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Article

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Introduction

London in the Victorian period was not transformed by immigration as the great cities on the Eastern Seaboard of the United States were.[1] However, the arrival of hundreds of thousands of economic migrants and refugees over a seventy year period acted as a catalyst for significant demographic change in parts of the capital. Fears about the consequences of migration were prominent in the discourse on British identity and the British Empire's future in the second half of the nineteenth century. This angst centred largely on two groups: Irish Catholics, predominantly from the South-West of Ireland, and Ashkenazi Jews from the Pale of Settlement (that area of Poland and the Ukraine in which Jews were legally restricted to settling in by the Tsarist authorities). Into the 1890s these two migrant groups dominated the narratives, positive and negative, on migration to London, and the imagery employed to characterise the figure of the 'migrant' drew on 'Jewish' or 'Irish' depictions and caricatures.[2] This focus on two such prominent diasporic 'others' meant that nationalities less involved in the popular discourse on immigration were peripheral to this debate both at the time and subsequently.

Leaving aside the Huguenot influx of the early modern period, a special case, there have been a small number of serious academic investigations over the last thirty years examining different Western and Southern European migrant groups settled in Britain in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These include Panikos Panayi's work on Germans in Britain and a number of edited collections on the German diaspora, Sponza's, Colpi's and Ugolini's work

[1] See Roger Daniels, *Coming to America. A history of immigration and ethnicity in American life* (New York 2002).
[2] See L.P Curtis, *Apes and angels. The Irishman in Victorian caricature* (Devon 1971); Brian Cheyette, *Constructions of "the Jew" in English literature and society. Racial representations, 1875-1945* (Cambridge 1993).

on Italian migrants, and a recent collection of articles on the French community in London (with a particular emphasis in the modern period on the presence of 'Free French' in the city between 1940 and 1945).[3] There are also a number of overviews of migration that examine briefly the Western and Southern European diasporic experience in Britain over an extended period of time, and compare these experiences with those of other migrant populations, notably in the work of Colin Holmes and Panayi.[4] But there is still little analysis of where German, Italian, French, Swiss and other smaller groups fit into what Avtar Brah has defined as 'diaspora space', zones in which the interactions of *multiple* migrant groups with each other *and* with the host society take place.[5]

There had been steady migration from continental Europe to London over the course of nineteenth century. Certain events such as the anti-socialist campaign in Germany or the aftermath of the Paris commune precipitated spikes in migrant settlement, but generally movement to London from German, Italian and French nationals did not involve the dramatic arrival of very large numbers of migrants in a short period of time. In 1891 there were 26,920 German nationals resident in London, by the time of the 1911 census this had increased to 27, 290.[6] There were significant German communities in East, South and West London, in particular in Kensington, Westminster, St Pancras, Paddington, Hampstead, Islington,

[3] See for the German diaspora Panikos Panayi , *German immigrants in Britain during the nineteenth century, 1815-1914* (Oxford 1995); Panikos Panayi (ed.) *Germans in Britain since 1500* (London 1996); Stefan Manz, Margrit Schulte Beerbühl and John R. Davis (eds.) *Migration and transfer from Germany to Britain, 1660-1914* (Munich 2007); Stefan Manz, Margrit Schulte Beerbühl and John R. Davis (eds.) *Transnational networks. German migrants in the British Empire, 1660-1914* (Leiden, 2012). For Italian migration into Britain see Lucio Sponza, *Italian immigrants in nineteenth century Britain. Realities and images* (Avon, 1988); Terri Colpi, *The Italian factor. The Italian community in Great Britain* (Edinburgh 1991); Lucio Sponza and Arturo Tosi (eds.), *A century of Italian emigration to Britain, 1880-1980s* (Reading 1993). For Italian migration into the mid-twentieth century see the work of Wendy Ugolini on the Italian diaspora in Scotland. An early example of work on the French diaspora is the introduction in F.C Roe's, *French travelers in Britain, 1800-1926* (London 1928). The introduction is in English, the rest in French. The latest edited collection on the French diaspora in London is Debra Kelly and Martyn Cornick (eds.) *A history of the French in London. Liberty, equality, opportunity* (London 2013).

[4] Colin Holmes, *John Bull's island. Immigration and British society, 1871-1971* (Basingstoke 1988); Panikos Panayi, *An immigration history of Britain. Multicultural racism since 1800* (Harlow 2010).

[5] Avtar Brah, *Cartographies of diaspora. Contesting identities* (London 1996) 208-209.

[6] Panayi, *German immigrants*, 92-93.

Hackney, Whitechapel and Lambeth.[7] The Italian population was somewhat smaller, with 5138 Italians in London in 1891, and more than double that in 1911, by which point 11,668 Italians lived in the capital.[8] Holborn, where 'Little Italy' was located, became indelibly associated with the Italian migrant experience, but there were also populations in St. Marylebone, Finsbury, and as with the German communities, Italian neighbourhoods in Lambeth and the City of Westminster.[9] The French population of London actually decreased between 1871 and 1881, increased to 12,834 in 1891 and stood at 17,856 by 1911.[10] During this time there was a demographic and geographical shift in French London from Soho and Leicester Square to South Kensington, Hampstead and Harrow.[11] At the end of the nineteenth century there was still French patois being spoken in the old Huguenot areas of settlement in Spitalfields in the East End.[12]

This article will examine how the non-Jewish and non-Irish Western and Southern European diasporas which settled in London in the late nineteenth century were portrayed in the work of the major analyst of metropolitan life at the end of the Victorian period, Charles Booth. Booth and his team of social investigators, over the course of more than a decade, pieced together an extraordinarily rich picture of London life at a key transitional period. Making their way through suburbs and slums, interviewing policemen and clerics, the men and women working for Booth collated an impressive amount of raw data on the capital, which eventually formed the basis of seventeen substantial volumes, split thematically into three areas – poverty, industry, and religion. The published manuscripts, and the notebooks in which interviews and information were recorded, now held in the London School of

[7] Panayi, *German immigrants*, 95.
[8] Sponza, *Italian immigrants*, 19.
[9] Sponza, *Italian immigrants*, 19.
[10] Michel Rapoport, 'The London French from the Belle Époque to the end of the inter-war period' in Kelly and Cornick (eds.) *A history of the French in London* 241-280, 244.
[11] Rapoport, 'The London French from the Belle Époque to the end of the inter-war period', 271.
[12] Anne J. Kershen, *Strangers, aliens and Asians. Huguenots, Jews and Bangladeshis in Spitalfields, 1600-2000* (Abingdon, Oxford 2005) 138.

Economics, have proved a key resource for metropolitan historians, the content providing an embarrassment of riches for those working on conditions in London at the turn of the twentieth century. Booth's studies of ethnicity and diaspora in the capital, however, have attracted relatively little attention. In *Retrieved Riches* (1995) David Englander examined 'Booth's Jews' and Hugh McLeod discussed religious difference in Booth's work, encompassing working class Catholic communities and to a degree the 'othering' of the Catholic proletariat.[13] But beyond this, the dialogue on diasporic difference in *Life and Labour of the People in London* has not been comprehensively assessed. Contrasted with the detailed attention paid to Jewish and Irish London life in *Life and Labour* (the Jewish community has an entire chapter devoted to it), discussion of other European (and non-European) migrant groups in the *published* work is minimal. The unpublished notebooks, with a number of in-depth interviews with communal (often religious) figures from minority communities, are a somewhat different matter.

How did Booth and his team articulate and interpret ideas of diaspora, and how did the discourse on Germans, Italians, French and Swiss settled in London compare with that employed about the two great diasporic 'others' of *Life and Labour*? Jewish and Irish immigrants were portrayed in the text of *Life and Labour* both as an economic threat and as religiously exotic, the Jewish East End serving as a short-hand for sweatshops and economic exploitation, and the Irish neighbourhoods in the East and South of the capital for poverty, overcrowding and violence. McLeod has discussed the use of popular stereotypes in the published volumes, that '[Irish] Roman Catholics were drunken and habitual beggars; Jews were grasping and dirty.'[14] Did other, smaller European diasporas fit into these narratives, or

[13] David Englander, 'Booth's Jews: the presentation of Jews and Judaism in *Life and labour of the people in London*' 289-322; Hugh McLeod, 'Working-class religion in late-Victorian London: Booth's 'Religious Influences' revisited' 265-288 in David Englander and Rosemary O'Day (eds.), *Retrieved riches. Social investigation in Britain, 1840-1914* (Aldershot 1995).
[14] McLeod, 'Working-class religion', 267-268.

were they viewed in a fundamentally different manner? How did these European migrants view their own positons in London life and the perceptions of their communities by the wider society, as documented in the interviews carried out by Booth and his colleagues? The article will examine four key points informing the depiction of Western and Southern European diasporas in Booth's work: concepts of territory; economic competition; sexuality and criminality, and finally the transnational diasporic connections established by the individuals and institutions that Booth documents.

There are also some important methodological issues to be acknowledged in relation to how Booth and his team gathered their information. This research was *mediated*, the investigators largely relying on certain 'intermediaries', in particular the police and, importantly in the context of this article, local communal leaders. This distinguishes Booth's work from other turn-of-the-century social investigation such as Jack London's *People of the Abyss* (1903). Much of the material for this article is therefore drawn from (almost exclusively) men who had a vested interest in imparting a particular narrative of settlement and assimilation. The descriptions of the police, as one would expect, tended to stress criminality and propensity to violence (or lack of the same), the communal, often religious, leaders respectability and anglicisation (or the failure of their parishioners to achieve these goals).

It should also be noted at this point that the Jewish community in London in the period under examination was extremely heterogeneous in terms of nationality, with Dutch, Austrian and particularly German Jews forming a significant part of the larger foreign Jewish population, as well as refugees and migrants from Eastern Europe.[15] Nevertheless, in discussing the 'German diaspora' in this work the present writer is referring principally to non-Jewish German arrivals, and the German-speaking communal representatives referred to in the unpublished note books consulted are predominantly Protestant or Catholic in confession.

[15] David Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews. Social relations and political culture* (New Haven 1994) 21, 167.

It should also be taken into account that the interviews this article draws on are heavily gendered. Although there *were* women in Booth's team, including Beatrice Potter and Clara E. Collet, much of the material available in the notebooks involves men interviewing other men about male zones of worship and sociability. When women *are* discussed by male communal figures, it is often in the context of a narrative of exclusion (male-only socialising) or of sexual immorality.

Territory and Spatial Belonging

Booth and his team imputed different characteristics to the different areas of the city that they were attempting to describe to the reading public. Booth coloured London by its socio-economic status, from the poorest areas ('the blackest streets') to the prosperous suburbs and some inner-city areas of great wealth.[16] But poverty was not the only defining characteristic. Streets were categorised by criminality, and also by ethnicity. Earlier in the nineteenth century areas of heavy Irish settlement in locations such as St. Giles and the north side of the Thames had been colloquially known as 'Fenian barracks'.[17] By Booth's period the nomenclature had changed, but *Life and Labour* still refers to 'Irish' parts of London. The association of Jewish migration with the character of a neighbourhood was even more pronounced, as were claims of ethnically-based spatial separation between Jewish and Gentile communities.[18] This association of space and ethnicity was not limited to the Irish and Jewish populations. In the notebooks of Booth's team the description of a particular street or building invariably contained the appellation that 'many Italians' or 'many Germans', or sometimes simply 'many foreigners' were resident in the area. In certain parts of the capital European diasporas were concentrated enough for a semi-formal ethnically-

[16] Ben Gidley, *The proletarian other. Charles Booth and the politics of representation* (London 2000) 13-14.
[17] Charles Booth, *Life and labour of the people in London. Third series, religious influences, volume I, London north of the Thames. The outer ring* (London 1902) 17.
[18] Charles Booth, *Life and labour of the people in London. First series, poverty, volume III, blocks of buildings, schools and immigration* (London 1904) 37.

based description to gain usage, 'Little Italy' in Holborn being the most obvious example. But largely, Booth's descriptions of the occupation of space by Western or Southern European migrants, when compared to the depictions of Jews and Irish Catholics, did not stress territorial ethnic demarcation or ghettoization in a particular area.

This was reflected in the pastoral duties of those clergymen catering to the Western European diasporas. In an interview with the Rev. L. Thomas of the French Catholic Church, the dispersed nature of the congregation was emphasised:

> The French Catholic Church has the same duties towards the French Catholics of London, as the German Church in Whitechapel has towards Germans… the former has no mission district, but on the other hand it has duties to meet towards a community scattered over the whole of London.[19]

At the St. Boniface German Catholic Church, the diffused population settlement of the faithful occasioned an exhausting employment for Father De Vernes, the man responsible for the spiritual well-being of the migrants:

> … Father Vernes is the priest of all German Catholics in London and all, whether they live in Hammersmith or Hackney, have the right to send for him for visiting. Thus, sometimes, a single visit takes three or four hours, the Church differs entirely from the ordinary R.C mission.'[20]

Unlike Irish communities, the French and German Catholic diasporas had one representative and one parish to serve the entire metropolis, from wealthy West End traders and petit-bourgeois city clerks to sweatshop workers in the East End and hotel waiters. Walter Besant in his *East London*, published at the same time as *Life and Labour*, noted this absence of a migrant identity based around a particular London location in the French diaspora:

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[19] London School of Economics (LSE)/Charles Booth collection (BOOTH), B/210 67-73.
[20] LSE, BOOTH, B/209 20-25.

> There is a society of Huguenot families, there is a French hospital, there are two or three French Protestant churches, but there is no part of East London, or of any other quarter of London, where we may find French the prevailing speech.[21]

There were areas of the East End with large German populations. Panikos Panayi noted that part of Whitechapel was known as 'Little Germany' as early as the 1830s, and Booth wrote of a 'French Colony' in London, but there were not the same spatial/ethnic intersections associated with particular neighbourhoods evident in Jewish communities in Stepney or the Irish in Millwall and other dockland areas.[22] The exception, as noted, was the Italians in Holborn.

Other Catholic congregations scattered across London constituted examples of Brah's definition of interactive diaspora space, a common religious faith bringing together populations from all over Europe and beyond. Another Catholic priest interviewed, Father Egan of the Roman Catholic chapel in Fitzroy Square, described a body of worshippers comprising 'Swiss, Germans, Italians, French and English' (in that numerical order) although unusually few Irish.[23] Many institutions established for a particular European minority, such as charitable concerns, religious schools and hospitals, in fact catered for local communities of various origins, and the local English populations as well. This cross-cultural component was not limited to metropolitan Catholicism. The German Lutheran Church in Little Alie Street in Whitechapel was responsible for the education of 275 children of both German and English backgrounds, with instruction received in both languages. The pastor added that Jews were not accepted for admission to the Sunday School organised by the church, 'but if they come for baptism he sends them to a [Christian] mission, or for relief to their own Board [the

[21] Walter Besant, *East London* (London 1902) 191-192.
[22] Panayi, *German immigrants*, 94; Jerome Farrell, 'The German community in 19th century East London' in *East London Record*, 13 (1990) 2-8, 2.
[23] LSE,BOOTH, B/210 91-99.

Board of Deputies of British Jews].'[24] The pastor preceded this statement with a denial of any antisemitic intent. The Booth team's work on Western European diaspora also emphasised the process of territorial displacement that was such a feature of anti-migrant (and in particular anti-Jewish) late nineteenth-century polemic. One of the diaries, discussing the Cable Street-Chigwell Hill area, referred to a 'Swedish Protestant Church… built [in] 1728. [It] used to be a Swedish colony round about. Now Jew clothiers with workhouses at the back.' This particular church, despite the demographic changes, was still 'quite full of a Sunday', according to the verger, adding that a special pew was reserved for the Swedish ambassador, should he wish to worship there.[25]

Ernest Aves, writing about the make-up of Bexley Place in South-East London, noted the shift from a predominantly Irish population to a mostly Italian neighbourhood. He dryly commented that there was 'little, if anything, to choose between the two [Irish and Italians], both a very low lot.' He then proceeded: 'When we were there the court [was] stacked with the potato barrows… a queer, cut-throat looking group, quaint, dark-eyed Italian children running about… the dwellings looked horribly poor.'[26] This language was symptomatic of the 'othering' of Italians in London and fed into the construction of the 'criminal' Italian, particularly prone to violence, as discussed by Lucio Sponza.[27] Sponza also contrasted attitudes towards the Irish and Italian 'others' in Victorian London, and the importance of criminality and Catholicism in these depictions.[28] Other areas examined by Booth constituted something approaching a true cosmopolitanism. In the vicinity of the East India Docks shops,

[24] LSE, BOOTH, B/224 150-157.
[25] LSE, BOOTH, B/351 19-21.
[26] LSE, BOOTH, B/373 163-165.
[27] Sponza, *Italian immigrants*, 241-251.
[28] Sponza, *Italian immigrants*, 138.

restaurants and places of recreation grew up to cater for the trade of transient sailors and ships' officers arriving from around the world, from South Asia to Scandinavia.[29]

The racialised hierarchies so prevalent in late-nineteenth-century European society played an important part in how different migrant groups were perceived. Although Booth's work is not explicitly racialised, these categorisations played a role in the depiction of the European diasporas in *Life and Labour*. In particular, a posited affinity between 'Anglo-Saxon' and 'Teutonic' racial identity contrasted with a perception of 'Mediterranean' inferiority, differentiating depictions of Germans and Italians in metropolitan diaspora space. Long-lasting ideas of Italian (particularly Southern Italian) 'darkness' became semi-formalised in the racial pseudo-science of the late-Victorian period.[30] One contemporary article on race, featured in an American academic journal, concluded that: '*Homo Europacus* stands first, *Homo Alpinus* second, and the Mediterranean third, in the hierarchy of European races.'[31] These ideas of implicit racial inferiority merged with suspicion of Catholicism, fear of anarchism, and a belief in hereditary criminality to create a defined Italian 'other', to an extent not reflected in either the German or the French experience.

Economic Roles

The final published volumes of *Life and Labour* devoted a relatively large amount of space to discussing the various employments of different migrant groups; in fact the bulk of the examination of European diasporas in the finished work dealt with economic roles. The ways in which the Western and Southern European migrants were categorised in this respect were strikingly different from the Jews or the Irish. The dominant narrative for the latter two emphasised competition with an English workforce unable to endure the physical demands

[29] LSE, BOOTH, B/367 101.
[30] See Jennifer Guglielmo and Salvatore Salerno (eds.) *Are Italians white? How race is made in America* (New York, 2003) 8-9.
[31] C.C Closson, 'The hierarchy of European races' in *The American Journal of Sociology*, 3:3, (November 1897) 314-327, 327.

and poor conditions in which the immigrants worked, particularly in the East End.[32] Western and Southern European migrant groups, by contrast, were not for the most part portrayed in *Life and Labour* as presenting an economic challenge to English workers. In the narrative of *Life and Labour* the migrants either took on work that the native workforce was unwilling to do, such as the Italian occupation of asphalt laying ('…the Englishman apparently cannot be induced to undertake this work, alleging, no doubt truthfully, that the heat brings the skin off his feet.'), or in skilled trades that required a degree of training not available to English would-be competitors.[33] In the Italian case there was a certain economic detachment from the wider population, a result of seasonal migration back and forth between Italy and London and the limited time spent in the capital by Italian workers as a result of this, which Sponza has contrasted with the integral Irish role in proletarian forms of employment.[34] This differentiated these groups from the Irish and Jewish migrants whose advantage over the English, according to the anti-migrant polemic of the time, lay solely in stamina, and who were seen as actively competing with the English proletariat for jobs.

Frequently Booth and his investigators emphasised the skilled nature of the employment undertaken by continental craftspeople. In the notebooks it was claimed that: 'The Englishman cannot compete with the foreigner either in power of design or in ingenuity of execution. Among foreigners, the Frenchman is the best jeweller and in workshops this is the language which will more generally be held.'[35] French expertise was also noted in other specialist trades. Cabinet making, along with tailoring and boot-making, was considered a classically 'Jewish' East End occupation in the period. Nevertheless, in an interview with a

[32] Beatrice Potter, 'The tailoring trade' in Charles Booth, *Life and labour of the people in London. First series, poverty, volume IV, the trades of East London connected with poverty* (London 1904) 61.
[33] Arthur L. Baxter in Charles Booth, *Life and labour of the people in London. Second series, industry, volume IV, dress, public, professional and domestic service, unoccupied classes, inmates of institutions* (London 1904) 35; Colpi, *The Italian factor*, 57-58.
[34] Sponza, *Italian immigrants*, 138.
[35] LSE, BOOTH, A/27 88.

German Lutheran pastor the interviewee claimed that the masters of the trade were French refugees who had learnt their craft in Paris and had travelled to London during the Franco-Prussian War, counting on an eventual return that did not materialise.[36] It was also suggested that 'foreigners', at least those who had recently arrived in London, were less partial to drink than English workers, and thus made better employees.[37] Moving from the proletariat to the petit-bourgeoisie, German clerks, it was widely believed, not only worked for less money than their English counterparts, but were also better educated.[38]

Jesse Argyle, writing in the first published volume of the second series of *Life and Labour*, examined in detail the specialist iron and steel industries in London, and again stressed the highly-skilled and narrowly-focused trades practiced by European workers, in this case Germans manufacturing swords and cutlasses. This particular industry was imported to London by German businesses, having secured contracts for the manufacturer of weapons from the British government.[39]

As with French jewellers this economic contribution was depicted in *Life and Labour* as wholly positive, skills being brought from the continent which Britain did not possess for the benefit of both the British economy and the foreign workers. This contrasted with the Irish/Jewish anti-migrant narrative, in which economic interactions were depicted as largely negative, at the expense of British workers, and exploitative in nature.

Diasporic kinship networks that secured employment in London for fellow migrants from the same area of the country of origin were a defining feature of Irish and Jewish metropolitan

[36] LSE, BOOTH, B/188 104-118.
[37] Charles Booth, *Life and labour of the people in London. Second series, industry, volume V, comparisons, surveys and conclusions* (London 1903) 235.
[38] G.L Anderson, 'German clerks in England, 1870-1914: Another aspect of the Great Depression debate' in Kenneth Lunn (ed.) *Hosts, immigrants and minorities. Historical responses to newcomers in British society, 1870-1914* (Folkstone 1980) 201-221, 213.
[39] Jesse Argyle in Charles Booth, *Life and labour of the people in London. Second series, industry, volume I, classification of the people, building trades, wood and metal workers* (London 1903) 345.

life. They were also apparent within the Western and Southern European migrant communities.[40] Formal societies existed representing employees of the various European diasporas that not only attempted to protect workers' rights (in the manner of trade unions), but also facilitated a nationality-based bond among minorities that, as noted, were scattered demographically across the capital. The International Hotel Employees' Society, founded in Geneva in 1877, had branches in London catering for different national groups, with an overall membership of some 1200 hotel workers. The largest single contingent were Germans (waiting being a major German occupation in Britain before the First World War) but there were also adjunct branches representing Italian, French and Swiss in London, these organisations being 'in one a benefit society, club and employment agency.'[41]

As with the friendly societies that proliferated across Britain in the second half of the nineteenth century, these organisations took a small regular subscription from members (in the Italian Society an entrance fee of five shillings and then a payment of one to two shillings a month). In return they provided something of a financial safety net if a member should fall ill or become unemployed for a long duration, and, that perennial Victorian concern, ensured a decent funeral on a member's death. These organisations were also a connection with the homeland; the Swiss group the Union Helvetia, which represented 250 Swiss employees, was a transnational group with its headquarters based in Switzerland.[42] Other trade-based groups were founded with a particular nationality-based membership that became diffused with time. One example noted by Booth was '*Le Club de la Societe du Progres de la Coiffure'*, founded in 1863 to represent hairdressers. 'This society was of French origin, and all business is still

[40] See Horst Rossler, 'Germans from Hanover in the British sugar industry' in Manz, Beerbühl, and Davis (eds.) *Migration and transfer from Germany to Britain*, 49-64, 56, on kinship networks in the German diaspora.
[41] Booth, *Life and labour. Second series, industry, volume IV*, 242-244.
[42] Booth, *Life and Labour. Second series, industry, volume IV*, 242-244. See John Wraight, *The Swiss in London. A history of the City Swiss Club, 1856-1991* (London 1991) 24-25 for philanthropic efforts within the Swiss diaspora.

transacted in French, but of the members, probably not more than half belong to that nation, though still the vast majority are foreigners.'[43]

Unlike equivalent Irish and Jewish groups representing workers, these organisations were not explicit trade unions with the power to take industrial action, and their existence did not reflect a heightened class militancy among their memberships, but rather operated as a means of maintaining a connection with the home country, socialising in one's own language, and having some financial security if things went wrong. The Italian, German and French diasporas *did* have representatives in the various socialist and anarchist groups present in London in the period, and a small but significant number of men and women from each nationality were political refugees.[44] In the second half of the nineteenth century London had been a home from home for some of the key figures in the European revolutionary movements, from Karl Marx to Giuseppe Mazzini. At a grassroots level the prime organiser in turn-of-the-century East End Jewish anarcho-syndicalism was the German Gentile political exile Rudolph Rocker, who immersed himself in the communal life and Yiddish culture of migrant Whitechapel.[45] Locales such as the International Working Men's Club on Berner Street served as meeting places for radicals from across the European continent. But during the period in which Booth was collating his information there was not the *mass* involvement of Western or Southern European workers resident in London in the socialist-led trade unions, no equivalent to the large-scale unionisation of working class Jewish and Irish men

[43] Baxter in Booth, *Life and labour. Second series, industry, volume IV,* 281.
[44] Panayi, *German immigrants,* 100. See Carl Levy, 'Malatesta in London. The era of dynamite' in Sponza and Tosi (eds.) *A century of Italian emigration,*25-42; Constance Bantman, '"Almost the only free city in the World". Mapping out the French anarchist presence in London, late 1870s-1914' in Kelly and Cornick (eds.) *A history of the French in London,* 193-216.
[45] W.J Fishman, *East End Jewish radicals, 1875-1914* (London 1975) chapter nine; Rudolph Rocker, *The London years* (London 1956).

and women after the matchwomen's strike of 1888 and the dockers' and tailors' strikes of 1889.[46]

This lack of representation in English trade unions was partly due to another divergence in the economic roles assumed by these different populations. Unlike the Irish and Jewish diasporas, much of the employment taken by German, Italian and other continental groups**,** up until the 1905 Aliens Act, was seasonal and temporary. Before the Famine the seasonal employment of Irish labourers both in agriculture and in heavy manual labouring jobs such as road and railway building was common, and this continued into the post-Famine period.[47] Ireland's proximity to England ensured a high degree of mobility and movement back and forth between home and London. Nevertheless, these were permanent residents of the capital, London-Irish, with a second and third generation born in the city, although self-definitions still involved Irish national identity and Catholic faith. For Jewish refugees from the Pale of Settlement, London was to be a permanent home, unless it was a conduit to eventual permanent settlement in the United States.[48] In any case, as a result of pogroms and legal discrimination in the Russian Empire, for the large majority of Russian and Polish Jews the break with Eastern Europe was irrevocable.

Many of the Western and Southern European workers, by contrast, spent only a limited time in London each year, returning to their land of origin as economic factors dictated. An interview with the priest of the Italian Church in St. Peter, in the Clerkenwell Road, noted that:

> The summer population of the Italians is always considerably greater than that of the winter, as each spring brings a contingent for the summer months of some 700 or 800,

[46] Terry McCarthy (ed.), *The great dock strike 1889* (London 1988); Anne J. Kershen, *Uniting the tailors. Trade unionism amongst the tailors of London and Leeds, 1870-1939* (Ilford 1995); Louise Raw, *Striking a light. The Bryant and May matchwomen and their place in history* (London 2009).
[47] Donald M. MacRaild, *The Irish diaspora in Britain, 1750-1939* (Basingstoke 2011) 34-39.
[48] Geoffrey Alderman, *Modern British Jewry* (Oxford 1992) 110-111.

> who cross for the ice-cream trade. They come in small parties from all parts of Italy, travel slowly, take their food with them, and when the autumn comes go back to their wives and vineyards…[49]

For Italian communities this transient and only occasional residence in London was semi-formalised. For others, time in London became not so much a sojourn as a prison. Pastor Frisius of the German Lutheran Church, who was critical of London life in general and German involvement in that life in particular, drew attention to the large number of German migrants arriving in London without a trade and rapidly falling into destitution:

> For the most part the German comes over to London as an adventurer. Only a few know of places beforehand. They think London is a place where everyone can get rich. The good for nothing… thinks this, in the same way as the man who already knows some trade: the second succeeds, but the first is worse off than before.[50]

In another interview the transitory nature of German settlement in London was emphasised, with the head of the German Wesleyan Circuit noting the rapidly changing make-up of his congregation. Some Germans used their time in England to learn the language before returning to Germany, others were 'birds of passage', staying in London temporarily before travelling on to the United States (as many Jewish migrants from Eastern Europe did) or to the German colonies in Africa.[51]

Booth's work also emphasised the relationship between diaspora, physical space and economic occupation. G.H Duckworth, in a sub-section of *Life and Labour* memorably

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[49] LSE, BOOTH, B/210 1-13.
[50] LSE, BOOTH, B/188 104-118.
[51] LSE, BOOTH, B/224 110-117. See David Blackbourn, 'Germans abroad and "Auslandsdeutsche". Places, networks and experiences from the sixteenth to the twentieth century', *Geschichte und gesellschaft 41. Jahrg., H. 2, rethinking Germans abroad* (April– June 2015), 321-346, 334-335 on the transitory nature of global German migration and 337-338 on the 'Little Germanys' established across the Atlantic and in colonial territories.

entitled ‘Soaps, Candles, Glue etc.’ looked at German involvement in the ‘sausage-skin dressing’ trade. This employment was a combination of work too unpleasant for the local British worker and a trade too specialist to be undertaken without training: ‘Sausage-skin dressing is remarkable for the perfection and purity of the finished article, starting as it does from so foul an offal.’ By necessity the workers lived close to their place of employment, and thus small German communities were formed in the immediate vicinity of the East End slaughter houses.[52]

Sexuality and Criminality

Although not without some descriptive flair, *Life and Labour of the People in London* to a degree retained the academic dryness appropriate to a work which owed its genesis to a man who was an economist by profession.[53] In the published volumes Booth and his team made their arguments through analysis and statistical data rather than appealing to the emotions. Nonetheless, discussion of morality, criminality and sexuality did make occasional inroads into the narrative, and particularly in the imparted characteristics of particular areas of the city. At certain points the contributors discussed the sexual morals of the poorest sections of the population, and the custom of co-habitation without marriage of the adolescents of the underclass.[54] That said, *Life and Labour* was never a prurient work, with little of the sexual ‘othering’ of the working class apparent in earlier social investigation such as James Greenwood’s *A Night in a Workhouse* (1866) or even Jack London’s later *People of the Abyss*.[55] Perhaps this is because, unlike the two works mentioned above, Booth’s team had little prolonged physical contact with the men and women they were writing about, but

[52] G.H Duckworth in Charles Booth, *Life and labour of the people in London. Second series, industry, volume II precious metals, watches, instruments, paper and printing trades, textiles, and sundry manufactures* (London 1904) 118.
[53] T.S Simey and M.B Simey, *Charles Booth. Social scientist* (London 1960) 30.
[54] Charles Booth, *Life and labour of the people in London. Notes on social influences and conclusion* (London 1904) 44.
[55] Seth Koven, *Slumming. Sexual and social politics in Victorian London* (Princeton 2004) 18-23.

instead gathered their information through 'respectable' mediators (notably the clergymen that this article has quoted from at length, as noted above). Similarly, when discussing ethnicity and diaspora, there is little evidence in *Life and Labour* of the sexual paranoia that was so prevalent in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century anti-immigration treatises, or the conflation of diaspora and criminality stressed not only by pressure groups such as the British Brothers' League, but also in government literature in the build-up to the Aliens Act of 1905.[56] But there were, in both notebooks and published volumes, some associations made between European migrant groups and criminal behaviour, and in particular prostitution.

The migrant group most associated with a general disreputability and 'roughness' in *Life and Labour* was the Irish. Earlier in the century, in the work of Henry Mayhew, John Hollingshead and others, 'slum' and 'Irish' were almost interchangeable as terms, and to a degree this continued in Booth's work. There were areas of Irish settlement in London, according to Booth, where the writ of the Metropolitan Police effectively ended. A paragraph on South London is indicative of the depiction of the Irish proletariat in the series:

> They have made these streets their home for years, and may be London Irish of the second or third generation, but they retain their names and racial characteristics as well as their religion. The children are dirty and perhaps barefoot, but none the less sturdy… Drink is the main evil among men and women, and quarrels follow, generally beginning, it is said, with the women, the men coming in at the very end. Their behaviour is very disorderly, but not to be called criminal.[57]

[56] See Bernard Gainer, *The alien invasion. The origins of the Aliens Act of 1905* (London 1972).
[57] Charles Booth, *Life and labour of the people in London. Third series: religious influences, volume. IV, inner South London,* (London 1903) 143.

If the Irish were associated with alcoholism and petty violence, with 'roughness', the Jewish Eastenders were portrayed as inveterate gamblers, though not as 'rough' as their Gentile neighbours.[58]

In respect to Western and Southern European migrants, the clerics and policemen interviewed referred most frequently to participation in the commercial sex trade, vagrancy and petty theft. The Rev. Thomas of the French Catholic Church discussed all three in his summation of the problems afflicting the community he ministered to. Out of a total of 12,000 to 15,000 French Catholics in London, he estimated a vagrant population of some five hundred or six hundred, including the 'systematic beggars'. There was also moral laxness amongst the French population ('co-habitation') and prostitution. On the latter subject the interviewer described the priest as 'rather hopeless'. 'Leicester Place is better far [sic] than it used to be, but one house, no.7, is still suspect. The Square, on the other hand, is worse than ever. The women are very largely French, Belgians, and Germans.'[59] In general the Rev. Thomas blamed criminality amongst the French diaspora on the 'shady political folk who flit to London.' 'He knows little of, but has the greatest dislike for the political clubs of Charlotte Street.'[60] French women at the turn of the century were also popularly linked with the trade in pornographic postcards in the city.[61] Paris itself as an urban space was to a degree sexualised in contemporary English depictions, the location where the English upper classes (including more than one Prince of Wales) had their first sexual experiences, an area of heightened sexual freedom, and this connection continued to be made with the French diaspora in

[58] Charles Booth, *Life and labour of the people in London. Third series: religious influences, vol. II London north of the Thames: the inner ring* (London 1902) 9.
[59] LSE, BOOTH, B/210 67-73.
[60] LSE, BOOTH, B/201 67-73. See Constance Bantman, *The French anarchists in London, 1880-1914. Exile and transnationalism in the first globalisation* (Liverpool 2013) 55.
[61] Rapoport 'The London French from the Belle Époque to the end of the inter-war period (1880-1939)', 255.

London.[62] An illustration in *Punch* subsequent to the 1904 *Entente* between Britain and France portrayed Marianne as a prostitute and John Bull as a client.

Pastor Frisius of the German Lutheran Church had an equally jaundiced view of his Protestant parishioners, being inclined to 'deplore the wickedness of the world, of the Germans in particular, and the hopelessness of his task.'[63] Unlike the Rev. Thomas he did not blame political agitators, but rather the convivial clubs that recreated the German beer hall in London, and again discussed the presence of the commercial sex trade in the community. The German 'vice', according to the pastor, was drink:

> He would have a law imposing such a sum on the opening of clubs that it would be prohibitive – a wife has just been complaining to him of her husband who came home late and [had] spent half his earnings at the club.[64]

Most of the German prostitutes in London, according to the pastor, came from two particular provinces, Brandenburg and Pomerania, although he was not sure why this was the case. The localised origins of prostitutes from the continent formed the other side of the kinship and migration networks central to the migrant experience. The Vigilance Society estimated that there were some 500 German prostitutes on the London streets. Frisius obliquely noted that 'Germans spend a lot on pleasure.' He concluded the interview with the observation that:

> There is too much liberty here. All foreigners [in the pastor's opinion] should be made to inscribe themselves at the Town Hall and report themselves, their birth place and their trade. Then one would know who people are and whence they came as one does in Germany.[65]

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[62] Henry Blythe, *Skittles, the last Victorian courtesan. The life and times of Catherine Walters* (Newton Abbot 1972) 106-111.
[63] LSE, BOOTH, B/188 104-118.
[64] LSE, BOOTH, B/188 104-118. See Panayi, *German immigrants*, 217-218 on the association of Germans with drunkenness.
[65] LSE, BOOTH, B/188 104-118.

Aside from these detailed discussions of various forms of vice in the diasporic communities there were more general associations between migrant groups and low standards of living and lax morality described briefly in the comments on different neighbourhoods scribbled in the note books. In Marylebone All Souls it was noted that:

> … there is a great foreign element. There are many foreign agencies for domestic servants, waiters and governesses, who are often obliged to take up quarters here while waiting for a situation. There are a good many Germans and Swiss… The back streets round this hotel have a very dubious character and there are many bad houses. Much of the property has fallen into the hands of speculative builders, who care little for the character of their tenants as long as the rents are paid.[66]

The presence of foreign 'bullies' (pimps) is also mentioned in these descriptions. Writing about New Compton Street and Lichfield Street, Duckworth, having noted the presence of 'a large number of prostitutes, 'English, French, German and Belgian' commented that 'For a foreign prostitute the bully is of distinct use. He poses as their husband when they look for lodgings and will agree to two or three shillings a week more than an English man or woman.'[67] This is indicative of a general narrative of criminalisation of migrant groups in the capital as discussed by Panayi and Sponza in their work on the German and Italian communities in London.[68]

Perceptions of foreign criminality played their part in the constant transition of areas of London upwards or downwards in terms of respectability. One policemen, questioned by Booth's team on 'Little Italy' in Clerkenwell, complained that:

> Magistrates are… lenient on Italians, so we have to give them more rope than we would others. The result of this greater freedom has been to bring all the bad characters to the

[66] LSE, BOOTH, B/328 3.
[67] LSE, BOOTH, B/354 199.
[68] Sponza, *Italian immigrants*, 236-238 on prostitution and 241-251 on violent crime; Panayi, *German immigrants*, 116-118 on prostitution.

> neighbourhood because greater license to the foreigners has been made to mean greater license to the inhabitants of the foreign quarter.[69]

What was not mentioned in any detail in Booth's work was criminal violence amongst the Western and Southern European diasporas. The exception was the Italian community, whose 'failing' was 'hot temper, and then amongst themselves, a knife slips out at times.' This statement was immediately qualified by the subsequent claim that 'When trouble occurs between the Italians and English, it is not (so the police say) the Italians who begin the fight.'[70] Nevertheless, these ideas of a 'hot temper' and propensity to violence fed into the contemporary construction of the 'Italian' 'other' in late-Victorian society.[71]

However, Booth and his team did not indulge in the anti-migrant fantasies, current during the period, that London had become a sort of international thieves kitchen, drawing criminals (often described as 'refuse') from all over Europe. One pamphlet from 1891, interesting mainly in that it directed its vitriol as much against German migrants as the usual target, Eastern European Jews, made the claim that: 'We found it stated in German papers, and not contradicted, that London contains amongst its 150,000 or 200,000 Germans more persons "wanted", but gladly missed, in their fatherland, than the whole German Empire.'[72] In the flurry of pro and anti-restriction material that was occasioned by Conservative Party moves at the beginning of the twentieth century to restrict entry into the United Kingdom, the connections between migration, diaspora and criminal networks were again heavily emphasised in those pamphlets supporting the Aliens Act.

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[69] LSE, BOOTH, B/353 141.
[70] Booth, *Life and labour. Third series, religious influences, volume II*, 143.
[71] See Sponza, *Italian immigrants*, 243-244 on a supposed Italian propensity towards violence and 140 on the construction by British society of the stereotypical 'Italian'.
[72] Anon., *The Jews, Germans and other foreigners amongst us. A warning and an appeal to the electors of Great Britain* (London 1891) 5.

Diasporic Institutions

The final part of this article will examine how the institutions and people representing Western and Southern European migrant groups viewed themselves in a diasporic context. These organisations did not just defend, entertain or to minister to co-nationalists in London, but also acted as links in an international chain that connected London with the European homelands and the world beyond, across the Atlantic or in the colonies. These societies and places of worship not only provided much-needed familiarity, be it lager beer from Munich or the Catholic liturgy, but also formed cultural and social zones in which identity itself was negotiated and asserted.[73] These negotiations were not without difficulty, particularly when local anglicised or English representatives came into conflict over the administration of these clubs and churches with migrant communal leaders from the country of origin.

The most obviously diasporic organisations catering to different migrant groups were the social groups which acted as semi-formal trade unions and labour exchanges (as discussed above) and also as sites of leisure and recreation. Sometimes these meeting places were located in places of worship, giving the consumption of alcohol and the male camaraderie that was often a feature of these groups a somewhat incongruous aspect. Historians of the Jewish diaspora in London have identified the synagogue as a key zone of (male) sociability for a migrant population that often experienced de facto exclusion from the East End public house.[74] This desire to socialise in familiar cultural surroundings proved a strong one. These institutions also represented an explicit social and cultural connection both with the homeland and other parts of the world in which the diaspora had settled.

[73] See Panikos Panayi, 'Sausages, waiters and bakers' in Manz, Beerbühl, and Davis (eds.) *Migration and transfer from Germany to Britain*, 142-160, 154 on the importance of lager beer in the German diaspora.
[74] Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, 251.

A classic example of this discussed in the note books was the club attached to the St Boniface German Catholic Church on Union Street in Whitechapel. The club stressed a masculine identity, with a membership mostly younger than thirty. As part of an effort to preserve Bavarian male bonhomie, on marriage members were expelled, and then re-admitted as honorary members without voting rights. In the words of the interviewer, 'This arrangement keeps them free from a "petticoat government".'[75] Casual misogyny left to one side, the club was explicitly diasporic in nature. Not only did it attempt in all ways to re-create the atmosphere of the German 'bier-halle', with beer delivered direct from Munich, it formed one constituent part of an international chain of meeting places.

> The Club is one of a type formed fifty years ago by Father Kolping. There are now 1030 branches scattered all over the world. 2,000,000 men have passed through them. All are affiliated, and every president keeps up his record on the members card. Thus a new member present [sic] himself, and whether he comes from New Orleans, Alexandria or Berlin… if his record is clear he is made welcome.[76]

The Whitechapel Club thus formed an odd composite of religious meeting place, German university duelling society, tavern and masonic lodge.[77]

In some of these institutions, particularly places of worship, conflict between foreign and anglicised leaderships over ways of conducting religious affairs manifested themselves. Booth's interviewees often compared religious practice in London with that in their homeland, either favourably or unfavourably. For some, England offered comparative religious liberty, or at least greater observance. The Rev. Thomas of the French Catholic Church declared himself to be:

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[75] LSE, BOOTH, B/209 23.
[76] LSE, BOOTH, B/209 25.
[77] See Stefan Manz, 'Promoting the German navy in the British Empire' in Manz, Beerbühl and Davis (eds.) *Transnational networks* 163-179, 163 on the growth in these societies encouraged for purposes of prestige by the German government, and the corresponding shift in the nomenclature used to describe German migrants.

> "more satisfied" to be working in England than in France, and clearly considered that his own people were more religiously disposed, in proportion to their numbers, than at home. He attached importance to the habits of observance of the English Sunday: it is a day of rest, and not only is there no work done, there is also "less amusement".[78]

This was in the context of an intensification in France of the long-term conflict between Church and State in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Other religious leaders were less impressed with the strength of faith in London. The Swiss Minister of the Windsor Road German Protestant Church, whose bourgeois congregation was 'dwindling' as the neighbourhood grew poorer, compared belief and ecclesiastical dogma unfavourably with the practice in his home country.

> In Switzerland all, masters and children, teach and learn un-denominational religion; they teach and are taught the Bible, love of God and tolerance. He wished this were possible in London "but here you have unbelief at the top and bottom while in the centre there is a thin narrow band of dogmatic believers who believe very strongly but whose belief is too narrow to be satisfactory to any but themselves".[79]

For the Reverend Wysard, whose church was open to 'any Christian person whose conscience allows him to come to the Lord's Table', evangelistic Christianity in Britain was too aggressive, too divisive, and ineffective at reaching the poorest sections of society.[80]

The oldest permanently resident London diaspora, the French Huguenot community, continued to have representative religious institutions operating in London at the end of the nineteenth century. The French Protestant Church in Soho Square constituted the battleground for a struggle for authority between a pastor representing the community's French past and an English leadership wishing to subsume this diasporic difference. This clash was documented by Booth's interviewers in their conversations with the venerable

[78] LSE, BOOTH, B/210 67-73.
[79] LSE, BOOTH, B/306 95.
[80] LSE, BOOTH, B/306 89.

migrant clergyman L. Degremont. Degremont and his wife, both in their mid-fifties or early sixties, were described by their interviewer as being in a 'pathetic' position, due to the actions of what was described as an English 'consistoire' determined to detach the church from its origins in the sixteenth century French diaspora, 'that traces its original character to the liberality of Edward VI'.[81] The actions of the English authorities pointed to a significant difference in expectation of whether this historically significant church should continue its role as an explicitly French diaspora-orientated institution or be absorbed into English Protestantism. The church was in fact prospering, with increasing congregations and a membership of 250, the large majority of whom were French (English worshippers at the church used the services to practice their own French with native-speakers). Nevertheless, the 'consistoire' were, according to Degremont, determined to supplant him with a more suitable English (or at least fluent in English) pastor:

> He suspects the Consistoire of a desire to force him to resign, and indeed to [change] the whole character of the services – to anglicise them… There then is the situation – A French pastor, brought over some four years ago and himself knowing next to no English… with a French congregation, and an English governing body that does not even worship with him, and that thwarts him at every turn…[82]

Degremont, honorary secretary of the *Societie Francaise de Bienfaisance*, appeared to accept his eventual supplanting with a certain amount of fatalism. 'He appears inclined to accept it as inevitable, and takes it with some dignity… it seems a shame that their lives should be marred by internal disputes in a centre of religious life, that has so many historic associations.'[83]

[81] LSE, BOOTH, A/41 37.
[82] LSE, BOOTH, A/41 172-181.
[83] LSE, BOOTH, A/41 172-181.

The Anglican establishment in London, like its Catholic and Jewish counterparts, deliberately pushed forward a policy of aggressive anglicisation, instituting what could be described as the 'de-othering' of migrant congregations and religious representatives drawn from the same migrant group, to break the diasporic chain so important to continental settlers in the metropolis, and to force an 'English' form of worship on a migrant congregation.[84]

In other cases the diasporic link was deliberately broken, the better to establish the authority of the church over its congregation. The priest in charge of the Italian Church on Clerkenwell Road, ministering to 'Little Italy', was an Englishman of Irish extraction.[85] The church authorities had deliberately chosen a non-Italian to this leadership role, and purposefully maintained a barrier between priest and people. The well-known Father Bannin, from the interview, gave the impression of a general benevolence mixed with authoritarianism, in the model of the inner-city Irish cleric, there to chastise as well as tend to the faithful. 'He speaks like a man who expects to be obeyed, and I should imagine that, although liked, his rule would be mixed with a certain amount of fear.'[86] Bannin explained to his interviewer the reasons for a non-Italian padre:

> … although they always have one Italian priest in the staff (they all *speak* Italian) he cannot command the same kind of respect that the others can: "perhaps they know him at home or something of that kind", in any case from one cause or another there is generally too great a familiarity for the maintenance of the feeling of respect and authority that are desirable.[87]

This fitted into a widespread semi-colonial framework of imposed religious provision in areas of the capital with large migrant populations, apparent both in the methods adopted by the

[84] See Christine Swinbank, 'Medicine, philanthropy and religion' in Manz, Beerbühl and Davis (eds.) *Migration and transfer*, 119-130, 119 and 126 on tensions between English and German administrators in the German Hospital for another example of the gap in expectations and practice present in diasporic institutions.
[85] See Sponza, *Italian immigrants*, 138 on the complexities of Italian-Irish interactions.
[86] LSE, BOOTH, B/210 1-13.
[87] LSE, BOOTH, B/210 1-13.

Catholic Church in neighbourhoods with substantial Irish communities (including a prohibition against Irish Gaelic in sermons), and by the West End Anglo-Jewish religious leadership in appointing English rabbis in districts such as Whitechapel where the majority of Jewish worshippers came from Eastern Europe.[88] In these cases, as with Father Bannin, it was felt that a certain cultural separation between cleric and flock should be maintained, with no doubt about who wielded spiritual and social control in the diasporic congregation. Hegemony was and is reflected in language, and belongs to those who *speak* with authority.[89] Nevertheless, the Italian Church, despite its non-representative leadership, remained the fulcrum of the community in Holborn[90].

Conclusion

What conclusions can be drawn from comparing Booth's depictions of Western and Southern European diasporas with contemporary images of the Irish or the Eastern European Jewish immigrant? The language used, in the published work, was largely positive and favourable to the German, French or Italian settler. These migrations were viewed as a continuation of a pattern of movement from the continent to the British Isles that had been taking place gradually over hundreds of years, rather than the dramatic post-Famine or post-pogrom exoduses, in which very large numbers of men, women and children arrived in London in a short space of time, often in the most traumatic circumstances. In other words, the migration was not occasioned by large-scale catastrophe.[91] Although some of the most prominent political refugees who sought shelter in London in the second half of the nineteenth century were German, French or Italian, the wider migrant communities (with perhaps the exception of the Italians at certain points) were not associated *en masse* with political violence as the

[88] *The Jewish Chronicle*, 18 February 1898.
[89] Gareth Stedman Jones, 'The cockney and the nation' in David Feldman and Gareth Stedman Jones (eds.), *Metropolis London. Histories and representations since 1800* (Oxford 1989) 272-324, 279.
[90] Colpi, *The Italian factor*, 45.
[91] The exodus following the collapse of the Paris Commune being a possible exception.

Irish were with Fenianism and the Jewish eastenders with anarchism and later syndicalism.[92] What criticism there was of Western and Southern European diasporas in the Booth notebooks largely came from the clerics who were either themselves from the migrant population or had immersed themselves in the migrant culture for a considerable time. Sometimes behaviour of immigrants in London was compared unfavourably with expectations of conduct in the homeland left behind, but these unfavourable comparisons were not coming from Booth and his team, but rather the communal representatives that they interviewed. In economic terms, outside a few occupations that were contested by British workers (such as Germans employed in London as waiters, or clerks), these communities were not associated with competition for jobs, undercutting and sweated labour in contrast as to how Jewish 'greeners' in the tailoring workshops or Irish immigrants on the docks were.[93]

Put simply, these migrants did not present a significant 'problem', economically or politically, and this is reflected in Booth's work. German, French, Italian or Swiss migration, even that which was prompted by political discord in the home country, such as the aftermath of the destruction of the Paris Commune or the German anti-socialist laws and the *kulturkampf*, was not viewed as an immigration 'crisis' in the way that the Irish and Jewish influxes were. These latter arrivals were portrayed in the more hysterical currents of anti-migrant polemic as existential threats to public decency, the Protestant religion, trade union gains or Anglo-Saxon racial stock, depending on the author. The migration of Western and Southern Europeans was not, at least to the same degree, although there were cultural and economic tensions apparent, implicitly or explicitly, in these depictions.

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[92] See John Newsinger, *Fenianism in mid-Victorian Britain* (London 1994); Bob Holton, *British syndicalism 1900-1914* (London 1976) 46.

[93] Sponza, *Italian immigrants*, 6-7. For German involvement in waiting and British hostility to competition in this area see Panayi, 'Sausages, waiters and bakers', 155-156.

However much these groups failed to attract significant attention in *Life and Labour*, the information available, in published volumes and unpublished notebooks, provides insights into both the experiences of sections of fin-de-siècle London society largely neglected by historians, and the tensions operating between migrant groups and communal leaderships, sometimes from within the diaspora and sometimes exogenous to it. There were groups in turn-of-the-century London that were both numerically large and 'visible', such as the Irish or Jewish diasporas, groups that were small in terms of population and 'visible', such as Chinese and South Asian settlers, numerically significant but relatively peripheral groups such as the German communities in the West End and East End, and groups that were small and largely 'invisible' such as the Swiss and Scandinavians. But all of these groups shared certain diasporic dynamics involving belonging, identity and the difficult and evolving relationship between a homeland left behind and a new (permanent or temporary) metropolitan identity. Booth's and his team's writing and interviews with the communal representatives of these diasporas, while only forming a small component of his social investigation in its entirety, sheds valuable and largely unexplored light on these processes.