a trained intellect and a capacity for endurance almost beyond belief. Not so much by craft and cunning as by hard work and prudent saving, he rises from almost absolute destitution to comfort and gaudy splendor. He is kind to his wife and children, and he is a peaceable citizen. (pp. 94-5)

Another (unsigned) review in The Star was of the opinion that:

The importance of the book is greatly enhanced by the admirable special reports on particular subjects. Miss Beatrice Potter contributes lucid papers on “The Docks”, “The Tailoring Trade,” and “The Jewish Community.” Though sometimes a little “hard” in tone and too individualistic in economics, these afford important information on disputed points, and occasionally contain specially graphic PEN-PICTURES

The description of the arrival and early experiences of the Jewish immigrants indicates that Miss Potter could beat Mr. Walter Besant in his own department hollow. We have space only for one short quotation:

“Seated by the side of a young woman a bearded man, his face furrowed and shoulders best with work. He is comfortably clothed, and wears a large watch-chain hanging ostentatiously outside his coat. …

He is simply the presser from the sweater’s next door to the orange dealer; and he also can afford the shilling fee to board the steamer and meet his wife. Ah! There she is: and

A GENTLE-FACED WOMAN

Beaming with heightened color, pushes her way to the side of the vessel, holding up the youngest child with triumphant pride. The elder boy a lad of ten, fastens his eyes fixedly on his father’s watch-chain, tries in vain to pierce the pocket and weigh and measure the watch, calculates quickly the probable value, wonders whether gilded articles are cheaper or dearer in London than in Poland, and registers a silent vow that he will not rest day or night until he is handling with possessor’s price a gold watch and chain, similar or superior to that adorning his father’s person. Then he prepares with religious reverence to receive his father’s blessing.” (p 582)32

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32 The author was Sidney Webb (see Webb, S. (1889)).
Conclusions: While Charles Booth’s initial interest in undertaking his survey was an investigation of London poverty, his exploration of the conditions in a variety of industries provided a good deal of information on the effects of ‘alien’ immigration. In addition to the examples given above in the works of Fox and Potter, there is further comment by Booth himself that is of interest. In his chapter on ‘Sweating’ (Booth 1889b) he wrote:

Finally, as to the Jews; I can add nothing to what appears in another chapter as to the peculiar character of their competition, but I may particularly point out that the force of this competition depends on a continual stream of new-comers. Let this stop, and it at once changes its character. For a time it tends to reduce wages and so lower the standard of life, but apart from a constant influx, this is not its permanent effect. In the long run it is a competition of greater industry and greater skill. We may desire to exclude further arrivals of poor refugees; to do so, if practicable, would be very reasonable, and as popular with the Jews themselves—those who are here—as with our own people. But we can only do it on the ground of “England for the English;” we cannot do it on the cry of no admittance to paupers. From top to bottom, old-established or new-comers, the Jews are a hard-working and very capable set of people, who readily learn to keep themselves, and usually get on in the world. (pp. 494-5 italics in the original)

This reinforces the objections raised by Fox against Arnold White’s agitation against the ‘alien paupers’ and, by taking a more dynamic approach to the effects of immigration, provides a more balanced view of how the system adjusts.

One unintended consequence for the LSE of Beatrice Potter’s experience in working on the Booth survey may have been the effect it had in training her as a social investigator and her belief in the need for careful data collection. In My Apprenticeship she wrote:

My participation in Charles Booth’s grand inquest into the life and labour of the people in London served as a training in the art of a social investigator and confirmed my faith in the application of the scientific method to social organisation.

In the course of this enquiry I had learnt the relation between personal observation and statistics. However accurate and comprehensive might be the description of technical detail, however vivid the picture of what was happening at the dock gates or in the sweated workshops, I was always confronted by Charles Booth’s sceptical glance and critical questions: “How many individuals are affected by the conditions you
describe; are they increasing or diminishing in number?” “What proportion do they bear to those working and living under worse or better conditions?” “Does this so-called sweating system play any considerable part in the industrial organisation of the four million inhabitants of London?” Thus, though I never acquired the statistical instrument because I had not the requisite arithmetic, I became aware that every conclusion derived from observation or experiment had to be quantified as well as verified by the relevant statistics. Meanwhile, in another part of the technique of sociology—the gentle art of interviewing—I think I may say that I became an adept. (Webb 1926, 1979, pp. 339-40)

When the question of using the Hutchinson donation to the Fabians was being determined and the Webbs were reluctant to see the money being spent on short-term projects, Beatrice Webb wrote in her diary (21 September 1894):

But reform will not be brought about by shouting. What is needed is hard thinking. And the same objection applies to sending non-descript Socialists into Parliament. The Radical members are quite sufficiently compliant in their views: what is lacking in them is the leaven of knowledge. So Sidney has been planning to persuade the other trustees to devote the greater part of the money to encouraging research and economic study. His vision is to found, slowly and quietly, a London School of Economics and Political Science—a centre not only for lectures on special subjects, but an association of students who would be directed and supported to do original work. Last evening we sat by the fire and jotted down a whole list of subjects which want elucidating—issues of fact which need clearing up. Above all, we want the ordinary citizen to feel that reforming society in no light matter, and must be undertaken by experts specially trained for the purpose. (MacKenzie and MacKenzie, 2000, p.186).

Harrison (2000) comments that “It is easy enough to draw together the considerations that brought forth this proposed line of action. Not least in importance was Beatrice’s preference for research as opposed to mere politics.” (p. 285).

6. CONCLUSIONS: WHAT HAPPENED THEN?

My original motivation for writing this paper was curiosity about entries in early LSE Calendars for William Cunningham and Frederick Bradshaw relating to ‘alien immigration’ and an urge to find out more. I have been unable to find any record of what Cunningham actually said in his lectures at LSE in 1895, so I have made a reasonable assumption that an
academic, when asked to lecture on a subject about which he is writing a book, will use that material for his lectures. In the case of Bradshaw we have the book in which he expresses his views on ‘alien immigrants’, but I have not been able to discover why he had such negative views. The link via Stephen Fox to the Booth Survey and Beatrice Potter’s writings was purely fortuitous, but is interesting in providing further information on ‘alien immigration’ and, via her link to Sidney Webb, an important input into the emphasis on research that featured in the founding of the LSE.  

What happened next? In terms of a detailed analysis, the answer is I do not know, as I have neither the time nor a band of dedicated research assistants to explore completely this aspect of the history of LSE. However, the fact that the examples of early connections discussed here were written in a period in which there was considerable political concern about immigration, might suggest that one would find further connections in similar situations and I can offer a number of such examples

First, Dahrendorf (1995, pp. 286-90) provides another LSE connection with immigration with the foundation of the Academic Assistance Council in 1933. William Beveridge and Lionel Robbins were in Vienna in March 1933 and learnt of the scale of the Nazi purge of academics, many of them Jews, that was beginning in Germany. Upon his return to London Beveridge proposed the setting up of an Academic Freedom Council at the LSE and academics were encouraged to contribute part of their salaries (1% for lecturers, 2% for readers and 3% for professors) to support the work of the Council in helping academic refugees. This levy continued for three years. Outside LSE Beveridge built up national

33 For an interesting account of the early research carried out at the School see Adam (2010).
support for the cause with the launch of the Academic Assistance Council (AAC), whose secretary was Walter Adams, a future Director of the School.\textsuperscript{34}

A second example is from the 1960s, when there was increased hostility to ‘alien’ immigrants, though these ‘aliens’ were now from countries in the Commonwealth (the West Indies, India and Pakistan), with numbers of immigrants having risen from 11,000 West Indians in 1954 to a total of 125,400 Commonwealth immigrants in 1961, of whom 66,000 were from the West Indies, 24,000 from India and 25,000 from Pakistan.\textsuperscript{35} Under pressures from back-benchers not unlike those that preceded the introduction of the Aliens Act in 1905, the Conservative government brought in the Commonwealth Immigrants Act in 1962. The passing of the Act did not end agitation over the threat of the ‘alien’ immigrant and race played a part in some constituencies in the General Election in 1964.\textsuperscript{36}

This was the context in which Ed Mishan and Lionel Needleman presented the preliminary findings of their research on ‘Immigration, Excess Aggregate Demand and the Balance of Payments’ for discussion at two sessions of the M\textsuperscript{2}T Seminar.\textsuperscript{37} They developed a formal mathematical model to relate the economic impact of an inflow of migrants from Jamaica to

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{34} In 1936 the AAC changed its name to the Society for Protection of Science and Learning (SPSL) and in 1999 the SPSL was renamed as the Council for Assisting Refugee Academics (CARA) and still continues its work.
\item \textsuperscript{35} See Foot (1965, p. 126).
\item \textsuperscript{36} This was particularly true in the Midlands, where an eve of poll leaflet in Birmingham claimed ‘300,000 immigrants: This could happen if you vote Labour’ and Patrick Gordon Walker was defeated in Smethwick by Peter Griffiths. See Foot (1965), chapters 7 and 8 for an account of the politics of immigration during this period.
\item \textsuperscript{37} The ‘Methodology, Measurement and Testing (M\textsuperscript{2}T) Seminar’ was set up by a group of junior members of the Economics Department (Dick Lipsy, Chris Archibald, Kurt Klappholz, Maurice Peston, Kelvin Lancaster, Bernard Corry and others) in the late 1950s to carry out applied econometric analysis and test hypotheses at a time when such work was not encouraged in the Department under Lionel Robbins. See de Marchi (1988) and Thomas (2009) for further information on the M\textsuperscript{2}T Seminar. I was present at those sessions and can remember some of those present felt a little nervous about venturing into an area that was so politically charged. Unfortunately, the records of the M\textsuperscript{2}T Seminar have disappeared and I do not remember the dates of these meetings. The work under discussion at those sessions was published as Mishan and Needleman (1966).
\end{itemize}
the level of excess demand and the balance of payments in the UK. Data were available to enumerate some of the parameters in the model, but not all and, in the end, they were able only to evaluate what would happen for a range of values of the unmeasurable parameters.

This is the first example I have found of a formal analysis of immigration by LSE academics, but as immigration has continued to be an important political issue, it is perhaps not surprising that in more recent times there has been much more research undertaken on aspects of immigration by academics at the School, either working as individuals or working in groups, such as the Migration Studies Unit, or research institutes, such as the Centre for Economic Performance.

This research involves many social sciences and I am not qualified to describe or evaluate this work. So I will end by hoping that if any readers have found this exploration of the early connections of LSE to ‘alien’ immigration interesting and are acquainted with the recent research in this area, they will be encouraged to extend the story to cover recent times.
Table 1: A Summary of Alien Immigration: Should Restrictions be Imposed?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bradshaw</th>
<th>Emanuel</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Introductory Note</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>This three page note claims that those who argue for tolerance towards immigrants do not take account of the low quality of the current arrivals:</td>
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<td>“Alone among the nations of the world we allow the scum of the earth to enter our land, and, naturally, taking the line of least resistance, they come to us in ever increasing numbers, since the rest of the world is closed to them. Some system of restrictions must be adopted, or we shall lose the undoubted benefits which accrue to a nation from immigration, and retain only the evil consequences. But mere assertions carry no weight, and I intend to adduce evidence that, taken as a whole, the alien immigrant is not a desirable addition to our population on account of his origin, habits, economic value (?), and general want of those principles of morality which we consider necessary in a British subject.” (pp. 2-3).</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Chapter I: The Alien’s Origin</strong></td>
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<td>Bradshaw begins with a brief and sympathetic account of the persecution and suffering of the Jews in Russia and Roumania that is similar to that given in Evans-Gordon (1903), whom he quotes. He then goes on to distinguish between the characteristics of Jews from different countries:</td>
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<td>“I have dealt with the Russian source of our immigrants because it is the more important. There are, however, other nations from which we drain off the worthless or wretched. Austria, Hungary, and Roumania are the chief of these, but there is little difference in the character of the people. If possible, those from Galicia are more hopeless and stupid than the rest. … The Galician Jew is an unskilled labourer in the fullest sense of the term, generally speaking, and inevitably drifts in London to the sweater’s den or the street.</td>
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<td>The Roumanian Jew is of a far superior type. … The Jew from Germany does not come very frequently to England. … Generally they are inoffensive and useful; they either return to Germany or become a part of our native population.” (pp. 15-18)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Chapter I: The Aliens on Trial</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Emanuel begins with an argument similar to that made by William Cunningham on the importance role played by earlier immigrants in providing technical progress:</td>
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<td>“From its physical position, England has been unable to receive the re-vitalisation which continental nations receive by the imperceptible filtering in of new ideas and new methods over their borders. The stagnation which must therefore otherwise have ensued has been avoided by the direct means of the immigration of foreigners.” (p.128)</td>
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<td>He questions the numbers provided by Sir Howard Vincent and summarises the argument he had presented to the Royal Commission and presents detailed statistics to refute Sir Howard Vincent’s data. He also presents arguments to defend the accuracy of the Census of 1901.</td>
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The lesson he draws from his examination is:

“We can see the Jew free in Austria, and wretched; we see him in Russia oppressed, and also wretched. Thus oppression cannot cause, although it may accentuate, his helplessness. There must be something in his habits that accounts for the unpleasant conditions of a Russian or Austrian Ghetto.” (p. 19).

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**Chapter II: Alien Town**

Much of this chapter is concerned with statistics relating to the number of aliens, in particular the number reported in the 1901 Census. The Royal Commission had been presented with conflicting evidence on the accuracy of the returns in the 1901 Census and Bradshaw quotes the Commission’s conclusion that:

“No one ventures now to maintain the accuracy of the census of 1891 as regards aliens, and, although the English members of the Jewish community used exceptional care in 1901, the Report of the Royal Commission [p.12] does not dispute the statement that they were not successful.” (p. 26).

Bradshaw is also critical of statistics prepared by the Board of Trade on the numbers of immigrants arriving in Britain who are in transit to another destination as opposed to those intending to settle in Britain:

“Long acquaintance with the alien enables the customs official to obtain, in most cases, the required information, but the accuracy of many aliens is open to question. Lying is an ineradicable vice of theirs, and in part proceeds from a distrust of all officials. The yearly returns of emigration and immigration are supplemented by the information obtained from question 4 [The alien’s ultimate destination, so far as can be ascertained], but the customs official does not pretend to vouch for their completeness.” (pp. 30-31).

He contrasts the USA, where a would-be immigrant must show possession of some assets, with the position in Britain, where no such requirement is enforced, to argue that the aliens arriving in Britain are therefore “the poor, the aged, and the unenterprising. If a man possesses capital he invariably proceeds to Africa or America.” (p. 36).

To argue that they may also be diseased, he quotes a report by Major Evans-Gordon from a hospital seen as responding to the criticisms made in Chapter II of Bradshaw’s section of the book.

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**Chapter II: The Aliens on Trial (continued) The Russian and Pole in East—The causes of the change in population—The new local factor—The alien and the native tradesman.**

Having presented a table showing the increase in foreign immigrants in Stepney, Emanuel outlines the history of the settlement of European Jews in the East End. There had always been a Jewish colony there, so it was natural for newcomers to settle there. Despite the fact that the area was becoming less suitable as a residential area, foreign immigrants still favoured it:

“Accustomed to insanitary conditions in their country of birth, accustomed particularly to the closely packed houses in their Pales of Settlement in Russia, residence in the East End, apart from the rent question, presented to them few objections. … The main advantage they obtained was the facility for obtaining employment.” (pp. 152-3)

Given their habits of industry and thrift, some of these Jews were able to become more than mere workmen and opened factories and workshops, which grew to give employment to the expanding workforce, so that there was a minimum of unemployment.

In the past Stepney had been largely a residential area where the rents were moderate, but pressure for expansion from the nearby City had led to a sharp rise in the level of rents. There had been a movement of natives out of the area, but Emmanuel argued that this was due to changes in the working conditions for dockers that meant they no longer needed to live near the docks, improved housing opportunities elsewhere and improved transport to allow cheap commuting to work. “The native was not ‘turned out’, he went out, and the foreigner stepped into the place he vacated.” (p. 159)

Emanuel argues that the change in the population has had a positive effect on the area:

“In spite of the disadvantages of ever-increasing rents
doctor he interviewed in Roumania that favus (an extremely infectious skin disease) and trachoma were common among the patients and that consumption was common in Lodz and Warsaw, but admits that for aliens arriving in Britain “it is impossible to obtain statistics, for neither favus nor trachoma is detected without examination.” (p. 40).

Bradshaw uses the term ‘Alien Town’ to describe areas of London in which the number of non-naturalised foreigners has increased between the censuses of 1861 and 1901, while the total population in those areas had declined. Having provided some statistics on the increases, he continues (without providing any statistics on crime):

“Startling as are the percentages of increase shown by these figures, they are as nothing compared with the criminal statistics of alien London, and it is in these western and central boroughs that the more brutal and dangerous type of foreign criminal abounds. No resident in the neighbourhood of Tottenham Court Road needs enlightenment as to the character of these aliens at any rate, and there is no difference of opinion as to the desirability of their exclusion.” (p. 42).

As evidence of this decrease he quotes from the Royal Commission that Americans, who only represented 10% of the total of foreigners account for 23.5% of crime, while the Russians and Poles, who represent 33% of foreigners account for only 17% of crimes. (p. 162)

The exodus of poor natives from the area had an adverse effect of some shopkeepers who catered for them, but Emanuel had little sympathy for those shopkeepers who didn’t move to follow their former customers:

“The very fact that in Stepney a considerable section of tradesmen without customers have preferred to remain and lament, shows how unsuited they are for the modern struggle for existence.” (p. 164)

Emanuel presents two examples of claims against aliens that he investigated and found to be false and concludes:

“It was obvious at the Commission [on Alien Immigration] that while a number of reliable employers of labour came forward to testify on behalf of the aliens, the trade witnesses who opposed them were either workmen or mere trade-agitators, the least likely persons in the world to be unbiased on a question of native v. alien labour. Most of them disclosed a lamentable want of knowledge of trade conditions among foreigners, and proved undeniably that the life of these aliens, working as they do almost entirely among themselves, is a sealed book to the majority of their critics.” (p. 167)

Chapter III: The Alien as a Neighbour

In this chapter Bradshaw sets out to show how the influx of aliens has led to overcrowding, high rents and natives being forced out of the areas.

To demonstrate displacement he quotes from the evidence presented to the Royal Commission by Dr. Thomas (Medical Officer of Health for the Borough of Stepney):

“Here are the census figures for Stepney: 1881, and local burdens, in spite of the obvious overcrowding, the criminal quarter has disappeared, and poverty has decreased to an extent little less than extraordinary, and at a far greater rate than is the average throughout the metropolis.” (p. 160)

Chapter III: The Alien on Trial (continued) The labour problem—Piece work—Sweating of to-day—Competition in labour—The free labourer—Dearth of apprentices—The alien as a tailor—Sub-division of labour—The mantle trade—The cigarette trade—The boot trade—The waterproof trade—The standard of life.

Emanuel discusses the claim that the alien was unskilled on arrival and was therefore bound to be “sweated”. He defends the system by quoting from a sub-inspector of Factories and Works with nine years’
282,676; 1891, 285,292; 1901, 298,600, showing an increase of 2616 between 1881 and 1891, and of 13,308 between 1891 and 1901. Yet the foreign population show an increase of over 22,000. This can mean nothing less, in the opinion of Dr. Thomas, than that 8500 native East Enders have been displaced or replaced—which ever word is preferred—by East European Ghetto-dwellers.” (p. 47)

To demonstrate overcrowding, he quotes statistics on the number of dwellings in different boroughs to show that in St. George’s, where the percentage of foreigners had increased from 16.2% in 1891 to 28.8% in 1901, and 3,273 additional persons had to be housed in 311 fewer dwellings. (p. 49)

A further problem for the native is the growth in the number of alien landlords:

“Manual labour is distasteful to the immigrant, and his ambition is to become a small property owner or an employer. To gain this position he will starve himself and practise every possible economy; then having become the owner of a few ramshackle cottages he proceeds to raise the rents of them unfortunately tenantry.” (p. 53)

Where the dwellings had a back-yard, the landlord was legally justified in erecting a workshop in this space and this added to the overcrowding.

There is also a problem for native shopkeepers:

“The alien does not know English—sometimes he does not trouble to learn it at all—and his tastes in food as well as his religion leads him to patronise his co-religionists. … His preference is for articles which do not bring in the old rate of profit to the shopkeeper, and the alien tradesman has no scruples about earning a living by keeping open his shop from 6 A.M. to 2 A.M. the following morning, and by adulterating his goods wholesale.” (pp. 68-9).

Bradshaw sums up his views of the alien as a neighbour as follows:

“Perhaps enough has been said to prove that the foreigner is not a very desirable person as a neighbour, He first displaces the native and causes him to pay more rent. He demoralises the Englishman’s children by filthy habits and general disregard of decency, and, finally, as fast as the magistrates improve the character of any district the alien comes in, and with him a host of prostitutes and criminals fleeing from justice experience working in the East End:

“What is now known as sweating … is a voluntary condition of labour, entered into between a master requiring unskilled labour and a workman anxious to be taught a trade, or branch of a trade, and to accept a small wage for a limited period whilst merely a learner. There is nothing either unfair of degrading in these conditions. The workman gets as good a wage as his rough unskilled work is worth in the open market; the master gets cheap labour for the rough work which he has at hand.” (p. 169)

Another claim was that the alien had driven down wages. Emanuel’s response is pure Adam Smith:

“Few judges of the alien question have given sufficient thought to the foreign system of sub-division of labour, essential to the ready-made tailoring trade. It enables a previously unskilled workman to master in a few months a sub-division of a trade, thus allowing the utilisation of the least skilled, instead of only the most skilled, among the workmen. Constant practice at one sub-division of the requisite work gives the foreign workman a rapidity and precision which is little less than marvellous, and enables him in a limited number of hours, working piece-work, to earn a sum which seems incredible to the British workman, who has had his head filled with visions of a sweated multitude of aliens living on bread and tea and working for a bare living wage.” (pp. 175-6)

He argues that in the case of a number of industries, such as ladies mantles and tailor-made garments, or cigarette-making, the production by the alien is not competing unfairly with the native, but replacing foreign goods that were formerly imported into Britain.

He rejects the charge that the alien has lowered the standard of life of the native working classes and notes the effect on the native of the Demon Drink:

Drink, that perennial cause of misery among the native working classes is a vice of purely native growth. Freedom from such vice enables an alien earning 30s a week, to obtain more luxuries and put by more for a rainy day than a native earning his £2 or more. The mere abstention from drink on the part of the alien is considered in some quarters, as giving him an unfair advantage over the native, and has earned him the
**Chapter IV: The Alien and Industry**

Bradshaw’s case here is that because aliens are prepared to live in squalid conditions they can accept work at lower wages than can the native and are hence drive them out of business. His evidence is mainly taken from the testimony of individual witnesses, though some statistical data are presented.

On page 73 he begins what he calls “the Greener’s Progress” [a ‘greener’ was a term for a newly arrived immigrant], a long account of the trials and tribulations of one immigrant from Russian Poland, referred to as A. It seems that this sad story failed to melt the hearts of all the members of the Commission: A “was launching into an account if how Polish bad characters are property speculators in London when he was stopped by Sir Kenelm Digby, and information instead was given as to wages.” (pp. 75-6)

Bradshaw is particularly critical of the alien’s acceptance of low living standards as it affects the position of the native:

“The alien has taken away his living, for no Englishman can live as the greener does and preserve his self-respect. … The men who are robbing our artisans of their work live on black bread and coffee, varied by an occasional red herring or sausage.” (p. 80).

“It cannot, however, be maintained by the most enthusiastic economist that a race living on black rye-bread and sausages should be allowed to supplant our own artisans who are struggling to maintain a wheat and beef standard.” (p. 82)

Bradshaw charges the alien with driving out the natives from boot and shoemaking, tailoring and cabinet-making through the use of sweatshops and the exploitation of greeneres. He quotes from the testimony presented by a factory inspector from Stepney on the way in which factory regulations are ignored by employers in sweatshops. He paints a bleak picture of the life of the aliens working in the sweatshops and questions whether they improve their lot by coming to such conditions:

“We are told that it is tyranny and un-English to close our ports to the victims of oppression, but to what fate do we admit them? Hitherto our industrial system has opposition of the strong publican interest.” (p. 181)

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Emanuel argues that while immigrants often have a difficult time when they first arrive, their critics distort the facts by claiming that all immigrants lived like that:

“It is the new arrivals who live on tea and bread; these are the ones who overcrowd; but as was clearly proved their period of disadvantage is but a short one. It might last three months, or perhaps six, but their rapid improvement in earning power and the corresponding improvement in their conditions of life was little more than remarkable.” (p. 183)

Once this probationary period is over, the picture Emanuel paints of the diet and life of the immigrant is idyllic:

“Even the poorest Jew, whatever his wage, has a feast on Friday night and Saturday. The consumption of fish is greater in the East End than in any other part of London, and that consumed by foreign Jews is of the very best quality. Soles, the most expensive of fish, are greatly in demand; haddocks, plaice, whiting, and such like are classed as ‘offal’ … Alien Jews are also large consumers of meat of the very best quality. No diseased animal can be sold at a Kosher butcher’s. … Foreign Jewesses are skilled in preparing food with oil, giving an increase to its nourishing qualities, and they are celebrated for savoury stews of vegetables and meat. A considerable portion of the wage which the native workman spends on drink, the foreigner spends on nutritious food for his family.

The family life of these people is almost perfect. They make excellent husbands and children and devoted parents.” (p. 185)

In response to the charge that their poverty led to increasing criminality Emanuel cites the evidence given to the Royal Commission by one witness who in relation to the criminality of the Jewish immigrants “stated that he had never seen the slightest immodesty
been healthy because its foundations rested on the willing labour of free men, taking a pride in their craft, but we are fast restoring slavery.” (pp. 102-3)

One of the processes he blames for lowering of wages is the sub-division of labour that encourages the employment of unskilled labour.

Bradshaw also questions the use of alien labour in the coal mines in South Wales and Lanark, where the immigrants undercut the economic position of native miners by accepting low wages. Here the fact that many of the aliens didn’t speak English (or Welsh) and were illiterate caused additional difficulties in enforcing safety regulations and concerns among native miners. Given these dangers he concludes:

“Such a possibility is eloquent of the harm caused by the free admission of the East European pauper. To dilate on his general habits, which are no great improvement on those of the Ghetto, is needless. Alike in London and Lanarkshire the question resolves itself into the very simple alternative that this immigration must be restricted or the people of England must see all the Factory Acts and improved conditions of labour nullified by hordes of starving alien settlers.” (pp. 106-7)

or indecency among them, and produced statistics showing that in his district in the East End the proportion of illegitimate births among foreigners was far below that among natives. As to their sobriety, he stated that in all his long and intimate experience among them he had never yet seen a drunken Jew, native or foreign. The wife-beater and the idle loafing son are equally rare.” (p. 186)

Emanuel considers the argument that the alien had supplanted the native workman and presents statistical data from a number of sources to show that the number of trade unionist out of work had gone down during the period; that wages had not declined; that there had been a decrease in hours of work per week. He concludes:

“Against this overwhelming mass of evidence, not one single iota of proof, not one single figure of statistics, was produced either during the sittings of the Commission or during the nine hours debate of the second reading of the Bill to show that any fraction of our trade had been adversely affected by alien labour,” (p. 194)

To the charge that the alien is a destitute person who becomes a charge on the rates Emanuel presents statistical evidence that foreign pauperism had declined (pp. 196-8).

In response to the charge that the alien is responsible for overcrowding, Emanuel quotes reports on overcrowding going back to 1845. In regard to the current situation, he presents data suggesting that there is a higher percentage of overcrowding in St. Pancras and Kensington than there is in the East End. (pp. 199 - 206).

On crime, he concedes that some aliens are criminals, but claims that “it has been already shown from figures given by the Commissioners that in comparison to their total numbers the Americans in England are five times as criminal as the Russians and Poles, and that accordingly the criminal class among the foreigners is not the genuine immigrant who comes here to settle, but the comparatively well-to-do foreign visitor whom the new bill will fail to touch.” (p. 207)

Towards the end of Chapter IV Emmanuel expressed his frustration at the findings of the Royal Commission:
To anyone perusing the summary of evidence as prepared by the Commissioners, it was obvious that the only count on which the balance of evidence seemed to weigh at all heavily against the alien was this very charge of criminality, from which the Russian and Pole was found to be absolved. (p. 207-8)

Having thus weighed the evidence and summed up in favour of the alien, five out of the seven Commissioners pronounced in favour of stringent anti-alien legislation. As had been anticipated, the labour of bringing before the Commission a large amount of absolutely reliable (but pro-alien) evidence had been so much waste of time.” (p. 209)

Chapter V: The Alien as a Citizen

Here Bradshaw considers how the alien is to be judged as a citizen and concludes he rates very badly.

First, he cites bankruptcy as a way of avoiding paying one’s debts. “Hebrews grown wealthy by successive bankruptcies are one of the staple jokes of the comic papers, but the practices of these gentry are no joke to the unfortunate victims.” (p. 110) …

“Sometimes a convenient fire occurs when bankruptcy is inevitable and it is an undisputed fact insurance companies are very chary of accepting the premiums of Polish Jews.” (p. 111)

Secondly, he suggests that alien prostitutes are displacing their British counterparts, though whether this is another example of the alien being prepared to work for a lower reward than the native he does not say. To support this claim he notes that:

“Mr. W.A. Coote, Secretary of the National Vigilance Association, gave evidence concerning the “White Slave” traffic and foreign prostitution generally. In the short space of a walk from Tottenham Court Road to Oxford Circus he and a friend counted 115 foreign prostitutes to twenty-three English.” (pp. 112-3)

“In a certain street, once the favourite haunt of the British “unfortunate”, the alien woman is in complete possession. In some cases she is brought over by a foreigner, but she frequently, comes over voluntarily, often purposely, to ply her old calling in London, and there are many cases where the woman can speak no English.” (p. 114)

Thirdly, he gives a list of crimes ranging through forgery and offences against the coinage to burglary,

Chapter V: The Alien Bill

How the criminal is to be admitted—How the desirable immigrant is to be rejected—How the old settler is to be harassed.

Emanuel is critical of the Alien Bill on the grounds that it won’t achieve its objectives, but will have serious negative effects on honest immigrants:

“The Aliens Bill was ushered in by the Home Secretary with a statement that it was not intended to unnecessarily interfere with the admission of foreigners or unduly hamper their general entry into this country. The Bill itself curiously belied this statement by its sponsor. The only class of aliens whose entry is not unduly hampered by the measure, is the very class which gave the sole justification for an anti-foreign Bill.” (p. 210)

This is because “while the genuine working-class aliens were mainly Russians and Poles, the real criminal aliens were American swindlers and German professional burglars. The prostitutes and their bullies come mainly from France and Germany.” (p. 212)

Given the difficulty of applying the new controls Emanuel predicted they “will only be made to apply to steerage passengers, and the criminals and depraved will not even have to take any care in their selection of a route, for by taking a second- or first-class passage (the profits of their pursuits generally enabling them to go to this expense) they can enter by any route, protected from inconvenient inquiry by an Act ostensibly directed against them.” (p. 212)

While criminals may be able to evade the new controls, the genuine alien immigrant is likely to face new problems in having to supply documentation in the form police certification of character and
The final section of the chapter discusses the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration and the effects the controls that are proposed may have. The Commission proposes the creation of a Department of Immigration with powers to reject at the ports “undesirables” — viz, criminals, prostitutes, idiots, lunatics, persons of notoriously bad character or likely to become a charge on public funds.” (p. 120)

While such controls may reduce the number of aliens coming into Britain they will not deal with some of the problems outlined in earlier chapters. To deal with overcrowding there would be new by-laws under the Public Health Act to prohibit new aliens from residing in an area designated as being overcrowded and new aliens who ignored the ban could be repatriated.

His final plea proposes an alternative destination for the aliens:

“Something must be done to regulate, if not to stem or turn back, the human tide. It is beside the point now to talk of the glory of England in being the only free country in the world. We know it to our cost, and most men feel the “freedom” which only advantages our neighbours, is not a very satisfying thing. We can pity the Hebrew who flees from the tyranny of Russia, but perhaps all are not oppressed exiles. If we wish to help the Hebrews we can encourage the movement for a Zionist State, whether in British East Africa or Palestine. We certainly shall not have the criminals of Europe, who are encouraged by foreign police to come here, and we dare not accept the 5,000,000 Hebrews from Russia. By their past they are not fitted to exercise the franchise and by their religion they are excluded from intermarrying with our people. … It is no argument against restriction to refer to the prosperity of certain aliens, the morality of others, and the beautiful home-life of a third class. There still remains the fact that our present system of the “open door” admits also the prostitute, the blackmailer, the forger and the swindler’s victim, and legislation such as is proposed would not exclude one of those aliens whom it is desirable to acknowledge as citizens.” (pp. 122-3)

passports, which it will be difficult for them to obtain:

“As to the wretched Jews, they will be entirely in the hands of their oppressors. To require them to produce official documents and proofs, which they will have no means of obtaining, will be to seal a new *entente cordiale* between Russia and England, the latter country spontaneously agreeing, without consideration, to return to Russia those Jewish refugees who succeed by bribery and smuggling in fleeing to these shores.” (p. 213)

A further bar to entry would be if an inspecting officer at a port decided that an alien “is likely (at any distant period) to become a public charge” and from this bar there is no appeal.

A final concern related to overcrowding and provisions in the new Bill that would close a district to aliens if they were deemed to be causing the problem:

“The new Bill provides that in similar circumstances, not only may new aliens be excluded, but old settlers of thirty, forty, or fifty years residence (provided only they be un-naturalised) may be turned, neck and crop, out of the district, to the utter ruin of their business connections, and entirely without compensation, and without the slight grounds of complaint against the ejected persons.” (p. 215)

Emanuel ends on a note of irony:

“Seeing how the whole force of this oppressive measure has been turned against these unfortunate people, stated time after time, both in and out of Parliament, to be “the scum of Europe,” it is interesting to turn to the evidence of Mr. Arnold White, the bitterest opponent of the Russian and Polish Jew and the champion of restriction, for their character. He stated to the Commissioners that, “The good characteristics of these aliens are their great brain power and shrewdness, their industry, temperance, domesticity, and their great capacity for low-living and high thinking ambition and emulation, and almost universal desire to shine and get on, and stamina.” Surely one must marvel at the scum of the Continent possessing such virtues as these. Possibly not without reason Mr. Arnold White further described this large section of our foreign arrivals, these refugees who are to be at the mercy of an inspecting officer as ‘The aristocracy of the world’.” (p. 216)
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[NOTE: References to material in the Archives at the British Library of Political and Economic Science (BLPES) will be written as BLPES followed by the BLPES Reference Number, e.g. BLPES: BOOTH/A/22]


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