

**‘PAUPER ALIENS’ AND ‘POLITICAL
REFUGEES’: A CORPUS LINGUISTIC APPROACH
TO THE LANGUAGE OF MIGRATION IN
NINETEENTH-CENTURY NEWSPAPERS**

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree of PhD

By

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Abstract

The widespread digitisation of their source base means that historians now face an overwhelming body of material. This historical 'big data' is only going to continue to expand, not just because digitisation features prominently on the agendas of institutions, but also because those studying late twentieth, and twenty-first century, history will have to deal with large quantities of 'born digital' material as they turn their gaze to the internet age. Although the interfaces currently used to access digital sources have their strengths, there is an increasing need for more effective ways for historians to work with large amounts of text. This thesis is one of the first studies to explore the potential of corpus linguistics, the computer-assisted analysis of language in very large bodies of text, as a means of approaching the ever-expanding historical archive.

This thesis uses corpus linguistics to examine the representation of migrants in the British Library's nineteenth-century newspaper collection, focusing specifically upon the discourses associated with 'aliens' and 'refugees', and how they changed over time. The nineteenth century saw an increase in global movement, which led to considerable legislative changes, including the development of many of Britain's present-day migration controls. This thesis finds that 'alien' migration increased in topicality in the 1880s and 1890s and that 'alien' saw a striking shift in its associations that, significantly, coincided with an increase in, predominantly Jewish, migrants from the Russian Empire. Although only a small proportion of Britain's 'alien' population, this group dominated newspaper reporting, which became characterised by increasingly negative language, including a strong association between the 'alien' and poverty. Although 'refugee' was often associated with more positive language than 'alien', this thesis finds that the actions of a small number of violent individuals influenced newspaper reporting upon political refugees, who became implicated in the alleged 'abuse' of the 'right of asylum'.

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Newspaper Acronyms and Abbreviations

Glasgow Herald

GH

Herald

Hampshire (Portsmouth) Telegraph

HPTG

Telegraph

Ipswich Journal

IJ

Journal

Liverpool Mercury

LM

Mercury

Pall Mall Gazette

PMGZ

Gazette

Reynolds's Newspaper

RDNP

Reynolds's

Other Acronyms and Abbreviations

BL	British Library
CASS	Centre for Corpus Approaches to Social Sciences (Lancaster University)
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CNNE	Corpus of Nineteenth-Century Newspaper English
CQP	Corpus Query Processor
EEBO	<i>Early English Books Online</i>
freq.	Frequency
LL	Log Likelihood statistic
LR	Log Ratio statistic
MI	Mutual Information statistic
OBP	<i>Old Bailey Proceedings</i>
OCR	optical character recognition
pmw	per million words
RASIM	refugee(s), asylum seeker(s), immigrant(s) and migrant(s)
UCREL	University Centre for Computer Corpus Research on Language (Lancaster University)

A Note on Terminology

The researcher of language faces a paradox. As Billig laments, ‘we investigate language, yet at the same time we must use language in order to make our investigations’, we have ‘no separate tools to pursue our tasks’.¹ This is arguably amplified when a researcher studies a topic such as migration, where so many words are accompanied by unwanted baggage. It felt necessary, therefore, to briefly outline my reasons for using, and treatment of, several terms that could potentially be contentious.

I use ‘**migrant**’ and ‘**migration**’ throughout the present study as umbrella terms to broadly describe all human movement, voluntary and involuntary. When making this decision, I was aware that ‘migrant’ has recently been shunned by some media outlets due to the pejorative connotations it has acquired during reporting upon the so-called ‘migrant crisis’.² However, this decision was ultimately based on ‘migrant’ featuring very rarely in the nineteenth-century press, which meant that I did not use it as a search term. It therefore conveniently avoided the confusion that would have arisen from using other terms (such as ‘immigrant’ and ‘refugee’) that *were* the subject of analysis. Furthermore, I considered ‘immigrant’ undesirable as it privileges the perspective of the receiving country by representing just one half of a migratory journey.

I was also unsure of how best to treat the term ‘**alien**’. ‘Alien’ is a key search term in this thesis because nineteenth-century newspapers used it in much the same manner as ‘immigrant’ is used in present-day British English. Indeed, the entirety of Chapter 4 is dedicated to analysis of the term ‘alien’. However, its connotations of foreignness,

¹ M. Billig, ‘The language of critical discourse analysis: the case of nominalisation’, *Discourse and Society*, 19:6 (2008), pp. 783-800 (p. 783) <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926508095894>>.

² For more about how ‘migrant’ has recently become a negative category of representation see S. Goodman, A. Sirriyeh, and S. McMahon, ‘The Evolving (Re)Categorisations of Refugees throughout the “Refugee/Migrant Crisis”’, *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 27:2 (2017), pp. 105-114 <<https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.2302>>.

unfamiliarity, and strangeness jar and I find it hard to separate 'alien' from these negative undertones. Indeed, even America, where the word 'alien' still features on government documentation, has seen campaigns for its removal from official usage.³ Although all words have connotations, those of 'alien' seemed particularly distasteful. 'Alien' has, therefore, been placed in scare quotes, or single quotation marks, whenever it is used in this thesis, in order to signify distance. In contrast, 'refugee' has only been placed in single quotation marks when it is the subject of enquiry, for instance when discussing my use of 'refugee' as a search term, or its appearance in a corpus.

³ P. McGreevy, 'Go. Brown doesn't want California to use this word for immigrants', *Los Angeles Times* (10 August 2015) <<https://www.latimes.com/local/political/la-me-pc-gov-jerry-brown-signs-bills-to-help-immigrants-20150810-story.html>> [accessed 12 August 2019].

1 Introduction

1.1 Motivation

In April 2004, the British Library received funding to digitise a selection of its extensive nineteenth-century newspaper holdings.¹ It marked, in the Library's own words, its entrance into the 'world of mass digitisation'.² An inkling of the sheer scale of this project can be gleaned from its first phase, which resulted in the creation of 'over two million [digital] newspaper pages with over 30 billion words that take up about a terabyte of storage in digital form'.³ This initiative is just a very small part of a wider Digitisation Programme; the Library's 2017 '10-year vision' envisages them producing 'a critical mass of digitised content'.⁴ This example is indicative of wider trends. Libraries and archives are digitising resources, often in collaboration with private partners, on a monumental and unprecedented scale. The European Commission has, for instance, 'encouraged (if not compelled)' institutions in member states to contribute to the mass digitisation of Europe's cultural heritage.⁵

¹ The funding was provided by the Joint Information Systems Committee (JISC). See E. King, 'Digitisation of Newspapers at the British Library', *The Serials Librarian*, 49:1-2 (2005), pp. 165-81 (p. 12) <https://doi.org/10.1300/J123v49n01_07>.

² British Library, 'Digitisation', *About Us* <<http://www.bl.uk/aboutus/stratpolprog/digi/digitisation/>> [accessed 18 May 2017]. Available on the Internet Archive <<https://web.archive.org/web/20170204203207/http://www.bl.uk/aboutus/stratpolprog/digi/digitisation/>>.

³ I. Gregory, P. Atkinson, and A. Hardie, 'From Digital Resources to Historical Scholarship with the British Library 19th Century Newspaper Collection', *Journal of Siberian Federal University: Humanities & Social Sciences*, 4:9 (2016), pp. 994-1006 (p. 995) <<https://doi.org/10.17516/1997-1370-2016-9-4-994-1006>>.

⁴ British Library, 'Digitisation Strategy 2008-2011', *About Us* <<http://www.bl.uk/aboutus/stratpolprog/digi/digitisation/digistrategy/>> [accessed 18 May 2017]. Available on the Internet Archive <<https://web.archive.org/web/20170615124750/http://www.bl.uk/aboutus/stratpolprog/digi/digitisation/digistrategy/>>.

⁵ EU Publications Office, 'Feature Stories – Making Culture Digitally Accessible', *CORDIS. Community Research and Development Information Service. European Commission* <http://cordis.europa.eu/result/rcn/88916_en.html> [accessed 18 May 2017]. Beneficiaries of this EU funding include the IMPACT (Improving Access to Text) Project which partners with 26 national and region libraries and research institutions, including the British Library. IMPACT, 'Facts and Figures', *IMPACT: Improving Access to Text* <<http://www.impact-project.eu/about-the-project/facts-and-figures/>> [accessed 18 May 2017].

This shift towards the digital has had a huge impact on subjects reliant upon archival research such as history. Through choice and necessity, historians increasingly access their sources in a digital manner. Digitisation speeds up the research process. Whereas a historian may previously have had to scroll manually through reams of microfilm or leaf through pages of physical documents in the hope of stumbling across relevant information, the integration of search functionality into digitised archives has condensed months of labour into several clicks of a mouse.⁶ Historians no longer necessarily have to travel to conduct their research; if the document(s) they seek have been digitised, they can generally access them from the comfort of their desk.⁷

However, despite these, and many other, benefits, digitisation also introduces fresh challenges. The most prominent such challenge is probably the overwhelming volume of material now readily available. A keyword search for 'alien(s)' in the *19th Century British Library Newspapers* (the collection which underpins this thesis), using the *Gale Primary Sources* interface, produces 207,965 results; a search for 'Irish' produces nearly 2 million.⁸ Traditionally, the availability of material about a particular topic, and the practicalities of accessing it, imposed natural boundaries upon historical research. These boundaries are increasingly being eroded and historians, particularly those who look at the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, now have ready access to a daunting array of sources.

⁶ Microfilm indexes did exist but their capabilities were limited. As Hitchcock stresses, digital searching is a radical departure from pre-digital methodologies, which hugely speeds up the research process, and whose impact must not be downplayed. For a deeper exploration of the (often downplayed) impact of digital searching see T. Hitchcock, 'Digital Searching and the Reformulation of Historical Knowledge' in *The Virtual Representation of the Past*, ed. by M. Greengrass and L. Hughes (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 81-90 (p. 81).

⁷ For more of the advantages of digital media, see D. J. Cohen and R. Rosenzweig, *Digital History: A Guide to Gathering, Preserving, and Presenting the Past on the Web* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), pp. 1-17.

⁸ *Gale Primary Sources* <<https://www.gale.com/primary-sources>> [accessed 4 February 2019]. The same newspapers are also available to the public via a subscription site, the *British Newspaper Archive*. See *British Newspaper Archive* <<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/>> [accessed 4 February 2019]. The *British Newspaper Archive* is maintained by genealogy company Findmypast, which continues to digitise the British Library's Newspapers, sometimes sub-licensing them to Gale to be made available in the *Gale News Vault* (a platform that provides access to all of Gale's databases).

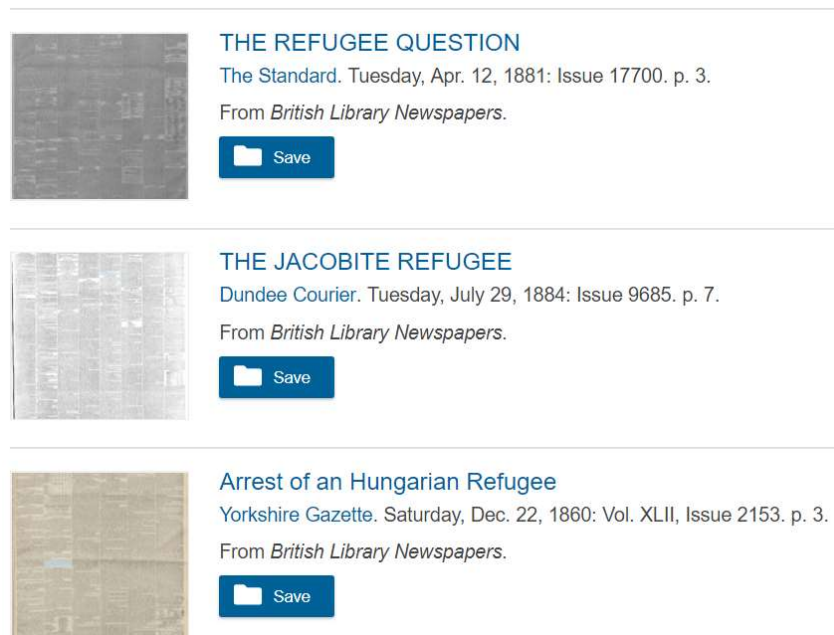


Figure 1.1 Results of a search for 'refugee' displayed in the *Gale Primary Sources* interface.

Although they can enhance existing research practices, most of the interfaces used to access this ever-expanding source base are designed to replicate the close reading and analysis that has long been central to historical research.⁹ This often means that they do not handle the sheer scale of the digitised source material they contain particularly effectively. As figure 1.1 demonstrates, once articles have been located within the *Gale* interface, they must be clicked one at a time and viewed in separate browser windows, which makes it difficult to identify large scale trends. Furthermore, once opened, articles are represented as text-dense scanned images designed for close reading. This interface is ideal for the casual researcher and, to a degree, the historian who intends to search within the newspaper archive for a very specific theme or event that is unlikely to return very many results. However, if a query produces a quantity of results too large to feasibly read by hand and eye alone, the historian is given few tools with which to digest them. Indeed, after attempting to quantitatively analyse

⁹ In this thesis, 'close reading' is defined as the reading of a text or texts in a careful and purposeful manner, in enough depth to allow for understanding and interpretation. From experience, this is the way in which many historians traditionally approach at least some of their textual sources.

the term 'America' using the *Gale* interface, Nicholson concludes that 'performing quantitative research on a database that was never designed to support it can be laborious'.¹⁰

Another issue is that often, too little information is provided about the decisions that went into these interfaces' construction, and the search algorithms that underpin them, for a researcher to be able to make informed decisions. For instance, *Gale Primary Sources* contains a recently added 'Topic Finder' function which, according to the 'How it Works' explanatory text, lets users 'discover new connections' in their results.¹¹ However, the rest of the explanation is quite vague, adding that the tool takes an unspecified 'subset' of 'your top results' and 'feeds them into' an 'algorithm' but provides no indication of how the 'top results' are calculated or what the 'algorithm' entails. Hitchcock argues that design oversights (such as, in this instance, a lack of the sort of transparency necessary for robust research) are a direct result of the 'driving force' behind such resources coming not from 'the academy', but from research libraries and institutions and the private sector.¹² Ultimately, although the interfaces currently used to access digital sources have their benefits, there is an increasing need for them to be complemented by more effective means for historians to work with very large amounts of text.

The question of how to deal with large-scale text sources can only become ever more pressing. Historians of the future who wish to study the social, economic, or political history of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries will be faced by the detritus of the internet era, confronted with the prospect of close reading billions of texts, emails, tweets,

¹⁰ B. Nicholson, 'Counting Culture; or, How to Read Victorian Newspapers from a Distance', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 17:2 (2012), pp. 238-246 (p. 245)
<<https://doi.org/10.1080/13555502.2012.683331>>.

¹¹ The topic finder function was added on 31 October 2014. See Gale, 'Topic Finder: Helping Users Search to Research', *Gale Blog* (1 November 2014) <<https://blog.gale.com/topic-finder/>> [accessed 22 July 2019].

¹² T. Hitchcock, 'Confronting the Digital: Or How Academic History Writing Lost the Plot', *Cultural and Social History*, 10:1 (2013), pp. 9-23 (p. 10).

Facebook posts, and Snapchats.¹³ As Treddinick indicates, 'the volume of recorded information continues to grow exponentially; an increasingly complete, complex and diverse record of contemporary experience is being laid down moment by moment'.¹⁴ Indeed, as Cohen argues, whilst a historian may have been able to read the 40,000 memos issued from the White House by Lyndon Johnson, they would struggle to read all four million emails sent under the Clinton administration.¹⁵ When every document that is relevant to your research topic is the click of a mouse away, where do you begin? What do you do if the sources to which you have now been given ready access consist of more words than it is possible to read, not just in your lifetime, but also in the cumulative lifetimes of your entire department? These dilemmas form the core of a question that challenges not just historians who consciously adopt digital methods, but every historian who utilises a digital archive or database or collection. How do we approach this 'big data'?

1.2 Corpus Linguistics

One means of approaching historical 'big data' that shows promise is corpus linguistics, the machine-aided analysis of language using very large bodies of text. Whilst widespread in linguistics, the uptake of corpus linguistics in history has been limited. This lack of engagement is not always by choice. Robertson rightly attributes 'historians' limited use' of 'textual analysis tools' to the 'lack of digitized sources' available to them in the correct format for use with

¹³ For case studies on the implications of using the web as a historical source see I. Milligan, *History in the Age of Abundance? How the Web Is Transforming Historical Research* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019). ProQuest Ebook Central.

¹⁴ L. Treddinick, 'The Making of History: Remediating Historicized Experience', in *History in the Digital Age*, ed. by T. Weller (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 39-60 (p. 42). ProQuest Ebook Central.

¹⁵ Although the original video containing Cohen's statement no longer appears to be online, it is quoted in multiple places including K. Kee, 'How to energize scholarship for the digital age', *University Affairs* (9 April 2014), <<https://www.universityaffairs.ca/features/feature-article/how-to-energize-scholarship-for-the-digital-age/>> [accessed 5 June 2019].

these tools.¹⁶ As shall be explored shortly (section 1.5), the present study is in the privileged position of having access to relatively newly-created corpus versions of some of the titles in the *19th Century British Library Newspapers* collection. However, this relative lack of suitable sources is not the only reason for the low uptake of corpus methods within history. Even when historical texts are available for such analysis, little practical scholarship has adopted this approach. This is curious since corpus linguistics combines both macro and micro analysis (see section 2.3), meaning that it could help historians to bridge the disconnect between the close reading typical within historical research, and the more abstracted ‘distant’ reading often used within digital history and the digital humanities more widely.¹⁷

Most of the research that has approached historical texts from a corpus linguistic perspective has been undertaken by linguists rather than historians. An example of this is Prentice and Hardie’s investigation of the presentation of key participants in the Glencairn Uprising in a corpus of seventeenth-century newsbooks.¹⁸ However, in recent years, several articles have been published which provide evidence that historians have begun to train themselves in the use of corpus methodology to complement their historical research.

In 2012, Pumfrey et al. used a corpus approach to track the changing meaning of the word ‘experiment’ in seventeenth-century texts, and compared it with the manual research

¹⁶ S. Robertson, ‘The Differences between Digital Humanities and Digital History’, in *Debates in the Digital Humanities 2016*, ed. by M. K. Gold and L. F. Klein (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016). Google Books.

¹⁷ Broadly speaking, digital humanities is the application of computational tools to the humanities. However, beyond this, it is notoriously difficult to define. The ‘Day of DH’, an annual one-day conference, brings together digital humanists from across the globe. Prior to each gathering, participants are asked ‘How do you define humanities computing/digital humanities?’ A selection of the very varied responses have been collated on a dedicated website. See J. A. Heppler, ‘What Is Digital Humanities?’, *What Is Digital Humanities* <<https://whatisdigitalhumanities.com/>> [accessed 9 May 2019].

¹⁸ S. Prentice and A. Hardie, ‘Empowerment and Disempowerment in the Glencairn Uprising: A Corpus-Based Critical Analysis of Early Modern English News Discourse’, *Journal of Historical Pragmatics*, 10:1 (2009), pp. 23-55 <<https://doi.org/10.1075/jhp.10.1.03pre>>.

methods more typically adopted within conceptual history.¹⁹ Pumfrey – the historian on the project team – concluded that the ‘speed gain’ of using corpus methods stretched the scope of feasibility and allowed the posing of new questions ‘which could not have been considered previously’.²⁰ Given this finding it seems peculiar that the uptake of methods such as corpus linguistics has not been more widespread or enthusiastic. However, the fact that the aforementioned study was not published in a traditional history journal (but rather *Literary and Linguistics Computing*) supports Nicholson’s lamentation that ‘one of the most regrettable consequences of the digital humanities movement is the way it has allowed its discussion to develop outside traditional academic disciplines’.²¹

The idea that the digital humanities are developing in something of an echo chamber has been fomenting for some time. Gregory et al. claim that one reason digital humanities’ findings are not re-entering the academic communities from which their practitioners originate is that much digital research has been theoretical rather than applied. In the same article, they argue that digital historians have a duty to use the ‘wealth of digital resources’ now available to them to ‘create new scholarship’ which is not just of interest to other ‘digital historians’, but to the historical discipline more widely.²² Similarly, Blevins argues that the rhetoric around digital history is stuck in the ‘future tense’, and speaks of ‘potential’, ‘possibilities’, and ‘opportunities’ whilst ‘one area still remains in the shadows: argument-

¹⁹ S. Pumfrey, P. Rayson, and J. Mariani, ‘Experiments in 17th Century English: Manual Versus Automatic Conceptual History’, *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 27:4 (2012), pp. 395-408 (p. 395) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/lc/fqs017>>.

²⁰ Pumfrey, Rayson, and Mariani, ‘Experiments’, p. 395.

²¹ Nicholson, ‘Counting Culture’, p. 240. Subsequent to Pumfrey’s article appearing in *Literary and Linguistics Computing*, the journal has been renamed *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* to reflect the publication’s shift in scope. See E. Vanhoutte, ‘The Journal Is Dead, Long Live The Journal!’, *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* <https://academic.oup.com/dsh/pages/DSH_name_change> [accessed 4 February 2019].

²² Gregory, Atkinson, and Hardie, ‘From Digital Resources’, p. 994.

driven scholarship'. Blevins claims that this focus away from argument and towards methodology and tool building has erected 'a wall between digital history and the academy'.²³

Things may be changing. In a 2013 article, Blaxhill demonstrated the potential benefits of a corpus approach to the study of historical political language.²⁴ He conducted three case studies that focused upon the language surrounding, respectively, Irish Home Rule, imperialism, and the Prime Minister Gladstone, in a multi-million-word corpus of British election speeches. In a 2017 article, he revisited the case study on imperialism and explored it in more depth.²⁵ Both articles were published in what would probably be considered 'traditional' historical journals (*Historical Research* and *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*). However, it is striking that whilst the former was primarily an explanation of corpus linguistic methodology using historical examples, four years later Blaxhill was able to foreground his historical analysis and only very briefly justify his use of corpus linguistics. This perhaps indicates that the method is beginning to gain traction with a more mainstream historical audience.²⁶

1.3 Aims and Research Questions

This research explores corpus linguistics as an approach that could help to digest historical 'big data' but, crucially, in light of the criticisms and concerns outlined in the previous section, does not discuss it in abstract. Instead, it applies corpus linguistics to a topic that

²³ C. Blevins, 'Digital History's Perpetual Future Tense', in *Debates in the Digital Humanities 2016*, ed. by M. K. Gold and L. F. Klein (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016). Google Books.

²⁴ L. Blaxill, 'Quantifying the Language of British Politics, 1880-1910', *Historical Research*, 86:232 (2013), pp. 313-41 <<https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2281.12011>>.

²⁵ L. Blaxill, 'The Language of Imperialism in British Electoral Politics, 1880-1910', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 45:3 (2017), pp. 416-48 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/03086534.2017.1302118>>.

²⁶ Another historian who has adopted corpus methods is Colella, who looked at patterns surrounding three text segments ('man of business', 'business habits', and 'business life') in the ProQuest archive of British periodicals. The ProQuest interface is not designed to be used for corpus linguistic research; nonetheless Colella tried to replicate corpus methods whenever possible. S. Colella, "'That Inscrutable Something": Business in the Periodical Press', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 46:3 (2013), pp. 317-42 <<https://doi.org/10.1353/vpr.2013.0030>>.

should be of interest to the historical research community irrespective of its methodology: the representation of migrants in nineteenth-century British newspapers.

After trialling a variety of search terms (a process documented in Chapter 3), the study narrows its focus specifically to the figures of the ‘alien’ (or ‘alien immigrant’) and the ‘refugee’. These are used as starting points to access newspaper reportage upon different migrant groups. Overall, the study aims to address the following questions:

1. How were ‘aliens’ and ‘refugees’ reported upon by the nineteenth-century newspapers?
 - a) When were they topical, and why?
 - b) What themes and language were they associated with?
2. What are the advantages and limitations of taking a corpus linguistic approach to historical sources and historical research questions?

Where pertinent this thesis also highlights, and attempts to explain, variations and consensus among different newspapers, and change or consistency over time. As very little historical work has used corpus linguistics, this study has considerable implications for methodological practice. Therefore, I have attempted to remain both reflective and reflexive throughout. I have endeavoured to highlight both the advantages and limitations of taking a corpus approach to history and indicate points of cohesion and conflict between the two areas for the benefit of future researchers working at this fascinating intersection.

Present-day newspaper coverage of migrants has come under a great deal of scrutiny, both within and without academia.²⁷ In linguistics, there exists a large body of work produced

²⁷ There has also been considerable research in disciplines such as Sociology and Media Studies. For an overview of Sociology research see M. van Klinger et al., ‘Real World Is Not Enough: The Media as

under the aegis of Critical Discourse Analysis (hereafter CDA), which studies marginalised groups, including migrants.²⁸ Some of these studies have focused upon newspaper texts.²⁹ There are also studies that have combined CDA and corpus linguistics to examine this topic. These include the large-scale RASIM and Migration Observatory projects. Both examine the frequency and associations of the terms ‘refugee(s)’, ‘asylum seeker(s)’, ‘immigrant(s)’, and ‘migrant(s)’ in British newspaper texts, the former project in newspapers issued between 1996 and 2005, and the latter in newspapers issued between 2010 and 2012.³⁰ Both teams find that newspapers frequently associate migrants with negative categories of representation and highlight ‘media confusion’ over the terminology of migration which ‘has an impact on public understanding and policy debates’.³¹ Indeed, the RASIM project accused the press of ‘creating and maintaining a moral panic’.³² Many other studies have come to similar conclusions. In a paper commissioned by the *Transatlantic Council on Migration*, Threadgold summarises

an Additional Source of Negative Attitudes Toward Immigration, Comparing Denmark and the Netherlands’, *European Sociological Review*, 31:3 (2015), pp. 268-83 (p. 270) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcu089>>.

²⁸ For examples of work on migration and CDA see J. Charteris-Black, ‘Britain as a Container: Immigration Metaphors in the 2005 Election Campaign’, *Discourse & Society*, 17:5 (2006), pp. 563-581 <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926506066345>>; P. Chilton, *Analysing Political Discourse: Theory and Practice* (London: Routledge, 2004); and *The Semiotics of Racism. Approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis*, ed. by M. Reisigl and R. Wodak (Wien: Paddagen, 2000).

²⁹ For instance, T. A. Van Dijk, *Racism in the Press* (London: Routledge, 1991).

³⁰ C. Gabrielatos and P. Baker, ‘Fleeing, Sneaking, Flooding: A Corpus Analysis of Discursive Constructions of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Press 1996-2005’, *Journal of English Linguistics*, 36:1 (2008), pp. 5-38 <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0075424207311247>>; S. Blinder and W. Allen, ‘Constructing Immigrants: Portrayals of Migrant Groups in British National Newspapers, 2010-2012’, *International Migration Review*, 50:1 (2016), pp. 3-40 <<https://doi.org/10.1111/imre.12206>>; W. Allen and S. Blinder, *Migration in the News: Portrayals of Immigrants, Migrants, Asylum Seekers and Refugees in National British Newspapers, 2010 to 2012*, Migration Observatory Report, COMPAS (University of Oxford: Migration Observatory, 2013); and W. L. Allen, *A Decade of Immigration in the British Press*, Migration Observatory Report, COMPAS (University of Oxford: Migration Observatory, 2016) <<https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/reports/decade-immigration-british-press/>> [accessed 4 February 2019].

³¹ B. Anderson and S. Blinder, *Who Counts as a Migrant? Definitions and Their Consequences*, Migration Observatory briefing, COMPAS (University of Oxford: Migration Observatory, 2019) <<https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/who-counts-as-a-migrant-definitions-and-their-consequences/>> [accessed 4 February 2019]. The ‘media confusion’ quote is taken from Gabrielatos and Baker, ‘Fleeing, Sneaking, Flooding’, p. 5.

³² Gabrielatos and Baker, ‘Fleeing, Sneaking, Flooding’, p. 33.

previous research on migration and the UK media.³³ He finds that whilst the particular migrant groups subjected to media coverage have changed, the tone of reporting consistently 'produced a very negative view of what immigration is and might be'.³⁴

Researchers of present-day newspaper coverage of refugees have similarly uncovered evidence of hostility, misrepresentative reporting, and suspicion.³⁵ This often centres on the oppositional relationship between the 'refugee' and 'asylum seeker'. As Sales argues, the tightening of national border controls has meant that asylum is 'often the only means of gaining access to Europe'.³⁶ The idea that some migrants may be using asylum to avoid migration controls has fostered a discourse that divides asylum seekers into the 'genuine', those with a legitimate claim to refuge, and the 'bogus', those who seek to game the system.³⁷ Since there is little way of determining who may or may not have a legitimate claim to refuge until asylum applications are either successfully granted or refused, a process that can take quite some time, asylum seekers are, as Baker and McEnery find, the subject of media suspicion.³⁸

This media suspicion and hostility can have real world repercussions. Much research has found that if people are continually exposed to negative portrayals of something, it influences their view of that thing when they encounter it in other contexts.³⁹ This was acknowledged by

³³ T. Threadgold, *The Media and Migration in the United Kingdom, 1999 to 2009* (Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute, 2009), pp. 1-31.

³⁴ Threadgold, *The Media and Migration*, p. 22.

³⁵ Gabrielatos and Baker, 'Fleeing, Sneaking, Flooding', p. 8.

³⁶ R. Sales, 'The Deserving and the Undeserving? Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Welfare in Britain', *Critical Social Policy*, 22:3 (2002), pp. 456-78 (p. 457) <<https://doi.org/10.1177/026101830202200305>>.

³⁷ L. Schuster and J. Solomos, 'The Politics of Refugee and Asylum Policies in Britain: Historical Patterns and Contemporary Realities', in *Refugees, Citizenship and Social Policy in Europe*, ed. by A. Bloch and C. Levy (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 1999), pp. 51-75 (p. 65) <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230371248_3>.

³⁸ P. Baker and T. McEnery, 'A Corpus Based Approach to Discourses of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in UN and Newspaper Texts', *Journal of Language and Politics*, 4:2 (2005), pp. 197-226 (p. 222) <<https://doi.org/10.1075/jlp.4.2.04bak>>.

³⁹ Power et al. examined the impact of stereotypic portrayals of African Americans and women on participants' interpretations of other media events. J. G. Power, S. T. Murphy, and G. Coover, 'Priming

sectors of the media in 2015 when, at the height of Europe's so-called 'migrant crisis', the news broadcaster *Al Jazeera* announced that it would no longer use the term 'migrants', because it had become 'a tool that dehumanises and distances'; this prompted other media outlets into a period of soul searching over their own terminology.⁴⁰

Strikingly, this research into the present-day news media lacks historical counterparts, and the nineteenth century is no exception. As shall be seen in section 1.4, although the historical study of migration is a rich field, few have explicitly unpicked press depictions of migration or the language of migration and its repercussions.⁴¹ All too often, historians relegate the newspaper to the footnote, or use it simply to provide illustrative examples of wider trends. Rarely has the newspaper been the sole focus of historical migration research, despite its role as a significant shaper and reflector of public opinion (my views on the influence of the newspaper medium are explored in more detail in section 1.5.4). In his 1988 work *John Bull's Island*, a seminal history of migration to the British Isles, Colin Holmes significantly notes the absence of both 'immigrants', and the critical scrutiny of the 'imagery of opposition towards immigration' from research into British history.⁴² Whilst, as will be seen

Prejudice: How Stereotypes and Counter-Stereotypes Influence Attribution of Responsibility and Credibility among Ingroups and Outgroups', *Human Communication Research*, 23:1 (1996), pp. 36-58 <<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2958.1996.tb00386.x>>. For a similar study concerning migration see C. Schemer, 'The Influence of News Media on Stereotypic Attitudes Toward Immigrants in a Political Campaign', *Journal of Communication*, 62:5 (2012), pp. 739-57 <<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2012.01672.x>>.

⁴⁰ For the original article see B. Malone, 'Why Al Jazeera Will Not Say Mediterranean "Migrants"', *Al Jazeera* (20 August 2015) <<https://www.aljazeera.com/blogs/editors-blog/2015/08/al-jazeera-mediterranean-migrants-150820082226309.html>> [accessed 4 February 2019]. For a summary of other newspapers' reactions see J. Carling, 'Refugees Are Also Migrants: All Migrants Matter', *Oxford Law Faculty* (3 September 2015) <<https://www.law.ox.ac.uk/research-subject-groups/centre-criminology/centreborder-criminologies/blog/2015/09/refugees-are-also>> [accessed 4 February 2019]. For a study of the more sympathetic re-framing of the 'migrant crisis' into the 'refugee crisis' following the publication of photographs of the drowned Syrian child Alan Kurdi see Goodman, Sirriyeh, and McMahon, 'The Evolving (Re)Categorisations of Refugees'.

⁴¹ Although linguists do study historical texts, few have focused on historical migration. One exception is O'Brien, who looks at metaphor in the debates surrounding the passing of the US Immigration Acts of 1921 and 1924. G. O'Brien, 'Indigestible Food, Conquering Hordes, and Waste Materials: Metaphors of Immigrants and the Early Immigration Restriction Debate in the United States', *Metaphor and Symbol*, 18:1 (2003), pp. 33-47 <https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327868ms1801_3>.

⁴² C. Holmes, *John Bull's Island: Immigration and British Society, 1871-1971* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988), p. 306.

in section 1.4, a number of historians have made attempts to address the absence of ‘immigrants’, the ‘imagery of opposition’ remains curiously unexplored. This research seeks to begin to address this lacuna.

1.4 Nineteenth-Century Migration

A diverse combination of factors resulted in the nineteenth century being characterised by increased movement on a global scale. Developments in transportation such as railways and steam shipping made long distance journeys cheaper, swifter, and more reliable, removing many of the ‘intervening obstacles’ to migration noted by Lee in his influential article ‘A Theory of Migration’.⁴³ In consequence, in the period from 1815 to 1945, Britain received more migrants than it had in the preceding 700 years.⁴⁴

The largest movement was from Ireland.⁴⁵ As Panayi states, during the nineteenth century ‘about a million people crossed the Irish sea to settle in Britain’, many driven by famine.⁴⁶ It is debatable whether or not the Irish should be counted as ‘migrants’ during this period. Since the 1801 Act of Union, which created a ‘United Great Britain and Ireland’, the Irish were technically British citizens.⁴⁷ Ultimately, aside from featuring in sections 3.2 and 3.3, the Irish were excluded from this thesis, not necessarily because I did not think they should be

⁴³ Lee summarised the reasons for migration under the following headings: factors associated with the area of origin; factors associated with the area of destination; intervening obstacles; and personal factors. E. S. Lee, ‘A Theory of Migration’, *Demography*, 3:1 (1966), pp. 47-57 <<https://doi.org/10.2307/2060063>>. Lee’s work was based on Ravenstein’s seminal ‘laws of migration’ that has inspired much subsequent research. E. G. Ravenstein, ‘The Laws of Migration’, *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 48:2 (1885), pp. 167-235 <<https://doi.org/10.2307/2979181>>.

⁴⁴ P. Panayi, *Immigration, Ethnicity and Racism in Britain, 1815-1945* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 23.

⁴⁵ MacRaild and Swift are amongst the leading scholars of the Irish diaspora in Britain. See D. MacRaild, *The Irish Diaspora in Britain, 1750-1939* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2010); or R. Swift and S. Gilley, *The Irish in Britain, 1815-1939* (London: Frances Pinter, 1989).

⁴⁶ P. Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain: Multicultural Racism since 1800* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2010), p. 23.

⁴⁷ Indeed, Oldenburg notes that ‘as early as 1449 the law treated them [the Irish] not as aliens but as subjects of the monarch’. See S. Oldenburg, *Alien Albion: Literature and Immigration in Early Modern England* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2015), p. 7.

discussed as a migrant group, but rather because the newspapers did not explicitly refer to them as such, at least using the terms ('alien' and 'refugee') that form the core of this thesis. Although 'Irish' was a collocate of 'alien(s)' (see section 2.4.4 for an explanation of collocation), it almost never referred to Irish migrants in Britain. Rather, it was used to describe objects and institutions that were considered foreign, for instance the Anglican Protestant Church of Ireland was frequently described as an 'alien church'.⁴⁸ This is surprising since the Irish were, like the arrivals from eastern Europe at the centre of the hostility of the 1880s and 1890s, a large migratory group, many of whom were visibly impoverished.

There was also significant migrant movement from continental Europe, including France and Germany.⁴⁹ This was gradually eclipsed by arrivals from the Russian Empire, many of whom were Eastern European Jews fleeing persecution and economic hardship, who began to arrive in large numbers in the last few decades of the nineteenth century.⁵⁰ By the beginning of the twentieth century, Russians, including these Eastern European Jews, had become the most populous migrant group.⁵¹

⁴⁸ An example of this can be seen in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 13 June 1852.

⁴⁹ The 1851 English and Welsh census documents 16,983 persons born in France and 14,332 born in Germany. By 1901 that had risen to 65,926 (Germany) and 39,566 (France). All the statistics included in this section are, unless otherwise specified, derived from the Integrated Census Microdata (ICeM), an online database which allows census data from England and Wales, and from Scotland, to be searched using certain criteria. K. Schurer and E. Higgs, 'Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM), 1851-1911', *UK Data Service*. For German migration see P. Panayi, *German Immigrants in Britain during the Nineteenth Century, 1815-1914* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1995); or R. Ashton, *Little Germany: Exile and Asylum in Victorian England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986). Whilst there have been no general works on French migration, much has been written about specific groups of French migrants. For instance, C. Bantman, *The French Anarchists in London, 1880-1914: Exile and Transnationalism in the First Globalisation* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013).

⁵⁰ Prominent histories of the Anglo-Jewry include G. Alderman, *Modern British Jewry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); D. Cesarani, *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990); T. M. Endelman, *The Jews of Britain, 1656 to 2000* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); C. Holmes, *Anti-Semitism in British Society, 1876-1939* (London: Routledge, 2015); and T. Kushner, *The Jewish Heritage in British History: Englishness and Jewishness* (London: Routledge, 2012).

⁵¹ Between the 1881 and 1891 censuses, the number of people in Britain who were born in the 'Russian Federation' increased from 6,136 to 30,529, reaching 71,323 by 1901.

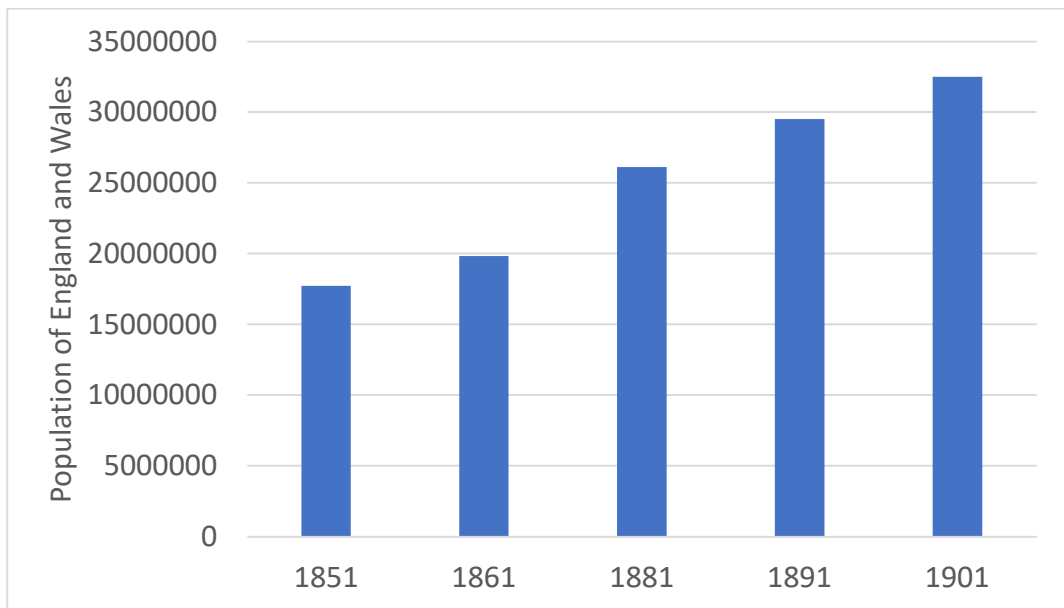


Figure 1.2 Population increase in England and Wales according to the census returns.

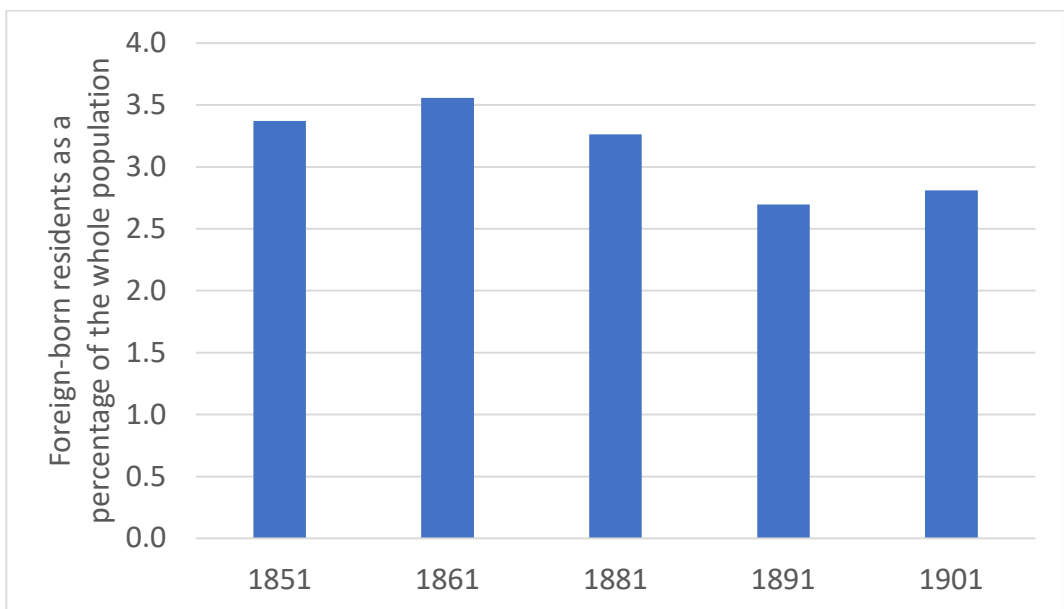


Figure 1.3 Foreign-born residents (including the Irish) as a percentage of the English and Welsh population according to the census returns.

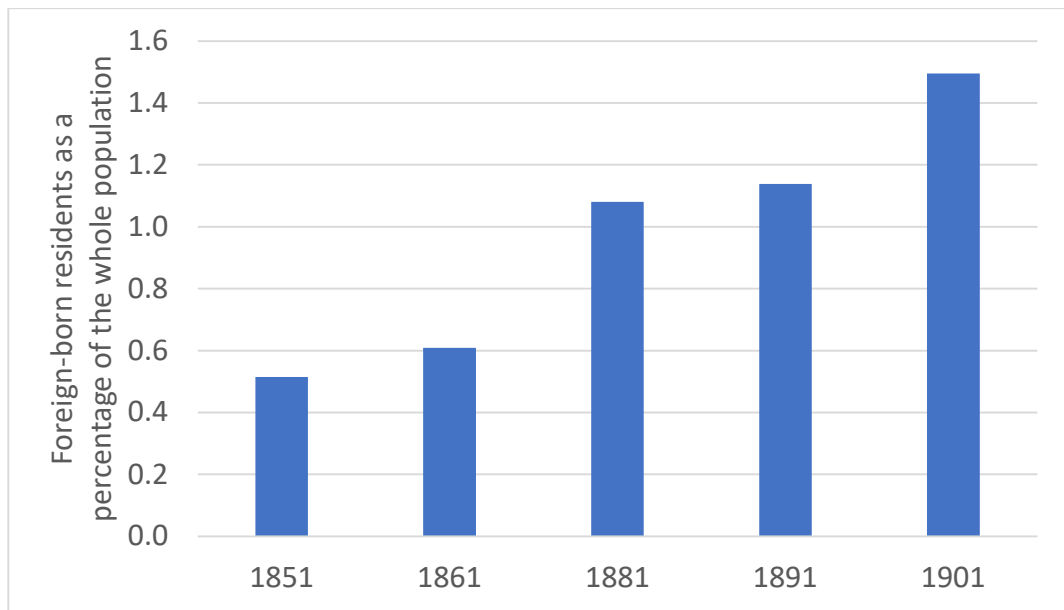


Figure 1.4 Foreign-born residents (excluding the Irish) as a percentage of the English and Welsh population according to the census returns

Although Britain experienced an increase in migration in the nineteenth century, the scale and impact of this growth is open to interpretation. If the Irish are counted as migrants then, as figure 1.3 demonstrates, the foreign-born population of England and Wales actually decreased between 1861 and 1901 in the wake of the potato famine.⁵² If the Irish are counted as British subjects then, as figure 1.4 shows, England and Wales' foreign-born population increased at a higher rate of growth than the population more generally (see figure 1.2).⁵³ Nonetheless, foreign-born residents still only constituted 1.5 per cent of the English and Welsh population even in 1901. It is also worth noting that migrants tended to concentrate in certain areas, meaning that their presence would not have been equally felt.⁵⁴ Furthermore, due to

⁵² Foreign-born residents, in this instance, refers to anyone listed in the English and Welsh censuses who was not born in England, Wales, Scotland, the Isle of Man, or the Channel Islands, or whose place of birth was not listed as 'unknown'.

⁵³ Figure 1.4 was created using the same parameters as figure 1.3, however, anyone whose birthplace was listed as 'Ireland' was also counted as a British national rather than a foreign-born resident.

⁵⁴ See, for instance, Gainer's discussion of the distribution of Jewish migrants. B. Gainer, *The Alien Invasion: The origins of the Aliens Act of 1905* (London: Heinemann, 1972), pp. 3-4.

emigration to the United States and British colonies, more people actually left Britain than arrived during this period.⁵⁵

Nonetheless, these increases in movement triggered a backlash that resulted in many states passing restrictive legislation. Immigration controls were enacted in the US in 1875, South Africa in 1885, and Australia in 1901.⁵⁶ In 1905 Britain followed suit with the Aliens Act.⁵⁷ This was a significant policy change, as for most of the century Britain lacked any substantive migration legislation. As Porter explains, 'from 1826 until 1848, and again from 1850 to 1905, there was nothing on the statute book to enable the executive to prevent aliens from coming and staying in Britain as they liked'.⁵⁸

The 1905 Aliens Act legitimised the distinction between 'desirable' and 'undesirable' migrants. An 'undesirable' migrant was, according to the Act, someone who could not 'decently' support themselves or their dependents, a 'lunatic or an idiot' whose illness was likely to cause them to become a burden upon the taxpayer, or someone who had committed a crime abroad.⁵⁹ Although, as Bashford and McAdam note, the Act enshrined the right of asylum, it also created much of Britain's modern restrictive migration framework.⁶⁰ It outlined

⁵⁵ Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, p. 15.

⁵⁶ D. Glover, *Literature, Immigration, and Diaspora in Fin-de-Siècle England: A Cultural History of the 1905 Aliens Act* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 42.

⁵⁷ For research on the origins, and repercussions, of the Aliens Act see A. Bashford and C. Gilchrist, 'The Colonial History of the 1905 Aliens Act', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 40:3 (2012), pp. 409-437 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/03086534.2012.712380>>; Gainer, *The Alien Invasion*; D. Glover, 'Still Closing the Gates: The Legacy of the 1905 Aliens Act', *Jewish Quarterly*, 60:1 (2013), pp. 18-27 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/0449010X.2013.787288>>; and A. Kershner, 'The 1905 Aliens Act', *History Today*, 55:3 (2005), pp. 13-19.

⁵⁸ B. Porter, *The Refugee Question in Mid-Victorian Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 3. The 1826 Registration of Aliens Act introduced systems for the tracking and monitoring of foreign-born migrants through declarations to the Home Office but did not restrict entry. The 1848 Alien Removal Bill, which was on the statute book for two years following revolutionary upheavals in Europe, did give the power of 'alien' removal but, in practice, did not result in the expulsion of a single migrant.

⁵⁹ Great Britain. House of Commons. *An Act to Amend the Law with Regard to Aliens*, Stat. 5 Edw. VII. c. 13, 1905 <<https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Edw7/5/13/contents/enacted>> [accessed 10 May 2019].

⁶⁰ Bashford and McAdam argue that historians have frequently 'downplayed' this asylum clause to focus on the 1905 Act's more restrictive implications. A. Bashford and J. McAdam, 'The Right to Asylum: Britain's 1905 Aliens Act and the Evolution of Refugee Law', *Law and History Review*, 32:2 (2014), pp. 309-350 (p. 311) <<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0738248014000029>>.

the role of the immigration officer, centralised control of migration with the Home Office and enhanced the power of the Secretary of State. The late nineteenth century is therefore a pivotal period in the history of migration, particularly in Britain. It follows that newspaper discussions of migrants during this period should be studied in more depth to understand their responses to, and their potential contribution to, the developments previously outlined.

Although the contributions of migrants to Britain are still often conspicuously absent from 'mainstream' accounts of British history, a rich field of migration history has been developing ever since the publication of Holmes' seminal *John Bull's Island*.⁶¹ However, aside from Holmes' study, and a few larger surveys, migration history is characterised by a multitude of fragmented studies of particular national groups and individual events. Few have examined the broad representation of migrants across the various incoming nationalities.⁶²

Furthermore, although historians often use newspapers as a small part of a wider arsenal of sources, little research has focused specifically on the language used to represent migrants, either in the press or more broadly. For instance, Panayi emphasises the role of newspapers in creating hostility towards migrants.⁶³ However, like most of his peers, Panayi's discussion of the press forms only a small part of his completed work. To take another example, Alderman states that 'Jews became news. Articles were written about them in local newspapers, in the quality press and in specialist journals'.⁶⁴ Nonetheless, he provides little indication of precisely *what* was 'written about them', instead taking a broader look at the experiences of the Anglo-Jewry. Similarly, Endelman states that 'recourse to negative

⁶¹ Holmes' book *John Bull's Island* is widely considered to be the first comprehensive study of immigrants and refugees in Britain. Many migration historians note the absence of migrants from British history books and heritage sites. The Migration Museum Project exists purely to highlight and address this deficit. See The Migration Museum Project, 'About our project', *Migration Museum Project* <<https://www.migrationmuseum.org/about-our-project/>> [accessed 6 June 2019].

⁶² Other broad studies of the history of migration to Britain include the more popular histories Panayi, *An Immigration History*, and R. Winder, *Bloody Foreigners: The Story of Immigration to Britain* (London: Abacus, 2005).

⁶³ Panayi, *An Immigration History*, p. 61.

⁶⁴ Alderman, *Modern British Jewry*, p. 120.

representation [of Jews, by newspapers,] was routine and unthinking'. However, he fails to qualify this statement, adding that 'one example will have to suffice' before discussing *The Times'* unsympathetic portrayal of the 1852 reopening of the Great Synagogue in London.⁶⁵ In a rare example of a migration historian making the press their primary focus, De Nie explores the press' treatment of the Irish.⁶⁶ Like researchers into present-day migration, he finds that it was characterised by 'a deep ambivalence in which hostile and sympathetic conceptions of the Irish were in constant play', but in which negative portrayals all too often won out.⁶⁷

An exception is a forthcoming article by Pooley, who also notes our lack of knowledge about the ways in which the 'media of the past reported migration and migrant groups'. Like this study, he focuses on six newspapers, but instead uses nominal record linkage to locate migrants in court reporting in the month immediately following a census. He uses this information to, amongst other things, examine the frequency with which newspapers explicitly identify migrants as such. My findings regarding the discourses surrounding 'alien(s)' contrast with his finding that there is 'little evidence that the local media' 'profiled [migrants] in particularly negative ways'.⁶⁸ This difference may stem from our contrasting foci. Whilst I study aggregate labels like 'alien', Pooley examines the language around individuals.

In his study of the English reaction to migration (now slightly dated), Garrard also focuses more on language than do most other historians. However, he looks extensively at the period from 1880 to 1910. In contrast, by taking a longer view, this present study is able to compare the language of the last few decades of the nineteenth century and that of the decades that preceded them, when migration as an issue was not as topical. By doing so, this

⁶⁵ Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*, p. 152.

⁶⁶ M. De Nie, *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798-1882* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004). See also L. Curtis, *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1971).

⁶⁷ De Nie, *The Eternal Paddy*, p. 273.

⁶⁸ C. Pooley, 'Newspaper Reporting of Migrants in England 1851-1911: Spatial and Temporal Perspectives', *Journal of Migration History*, forthcoming, p. 20.

thesis demonstrates that these final decades were aberrational. Furthermore, despite his work being broadly entitled *The English and Immigration*, Garrard only examines specific sections of the press. He relies heavily upon the London press and leans towards Socialist titles (including *Clarion*, the *Labour Elector*, and the *Labour Leader*). Nonetheless, he does make some interesting findings that are intimated but rarely explicit in the work of other historians. The first is an overwhelming association between the ‘alien’ and ‘destitution’.⁶⁹ The second is the use of metaphor: Garrard mentions in passing that language such as ‘swarms’ and ‘invasion’ was often used to describe migrant numbers.⁷⁰ The third is the observable tendency of trade unions to ‘confuse the deliberately imported foreign blackleg with the immigrant’.⁷¹ All of these, as seen in Chapter 4, are trends that this research also identifies, and expands upon, using corpus linguistic methods.

Despite not specifically exploring the language used by the press when discussing migrants, and only touching upon their representation in newspapers in passing, historians *have* explored the wider reception given to migrants in Britain. This reception is broadly characterised as negative. For instance, Kushner notes the ‘tedious unoriginality of anti-alienists past and present’, adding that every time it is the same story: ‘the alien will take what is “ours”, whether it be jobs, housing, women or security, and bring in what is bad for “us” – criminality, revolution, terror or disease’.⁷² Section 4.4.6 examines the historical literature surrounding the ‘alien’ in more depth. Historians have also been able to demonstrate evidence of working-class solidarity with migrants and migrant involvement in unions, albeit sporadic,

⁶⁹ J. Garrard, *The English and Immigration 1880-1910* (London: Published for the Institute of Race Relations by Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 52.

⁷⁰ Garrard, *The English and Immigration*, p. 51.

⁷¹ Garrard, *The English and Immigration*, p. 71.

⁷² T. Kushner, *Remembering Refugees: Then and Now* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), p. 182.

throughout the nineteenth century.⁷³ However, as shall be seen, this solidarity was notably absent from the discourses of most of the newspapers analysed within the present study.

Although sometimes touched upon by migration historians, the history of refugees generally forms a very different body of literature that places more emphasis on the role of the press. Historians have observed that, for refugees, newspapers could serve as vehicles for both positive and negative sentiment. For example, Shaw's PhD thesis examines the linguistic development of the 'refugee' category in the nineteenth century. She explains that, in contrast to other migrant groups, press coverage was often beneficial to refugees as a means of generating sympathy and public interest in their plight.⁷⁴ Indeed, Lada highlights the importance of the press in generating publicity for the causes of refugees, specifically noting the promotion of the famous Hungarian revolutionary Lajos Kossuth's public image.⁷⁵ Nonetheless, newspapers could also perpetuate damaging stereotypes. For instance, Holmes links 'nationwide attacks on the Irish' to newspaper coverage of the 1882 Phoenix Park murders (the fatal stabbing of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Thomas Burke by Irish radicals).⁷⁶ Similarly, Bantman argues that 'anarchy was linked with the theme of national decline and expressed collective anxieties through the morbid fascinations of the tabloid press'.⁷⁷ However, although some have explored the impact of newspapers upon the lives of refugees,

⁷³ For a collection of chapters documenting different migrant groups' involvement in trade union activity and working-class politics see *Hosts, Immigrants and Minorities. Historical Responses to Newcomers in British Society, 1870-1914*, ed. by K. Lunn (Folkstone: Dawson, 1980). Highlights include Buckman's exploration of union solidarity between Jewish workers and the gas workers union in Leeds, Williams' discussion of attempts to unionise Jewish workers in Manchester in the 1880s, and Kirk's account of Irish involvement in Chartism. Elsewhere Holmes cites Irish prominence in trade union movements in the later nineteenth century as a sign of acceptance and integration. C. Holmes, *A Tolerant Country? Immigrants, Refugees and Minorities in Britain* (London: Faber and Faber, 1991), p. 17.

⁷⁴ C. Shaw, 'Recall to Life: Imperial Britain, Foreign Refugees and the Development of Modern Refuge, 1789-1905' (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 2010), p. 72. See also C. Shaw, *Britannia's Embrace: Modern Humanitarianism and the Imperial Origins of Refugee Relief* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 74.

⁷⁵ Z. Lada, 'The Invention of a Hero: Lajos Kossuth in England (1851)', *European History Quarterly*, 43:1 (2013), pp. 5-26 <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0265691412468309>>.

⁷⁶ Holmes, *A Tolerant Country?*, p. 17.

⁷⁷ Bantman, *The French Anarchists*, p. 116.

once again few historians have looked in any depth at the press' *representation* of refugees, including the language utilised. An exception is Shpayer-Makov, who surveys the media image of anarchism, a movement often associated with refugees, concluding that it was 'partial and distorted' and 'characterised by 'an overriding hostility'.⁷⁸ Furthermore, with the exception of Shaw, historians have generally focussed on either single refugee groups or high-profile individuals, rather than the figure of the 'refugee' more generically.

1.5 Newspapers

1.5.1 The 19th Century British Library Newspapers

This thesis is the result of a collaborative doctoral partnership with the British Library. As such, it utilises corpora created from some of the newspaper titles within the *19th Century British Library Newspapers* archive. This digital collection comprises all issues of 70 UK and Irish newspapers published between 1800 and 1900.⁷⁹ Newspaper titles drawn from the first phase of this digitisation (which consisted of 48 titles) were manipulated by researchers at Lancaster University to create the corpora that ultimately underpin this research. Since the tasks undertaken at Lancaster to process these digital texts and turn them into machine-readable corpora are outlined in detail in an article by Gregory et al., they will not be explored in any more depth here.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ H. Shpayer-Makov, 'Anarchism in British Public Opinion 1880-1914', *Victorian Studies*, 31:4 (1988), pp. 487-516 (pp. 487, 494).

⁷⁹ The digitisation process is described in more depth in section 2.5.

⁸⁰ Gregory, Atkinson, and Hardie, 'From Digital Resources'.

Newspaper Title	Publication Dates
<i>Pall Mall Gazette</i> (PMGZ)	1865-1900
<i>Reynolds's Newspaper</i> (RDNP)	1850-1900
<i>Glasgow Herald</i> (GH)	1820-1900
<i>Liverpool Mercury</i> (LM)	1811-1900
<i>Hampshire Telegraph</i> (HPTG)	1800-1900
<i>Ipswich Journal</i> (IJ)	1800-1900

Table 1.1 Newspaper publication dates.

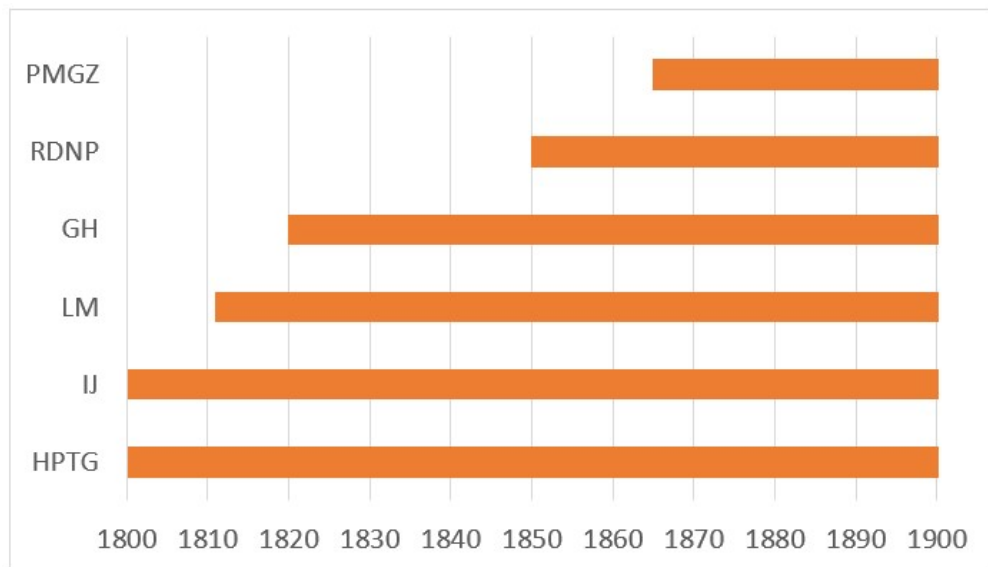


Figure 1.5 Newspaper publication dates.

So that the present study can be informed by a deep understanding of individual newspaper titles, the bulk of its analysis centres around just six newspaper corpora: the *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Reynolds's Newspaper*, *Glasgow Herald*, *Liverpool Mercury*, *Hampshire Telegraph*, and *Ipswich Journal*. As table 1.1 (visualised as figure 1.5 for ease of comparison) shows, four of these newspapers were published during the entire, or almost entire, century. By contrast, *Reynolds's Newspaper* and the *Pall Mall Gazette* did not begin publication until the mid-century. These six newspapers shall hereafter be described as the 'newspaper sample' when discussed collectively.

I deliberately selected some of the titles in the sample, the *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Liverpool Mercury*, for this study: the former because of the depth of historical scholarship that already surrounds the newspaper, and the latter due to the city's location as a centre of migration. However, the choice of other titles was, in part, serendipitous. The newspapers are accessed through a website known as CQPweb (see section 2.4.1), which sits on a research server at Lancaster University. Ongoing issues with availability of disk space combined with the demands placed upon the server by different researchers resulted in it reaching its current capacity shortly after this research project began. This dictated that my remaining newspaper titles be selected from the legacies of previous research projects already on the server. Although this situation was not ideal, the sample does provide a decent cross-section of the nineteenth-century press. Was I to have had free rein in selecting six newspapers, the resulting sample would probably not have looked very different. For instance, I was keen to engage with *Reynolds's Newspaper* due to its large working-class readership (see section 1.5.3). The *Ipswich Journal* and *Hampshire Telegraph* were likewise natural choices as they enable an exploration of how migration was reported in the regional press, particularly in areas which had very little direct experience of it. Although I was originally unsure about the necessity and utility of including any Scottish newspapers, the geographical spread of the *Glasgow Herald's* readership – including in northern England (see section 1.5.3) – justified its inclusion alongside the other newspapers.

1.5.2 The Changing Nature of the Nineteenth-Century Newspaper

During the nineteenth century, the medium of the newspaper underwent profound changes. Advances in telegraphy, printing, and transportation revolutionised information transfer and reduced the financial and temporal costs involved in production and distribution. Of particular importance was the advent of the railway, which eliminated delays in newspaper shipping and allowed readers in the north of England to receive London newspapers on their

day of publication.⁸¹ The 1850s also saw the repeal of the so-called 'taxes on knowledge'.⁸² Stamp duty and paper duty had kept newspaper prices prohibitively high; following their abolition, many titles reduced their price to a penny. The revocation of the advertising tax also enabled newspapers to reduce prices, because they could now use advertising revenue as a substitute for part of their sales income.⁸³

These changes occurred alongside a large population increase in England, from 8.9 million at the beginning of the century, to 32.5 million at its end.⁸⁴ The impact of this growth on the news industry was amplified by the spread of the franchise and gradual rises in literacy causing the pool of potential working-class newspaper readers to expand. Although Lee dispels the traditional idea that the 1870 Education Act caused a *dramatic* rise in literacy, he agrees that literacy rates did improve over the century.⁸⁵

In combination, these factors meant that newspapers grew in size and frequency of publication, reached wider audiences, and shifted from a medium primarily targeted at the middle and upper classes to one with mass appeal. Figure 1.6 shows this increase in size in terms of raw words per year in each of the newspaper corpora. Figure 1.7 shows the same data, but with the *Glasgow Herald* and *Liverpool Mercury* removed as their large size dominates the first visualisation.

⁸¹ V. Berridge, 'Popular Journalism and Working-Class Attitudes 1854-1886: A Study of Reynold's Newspaper, Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper and the Weekly Times' (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of London, Birkbeck College, 1976), p. 104.

⁸² J. Curran and J. Seaton, *Power without Responsibility: The Press, Broadcasting, and New Media in Britain* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 11.

⁸³ J. Curran, 'Capitalism and Control of the Press, 1800-1975', in *Mass Communication and Society*, ed. by J. Curran, M. Gurevitch, and J. Woollacott (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), pp. 195-230 (p. 217).

⁸⁴ R. D. Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900* (Chicago: Phoenix Books, 1957), p. 81. There was a comparable growth in Scotland.

⁸⁵ Lee notes that illiteracy levels prior to the 1870 Education Act have been widely exaggerated. A. J. Lee, *Origins of the Popular Press in England, 1855-1914* (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006), p. 19.

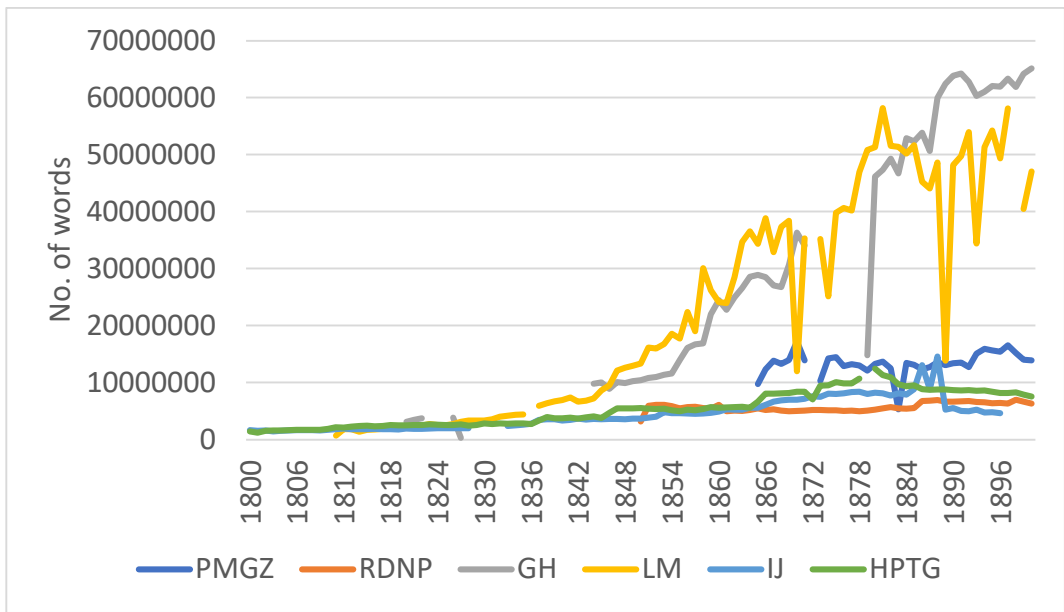


Figure 1.6 Number of words in each corpus per year.

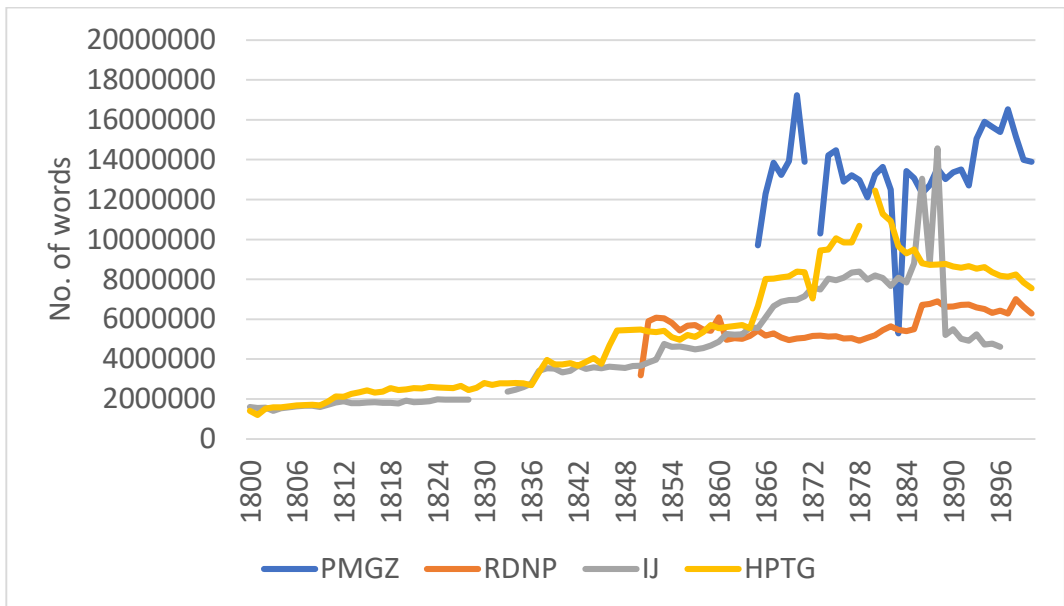


Figure 1.7 Number of words in each corpus per year (minus the *Glasgow Herald* and *Liverpool Mercury*).

There was also a noticeable shift in newspaper tone and style. Headlines became larger and newspapers included more entertainment and sensational content. Some historians, including Wiener, describe this process as an 'Americanisation'.⁸⁶ Interestingly, not all the newspapers in the sample appear to have 'Americanised' to the same degree. For instance, long after the other newspapers abandoned them, the *Ipswich Journal* and *Hampshire Telegraph* appear to have maintained the hallmarks of the early nineteenth-century press, including: a uniform design, with little contrast between article text and headlines; little evidence of editorial voice; unattributed articles; and much content reprinted verbatim from other sources.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, certain commonalities are visible across the sample. By the end of the century, for instance, all six newspapers had increased in length, had decreased in price, and contained more adverts. As will be seen in section 4.3, these changes need to be taken into account when drawing conclusions based upon corpus analysis. Amongst other things, they imply that the sample is, perhaps inevitably, weighted towards the end of the century when newspapers became more practicable and profitable to publish.

But this imbalance need not be an impediment to research. It may actually result in a more accurate representation of newspaper influence than if an equal proportion of analysis was dedicated to each decade of the century. As Berridge argues, newspapers were more influential later in the century than they were at the beginning.⁸⁸ Not least because their readership expanded along with their potential reach. It therefore seems probable that more people were exposed to newspaper reporting upon migration in this later period.

⁸⁶ J. H. Wiener, 'The Americanization of the British Press, 1830—1914', *Studies in Newspaper and Periodical History*, 2.1:2 (1994), pp. 61-74 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/13688809409357902>>.

⁸⁷ For more about the character of the early-nineteenth century press see M. H. Beals and L. Lavender, *Newspapers, Historical Insights: Focus on Research* (The Higher Education Academy, 2011), pp. 19-20.

⁸⁸ Berridge, 'Popular Journalism', pp. 7-8.

1.5.3 A Comparison of the Newspapers in the Sample

Title	Corpus Size (running words)
<i>Pall Mall Gazette</i>	468,324,154
<i>Reynolds's Newspaper</i>	289,617,880
<i>Glasgow Herald</i>	1,780,103,461
<i>Liverpool Mercury</i> ⁸⁹	1,979,108,742
<i>Ipswich Journal</i>	424,191,798
<i>Hampshire Telegraph</i>	531,379,257
TOTAL	5,472,725,292

Table 1.2 Number of words in each newspaper corpora.

Table 1.2 outlines the running number of words in each of the newspaper corpora. They vary considerably in size; but common practice in corpus linguistics is to normalise frequencies per million words, enabling comparisons between datasets (here, newspaper titles) of different sizes. Geographically, the sample incorporates two London newspapers (*Reynolds's Newspaper* and the *Pall Mall Gazette*) and four non-London newspapers: two from large cities (the *Glasgow Herald* and *Liverpool Mercury*), and two published in less populous areas (the *Ipswich Journal* and *Hampshire Telegraph*). However, clear geographical distinctions are difficult to make, and may fail to represent the complexity of the nineteenth-century newspaper landscape. Historians, such as Harris and Lee, stress the danger of thinking in terms of 'national' newspapers or 'mass' readerships in this period, arguing that neither was really achieved until the 1920s.⁹⁰ Indeed, as Beals and Lavender warn, 'defining a provincial newspaper as "local" and a London newspaper as "national" in the 19th century is a risky endeavour'.⁹¹ Hobbs demonstrates that *The Times*, which is often treated by historians of the

⁸⁹ Due to its size, the *Liverpool Mercury* had to be split into three parts when loaded into the corpus software. See section 2.4.6.1 for more information.

⁹⁰ M. Harris and J. Lee, 'Introduction. Part Two: The Nineteenth Century' in *The Press in English Society from the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. by M. Harris and J. Lee (London: Associated University Press, 1986), pp. 107-112 (p. 111).

⁹¹ Beals and Lavender, *Newspapers*, p. 26.

period as a national newspaper, cannot accurately be considered as such even in its heyday. Although politically influential, it was London-centric in both content and circulation. By the mid-century its readership was outstripped by working class weeklies such as *Reynolds's Newspaper*, and by 1890 it was outsold by the *Glasgow Herald*.⁹² As Hobbs argues, in this period 'the closest thing to a national press was the national network of local papers, which shared content with each other'.⁹³

Indeed, all the newspapers in the sample were consumed far outside the area in which they were published. For instance, *Reynolds's Newspaper*, although printed in London, reportedly had a higher readership in Lancashire and the industrial north.⁹⁴ However, the modest revenue of regional newspapers meant that they often featured little original news content, instead filling their columns with a great deal of material reprinted from other titles, sometimes attributed and sometimes not. This meant that their content was often curiously London-centric. Beals describes this as 'Scissors and Paste' journalism as editors quite literally cut content from other newspapers to include in their own.⁹⁵ Both the *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Reynolds's Newspaper* featured columns that summarised the news pages of their competitors and rivals. As an evening paper, the *Pall Mall Gazette* was in a particularly strong position to do this, and its 'epitome of opinion' column ran an acerbic commentary upon opinions its contemporaries had printed earlier that day.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* was a daily paper with a strong literary focus. Like several of the newspapers in the sample, its politics are difficult to establish, shifting in 'protean' fashion

⁹² A. Hobbs, 'When the Provincial Press Was the National Press (c. 1836-c. 1900)', *The International Journal of Regional and Local Studies*, 5:1 (2009), pp. 16-43 (p. 21) <<https://doi.org/10.1179/jrl.2009.5.1.16>>.

⁹³ A. Hobbs, 'The Deleterious Dominance of the Times in Nineteenth Century Scholarship', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 18:4 (2013), pp. 472-97 (p. 486) <<https://doi.org/10.1080/13555502.2013.854519>>.

⁹⁴ H. R. Fox Bourne, *English Newspapers: Chapters in the History of Journalism* (London: Routledge, 1998), vii, p. 348; Berridge, 'Popular Journalism', p. 107; V. Berridge, 'Popular Sunday Papers and Mid-Victorian Society', in *Newspaper History: From the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day*, ed. by G. Boyce, J. Curran, and P. Wingate (London: Sage, 1978), pp. 247-264 (p. 250).

⁹⁵ M. H. Beals, 'Scissors and Paste – A Collection of Newspaper Transcriptions and Connections' <<http://scissorsandpaste.net/>> [accessed 5 March 2019].

with changes in ownership and editorial staff.⁹⁶ It began life politically Conservative, under editor Frederick Greenwood (1865-1880) and returned to this position following its purchase in 1892 by William Waldorf Astor.⁹⁷ However, it is most famous for the Liberal and moralistic position it took under its most notorious editor William Thomas Stead (1883-1889).⁹⁸ This is epitomised by the infamous and oft-cited 'Maiden Tribute of Babylon', a sensational exposé of child prostitution, which culminated in Stead serving jail time for the unlawful purchase of a young girl.⁹⁹ Despite its shifting stance, the *Gazette* was always a paper consumed by a more affluent audience. It joked that, like its namesake first mentioned in Thackeray's novel *The History of Pendennis*, it was a paper 'written for gentlemen by gentlemen'. Although tongue-in-cheek, this statement was probably not too far from the truth.¹⁰⁰ The *Gazette* was printed on heavy paper, 'aimed at the influential middle classes', and had a wealthy readership that frequented the London clubs.¹⁰¹

By contrast, *Reynolds's Newspapers'* masthead slogan 'by the people, for the people' makes clear its populist politics. In her analysis of newspaper content, Berridge found that *Reynolds's* had a very large working class readership, particularly amongst artisanal or skilled workers; and that few of its readers 'owned much in the way of property'.¹⁰² The weekly paper

⁹⁶ The word 'protean' was used by Stead himself as he mused upon the direction the Pall Mall Gazette had taken after his departure as editor. W. T. Stead, 'The "Pall Mall Gazette,"' *Review of Reviews*, VII (1893), p. 139, cited in L. Brake, 'The Old Journalism and the New: Forms of Cultural Production in London in the 1880s', in *Papers for the Millions: The New Journalism in Britain, 1850s to 1914*, ed. by J. H. Weiner (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1988), p. 17.

⁹⁷ A. J. Lee, *Origins of the Popular Press*, pp. 165-66.

⁹⁸ Wiener, 'The Americanization of the British Press', p. 61.

⁹⁹ D. Gorham, 'The "Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon" Re-examined: Child Prostitution and the Idea of Childhood in Late-Victorian England', *Victorian Studies*, 21:3 (1978), pp. 353-379.

¹⁰⁰ Stead stated that the description of the Gazette as a 'paper written by gentlemen for gentlemen' was meant 'in jest'. W.T. Stead, "The 'Pall Mall Gazette'," *Review of Reviews*, VII (1893), p. 139, cited in Brake, 'The Old Journalism and the New', p. 17.

¹⁰¹ M. Conboy, *The Press and Popular Culture* (London: Sage, 2002), p. 99; L. Brake and M. Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Academia Press, 2009), p. 477.

¹⁰² Berridge, 'Popular Journalism', pp. 64, 69, 96.

was described by contemporaries as supporting 'radical social reforms'.¹⁰³ Until his death in 1879, it provided a vehicle for the views of its editor G.W.M. Reynolds, a middle-class Chartist and publisher of cheap fiction, and was noted to contain a great deal of editorial content.¹⁰⁴ After that point, the paper came under new ownership and became gradually more liberal.¹⁰⁵

The *Glasgow Herald* was owned by a group of local businessmen and changes in its politics reflected changes in the composition of that group over time. It was 'staunchly Tory' until 1836, thereafter becoming 'mildly Whiggish'; it later developed an allegiance to Liberal Unionism following its 1886 opposition to the Irish Home Bill.¹⁰⁶ The paper was initially issued twice a week but, during the period of study, grew to become a daily newspaper.

The Liberal *Liverpool Mercury* was a weekly newspaper until 1858 when it became daily.¹⁰⁷ Its success hinged upon advertisements, and in 1880 it claimed that at seventy-two columns long, it was one of the largest newspapers in the world.¹⁰⁸ This perhaps explains the size of the corpus, which was so unwieldy that, as explained in section 2.4.6.1, it had to be split into three parts for processing purposes. The *Liverpool Mercury* was published and consumed in the busy transmigration port of Liverpool, but was also circulated in the surrounding areas of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Wales, on the Isle of Man, and in London.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰³ M. Hampton, *Visions of the Press in Britain, 1850-1950* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), p. 28; Fox Bourne, *English Newspapers*, vii, p. 348.

¹⁰⁴ Fox Bourne, *English Newspapers*, vii, p. 348.

¹⁰⁵ Curran and Seaton, *Power without Responsibility*, p. 36.

¹⁰⁶ 'Glasgow Herald', *The British Newspaper Archive*

<<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/titles/glasgow-herald>> [accessed 21 March 2017].

¹⁰⁷ 'Liverpool Mercury', *The British Newspaper Archive*

<<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/titles/liverpool-mercury>> [accessed 5 April 2019].

¹⁰⁸ 'More about the Newspaper Titles in the 19th Century British Library Newspapers Database' (2016), p. 41 <<http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/pdfs/headnotesconsolidatedlist.pdf>> [accessed 8 April 2019]. Available on the Internet Archive

<<https://web.archive.org/web/20160112204201/http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/pdfs/headnotesconsolidatedlist.pdf>>.

¹⁰⁹ 'Liverpool Mercury', *British Newspaper Archive*,

<<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/titles/liverpool-mercury>> [accessed 5 April 2019]; C. Mitchell, *The Newspaper Press Directory* (London: C. Mitchell, 1847), p. 207.

Very little historiography exists concerning the *Hampshire Telegraph* and *Ipswich Journal*. The former was, as might be guessed, published in Ipswich, the latter in Portsmouth (hence why it is sometimes known as the *Hampshire Portsmouth Telegraph*). This is probably a reflection of their lesser influence relative to the other newspapers, which were based in large cities and, mostly, more widely distributed. Indeed, the *Ipswich Journal* and *Hampshire Telegraph* had comparatively low circulations: the former is documented as selling 7,000 copies a week in 1882, the latter 12,000.¹¹⁰

Surprisingly, the *Pall Mall Gazette's* circulation was also low; by 1880 each issue was supposedly read by only 9,000 people. However, historians such as Schalck argue that, like *The Times*, it had an 'influence on the newspaper world and on politics [...] quite out of proportion to its size and circulation'.¹¹¹ Although it had a modest readership at the beginning of the century, the *Glasgow Herald* is recorded as having a larger circulation of 25,000 in the 1860s.¹¹² Although he does not provide a figure, Andrews notes that the *Liverpool Mercury* had the highest circulation of any English regional paper in the 1840s.¹¹³ However, by the end of the century, the largest of all was *Reynolds's Newspaper*. Hampton writes that, alongside *Lloyd's Weekly*, it was the first paper to reach sales of a hundred thousand per issue in 1856.¹¹⁴ To put this in perspective, it likely outsold *The Times*, which had a circulation of 71,000 in 1866, declining to just 35,000 in 1903.¹¹⁵ Furthermore, it is likely that *Reynolds's* circulation was much higher than documented. Working class titles often had a vast hidden readership, since

¹¹⁰ 'Ipswich Journal', *The British Newspaper Archive*
<<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/titles/ipswich-journal>> [accessed 5 April 2019];

'Hampshire Telegraph', *The British Newspaper Archive*
<<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/titles/hampshire-telegraph>> [accessed 5 April 2019].

¹¹¹ H. Schalck, 'Fleet Street in the 1880s: The New Journalism', in *Papers for the Millions: The New Journalism in Britain, 1850s to 1914*, ed. by J. H. Weiner (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1988), pp. 73-90 (p. 78).

¹¹² 'Glasgow Herald', *The British Newspaper Archive*.

¹¹³ A. Andrews, *The History of British Journalism: From the Foundation of the Newspaper Press in England, to the Repeal of the Stamp Act in 1855, with Sketches of Press Celebrities*, Vol. 2 (London: Richard Bentley, 1859), pp. 336-37.

¹¹⁴ Hampton, *Visions of the Press*, p. 28.

¹¹⁵ Hobbs, 'The Deleterious Dominance', p. 474.

lower literacy rates amongst the working classes and high newspaper costs fostered a culture of communal newspaper ownership.¹¹⁶ Curran argues that each copy of *Reynolds's* had as many as ten, or even twenty, readers.¹¹⁷ A great deal of anecdotal evidence shows that working-class readers would form clubs to purchase their newspaper of choice and then read it aloud in communal spaces.¹¹⁸ These hidden readers led Berridge to conclude that *Reynolds's* readership was mass 'by the standards of the day'.¹¹⁹

However, even if we knew precisely how many readers saw each issue of each title in the sample, we still have no way of knowing which parts of the paper they read, and which they discarded, - knowledge necessary to ascertain the exposure that a specific article received. We cannot know whether an individual article about migration was skimmed over by any given reader to get to a more sensational story about a house fire, or criminal trial or, conversely, whether the migration article was among the stories read out and discussed at a club or public house.

1.5.4 Newspaper Influence

The factors noted above imply that the impact of the newspaper is elusive and difficult to measure. As Hampton states, 'we are unlikely ever to reach a satisfactory conclusion about the nature of press influence in Victorian Britain'.¹²⁰ Even with direct access to a newspaper's audience, readership and impact are slippery things to define. Without direct access and at a distance of over a hundred years, it becomes even harder. With these caveats in mind, I

¹¹⁶ Hampton, *Visions of the Press*, pp. 27-28.

¹¹⁷ Curran, 'Capitalism and Control of the Press', p. 202.

¹¹⁸ See, for instance, H. Evans, *Radical Fights of Forty Years* (Manchester: Daily News & Leader, 1913), p. 19; Berridge, 'Popular Sunday Papers', p. 251; and H. Mayhew, *The London Street-Folk*, London Labour and the London Poor (Alcester: Read Books, 2011), p. 25.

¹¹⁹ V. Berridge, 'Content Analysis and Historical Research on Newspapers', in *The Press in English Society from the Seventeenth Century to Nineteenth Century*, ed. by M. Harris and A. J. Lee (London: Associated University Press, 1986), pp. 201-18 (p. 208).

¹²⁰ Hampton, *Visions of the Press*, p. 25.

cautiously take the position that a newspaper influenced, and was influenced by, its readership, in a relationship that was cyclical and symbiotic.

Every opinion has its roots somewhere and is influenced by a myriad of factors, one of which is its medium of distribution, which means for present purposes the newspaper. Leigh, writing in the very early twentieth century, noted that if 'asked to state in a word what is the widest influence on the lives of artisan Lancashire, I should at once reply "the weekly newspaper"'.¹²¹ Even when, for instance, simply reproducing parliamentary reports verbatim, the newspaper performed a vital role as disseminator, affording people in Britain a medium through which to engage with what was being discussed in Westminster. Furthermore, news rarely consists of the verbatim reporting of events; instead, information is included or excluded, emphasised or pushed into the background, based upon an, often obscure, set of 'news values'.¹²² As Curran and Seaton state, 'the media may not persuade the public directly; nevertheless, they affect what people know, and what they think is important'.¹²³ Surely, as fewer alternative channels of information existed, it can be surmised that the nineteenth-century newspaper was even more pivotal in this regard than its present day counterpart.

The cyclical aspect of the newspaper-reader relationship stems partially from the fact that newspapers are, generally, commercial entities, which require an audience for both sales and advertisement revenue. Therefore, their owners, editors, and journalists have to be aware

¹²¹ J. G. Leigh, 'What Do the Masses Read?', *Economic Review*, 14:2 (1904), pp. 166-77 (p. 175).

¹²² Almost all subsequent lists of 'news values' draw upon Galtung and Ruge's ground-breaking study, which identified criteria or 'news factors', such as unambiguity and cultural relevance, that explain why some events were more likely than others to become 'news'. See J. Galtung and M. H. Ruge, 'The Structure of Foreign News: The Presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus Crises in Four Norwegian Newspapers', *Journal of Peace Research*, 2:1 (1965), pp. 64-90 <<https://doi.org/10.1177/002234336500200104>>. For an overview of research that has been inspired by Galtung and Ruge see H. Caple and M. Bednarek, 'Delving into the discourse: approaches to news values in journalism studies and beyond' (Working paper: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 2013) <<https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/2018-01/Delving%20into%20the%20Discourse.pdf>> [accessed 26 July 2019]. For a criticism of Galtung and Ruge's approach, see T. Harcup and D. O'Neill, 'What Is News? Galtung and Ruge Revisited', *Journalism Studies*, 2:2 (2001), pp. 261-280 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/14616700118449>>.

¹²³ Curran and Seaton, *Power without Responsibility*, p. 276.

of public appetites to know what content will sell. Furthermore, the newspaper is not consumed passively. Readers apply their own interpretations to what they read. The individual nature of personal interpretations further complicates our ability to ascertain newspaper influence. Indeed, recent work on the act of reading has moved away from the idea that there is such a thing as a 'common reader' instead stressing the diversity of both readers and reading practices, even within 'reading communities'.¹²⁴ As Hobbs argues, ultimately it is 'readers [who] complete the manufacturing process, giving cultural meaning to the material object'.¹²⁵ It appears clear nonetheless that newspapers provide an insight into the framing of migration that readers, and writers, were exposed to, thus helping to uncover their 'assumptions about what matters'.¹²⁶

1.6 Structure of Thesis

The remainder of this thesis is structured as follows. Chapter 2 'Methodology' outlines the methods and methodology used throughout this study. Making very few assumptions about readers' prior knowledge, it opens with a brief overview of corpus linguistics and discusses its potential benefits as a method for historical research. This overview breaks down some of the main corpus techniques, including corpus queries, concordance analysis, and collocation, providing specific examples to demonstrate how each will be used.

Chapter 3 'Locating Migrants in the Corpora' explores the process of narrowing down a query. As well as explaining this methodological issue, it presents an analysis of the results of three different means of locating migrants: by surname, by nationality, and by migration term (for instance 'immigrant' and 'asylum seeker'). It concludes with the selection of the two queries 'alien(s)' and 'refugee(s)', to form the basis of Chapters 4 and 5 respectively.

¹²⁴ See, for instance, S. Colclough, *Consuming Texts: Readers and Reading Communities, 1695-1870* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

¹²⁵ Hobbs, 'The Deleterious Dominance', p. 491.

¹²⁶ M. Schudson, *The Power of News* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995), p. 14.

Chapter 4 examines the query 'alien(s)' in the nineteenth-century newspaper sample using a variety of corpus methods. It begins by looking at how reporting upon the 'alien' shifted and changed over time, finding that 'alien' migration increased in topicality in the 1880s, and particularly the 1890s. It then examines the networks of associations that surrounded the 'alien' and establishes that these two decades were also marked by an increase in hostility towards migration, including a strong association between the 'alien' and poverty, as well as press ambiguity over the identity of the 'alien'. It concludes with an in-depth consideration of the difficulties of attributing stance to newspapers, and the extent to which the discourses identified in the newspaper sample can be considered to represent consciously adopted opinions.

Chapter 5 builds upon Chapter 4, applying a similar analysis to the associations of the query 'refugee(s)'. It finds that refugees were reported upon in much less ambiguous terms than 'aliens'. The more specific language used to describe refugees meant that I could identify how the profile of the refugee groups gaining press attention changed over time. Chapter 5 finds that coverage was divided between political refugees located within Britain's borders, and non-political refugees located overseas. It examines the very different discourses that were associated with these two groups and ends by exploring the refugee groups rendered absent from newspaper coverage by the prevalence of this dichotomy.

Chapter 6 concludes the thesis and summarises my findings, discussing their broader implications for future historical research. The chapter also reflects upon the success of corpus linguistics as an approach to historical sources, discussing both its advantages, and certain potentially problematic issues.

1.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter began by highlighting a major issue for historians: how do we approach the huge quantity of digitised text that is increasingly at our disposal? These very large digital resources could be utilised in such a way as to enhance historians' understanding of our source base. Instead, this opportunity is effectively squandered as the interfaces that house these collections mimic traditional reading methods, causing the scale of material available to turn into a methodological hindrance. Although digital humanists have developed an array of innovative ways of approaching these texts, their methods are often 'distant' and abstracted, which can be off-putting for historians who have shaped their whole research-practice around an intimate understanding of their source material. By modelling corpus linguistics as a new means of approaching unreadably large historical datasets, which could go some way to reconciling the discontent between 'distant' and 'close' reading, the rest of this thesis makes a significant contribution to historical methodology.

The thesis also sheds new light upon the language of migration in the nineteenth century. The century was a vital period in the history of migration. A number of factors combined to mean that many countries experienced an increase in migration though, as has been discussed, the extent to which it can be described as 'mass' when considered as a proportion of the population as a whole is debatable. Nonetheless, this movement led to considerable legislative changes, including the development of many of Britain's modern-day migration controls. The century was also marked by significant shifts in newspaper consumption, as some titles began to reach very large audiences for the first time. Although historians have documented these changes, the present study is one of the first to approach the period from the perspective of newspaper language and discourse. In doing so, it contextualises the findings of present-day research relative to the discourses of migration.

2 Methodology

2.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with an overview of corpus linguistics (section 2.2) and explores how its ability to facilitate both qualitative and quantitative analysis could help historians to better integrate digital ‘distant’ reading and more traditional ‘close’ reading (section 2.3). Having established the arguments for a corpus approach to history, this chapter then introduces the specific corpus tools and techniques that underpin the subsequent parts of this thesis (section 2.4). Self-evidently, interdisciplinary work necessitates covering old ground for the benefit of those who may be unfamiliar with one of the disciplines, therefore, this methodology chapter is longer than would be usual for a history thesis. It concludes (section 2.5) with a discussion of one of the main issues faced by historians who adopt a corpus methodology: Optical Character Recognition (or OCR) errors.

2.2 Corpus Linguistics

Corpus linguistics is, at its most basic level, the analysis of language in very large bodies of text. Corpus linguists generally work with a collection of texts known as a ‘corpus’ (plural ‘corpora’), a term which means ‘body’ in Latin. Manual corpus-based language study has a long history, and linguists have traditionally used ‘corpus’ to refer to any collection of natural language data. However, since the advent of modern, machine-readable corpora, corpus analysis has increasingly been conducted using computers.¹ Furthermore, as Hunston notes,

¹ W. Francis and H. Kucera, *Manual of Information to Accompany a Standard Corpus of Present-Day Edited American English for Use with Digital Computers* (Providence, Rhode Island: Department of Linguistics, Brown University, 1964) <<http://clu.uni.no/icame/brown/bcm.html>> [accessed 22 August 2016]. Available on the Internet Archive <<https://web.archive.org/web/20160819134617/http://clu.uni.no/icame/brown/bcm.html>>.

the word 'corpus' is now primarily associated with texts 'that are stored and accessed electronically'.²

Technological advances have made it possible to create and store increasingly large corpora. One of the earliest machine-assisted approaches to large corpora was undertaken in the 1950s by Jesuit priest Roberto Busa, who collaborated with IBM to index a nine-million-word corpus of the works of Thomas Aquinas, using a punch card machine to produce concordances (for an explanation of concordances see section 2.4.5).³ Modern corpora can now run into billions of words. EnTenTen, which contains over 19 billion words, and ukWaC, which contains over two billion, are amongst the largest and were both created using web-crawling methods.⁴ As table 1.1 documented, the six newspaper corpora that underpin this research contain, in total, nearly 5.5 billion words.

Although corpus linguistics is considered by some to be a branch of linguistics, this research draws upon an alternative school of thought, which instead characterises corpus linguistics as a methodological approach.⁵ Indeed, Leech characterised corpus linguistics as a 'new philosophical approach' because of the ease with which it has been applied to other areas of linguistics.⁶ McEnery and Hardie similarly argue that due to corpus linguistics' heterogeneity it is best understood as 'a set of [...] methods for studying language' rather than as a field, or area, in linguistics.⁷ Conceptualising corpus linguistics as a methodological approach opens up the possibility of applying it not just to other areas of linguistics but,

² S. Hunston, *Corpora in Applied Linguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 2.

³ R. Busa, 'The Annals of Humanities Computing: The Index Thomisticus', *Computers and the Humanities*, 14:2 (1980), pp. 83-90 <<https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02403798>>.

⁴ A web crawler is a script or programme that automatically retrieves pre-defined content from the web. A. Ferraresi et al., 'Introducing and Evaluating UkWaC, a Very Large Web-Derived Corpus of English', in *Proceedings of the 4th Web as Corpus Workshop (WAC-4) – Can We Beat Google?* (2008).

⁵ Proponents of corpus linguistics as a branch of linguistics, not a methodology, include E. Tognini-Bonelli, *Corpus Linguistics at Work* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2001).

⁶ G. Leech, 'Corpora and Theories of Linguistic Performance', in *Directions in Corpus linguistics: Nobel Symposium on Corpus linguistics*, ed. by J. Svartvik (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992), pp. 105-122 (p. 106).

⁷ T. McEnery and A. Hardie, *Corpus Linguistics: Method, Theory, and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 1.

significantly, to other disciplines.⁸ The existence of research centres such as the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) Centre for Corpus Approaches to Social Science (CASS) at Lancaster University, with which this research is affiliated, is a testament to this move to explore ‘corpus informed’ interdisciplinary research.⁹ That corpus linguistics is being so widely adopted stems in part from an abundance of readily available training materials. Although the effort required to become a proficient corpus linguist should not be downplayed, the free availability and relative user-friendliness of much corpus software, and the existence of open-access courses and tutorials, has resulted in corpus linguistics being a very accessible methodology.¹⁰

Although historians may not be familiar with corpus linguistics, some digital historians have engaged with methods broadly described as ‘text mining’, to increase the digestibility of, and gain new perspectives upon, large textual sources. Text mining resembles corpus linguistics, in so far as it involves retrieving information from large electronic datasets. However, it is generally considered to fall within ‘natural language processing’ (sometimes called computational linguistics), a sub-field of computer science. Corpus linguistics and natural language processing possess a complex relationship. Having developed alongside one another, they share many similarities. Both, for instance use computers to process large bodies of text. Nevertheless, as McEnery and Hardie indicate, although computational linguistics is an ‘old friend’ to corpus linguistics, it is ‘fundamentally a separate field’.¹¹ They point out that whilst natural language processing focuses on the computational modelling of

⁸ For a summary of some of the different ways of conceptualising corpus linguistics, see C. Taylor, ‘What Is Corpus linguistics? What the Data Says’, *ICAME Journal*, 32 (2008), pp. 179-200 (pp. 179-83).

⁹ CASS, ‘CASS Projects’, *ESRC Centre for Corpus Approaches to Social Science (CASS)* <http://cass.lancs.ac.uk/?page_id=43> [accessed 28 January 2017].

¹⁰ Freely available courses include the corpus MOOC run annually by staff at Lancaster University, and tutorials hosted on websites such as the Programming Historian. See Lancaster University, ‘Corpus linguistics: Method, Analysis, Interpretation’, *FutureLearn* <<https://www.futurelearn.com/courses/corpus-linguistics>> [accessed 4 July 2017]; and M. Afanador-Llach, A. Rojas Castro, and A. Crymble, ‘The Programming Historian’, *The Programming Historian* (2017) <<http://programminghistorian.org/>> [accessed 4 July 2017].

¹¹ McEnery and Hardie, *Corpus Linguistics*, p. 228.

the language in corpora to solve technical problems, corpus linguistics is more concerned with the analysis and interpretation of that same language.¹²

That historians have primarily encountered corpus linguistic type analysis through text mining may explain why some have dismissed the methodology. Schnapp and Presner, for instance, consign 'automated corpus linguistics' to the 'first wave of digital humanities work', which was primarily quantitative. They argue that the digital humanities' 'second wave is **qualitative, interpretive, experiential, emotive, generative** in character'.¹³ This seems to display a lack of understanding of developments in corpus linguistics, which is often used to generate both quantitative and qualitative findings, enabling research that is indisputably both 'interpretive' and 'experiential'.

It is true that corpus linguists strive for numerical precision wherever possible. This centrality of frequency data has led to criticisms that corpus linguistics simply amounts to number crunching.¹⁴ However, it is wrong to assert, on the basis of this precision, that corpus research is purely quantitative. Instead, the majority of research consciously combines quantitative and qualitative analysis. Indeed, Biber, Conrad, and Reppen argue that 'the goal of corpus-based investigations is not simply to report quantitative findings, but to explore the importance of these findings'.¹⁵

Corpus methods allow historians to quantitatively survey a large amount of text and then qualitatively investigate the statistically significant patterns or trends that have been observed within it. To provide an example: the words and phrases that associate with a search topic can be examined over thousands of newspaper issues, statistical measures can help to

¹² McEnery and Hardie, *Corpus Linguistics*, p. 228.

¹³ J. Schnapp and T. Presner, 'The Digital Humanities Manifesto 2.0' (2009) <http://www.humanitiesblast.com/manifesto/Manifesto_V2.pdf> [accessed 2 April 2019]. The emphasis was present in the original text.

¹⁴ For an exploration of this, and other, criticisms, see P. Baker, *Using Corpora in Discourse Analysis* (London: Continuum, 2006), pp. 8-10.

¹⁵ D. Biber, S. Conrad, and R. Reppen, *Corpus linguistics: Investigating Language Structure and Use* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 5.

identify salient trends, which can then be viewed in more detail in their original article context. In this way, historians can ‘begin with the complex and winnow it down until a narrative emerges from the cacophony of evidence’.¹⁶ This interplay between quantitative and qualitative analysis is key to corpus linguistics’ appeal for historians.

2.3 ‘Distant’ and ‘Close’ Reading

This is because corpus methods could provide historians with a means to address the problem of how to integrate ‘distant’ and ‘close’ reading more holistically. Distant reading involves feeding large amounts of text into a computer to identify trends and patterns, usually in abstraction. Literary scholar Moretti coined the term ‘distant reading’, with the provocative claim that he could study world literature ‘without a single direct textual reading’.¹⁷ Much of the consciously computational work conducted by historians upon the wealth of digital texts now at their disposal has involved reading them at a distance.¹⁸

Although Liu cites distant reading as ‘one of the most influential developments in humanistic methodology’, like a number of other digital humanists, he worries about the less than ‘seamless’ relationship between computerised distant reading and the more careful and reflective in-depth close reading which is the hallmark of traditional humanities research.¹⁹ The landscape of the digital humanities, an exciting but difficult to define area, has been discussed extensively elsewhere and will, therefore, remain outside the scope of this thesis.²⁰

¹⁶ S. Graham, I. Milligan, and S. Weingart, *Exploring Big Historical Data: The Historian’s Macroscope* (London: Imperial College Press, 2015), p. 2.

¹⁷ F. Moretti, ‘Conjectures on World Literature’, *New Left Review*, 1 (2000), pp. 54-68 (p. 57).

¹⁸ This excludes work done by historians who use interfaces like *Gale Primary Sources* as if they had used a physical archive (this I would categorise as ‘unconsciously computational’).

¹⁹ A. Liu, ‘The State of the Digital Humanities: A Report and a Critique’, *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education*, 11:1-2 (2012), pp. 8-41 (pp. 27-8) <<https://doi.org/10.1177/1474022211427364>>. Ramsay also explores the fascinating tension between the ‘rigidity’ of computerised reading and the subjectivity of close reading. See S. Ramsay, *Reading Machines: Toward an Algorithmic Criticism* (Champaign, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2011) <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5406/j.ctt1xcmrrr>> [accessed 8 April 2019].

²⁰ See, for instance, S. Hockey, ‘The History of Humanities Computing’, in *A Companion to the Digital Humanities*, ed. by S. Schreibman, R. Siemens, and J. Unsworth (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), pp. 3-19

Nonetheless, the sample of studies which follows demonstrates how corpus linguistics differs from, and could potentially complement, the computational distant reading already being undertaken in the field of history.

In a 2011 article, Gibbs and Cohen document their attempts to find a means of moving 'seamlessly between traditional and computer methods', believing that this could span the 'cleft' that has arisen between scholars who undertake 'traditional close reading' and those who use 'computer-enhanced distant reading'.²¹ They began by searching a dataset of nineteenth-century texts for themes, such as 'hope' and 'faith', that Houghton identified as 'emblematic of Victorian thought and culture' in his celebrated seminar *The Victorian Frame of Mind*.²² They also searched for bigrams, or pairs of consecutive words, to identify adjectives that preceded 'marriage'.²³ All of these methods, although insightful, involve removing words entirely from the context in which they originally appeared. Towards the end of the article, however, they allude to 'an experiment', which involved isolating 50 characters of context either side of every instance of the phrase 'sinful to' in the Victorian text database. Gibbs and Cohen explain that this allowed them to 'scan through many more books than [they] could through traditional techniques' and, crucially, enabled them to 'actively engage' with primary sources 'following computational activity', effectively bridging the previously identified 'cleft'.²⁴ The findings of this, effectively corpus linguistic, analysis remain frustratingly elusive as the article concludes before they are fully explored.

In a 2016 article Hitchcock and Turkel document their use of 'text mining' methodologies to view the vast digitised *Old Bailey Proceedings, 1674-1913* as a 'single

<<http://www.digitalhumanities.org/companion/>> [accessed 8 May 2019]; Liu, 'The State of the Digital Humanities', pp. 8-41; and P. Svensson, 'Humanities Computing as Digital Humanities', *Digital Humanities Quarterly*, 3:3 (2009).

²¹ F. W. Gibbs and D. J. Cohen, 'A Conversation with Data: Prospecting Victorian Words and Ideas', *Victorian Studies*, 54:1 (2011), pp. 69-77 (p. 70) <<https://doi.org/10.2979/victorianstudies.54.1.69>>.

²² Gibbs and Cohen, 'A Conversation with Data', p. 70-71.

²³ Gibbs and Cohen, 'A Conversation with Data', p. 74.

²⁴ Gibbs and Cohen, 'A Conversation with Data', p. 75.

massive text object', to test the theory that 'plea bargaining' was a common aspect of nineteenth-century justice.²⁵ They follow Moretti's lead, examining the 'whole text' for 'large-scale patterns'. However, like Gibbs and Cohen, they are also interested in pairing this with a study of 'small-scale trends'.²⁶ Their research demonstrates the power of computational analysis as a means of holistically analysing an entire database from a kaleidoscope of angles. However, although the authors find that there was a sharp rise in guilty pleas at the beginning of the nineteenth century, they note that 'the precise explanation' for this phenomenon is beyond their article's scope.²⁷ They conclude that understanding the trend would require their text mining methods to be paired with 'close reading and archival research'.²⁸ In this instance, corpus linguistics could have provided them with a means of combining their large-scale text mining with the precision of close reading.

Nonetheless, despite enabling researchers to both identify large-scale trends and situate them within their original textual context, a corpus linguistic methodology still involves compromise: that, when used in combination, neither close nor distant reading can be undertaken as fully as when used alone. For instance, a historian used to traditionally close reading texts may struggle with the idea that the size of most corpora makes it unlikely that they can intimately engage with all the material contained within.

However, unless they work on a period characterised by a scarcity of material, which the nineteenth century most certainly is not, historians have rarely been able to read everything related to their topic. Historical research, like corpus linguistics, is, and always has been, characterised by difficult sampling decisions, the difference is that, as discussed in section 1.1, traditionally the historians' choice of sources was often dictated by what was

²⁵ Plea bargaining is an arrangement between the prosecutor and defendant in criminal proceedings, in which the latter agrees to plead guilty in return for a concession. See T. Hitchcock and W. Turkel, 'The Old Bailey Proceedings, 1674-1913: Text Mining for Evidence of Court Behaviour', *Law and History Review*, 34:4 (2016), pp. 929-55 <<https://doi.org/10.1017/s0738248016000304>>.

²⁶ Hitchcock and Turkel, 'The Old Bailey Proceedings', p. 934.

²⁷ Hitchcock and Turkel, 'The Old Bailey Proceedings', p. 953.

²⁸ Hitchcock and Turkel, 'The Old Bailey Proceedings', p. 953.

practically accessible and available. The advent of digital collections and datasets has removed many of these barriers but provided the historian with little guidance on how to select material to close read. All too often, the reasons why a historian has included some items from a digital archive or database, and not others, are left implicit and unexplored. Surely, if it is only possible to close read sections of your source base, it makes greater sense to select an article because a survey of the entire collection indicates that it is salient rather than because an unknown algorithm has placed it into your first hundred search results?

Nonetheless, if corpus methods dictate that close reading can only be undertaken on limited occasions, when should a historian decide to do so? What is the best point to move from one scale of reading to another? Although not often considered by historians, this issue has prompted a great deal of debate in linguistics, particularly amongst critical discourse analysts who have adopted corpus methods and are similarly afflicted with decisions regarding close reading.²⁹ Practitioners of Critical Discourse Analysis (hereafter CDA), like historians, typically read their materials in a great deal of depth. Indeed, the RASIM team, introduced in section 1.3, struggled with their finding that a sub-corpus of a suitably small size to be close-read in the depth necessary for CDA is 'too small for any significant or helpful patterns to emerge from the collocation and key word analyses [of corpus linguistic analysis]'.³⁰ Similarly, the Migration Observatory team in Oxford, paraphrasing van Dijk, bluntly state that the large size of most digital corpora mean that 'a full CDA' 'is simply not possible'.³¹ Therefore, the

²⁹ Critical discourse analysts have been combining close text analysis with large scale corpus methods since the 1990s, see M. Stubbs, *Text and Corpus Analysis: Computer-Assisted Studies of Language and Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996); and G. Hardt-Mautner, "'Only Connect": Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus linguistics', *Control* (1995), pp. 1-31. Recently, work in this areas has been described using the label Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies, or CADS, see A. Partington, 'Modern Diachronic Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (MD-CADS) on UK Newspapers: An Overview of the Project', *Corpora*, 5:2 (2010), pp. 83-108 <<https://doi.org/10.3366/cor.2010.0101>>.

³⁰ P. Baker et al., 'A Useful Methodological Synergy? Combining Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics to Examine Discourses of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Press', *Discourse & Society*, 19:3 (2008), pp. 273-306 (p. 286) <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926508088962>>.

³¹ S. Blinder and W. Allen, 'Constructing Immigrants: Portrayals of Migrant Groups in British National Newspapers, 2010-2012', *International Migration Review*, 50:1 (2016), pp. 3-40 (p. 16) <<https://doi.org/10.1111/imre.12206>>.

solutions and compromises that have been identified in this area of research may well provide a helpful guide for historians who engage with the corpus approach.

The RASIM project at Lancaster examined the possibility of a ‘methodological synergy’ between CDA and corpus linguistics.³² The project used separate teams of researchers to conduct corpus and critical discourse analyses of the same text, before feeding their results back to each other. Although this dual approach allowed the efficacies of the two methods on the source material to be compared, it does not demonstrate how one individual could create a ‘synergy’ between the two methods within a smaller scale study. However, Baker et al. observe that corpus linguistics did provide a “map” of the corpus, pinpointing areas of interest for subsequent close analyses’, and that ultimately ‘each approach can be used to help triangulate the findings of the other’.³³

What approaches which combine CDA and corpus linguistics tend to have in common is the frequency with which they alternate between the close reading of the discourse analyst and the more distant computer-assisted reading of the corpus linguist. Once a recurring feature has been identified as statistically significant using corpus linguistic methods, examples of that feature will often be expanded and read in more depth to gain a greater understanding of how it is used in individual texts.³⁴ Likewise, if an interesting feature is noted whilst close reading, the researchers will often turn to the concordancer to see whether the same feature occurs in a similar manner elsewhere in the corpus, or in other corpora. Rather than committing to a concrete transition between distant and close reading, researchers who combine CDA and corpus linguistics use the two continually, and in parallel. Indeed, Marchi highlights this ability of corpus analysis to allow the researcher to move ‘from the general to

³² Baker et al., ‘A Useful Methodological Synergy?’, p. 286.

³³ Baker et al., ‘A Useful Methodological Synergy?’, pp. 284, 295.

³⁴ A. Partington, A. Duguid, and C. Taylor, *Patterns and Meanings in Discourse: Theory and Practice in Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS)* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2013), p. 168. MyiLibrary.

the particular’, and vice versa.³⁵ Therefore, rather than viewing corpus analysis as a one-way process which begins with texts on a large scale and gradually homes in on small details, the research in this thesis shifts continually back and forth between different scales.

This research also takes inspiration from those who have compared computational methods such as corpus linguistics to a ‘macroscope’, that is a tool with which to analyse the very large and traditional historical methodologies, such as the close scrutiny of sources, to a ‘microscope’.³⁶ There are issues with this conceptualisation, for instance ‘microscope’ implies that historians traditionally obsess over very small details within sources, overlooking that historians often accumulate such details in service of ‘macroscopic’ wider arguments and theories. However, in essence, the metaphor encapsulates the useful idea that although computational and traditional approaches to history each give different perspectives upon a set of data, those perspectives are equally valuable and valid. Ultimately, it indicates that using the two approaches, the ‘macroscope’ and ‘microscope’, in tandem should help to achieve the most nuanced and complete results, an ethos that underpins the research contained within this thesis.

2.4 Undertaking Corpus Analysis

This section contains a more concrete discussion of the corpus techniques used during this research. Corpora are generally accessed using a concordancer, details of which are contained in section 2.4.1. Once a concordancer has been selected, there are a variety of ways in which a corpus can initially be approached. As outlined in section 2.4.3 (and in more depth in Chapter 3), this research began with a series of queries. The results of queries are usually displayed in a concordance; this format is explained in more depth in section 2.4.5. Like many

³⁵ A. Marchi, “‘The Moral in the Story’”: A Diachronic Investigation of Lexicalised Morality in the UK Press’, *Corpora*, 5:2 (2010), pp. 161-89 (p. 164) <<https://doi.org/10.3366/e1749503210000432>>.

³⁶ People who have used the term include Graham, Milligan, and Weingart in *Exploring Big Historical Data* and Borner in K. Borner, ‘Plug-and-Play Macroscopes’, *Communications of the ACM*, 54 (2011), pp. 60-69 <<https://doi.org/10.1145/1897852.1897871>>.

corpus studies, the research then used collocation to ascertain the linguistic and discursive trends used by the newspapers when reporting upon migrants. Section 2.4.6 discusses collocation. It outlines the different ways in which collocation was used during this research, and introduces associated concepts such as semantic preference and discourse prosody.

2.4.1 Concordancers

Corpora are generally accessed and manipulated using powerful software. One type of corpus software is the concordancer. The corpus versions of the *19th Century British Library Newspapers* are currently accessed using CQPweb (the CQP stands for Corpus Query Processer), which was developed at Lancaster University by Andrew Hardie.³⁷ CQPweb is classified by McEnery and Hardie as a ‘fourth-generation concordancer’, that is ‘a website [...] where users can enter queries and get back dynamically generated results’.³⁸ Prior to this most recent generation of web-based concordancers, most had taken the form of software that is installed and run on an individual user’s computer (sometimes known as third-generation concordancers). Both third and fourth generation concordancers have their advantages and disadvantages. The primary difference is their processing power. Fourth generation concordancers are more efficient at dealing with text at scale, whilst third generation concordancers are limited by the processing power of the individual PC. Although most of this research was undertaken using CQPweb, I utilised a third generation concordancer, AntConc, at various points, primarily due to its ability to identify N-grams such as ‘women and children’ (see section 5.3.3) or ‘right of asylum’ (see section 5.3.5).³⁹ On these occasions, I downloaded results from CQPweb and loaded them into AntConc to gain a different perspective upon the

³⁷ A. Hardie, ‘CQPweb - Combining Power, Flexibility and Usability in a Corpus Analysis Tool’, *International Journal of Corpus linguistics*, 17:3 (2012), pp. 380-409 <<https://doi.org/10.1075/ijcl.17.3.04har>>.

³⁸ McEnery and Hardie, *Corpus linguistics*, pp. 43-44.

³⁹ L. Anthony, ‘A Critical Look at Software Tools in Corpus linguistics’, *Linguistic Research*, 30:2 (2013), pp. 141-161 (p. 152) <<https://doi.org/10.17250/khisli.30.2.201308.001>>.

text. Since I used AntConc to analyse only subsets of the whole newspaper corpora, its speed proved sufficient.

2.4.2 N-grams

An N-gram is simply a cluster of words, with 'N' standing in for the variable number of words in the sequence. 'Women and children' would, for instance, be a 3-gram or trigram. Linguists often see N-grams as another means of accessing collocational behaviour (see section 2.4.6 for a discussion of collocation).

2.4.3 Queries

There are a variety of ways in which a corpus can initially be approached. Since the corpus versions of the *19th Century British Library Newspapers* consist of entire newspaper runs, before I could understand how migrants were being reported I first needed to locate them. This research used queries to do so.⁴⁰ The process raised wider questions about the terminology used in the nineteenth century to discuss migration, the migrant groups favoured in newspaper coverage, and the limitations of explicit queries. In order to do these themes justice, the selection process, which ultimately resulted in a decision to focus, at least initially, upon the queries 'alien(s)' and 'refugee(s)', forms the basis of Chapter 3. Typically, queries are highly flexible and can range from the very simple to the hugely complex. Amongst other things, they can consist of single word or multi-word expressions and can be used to find specific parts of speech (such as adjectives, nouns or verbs) or linguistic elements (such as prefixes and suffixes).

⁴⁰ This would technically be classed as a 'corpus-based' approach. For the difference between this and 'corpus-driven' research see McEnery and Hardie, *Corpus Linguistics*, p. 6; The two terms were coined by Tognini-Bonelli, *Corpus Linguistics at Work*.

2.4.4 Corpus Annotation

Such queries are possible because corpora have been ‘marked-up’, or annotated, with additional information. This extra information is encoded into the corpus data using a coding language such as XML (extensible mark-up language). Mark-up can be a means of including information such as paragraph breaks and article boundaries; or meta-data which may relate to the author, or date, associated with a particular text. It is also possible to add analytic annotation, or ‘tags’ to the text. An example of this is the addition of ‘part-of-speech’ tags. Tagging is generally an automated process in which each word is assigned a grammatical label, often a mnemonic code. Each grammatical label indicates a separate part of speech, such as verb or noun. When modern corpus software is used, tags are generally not visible when browsing a corpus. However, they can be revealed when necessary, and can be used when searching the text. Table 2.1 shows a line, extracted from the *Liverpool Mercury* corpus, with and without its part-of-speech tags. ‘AT’ refers to an article, ‘NN1’ to a singular common noun, and so forth.⁴¹

Without part-of-speech tags	‘every immigrant ship is met by the secretary of the association’
With part-of-speech tags	‘every_AT1 immigrant_JJ ship_NN1 is_VBZ met_VVN by_II the_AT secretary_NN1 of_IO the_AT association_NN1’

Table 2.1 Quote from the *Liverpool Mercury*, 30 May 1888, with and without part-of-speech tags.

Words or phrases can also be searched in proximity to other words and phrases. For instance, once a pattern had been identified, I sometimes used a proximity search to identify other examples of that pattern in the newspaper corpora. A proximity search involves looking for every instance of a search term in a pre-set proximity to another search term. For example, in section 5.3.4 I document how, having established a connection between the two words, I

⁴¹ The full list of semantic tags can be viewed at ‘UCREL CLAWS6 Tagset’, *UCREL* <<http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/claws6tags.html>> [accessed 9 April 2019].

looked for every instance of 'meeting' in a 50-token proximity of 'refugee(s)'. The 'token' is 'the smallest unit that each corpus divides to', each word and punctuation (for instance, colon or full stop) is counted as a separation token.⁴² CQPweb also allows users to complete a 'Restricted Query', or search in a sub-section of the corpus. This feature was used during this research to search in specific years and decades to allow for diachronic analysis. For instance, in section 4.3 the results of the query 'alien(s)' in the 1850s are compared with those in the 1890s

2.4.5 Concordance Lines and Key Words in Context (KWIC)

Co-text to the left	Node Word	Co-text to the right
It rather seemed a dusky cloud of	migrant	fowl, that, hoarse and loud, press landward
may. They are more regular than the	migrant	birds, and much more so than the
really been than birds and flowers. The	migrant	birds try their hardest to keep time
likely to be set aside by the	migrant	companies. Dover, Portsmouth, Southampton,
in Norfolk, and the grey one a	migrant	, and, never rests there. The black crow
interesting to know whether any of our	migrant	warblers sing again under a southern sky.
song thrush to be but a partial	migrant	in the British Islands. We incline to
opinion that it is as regular a	migrant	as the lapwing, and that it is

Table 2.2 An OCR-corrected concordance of 'migrant', taken from the *Pall Mall Gazette*, displayed in KWIC format.

The results of a query are usually presented in a format known as a concordance. A concordance displays all examples of the query match on screen, with a pre-set amount of co-text on the right and left. Co-text is the term that corpus linguists use to refer to textual context in a corpus, in order to differentiate between that and 'context' more generally (such as the broader historical context). Individual matches for the query in the concordance are referred to as 'concordance lines'. These lines are often displayed in KWIC (or Key Word in Context)

⁴² 'token', *Sketch Engine* <https://www.sketchengine.eu/my_keywords/token/> [accessed 22 August 2019].

view, an example of which is shown in table 2.2, which centres the 'node' word (the query match).

Concordances bring together all matches for a given query in the corpus, which can make it easier to identify patterns that occur around the node. For instance, it revealed that 'migrant' (see table 2.2) often preceded types of bird (e.g. 'fowl', 'bird' x 2, and 'warblers'). Although one of the more basic tools utilised by corpus analysts, the concordance is, in many respects, preferable to the interfaces currently used by many document-oriented digital archives. Instead of isolating results from one another by requiring them to be opened in separate browser windows, the KWIC display allows historians to scan down a long list of results and identify trends. Concordance lines can also be sorted and re-ordered according to the words on either the right or left of the node to identify common linguistic sequences. If too many concordance lines are produced and cannot feasibly be read, the results can also be downsampled. That is, concordancers can usually produce a random (or non-random) sample of concordance lines which the researcher can then manually analyse.

2.4.6 Collocation (and associated concepts)

Much corpus analysis centres upon the relationships which exist between words, and the meanings that words derive from, and contribute to, one another. In linguistics, the overarching term for these co-occurrence relationships is collocation. A collocation is a statistically significant co-occurrence of two words in a certain word span. Words which occur more frequently in each other's company than would be expected based upon how often they each individually appear in the corpus are said to collocate. One straightforward characterisation of collocation is as 'a network of hundreds of associations, each word of which is capable of being the centre of a web of associations radiating in all directions'.⁴³ An example

⁴³ A. Kutter and C. Kantner, 'Corpus-Based Content Analysis: A Method for Investigating News Coverage on War and Intervention', *International Relations Online Working Paper*, 1 (2012), pp. 1-38 (p. 10).

of corpus-derived collocation is given by Hunston, who describes how ‘collocates of *shed* include: *light, tear/s, garden, jobs, blood [...], skin and clothes*’.⁴⁴ The modern concept of collocation originates in the work of Firth, who argued that ‘an element of [the] meaning’ of a word was present in the ‘habitual company a key-word keeps’.⁴⁵ Although Firth himself was not a proponent of corpus linguistics, many of those who have taken forward his concept of collocation, such as Sinclair, Hoey, Stubbs, and Hunston, have been. Nowadays, as McEnery and Hardie explain, ‘the overwhelming majority of contemporary corpus linguists would agree that a word’s collocational patterns are a crucial part of its meaning’.⁴⁶

Recently, work has been conducted by Hoey which argues that collocation is fundamentally a psychological process, and that every word in our vocabulary is primed in our mind to co-occur with other words.⁴⁷ Although Hoey is the first to explicitly state it, this assumption has been implicit in many of the previously mentioned studies of collocation. Hoey also argues that a word assumes meaning from the contexts in which it is encountered, stating that ‘every time we use a word, and every time we encounter it anew, the experience either reinforces the priming by confirming an existing association between the word and its co-texts and contexts, or it weakens the priming’.⁴⁸ If Hoey is to be believed and meaning is cumulative in nature, a word which frequently appears in negative contexts will subconsciously be attributed negative associations by the reader. This has significant implications when studying migrants who, as outlined in section 1.3, are widely recognised as being reported upon in a negative manner. It also provides an insight into the cumulative impact of the press, and how an association may be formed over many issues.

Corpus software usually contains the functionality to automatically identify collocations, and there are a number of different statistics which can be used to score and

⁴⁴ Hunston, *Corpora in Applied Linguistics*, p. 12.

⁴⁵ F. R. Palmer, *Selected Papers of J. R. Firth, 1952-59* (London: Longman, 1968), pp. 106, 113.

⁴⁶ McEnery and Hardie, *Corpus Linguistics*, p. 131.

⁴⁷ M. Hoey, *Lexical Priming: A New Theory of Words and Language* (London: Routledge, 2005).

⁴⁸ Hoey, *Lexical Priming*, p. 9.

rank collocational relationships. These statistics generally fall into two camps. First, there are those which measure the strength of the collocational relationship. Secondly, there are those which measure the significance of the relationship, or rather the confidence with which a relationship can be said to exist. Each statistic produces different results, and their respective merits and drawbacks are the subject of much debate.⁴⁹ As previously discussed (section 1.3), two of the largest scale projects which have used corpora to study the language of the media in relation to migration are the RASIM project and the Migration Observatory project. Both these teams use the mutual information (MI) and log-likelihood (LL) statistics in combination.⁵⁰ MI is a measure of effect-size. It looks at the ratio between the observed frequency of a collocate and its expected frequency (based on how often words appear in a corpus as a whole) to calculate the strength of the relationship between the collocate and the query. LL is a measure of significance, it measures how unlikely the difference between the observed frequency and expected frequency is to have occurred randomly. Effect-size and significance measures are often used together in order to ‘minimize the limitations associated with using either test alone’.⁵¹ This combination is most closely replicated by CQPweb’s Log Ratio (LR) test, which was used throughout this research unless otherwise specified.⁵²

Once a statistic such as LR has been selected, researchers are generally given the option to choose between several parameters. These include:

- (a) the span of words either side of the node to be used in the calculation (this span is often referred to as the ‘window’);

⁴⁹ For an explanation of the statistics most commonly used to calculate collocates, see S. Hoffman, N. Smith, and D. Lee, *Corpus linguistics with BNCweb: A Practical Guide* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2008), pp. 149-58.

⁵⁰ C. Gabrielatos and P. Baker, ‘Fleeing, Sneaking, Flooding: A Corpus Analysis of Discursive Constructions of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Press 1996-2005’, *Journal of English Linguistics*, 36:1 (2008), pp. 5-38 (p. 11) <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0075424207311247>>; Blinder and Allen, ‘Constructing Immigrants’, p. 12.

⁵¹ Blinder and Allen, ‘Constructing Immigrants’, p. 13.

⁵² A. Hardie, ‘Log Ratio – an Informal Introduction’, *ESRC Centre for Corpus Approaches to Social Science (CASS)* (2014) <<http://cass.lancs.ac.uk/?p=1133>> [accessed 29 August 2016].

- (b) whether or not two words which collocate have to co-occur a pre-determined number of times before they are considered;
- (c) and whether words which fail to meet a certain measure of collocation are to be disregarded.

Since little corpus research has been conducted by historians, few precedents exist for making appropriate decisions about these three parameters. In relation to (a), I followed the lead of the two migration projects and adopted the five-word window used by both when calculating collocation.⁵³ Blinder and Allen, of the Migration Observatory, note that this 'seems to balance the need to capture enough text for meaningful analysis with the recognition that too wide of a window could introduce meaningless linguistic relationships'.⁵⁴ As collocation statistics and parameters can have a large impact on results, their selection can be problematic and is, arguably, unavoidably subjective. However, complying with the choices of the two migration studies' opened up the possibility of drawing comparisons between their findings and mine.

In relation to (b), most concordancers give users the ability to specify how many times a collocate must occur in a corpus for it to appear on a collocate list. This is known as setting a minimum frequency threshold. Several factors ameliorated the need to impose a high minimum frequency threshold during this research. First, CQPweb's LR measure, as discussed, filters collocation results using LL as a statistical significance filter, which means that a high minimum frequency threshold should not be necessary since all the collocates returned should have occurred a statistically significant number of times. Secondly, as will be explained shortly, one of the main ways in which I used collocation was to identify groups of collocates being used in a semantically similar manner. These semantic groups were identified using the entire

⁵³ Baker et al., 'A Useful Methodological Synergy?', p. 278; Blinder and Allen, 'Constructing Immigrants', p. 12.

⁵⁴ Blinder and Allen, 'Constructing Immigrants', p. 12.

collocate lists, not just the highest ranking collocates. This meant that some of the collocates placed in these semantic groups did not occur that many times in the corpus. However, although one word may not have co-occurred very often on its own, if it can be grouped with a number of other words expressing a similar meaning, then the individual word becomes significant as a manifestation of a wider trend. To provide an example: if a collocate, for instance 'law', only co-occurred with 'alien(s)' six times, it does not tell us very much. However, if a number of legislative collocates, including 'law', factored in the collocate list, then legislation seems to be an important wider association of 'alien(s)', and 'law', despite only co-occurring six times, becomes interesting as one means by which the association is apparent. Therefore, CQPweb's default minimum collocate frequency of five was maintained throughout the thesis when calculating collocates. With this in mind, I also decided that rather than setting an arbitrary single-fixed cut-off point for (c), I would use the entire collocate list and consider this matter on a case by case basis. This seemed the most pertinent option since by weighting my analysis towards collocates which appeared to be part of a wider trend, and those which were consistently ranked highly on collocate lists, collocates with a low LR score would be disregarded by default.

This research uses collocation in several different ways. I compared the collocate lists for 'alien(s)' and 'refugee(s)' in each of the six newspapers in the sample to identify similarities and differences between the associations of the two queries across the newspapers. I also used date-restricted queries to examine the collocates of a query in specific time spans. For instance, in section 4.3, I compare the collocates of 'alien(s)' in each decade of the nineteenth century, to find those which were consistent and those which changed over time. I also altered the window span to identify collocates that occurred in specific positions in relation to a query. For instance, section 5.3.2 examines the L1 collocates of the query 'refugee(s)'. That is, collocates which occur one space immediately to the left of the node (see table 2.3). L1

collocates are often premodifiers and can tell us which adjectives were being used to describe the node word.

to	support	thousands	of	helpless	refugees	whom	the	war	has	cast
L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	Node	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5

Table 2.3 Collocate positions

I also manually categorised collocates being used in a semantically similar manner. For instance, the query ‘alien(s)’ collocated with ‘act’, ‘bill’, and ‘law’. After reading the context in which each appeared, I placed the collocates into a semantic group entitled ‘legislation’. It can then be argued that ‘alien(s)’ has a semantic preference for words (in this case nouns) related to legislation. These semantic groups could also have been detected automatically. Alongside other ‘mark-up’ (see section 2.4.4), corpora in CQPweb have been semantically annotated.⁵⁵ This means that each word in the corpus has had one or more semantic tags automatically assigned to it, to indicate the broad discourse field to which it is thought to belong (these discourse fields include categories such as ‘government and public’, ‘education’, and ‘time’), and then its place within the sub-categories deemed to belong within each broad discourse field. Throughout this research, I opted to manually categorise collocates into semantic groups to allow for better precision of analysis and a more in-depth consideration of context, both textual and historical. There are several exceptions, one of which is documented in section 5.3.3, where I used use automated semantic annotation to gain a quick impression of the associations of a term (‘exile’) that was not central enough to the analysis to be given full manual classification

⁵⁵ For more information see D. Archer, A. Wilson, and P. Rayson, ‘Introduction to the USAS Category System’, *USAS Guide* (October 2002) <http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/usas/usas_guide.pdf> [accessed 30 June 2019].

To ascertain how each collocate was being used in practice in order to place them in the most appropriate category, I viewed the collocates' co-text, beginning with concordance lines but expanding these to view more co-text if necessary.⁵⁶ If there were too many concordance lines to feasibly read, I downsampled the results until they were more manageable. In cases where collocate meaning was particularly difficult to establish or ambiguous, I visited *Gale Primary Sources* and looked at an image of the collocate in the context of the original newspaper page. I categorised collocates based upon the sense in which they were overwhelmingly used. If collocates were frequently used in several different senses, I placed them into multiple semantic groups. This method proved to be a very effective means of identifying recurring patterns in language use, in this case the broad topics which were discussed when the newspapers reported upon migrants.

The decision to group collocates in this manner was inspired by the work of Stubbs and his use of the concepts of 'semantic group', 'semantic preference', and 'discourse prosody'. A 'semantic group' is a set of semantically related words which might be more familiar to historians as a 'semantic field'; *rain, snow, wind, and thunder* could, for example, be described as a semantic group of weather. Stubbs defines 'semantic preference' as 'the relation, not between individual words, but between a [...] word-form and a set of semantically related words'.⁵⁷ To demonstrate semantic preference, Stubbs gives the example of *large*, an adjective which often occurs with, and therefore displays a preference for, words in the semantic group of size, such as *number, scale, amounts, and part*.⁵⁸ 'Discourse prosody' is a relatively new concept and a general consensus has yet to be reached over its precise definition, resulting in its meaning becoming muddled with use.⁵⁹ Confusingly, many researchers use the terms

⁵⁶ For example, 50 random instances of the collocate 'bill' were read in context to ascertain that 'bill' was always used in a legislative sense when it collocated with 'alien(s)'.
⁵⁷ Stubbs, *Words and Phrases*, p. 65.
⁵⁸ Stubbs, *Words and Phrases*, p. 65.
⁵⁹ Supanfai's PhD thesis proved invaluable when navigating the different definitions of 'semantic' and 'discourse prosody'. P. Supanfai, 'Semantic Prosody in Thai' (unpublished PhD thesis, Lancaster University, 2017).

'semantic prosody' and 'discourse prosody' interchangeably. Partington has recently argued that the concept should be renamed from discourse prosody to 'evaluative prosody', adding another level of complexity.⁶⁰ To avoid confusion, this research follows Stubbs's definition of discourse prosody and disregards the alternative terms. To Stubbs, discourse prosody represents a further level of abstraction from semantic preference. Both relate to the tendency of words or phrases to appear in a 'certain semantic environment', and thus are concepts relating to collocation.⁶¹ However, analysis of discourse prosody involves establishing the connotations of the semantic environment and assessing whether they are more positive, negative, or neutral.⁶² Stubbs uses the Bank of English, a 500-million-word corpus of present-day English, to demonstrate how *cause* predominantly co-occurs with words with negative connotations such as *problems, death, damage, trouble, cancer, and disease*. He concludes that *cause* therefore has a negative discourse prosody.⁶³

The evaluative nature of discourse prosody means that it will be particularly useful when assessing the tone adopted by the various newspapers when discussing migrants. Indeed, Stubbs himself concludes that 'discourse prosodies express speaker attitude'.⁶⁴ Gabrielatos and Baker have since developed the work of Stubbs, using his method to identify the semantic groups (labelled in their study as 'topoi') which associate with refugee(s), asylum seeker(s), immigrant(s), and migrant(s).⁶⁵ They explain that although readers will not necessarily remember the 'verbatim collocations', they are likely to absorb their 'prosodies', that is, the 'attributive or evaluative meaning they may embody or suggest'.⁶⁶

⁶⁰ A. Partington, 'Evaluative Prosody', in *Corpus Pragmatics: A Handbook*, ed. by K. Aijmer and C. Ruhleman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 279-303 (p. 279).

⁶¹ J. Sinclair, *Corpus, Concordance, Collocation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 112.

⁶² A. Partington, "'Utterly Content in Each Others Company": Semantic Prosody and Semantic Preference', *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, 9:1 (2004), pp. 131-56 (p. 149).

⁶³ M. Stubbs, 'Collocations and Semantic Profiles: On the Cause of the Trouble with Quantitative Methods', *Function of Language*, 2:1 (1995), pp. 1-33 <<https://doi.org/10.1075/fol.2.1.03stu>>.

⁶⁴ Stubbs, *Words and Phrases*, p. 66.

⁶⁵ Gabrielatos and Baker, 'Fleeing, Sneaking, Flooding', pp. 5-38.

⁶⁶ Gabrielatos and Baker, 'Fleeing, Sneaking, Flooding', pp. 21, 3.

2.4.6.1 *A note on the Liverpool Mercury*

As mentioned in section 1.5.3, due to its size, the *Liverpool Mercury* is split into three corpora. This means that it had to be treated a little differently to the other newspapers. Whenever numerical frequencies, or raw hits, were counted, results from all three of the *Mercury's* corpora were combined and one number or statistic provided. Collocation proved a little trickier. For the sake of simplicity, whenever collocates from the *Mercury* have been included in tables which compare each of the newspapers' collocates, collocates from all three corpora have been combined under one heading and duplicates removed. Whenever collocates were examined diachronically decade by decade, the fact that the *Mercury* is split into three made little difference, as the process involved viewing all the corpora as ten-year subsections.

2.5 OCR Errors

The transformation of a collection of texts from their original form into a machine-readable corpus involves several stages of processing. If the texts are not already in a digital format, they require digitisation. Beginning in the late 1940s, sections of the newspaper collection that underpins this research (at that time part of the British Museum's holdings) were copied to microfilm. During the digitisation process, the newspapers were scanned from this microfilm and run through Optical Character Recognition (OCR) software, which converts images of typed text into machine-encoded text.⁶⁷ The resulting OCR-output files were received by Lancaster University from the British Library and used to create the corpora which provide the foundation for this thesis.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ P. Fyfe, 'An Archaeology of Victorian Newspapers', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 49:4 (2016), pp. 546-577 (p. 562) <<https://doi.org/10.1353/vpr.2016.0039>>.

⁶⁸ For more details see I. Gregory, P. Atkinson, and A. Hardie, 'From Digital Resources to Historical Scholarship with the British Library 19th Century Newspaper Collection', *Journal of Siberian Federal University: Humanities & Social Sciences*, 4:9 (2016), pp. 994-1006 <<https://doi.org/10.17516/1997-1370-2016-9-4-994-1006>>.

OCR software uses a variety of recognition methods to convert printed or handwritten text into a machine-readable format. Although drastically quicker than manual transcription of texts, it is not without its issues, particularly when working with historical texts. The quality of the OCR-output is determined by factors such as font-clarity, paper quality, and the document's state of preservation.⁶⁹ Texts which are not in a pristine and easily readable condition can result in OCR output which contains errors. Tanner, Munoz and Ros state that although the producers of OCR software claim high accuracy rates, these are generally only possible when scanning modern printed text. In contrast, they found that text produced before 1900 'will be fortunate to exceed 85% accuracy (15 in 100 characters wrong)'.⁷⁰ The same researchers tested the accuracy of the OCR in the *19th Century British Library Newspapers* and found that, in their sample, the text had an average character accuracy rate of 83.6% and an average word accuracy rate of 78%, with individual newspapers having both higher and lower averages. Their study includes a graph (reproduced as figure 2.1) which shows the statistics for each newspaper title. The lack of precision in the graph makes it difficult to precisely pinpoint the average character and word accuracies of individual newspapers. However, I have attempted to use it to ascertain this information for the newspaper corpora under study in this thesis, and have included those figures in table 2.4. This demonstrates that whilst the OCR quality of some newspapers, most obviously the *Pall Mall Gazette*, is very good, other titles, particularly the *Hampshire Telegraph*, leave something to be desired.

⁶⁹ Baird and Tombre outline more 'obstacles to document recognition'. H. Baird and K. Tombre, 'The Evolution of Document Analysis', in *Handbook of Document Image Processing and Recognition*, ed. by D. Doermann and K. Tombre (London: Springer, 2014), pp. 63-71 (pp. 68-69).

⁷⁰ S. Tanner, T. Muñoz, and P. H. Ros, 'Measuring Mass Text Digitization Quality and Usefulness: Lessons Learned from Assessing the OCR Accuracy of the British Library's 19th Century Online Newspaper Archive', *D-Lib Magazine*, 15:7/8 (2009) <<https://doi.org/10.1045/july2009-munoz>>.

two or more words. This means that when using corpora formed from flawed OCR-output data, frequency counts may be unreliable, impacting any statistics calculated using that frequency data.

I made the decision when writing up my research to manually correct the OCR errors in the examples included in this thesis, to make the reading experience easier. However, readers should be aware that OCR errors impacted the readability of all the newspaper corpora. When a concordance line was difficult to understand, I either read more context or, in extreme cases, copied the text into the Gale interface to view an image of the original article. However, although there was always a means by which text containing errors could be read and understood, the required workarounds sometimes significantly slowed down the process of analysis. Although analysis was possible, the quality of the OCR had a significant negative impact upon the usability of the corpora.

Joulain-Jay's recently completed thesis assesses the impact which the OCR errors inherent in the *19th Century British Library Newspapers* are likely to have on corpus linguistic analysis.⁷² The research utilises data from the Corpus of Nineteenth-Century Newspaper English (CNNE). The CNNE corpus was created by Erik Smitterberg at Uppsala University. It contains 200 articles published between 1830-1850 and 1875-1895 and has some overlap with the contents of the *19th Century British Library Newspapers*. However, unlike the British Library newspapers, Smitterberg's corpus contains versions of articles which have had their OCR errors fully-manually corrected. Using this sample, Joulain-Jay finds that OCR errors do have a 'clear impact' on frequency counts and collocation but argues that 'for most [collocation] statistics, the impact of OCR errors remained small'.⁷³ She suggests practical measures which researchers can take to minimise the effect of OCR errors. One of these is combining the MI

⁷² A. Joulain-Jay, 'Corpus linguistics for History: The Methodology of Investigating Place-Name Discourse in Digitised Nineteenth-Century Newspapers' (unpublished PhD Thesis, Lancaster University, 2017), pp. 82-133.

⁷³ Joulain-Jay, 'Corpus linguistics for History', pp. 131, 32.

statistic with a LL threshold.⁷⁴ The combination of MI and LL is, as discussed in section 2.4.6, replicated in CQPweb by the LR statistic, which was adopted when calculating collocation throughout this thesis. Joulain-Jay also recommends a frequency floor of 10 because, as mentioned, one of the main OCR errors involves the splitting or joining of words to create new incorrect word types. Joulain-Jay finds that most of these new word types occurred fewer than 10 times. Therefore, dictating that a word has to occur in the corpus at least that many times to appear in the collocate list effectively removes most of this type of OCR error.⁷⁵ Since my analysis involves close reading the concordance lines, and wider articles, in which collocates occur, it swiftly became very obvious that OCR errors in the collocate list could easily be picked up by eye and that the imposition of a frequency floor was, in my case, not necessary. Another of Joulain-Jay's findings is that, as the impact of errors increases in parallel with the size of the span used for collocation, adopting a small word span is wise.⁷⁶ As discussed in section 2.4.6, this research uses a span of +5/-5, small by historical standards, when calculating collocates.

Several other measures used in this research also help to counterbalance the impact of OCR errors. It seems reasonable to assume that OCR errors are more likely to affect low ranking collocates that only appear a few times than high ranking collocates which appear more frequently.⁷⁷ Therefore, my decision to look at the representation of migrants across six newspapers should allow me to have more confidence in my results. If something collocates across several of the newspapers, it is likely that it is actually a statistically significant collocate and not simply a quirk thrown up by errors. However, this does mean that similarities between the newspapers can be examined with more confidence than differences, and presences with more confidence than absences. Secondly, as mentioned in section 2.4.6, I group collocates together semantically. As OCR errors impact certain letters more than others, it seems

⁷⁴ Joulain-Jay, 'Corpus linguistics for History', p. 133.

⁷⁵ Joulain-Jay, 'Corpus linguistics for History', p. 336.

⁷⁶ Joulain-Jay, 'Corpus linguistics for History', pp. 132-3.

⁷⁷ Hardt-Mautner, "'Only Connect'", p. 5.

reasonable to assume that a trend can be claimed to exist with more confidence if evidenced by a number of words in a similar semantic group, rather than one single word.

Although the quality of scanning and OCR software has improved considerably since the newspapers were first digitised, it seems unlikely that the texts will be re-digitised, or existing scans re-OCR'd in the foreseeable future. Once a set of documents has been digitised, it becomes hard for institutions to justify re-digitisation due to the prohibitive financial and temporal costs involved, especially as only a fraction of library and museum holdings have currently undergone digitisation. Realistically, digitising non-digital collections is always likely to take precedence over the re-digitisation of collections whose digitisation has already been funded. In effect, this means that if historians currently wish to work with texts in a digital format, they have to accept that these texts are often far from perfect.

However, it is worth noting that the same OCR-output which forms the basis of the corpora in CQPweb also underpins the search function used to locate articles in *Gale Primary Sources*, along with those in many other online databases and archives.⁷⁸ Historians are, therefore, searching OCR-error riddled text, often without knowledge, on a regular basis. The fact that users are presented with facsimiles of the original newspaper pages obscures the fact that their search of the OCR'd text may only have returned a subset of the instances of their search term that actually appear in the newspapers. Although the same issue impacts corpus queries, the ability to actually see OCR errors in the corpus software undeniably increases the transparency of the process. As Fyfe stresses, the importance of 'simply knowing what you are dealing with' cannot be overstated.⁷⁹ As technology advances, future historians may have access to a version of the *19th Century British Library Newspapers* which has either been run

⁷⁸ This issue has previously been highlighted by digital historians. See, for instance, T. Hitchcock, 'Confronting the Digital: Or How Academic History Writing Lost the Plot', *Cultural and Social History*, 10:1 (2013), pp. 9-23 (p. 13). Milligan has also discussed this in relation to Canadian newspaper databases. See I. Milligan, 'Illusionary Order: Online Databases, Optical Character Recognition, and Canadian History, 1997-2010', *The Canadian Historical Review*, 94:4 (2013), pp. 540-69 <<https://doi.org/10.3138/chr.694>>.

⁷⁹ Fyfe, 'An Archaeology', p. 552.

through OCR software a second time and is much cleaner as a result, or has been automatically corrected using software or techniques not currently available. However, for now, OCR errors are a compromise which has to be accepted in exchange for the ability to undertake analysis using the text at this point in time.

2.6 Conclusion

To conclude, machine-assisted distant reading enables us to gain an understanding of large bodies of text in their entirety, something which was previously not possible. Corpus linguistics is novel for historians because it enables a form of distant reading, whilst also providing multiple opportunities for more traditional close reading and contextualisation. It provides historians with a means of using the historical ‘macroscope’ and ‘microscope’ in parallel, moving back and forth to view a text from a variety of different perspectives. In this way, distant and close reading are not cast in opposition to one another, but rather positioned as complementary methods. Chapters 4 and 5 model how the corpus approach can be used in practice. However, before the analysis contained within them could occur, I had to decide which queries to use when searching the corpora. This process, which in itself provides a valuable insight into the representation of migrants in the nineteenth-century newspapers, forms the basis of the next chapter ‘Locating Migrants in the Corpora’.

3 Locating Migrants in the Corpora

3.1 Introduction

TERRIBLE TRAGEDY AT KNIGHTSBRIDGE.

ALLEGED WIFE MURDER.

Between four and five o'clock this morning the Thames police on duty at Blackfriars heard shots on the foreshore, and, on proceeding there, found, it is alleged, that Augusto Miarottini, restaurant keeper of Park-side, Knightsbridge, had attempted to shoot himself. The would-be suicide, it is added, made a startling statement to the police—namely, that he had murdered his wife, and that her body would be found in the basement of his premises at Knightsbridge, the Victoria Restaurant.

On proceeding there the police found that the keys of the house were hidden in a recess in the doorway. In the kitchen the inspector found a woman, a foreigner aged about forty, with her throat cut and terrible wounds about her body.

Figure 3.1 Article from the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 22 July 1897.

On the 22 July 1897 Augusto Miarottini, a restaurant keeper in Knightsbridge, attempted suicide. When discovered by police, he confessed that he had murdered his wife and hidden her body in the basement of his restaurant. The Miarottinis' tragic story emerged several times when testing queries with which to search the corpora. Since Augusto Miarottini and his unnamed wife were Italian migrants and demonstrate some of the issues faced by historians when trying to locate something specific in text corpora, it seemed pertinent to introduce them.

I first stumbled across the couple when Miarottini's wife appeared amongst the results of the query 'foreigner(s)' in a *Pall Mall Gazette* article entitled 'TERRIBLE TRAGEDY AT KNIGHTSBRIDGE' (see figure 3.1). The article's description of her as 'a foreigner aged about forty' made her migrant status, and her relevance to this research, abundantly clear. However, the pertinence of her husband, who was described simply as a 'restaurant keeper' was not immediately obvious. The combined evidence of Augusto Miarottini's names, and his wife's nationality, might lead a historian to conclude that he was also a migrant. The historian could

argue that Augusto Miarottini's identity as restaurant keeper simply took precedent over his identity as 'foreigner'. However, that the journalist considered the citizenship status of Mrs Miarottini worth mentioning, but not that of her husband, somewhat undermines this theory. It could just as easily be the case that Augusto Miarottini was a British citizen, either through birth or naturalisation, who happened to be married to a 'foreigner'. There is not enough information within the article to definitively confirm or refute either of these speculations.

A historian could try to dispel their doubts by looking for further traces of the husband. A search for 'Augusto Miarottini' by name in the *19th Century British Library Newspapers* using *Gale Primary Sources* unearthed two more articles concerning the incident, one in the *Northampton Mercury* and the other in the *Edinburgh Evening News*. Although both are near-identical in wording to the *Pall Mall Gazette* article, neither make any mention of the citizenship status of either of the Miarottinis. Augusto, like before, is simply described as a 'restaurant keeper', whilst she remains nameless, and is simply labelled as 'his wife' and 'the woman' by the *Northampton Mercury* and as 'his wife' and 'a woman, about 40 years' by the *Evening News*.¹ Incidentally, if a historian had been searching these newspapers using an explicit query that drew upon the language of migration or nationality, they would not have recovered either article.

The couple emerged a final time, in an article in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, as I tested the efficacy of the nationality-based query 'Italian(s)'. This article appeared to confirm Augusto Miarottini's citizenship status, describing him as an 'Italian restaurant keeper'.² However, even this descriptor is ambiguous. Although it could indicate that Miarottini was an Italian citizen, it may also be that 'Italian' was intended to describe his restaurant, not him. That *Reynolds's Newspaper* spelt the couple's surname 'Mariottini' rather than 'Miarottini' (the spelling used

¹ *Northampton Mercury*, 23 July 1897; *Edinburgh Evening News*, 22 July 1897.

² *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 25 July 1897.

in the other three articles), explains why this particular article, though relevant, was not returned by the previous surname search.

The case of the Miarottinis illustrates several key considerations when formulating queries. First, that whether migrants are locatable within newspapers is reliant upon the information that newspaper staff deemed relevant when relaying migrants' stories. Only those explicitly identified using a word such as 'alien' or 'foreigner', or their country of origin, can with some confidence be labelled as migrants. Although other information such as name, occupation, or even address, can provide the historian with clues about an individual's identity, all require further corroboration. This also begs the question of what a newspaper's inclusion, or omission, of an individual's migrant status reveals about its stance.

Secondly, the exercise demonstrates that a researcher's results are hugely dependent upon the nature of their queries. In this instance, a query based on nationality ('Italian(s)') returned one of the four available articles, a query using explicit migration terms ('foreigner(s)') returned two of them, and a query using an individual's name ('Miarottini') returned three. Although this seems to indicate that a combined search using all three types of query would be the most effective, it should be noted that whilst the surname search only returned a very small number of results, all of them were relevant. In contrast, the other two queries yielded a large number of false positives that required sorting through to identify references to the Miarottinis. This issue will be explored in more depth in section 3.3.1. Furthermore, despite surname searching proving the most effective of the three methods in this instance, it introduced issues of its own, several of which should already be apparent. Namely, that spelling variations existed even in the nineteenth century, as demonstrated by two variant spellings, 'Miarottini' and 'Mariottini', occurring across just four newspaper articles.³ Also, that the highly specific nature of individual names means that a historian with

³ Spelling variation is to be expected with older texts, and tools exist to standardise spelling in historical corpora. These include VARD, which is specifically designed for use on early modern texts. UCREL, 'About VARD 2', *UCREL* < <http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/var/about/> > [accessed 11 June 2019].

no prior knowledge of the Miarottinis would only know to search for them after locating them via another means, as I did by first stumbling across the couple as part of a different type of search.

The rest of this chapter explores the practicality, efficacy, and implications of these three potential types of query in more depth.

- a. Searches using the names of individual migrants (such as 'Miarottini'),
- b. Searches using national categories ('French' or 'German' for instance),
- c. Searches using categories that relate to the process of migration or the legal status of migrants (for instance 'immigrant' or 'refugee').

Section 3.2 focuses on the first type of query, searching for individuals in corpora. Section 3.3 examines the final two types of query, and the concept of searching using categories. As Crymble notes, 'the historiography of keyword searching as applied to historical texts is slight'.⁴ This means that very few prior studies were available to inform the selection process.⁵ Nicholson's discussion of 'newspaper culturomics', in which he outlines several properties inherent in a 'good keyword', is one rare instance. These properties include that the keyword (or, in this case, query) 'accurately identifies the idea [...] under analysis' and 'does not return a significant number of irrelevant hits'.⁶ These criteria underpinned my selection process. A third criterion was that the chosen terms be workable with corpus

⁴ A. Crymble, 'A Comparative Approach to Identifying the Irish in Long Eighteenth-Century London', *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History*, 48:3 (2015), pp. 141-152 (p. 142) <<https://doi.org/10.1080/01615440.2015.1007194>>.

⁵ Although few articles explore the historiography of key word searching, there have been articles that survey how historians currently use key word searching to approach digitised historical text. See, for instance, I. Anderson, 'Are you Being Served? Historians and the Search for Primary Sources', *Archivaria*, 58 (2004), pp. 81-130; and A. Crymble, 'Digital library search preferences amongst historians and genealogists: British History Online user survey', *Digital Humanities Quarterly*, 10.4 (2016).

⁶ B. Nicholson, 'Counting Culture; or, How to Read Victorian Newspapers from a Distance', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 17:2 (2012), pp. 238-246 (p. 245) <<https://doi.org/10.1080/13555502.2012.683331>>.

linguistic analysis. As shall be seen, several potential queries, despite fulfilling Nicholson's properties, did not meet this final requirement for a variety of reasons.

Keyword searching has been criticised as an inefficient means of approaching digital databases. Beall, for instance, highlights a variety of issues with keyword searching, including its failure to retrieve synonyms and its tendency to return unwanted homonyms.⁷ Synonym searching may be desirable for some forms of historical research as it can help to locate the maximum number of articles related to a topic in a historical database or archive. However, it is not necessarily helpful or desirable when analysing language. Much of this research involves examining words' associations to ascertain their connotations, and the contexts in which they occurred. Throughout this thesis, it is demonstrated that words that may be considered near synonymous, such as 'immigrant' and 'alien', can actually have very different associations in practice. Combining the two terms in one query would return a greater number of results on the topic of migration but would also make the specific associations of the 'immigrant' and 'alien' harder to unpick. I ultimately decided to value the nuance and precision that could be achieved by examining words one at a time, over the fuller retrieval of articles related to migration that would likely result from the construction of a broad-ranging query premised upon a series of migration synonyms. However, although I disagree with Beall on this point, he was correct in his statement that keyword searching can return unwanted homonyms. As will be seen, this issue plagued several of the queries tested in this chapter.

3.2 Searching for Individuals

Israel Zangwill's novel *Children of the Ghetto*, first published in 1892, documents the lives of migrant Jews living and working in London's East End.⁸ It draws upon Zangwill's personal experience and provides a valuable insight into the lives of slum-dwellers. The novel

⁷ J. Beall, 'The Weakness of Full-Text Searching', *The Journal of Academic Librarianship*, 34:5 (2008), pp. 438-444.

⁸ I. Zangwill, *Children of the Ghetto* (London: Pordes, 1998).

includes an Irish servant called Mary O'Reilly. In her study of female Irish servants in late nineteenth-century England, Walter notes that 'Mary's Irishness is not explicitly mentioned, but conveyed by numerous signals – her name, religion, servant status and speech patterns'.⁹ Historians who close read the novel may, like Walter, read these many signals and conclude that they are intended to help the audience identify Mary as an Irish migrant. However, it would be very difficult to locate her using a query.

This highlights a major issue with search-based methods, that they encourage the researcher to focus upon the explicit and, in this instance, can only locate migrants who were directly identified by the newspapers as such. Individuals like Mary O'Reilly and the Miarottinis, whose identities are subtly intimated rather than spelled out, are all too easily overlooked. There is a danger in their omission. A journalist may explicitly identify someone as a migrant in order to contextualise a news story. However, they may also identify them as such as a marker of difference. This means there is a chance that articles explicitly referencing someone's migrant status may contain a more negative representation of migrants than those which do not. This section explores the potential of onomastic methods, specifically Crymble's innovative use of surname detection, as a means of locating these non-explicit individuals in the newspaper corpora.

3.2.1 Searching using Surnames

Crymble compares three different methods of identifying the Irish in the *Old Bailey Proceedings* (hereafter *OBP*) between 1801 and 1820: nominal record linkage, geographic keywords (for instance 'Irish' or 'Dublin'), and surname analysis.¹⁰ Nominal record linkage involves locating individuals within a source and then corroborating details about them (their nationality for instance) by finding mention of the same individual in a different source (such

⁹ B. Walter, 'Strangers on the Inside: Irish Women Servants in England, 1881', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 27:2 (2009), pp. 279-299 (p. 287) <<https://doi.org/10.1080/02619280903128160>>.

¹⁰ Crymble, 'A Comparative Approach', p. 141.

as the census). Crymble dismisses the method for a number of practical reasons, but primarily because he is loath to be limited to the study of 'periods and contexts in which corroborating records exist'.¹¹ He finds the second method, geographic keyword searching, to be ill suited to his source, as the *OBP* rarely contained national adjectives. However, he finds the final method, surname analysis, to show promise as a means of locating first- and second-generation migrants.¹²

'Surname detection' saw Crymble analyse the records of 279,949 adult males recorded by the 1841 census as living in the hundred of Ossulstone in Middlesex in order to give each of their names an 'Irishness' score.¹³ This resulted in the creation of a list of 283 root surnames that were deemed 'Irish' enough to reliably identify 'probable Irish individuals' located in London towards the end of the long eighteenth-century (defined for the purposes of the study as 1777 to 1820). The surname list is included in the appendix of Crymble's article for use by future researchers.¹⁴ To test its efficacy on nineteenth-century newspapers, I used the list to search the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Aside from it containing some of the best-quality OCR data of any of the titles in the newspaper sample, a London paper seemed fitting since the surname list was formulated using census data from the region.

The list of 238 surnames returned a promising 185,300 results in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. However, it swiftly became apparent that as in Beals' findings, homonyms were a serious issue.¹⁵ Many of the results did not relate to people, Irish or otherwise. The surnames that returned the most results included 'Early' (which occurred 53,095 times), 'Coffee' (8,946 times), and 'Divine' (7,488 times), all of which, as their collocates confirm, have other meanings that are more prominent than their use as surnames. As discussed in section 2.4.4, the corpora in CQPweb have been 'marked-up' with 'part-of-speech' tags. I therefore searched

¹¹ Crymble, 'A Comparative Approach', p. 141.

¹² Crymble, 'A Comparative Approach', p. 143.

¹³ Crymble, 'A Comparative Approach', p. 145.

¹⁴ Crymble, 'A Comparative Approach', p. 152.

¹⁵ J. Beall, 'The Weakness', pp. 438-444.

for instances of 'Early', 'Coffee' and 'Divine' which had been tagged as single proper nouns (the tag 'NP1'), the tag under which surnames would fall. The results of this search seemed to indicate that there were no Irish surnames amongst the 69,529 instances of the three words in the *Pall Mall Gazette* (although, some instances of the words being used as surnames could have been missed by the automatic part-of-speech tagger). 'Early' and 'Divine' were never tagged as single proper nouns and whilst 'Coffee' was tagged as such 59 times, all instances related to one individual, King 'Coffee Kalcalli' of Ashanti, an empire that existed in present-day Ghana.

Once these homonyms were excluded, many of the results did appear to be surnames. Furthermore, the appearance of Irish place names in the concordance lines indicates that some of the individuals identified were, most likely, Irish. Though it is worth noting that they were more likely to be Irish citizens resident in Ireland than Irish migrants to Britain. However, several other potential issues arose.

One was the weighting of results towards famous individuals. As perhaps expected, amongst the surnames that appeared most frequently in the *Pall Mall Gazette* were those of high-profile figures such as politicians. These included 'Kelly' which occurred 4,209 times, many of which referred to Fitzroy Kelly the Tory MP, and 'Burke' which occurred 3,957 times, usually in relation to the Irish statesman Edmund Burke or John Bernard Burke, the genealogist responsible for *Burke's Peerage*. That Edmund and John Bernard were Irish or of Irish descent is a testament to the accuracy of Crymble's list. However, although this provided an insight into the types of people likely to be named by the press, these high-profile figures' strong association with other discourses made it unlikely that they would reveal much about the newspapers' wider attitude towards migrants.¹⁶

¹⁶ It does, however, seem to reinforce Galtung and Ruge's suggestion that celebrities are more likely to feature in newspapers than non-celebrities.

Ultimately, although surname analysis proved fruitful for searching the *OBP* because ‘every single defendant [in the source] has a known name’, it is not necessarily the most practical means of searching newspaper data, where individuals rarely feature unless they already have a level of renown or notoriety.¹⁷ This was confirmed by the discovery that most mentions of non-famous Irish individuals in the newspapers seemed to occur within reporting upon criminal trials, the context in which the list was originally intended to be used. Court or criminal reporting appears to have been one of the main contexts in which non-famous individuals gained a high enough profile to feature in the pages of the press in their own right, rather than as part of a group such as ‘aliens’.

It is also doubtful whether this method could be scaled both geographically, to non-London newspapers, and temporally, to the later nineteenth century. Although Crymble manages to successfully apply his method to earlier sources, the *Middlesex Vagrancy Removal Records* (1777 and 1786), he acknowledges the importance of using the ‘appropriate list of names’ and adds that the large numbers of Irish migrants who arrived in Britain during the Famine era (the 1840s and 1850s) ‘dramatically changed the demographic’.¹⁸ Therefore, if surname detection were to be used upon later nineteenth-century texts, a new list of names would probably have to be created that drew upon later census data.¹⁹ Since this thesis is not just interested in the Irish, but in the newspapers’ representation of migrants more generally, it would be necessary to create new lists of names that could be used to locate migrants of different nationalities. All these factors combined to mean that, on balance, searching by surname was not the most suitable method for use in this research.

¹⁷ Crymble, ‘A Comparative Approach’, p. 144.

¹⁸ Crymble, ‘A Comparative Approach’, p. 144.

¹⁹ This is also the focus of Smith and MacRaild’s earlier study which attempted to create a corpus of Irish surnames. M. Smith and D. MacRaild, ‘Paddy and Biddy No More: An Evolutionary Analysis of the Decline in Irish Catholic Forenames among Descendants of 19th Century Irish Migrants to Britain’, *Annals of Human Biology*, 36:5 (2009), pp. 595-608 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/03014460903117459>>.

3.3 Searching using Categories

The other two types of query draw upon categories, that is the division of people into groups based upon shared characteristics or attributes. One draws upon the shared characteristic of nationality, and the other upon shared citizenship status or the shared act of migrating. Categories are a necessary means of simplifying and digesting the world around us, including the people within it. Indeed, Fowler notes that as a medium that purports to make sense of events, there is a particularly 'dense presence in newspaper discourse of category labels'.²⁰ This means that categories are so commonplace they become difficult to consider reflectively. Foucault documented his encounter with 'a certain Chinese encyclopaedia' that made the following distinctions between animals: '(a) belonging to the emperor', '(f) fabulous', and '(n) that from a long way off look like flies.'²¹ It was only when confronted with this unfamiliar, and seemingly ridiculous, classification system that Foucault was able to see the flaws inherent in his own and begin to question it as an outsider would.²²

As they group things together based on shared characteristics, categories are inherently reductive. This has its advantages; categories can give the historian a useful insight into the relationship between the enquirer and object of enquiry. In the case of newspaper reporting upon migrants, this relationship is often oppositional. For instance, the category 'alien' contains people who were born in a country different to that of the person doing the categorising. However, it can also be a disadvantage because, as discussed, using categories can skew the historians' findings towards the negative. Although not inherently derogatory, categories are often used to emphasise difference and otherness. In this sense, categories

²⁰ R. Fowler, *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1991), p. 93.

²¹ M. Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. xvi.

²² Foucault, *The Order of Things*, p. xvi.

'establish psychologically significant dividing lines between the perceiver and the target (i.e. out groups).'²³

3.3.1 Searching using Nationality

The terms used to describe people often revolve around the aspects of their identity that distinguish them from the majority. For migrants arriving into nineteenth-century Britain, this novel characteristic may well have been their nationality. An Irish persons' 'Irishness', unremarkable whilst in Ireland, becomes the thing that sets them apart upon their arrival in England. Therefore, nationality seemed the most natural criteria to use when searching the corpora.

An issue immediately arose when testing this theory, 147 different countries of origin are listed in the 1851 census for England and Wales, and 161 in the 1891 census.²⁴ Searching using nationality, therefore, is a method that necessitates selectivity from the outset. Whilst it would be impractical to conduct 147 different searches and compare the results of each, the alternative of grouping multiple nationalities into one query is also undesirable as it risks obscuring the nuances of the connotations of different national groups.

The nationality queries 'Irish', 'German(s)', and 'French' were adopted to test the use of searching by nationality. This is because, as noted in Section 1.4, for most of the years for which census data is available they were the largest migrant groups in nineteenth-century England and Wales.²⁵ The scale of a word's presence in a text is an important consideration because corpus analysis relies on frequency data, and is usually more effective on larger bodies of data. If Galtung and Ruge are correct, and events that pass a certain 'frequency' or impact

²³ G. V. Bodenhausen, S. K. Kang, and D. Peery, 'Social Categorization and the Perception of Social Groups', in *The SAGE Handbook of Social Cognition*, ed. by S. Fiske and C. Neil Macrae (Los Angeles, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2012), pp. 311-29 (p. 319) <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/296330139_Social_categorization_and_the_perception_of_social_groups> [accessed 5 April 2019].

²⁴ These 'countries of origin' were taken from the Integrated Census Microdata (ICeM). K. Schurer and E. Higgs, 'Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM), 1851-1911', *UK Data Service*.

²⁵ The following queries were used in CQPweb: 'German[s,]', 'French', and 'Irish'.

a large number of people are more likely to be featured in newspapers, then these migrant groups should theoretically have received more news coverage than other groups who were present in Britain in smaller numbers, making them well-suited for corpus analysis.²⁶

This method of searching is also affected by the shifting and changing of national borders since the early nineteenth century. To speak of the loose collection of German-speaking states as a nation prior to 1871 is anachronistic. The query 'German(s)' is adequate for the purposes of this exercise, whose aim is simply to gain an impression of the efficacy of nationality as a means of finding migrants in the corpora. However, if this method were to be adopted on a larger scale, the possibility of incorporating individual states, such as 'Prussia' and 'Bavaria' would have to be seriously considered, again considerably complicating this manner of searching.

This pilot study revealed that national terms occurred very frequently in newspaper text. 'Irish' returned 622,168 hits across the newspaper sample, 'German(s)' 323,152 hits, and 'French' 955,026 hits.²⁷ Thus confirming their suitability, in this respect, for corpus analysis.

I downsampled each set of results to produce a random sample of 200 concordance lines for each of the three queries, taken from each of the newspapers from the sample.²⁸ The exception was the *Liverpool Mercury* for which a 300-line sample was produced because, as mentioned in section 2.4.6.1, the *Mercury* is split into three parts in CQPweb (100 lines were taken from each of the three *Liverpool Mercury* corpora). This made a total sample of 3,900 concordance lines, consisting of 1,300 lines per search term. I read these concordance lines,

²⁶ J. Galtung and M. H. Ruge, 'The Structure of Foreign News: The Presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus Crises in Four Norwegian Newspapers', *Journal of Peace Research*, 2:1 (1965), pp. 64-90 <<https://doi.org/10.1177/002234336500200104>>.

²⁷ Irish occurred 205,680 times in the *Glasgow Herald*, 191,630 in the *Liverpool Mercury*, 95,497 in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 50,497 in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 43,021 in the *Ipswich Journal*, and 35,843 in the *Hampshire Telegraph*. German occurred 94,671 times in the *Glasgow Herald*, 95,277 in the *Liverpool Mercury*, 78,034 in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 21,281 in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 19,830 in the *Hampshire Telegraph*, and 14,059 in the *Ipswich Journal*. French occurred 340,461 times in the *Liverpool Mercury*, 270,802 in the *Glasgow Herald*, 143,677 in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 53,781 in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 83,088 in the *Hampshire Telegraph*, and 63,217 in the *Ipswich Journal*.

²⁸ I searched for each nationality in the newspaper and then thinned each set of results to 200 concordance lines. The sample was set to be random but reproducible.

along with the collocates of each search term in each newspaper, to ascertain the contexts in which the three nationalities were discussed.

It quickly became apparent that searching newspapers by nationality returns many false positive results that have little to do with migration. The queries, 'Irish', 'German(s)', and French, were usually used in reference to nations rather than their inhabitants. When used in this manner, all three featured heavily in articles concerning foreign affairs. For instance, Irish political news accounted for approximately 144 of the 200 concordance lines taken from the *Pall Mall Gazette*. The frequent appearance of paralinguistic features such as '(laughs)', '(cheers)' and '(hear, hear)' in these 144 lines indicates the tendency of Ireland to feature in reportage of parliamentary debates. These debates primarily centred upon several recurring topics: Irish Home Rule (the Irish independence movement); whether the presence of the Anglican church in Ireland was legitimate; and the ethics of the Irish landholding system in which absentee landlordism was rife. The other newspapers' reporting upon 'Irish' followed a broadly similar pattern to that of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Across the six newspapers, for instance, amongst the top collocates of 'Irish' were 'landlord' and 'landlords', which collocated 7,265 times, and 'peasantry', which collocated 1,304 times, confirming that this political issue was a key association rather than migration.²⁹

Similarly, 'German(s)' and 'French' most frequently occurred in foreign affairs articles. For instance, 130 of the 200 concordance lines for 'German(s)' from the *Glasgow Herald* were identified as relating to foreign affairs, as were 122 of the 200 from the *Hampshire Telegraph*. A comparable number of the concordance lines derived from the query 'French' occurred in foreign affairs contexts, including 156 of the 200 concordance lines taken from *Reynolds's Newspaper*. Across the newspapers, 'German(s)' associated with collocates that related to the

²⁹ 'Landlord' and 'Landlords' occurred 1662 times in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 1020 in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 2081 in the *Glasgow Herald*, 1726 in the *Liverpool Mercury*, 465 in the *Ipswich Journal*, and 311 in the *Hampshire Telegraph*. 'Peasantry' occurred 280 times in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 211 in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 401 in the *Glasgow Herald*, 259 in the *Liverpool Mercury*, 82 in the *Ipswich Journal*, and 71 in the *Hampshire Telegraph*.

country's political activities and overseas representatives, including 'empire', 'chancellor', 'Reichstag', 'Confederation', and 'ambassador'. 'French' similarly collocated with words such as 'ambassador', 'embassy', 'emperor', 'republic', and 'consul'. As this period saw various conflicts including the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815) and the Franco-German war (1870-1871), these foreign affairs articles often had a distinct military focus. Common collocates of 'German(s)', for instance, included 'armies', 'frontier', 'legion', and 'tactics'. Whilst collocates of 'French' included 'squadron', 'armies', 'invasion', 'troops', and 'frontier'.

As well as occurring in foreign affairs contexts, all three queries appeared regularly in adverts. 'German(s)' often featured in adverts or notices related to Germany's steam shipping industry, dominated by the North German Lloyd shipping company. The names of individual vessels, such as 'Mosel', 'Neckar', 'Hansa', and 'Herzog', appeared on collocate lists across the newspaper sample. The nationalities were also often used as modifiers for various trade goods. Collocates of 'German(s)' included 'aster', a type of flower, 'phosphate', and 'wines'.³⁰ Whilst French trade goods included luxury food and drink such as 'cognac', 'coffee', 'wine', and 'Menier's' chocolate. In all the newspapers, whisky was one of the main associations of 'Irish'. In the *Pall Mall Gazette* alone, 'whisky' collocated with 'Irish' over 1,500 times, 'whiskies' 1,337 times, and the misspelling 'whiskey' 695 times. Crymble reached a similar conclusion in his study of the Irish in the *OBP*. He noted that the query 'Irish' was not necessarily a useful means of finding Irish participants in criminal trials due to the high volume of mentions of 'Irish linen', which was frequently listed as a stolen good.³¹

This meant that very few of the concordance lines in any of the 200-line samples actually related to migration. In the 200-line sample of concordance lines containing the search term 'Irish' in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, just 13 (or 6.5 per cent) of the lines contained references to

³⁰ For instance, 'aster' collocated with 'German' 85 times in *Reynolds's Newspaper*. 'Phosphate' collocated 163 times and 'wines' 104 times, both in the *Ipswich Journal*.

³¹ Crymble, 'A Comparative Approach', p. 143.

Irish migrants.³² Although this 200-line sample cannot be taken as representative of the corpus, it can provide an indication of how many references to migrants might be found using the query 'Irish' in the *Pall Mall Gazette* as a whole. A search for 'Irish' in the *Gazette* returned 96,497 hits, 6.5 per cent of these is just 6,207. The other newspapers' concordance line samples followed a similar pattern. The *Liverpool Mercury's* 300-line sample contained just 12 lines that referred to Irish migrants in Britain and the 200-line samples from the *Hampshire Telegraph* and *Ipswich Journal* each contained nine references, *Reynolds's Newspaper* eight, and the *Glasgow Herald's* six. Similarly, 'French' and 'German' migrants featured in just a handful of the lines contained in their 200-line samples.³³ Unusually, 44, or 22 per cent of *Reynolds's Newspapers'* concordance lines referred to German migrants, four times as many as the next newspaper. This larger number was due to the staunchly republican paper's frequent descriptions of members of the royal family as German migrants, a discourse that is explored in more depth when it reappears in section 4.4.6.3. 14 of *Reynolds's Newspapers'* 44 mentions of German migrants also appeared in reference to court cases. Whilst unlikely that German migrants were disproportionately involved in criminal activity, this finding probably reflects the propensity of the newspaper towards lurid crime reporting.

Although the concordance line samples demonstrate that nationality terms were far more likely to be used in contexts which did not relate to migration, when migrants were reported upon, they were usually associated with specific collocates. These collocates can be used to learn a little more about the nature of reporting upon these groups, and their experiences in Britain. For instance, when 'Catholic' collocated with the search term 'Irish' it

³² The number is approximate since some lines related to several topics or were difficult to categorise.

³³ The following figures show approximately how many of the 200 'German' concordance lines in each newspaper related to German migrants in Britain. 44 in *Reynolds's*, 11 in the *Ipswich Journal*, nine in the *Glasgow Herald*, seven in the *Hampshire Telegraph* and five in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. A sample of 300 concordance lines was taken from the *Liverpool Mercury* (100 from each of the three corpora) and only 20 hits related to German migrants. French immigrants featured in approximately eight of the 200 lines in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, four in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Glasgow Herald* and *Hampshire Portsmouth Telegraph*, and just two in the *Ipswich Journal*. Similarly, just 5 of the 300 lines taken from the *Liverpool Mercury* corpora related to French migrants.

referred to Irish Catholics in England rather than Ireland surprisingly often. Reading the articles in which 'Irish' and 'Catholic' collocated demonstrates that Irish migrants' Catholicism was generally mentioned in the news when it was the source of sectarian violence with native Protestants. Some articles did not follow this trend. When the *Glasgow Herald* reported upon a pit explosion in Whitehaven, for instance, it mentioned in passing that virtually all the victims were Irish Catholics with large families now left in a 'state of destitution'.³⁴ However, articles containing the collocate 'Catholic' which do not mention religious conflict are few in number.

A specific source of tension was the anti-Catholic rhetoric of William Murphey, a public speaker. In 1867, the *Pall Mall Gazette* documented the riot he caused in Birmingham.³⁵ Murphy reappeared in the *Glasgow Herald* and *Reynolds's Newspaper* two years later as violence erupted in North Shields.³⁶ Religious processions also seem to have been a recurring cause of violence. *Reynolds's Newspaper* reported that English Protestant Orangemen provocatively marching into an Irish Catholic area nicknamed 'Paddy's Rookery' in Preston elicited brick throwing and a fired pistol.³⁷ Similarly, religious processions resulted in the military being called out to quell riots in Stockport in 1852. *Reynolds's Newspaper*, however, shrewdly noted that rather than religion being wholly to blame, the Stockport violence could also be attributed to quarrels over 'trade' and pure 'ignorance' on both sides, adding that drunken fights between the two factions were a regular sight.³⁸ Reporting upon violent sectarian incidents visibly increased in the 1850s. This is probably due to the documented rise in anti-papal sentiment that followed Pope Pius IX's re-establishment of the Catholic hierarchy, a move which saw new bishops instated in many areas of England and Wales. During this period the *Glasgow Herald* documented rising tensions between Irish Catholics and English

³⁴ *Glasgow Herald*, 3 November 1848.

³⁵ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 19 June 1867.

³⁶ *Glasgow Herald*, 20 March 1869; *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 21 March 1869.

³⁷ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 7 June 1868.

³⁸ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 4 July 1852.

Protestants and ‘increasing animosity’ in a Glasgow suburb of Pollokshaws.³⁹ A wave of anti-Catholic violence also appears to have swept up the Glasgow coast as subsequent articles report ‘men and boys’ ‘with sticks and skull crackers’ appearing first in the town of Greenock, before moving to nearby Gourock.⁴⁰ The towns were likely targeted due to the presence of Irish dock and shipyard workers. The *Glasgow Herald*, like *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, was swift in each instance to condemn the violence and disassociate it from wider Protestantism, describing the Protestant perpetrators variously as ‘blackguards’, a ‘rabble’, and ‘rascals’. When trouble erupted in the neighbouring Inverkip, the *Glasgow Herald* unsympathetically characterised the Protestant aggressors as ‘the same senseless [...] rabble.’⁴¹

The collocate ‘Catholic’ also reveals that newspapers were concerned about the influence of the priesthood upon ‘Irish Catholics’, frequently portraying it as malign or sinister. The *Glasgow Herald* reported how, during the aforementioned 1850 Birkenhead riot, a Catholic priest was called as it was believed that his influence upon those congregated was so strong that his ‘presence’ would ‘allay the excitement’. His address, from a nearby window, was described by the article as having an ‘electrical effect’ upon the assembled mob.⁴² There were worries about the impact this influence could have upon the voting habits of Irish migrants. In 1885 the *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Reynolds’s Newspaper* described how those gathered at meetings at Brentford and Portsmouth were advised by the Catholic clergy to block-vote Conservative.⁴³ In one article, the *Glasgow Herald* described Catholic priests as having ‘an extraordinary influence’ over Irish workers who were, in another article, characterised as ‘mere political slaves, political pawns’.⁴⁴ The *Pall Mall Gazette* similarly described Irish politicians in Westminster as ‘the mere instruments of the priests’.⁴⁵

³⁹ *Glasgow Herald*, 21 February 1851.

⁴⁰ *Glasgow Herald*, 21 July 1851.

⁴¹ *Glasgow Herald*, 25 July 1851.

⁴² *Glasgow Herald*, 2 December 1850.

⁴³ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 30 November 1885; *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 15 November 1885.

⁴⁴ *Glasgow Herald*, 2 December 1850; *Glasgow Herald*, 7 January 1893.

⁴⁵ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 24 June 1880.

Turning away from reporting upon the Irish, 'governess' was a collocate of 'French' in the *Pall Mall Gazette* and tended to appear in adverts either placed by, or requesting the services of, French governesses. As well as reflecting the newspaper's affluent audience, the collocate provides a window of insight into the priorities of the nineteenth-century French governess and her employer. Although the adverts usually contained little detail, presumably to keep type costs down, a number specified the religion, or desired religion, of the governess in question. Often, they called for a Protestant governess, presumably to avoid employing a Catholic.⁴⁶ A Parisian accent appears to have been the fashion; employees sometimes claimed to speak 'fluent Parisian French'.⁴⁷ Adverts also stressed the social opportunities available to governesses. One advert seeking the services of a governess noted their 'liberal table' and proximity to 'all the places of amusement'.⁴⁸

Even when concordance lines do, as in the previous examples, refer to a person of foreign-birth present in Britain, however, it is not always obvious if that person was a long-term migrant or a shorter-term visitor. Adverts do not contain enough information to establish, for instance, whether the French governesses looking for employment were permanently resident in England, or simply intended to have a short-term working holiday before returning to France. That such adverts frequently stressed a pleasant living situation over pay indicates that the latter may well have been the case.

This ambiguity is typified by the collocate 'labourer' which occurred in relation to 'Irish' in all the newspapers and sometimes referred to longer-term Irish migrants, sometimes to seasonal workers who moved to England for harvest work before returning to Ireland, and sometimes to Irish labourers in Ireland itself. It is often unclear precisely which category specific migrants fell into and the categories themselves were not always clear-cut. For

⁴⁶ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 26 December 1866; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 29 August 1868; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 9 February 1871.

⁴⁷ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 13 December 1882.

⁴⁸ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 26 December 1866.

instance, some seasonal Irish migrants, upon receiving near-continuous employment in England, stayed for years. Others intended a permanent move to England only to become entrapped in tit-for-tat Irish, English, and Scottish deportation policies, which saw individuals being sent repeatedly back and forth across the Irish Sea so that neither authority had to pay for their poor relief. For instance, a letter written to the *Glasgow Herald* described a woman who had, along with her child, repeatedly returned to Glasgow after being sent back to Belfast.⁴⁹

Ultimately, this inability to clarify the migration status of those being referred to, coupled with the sheer quantity of irrelevant results, meant that searching by nationality was deemed impractical for approaching nineteenth-century newspaper texts for general attitudes towards migrants. The large number of different nationalities present in Britain means that this method of searching would be best suited to historians who already possess more targeted research questions and are approaching the corpora intending to explore how specific national groups were reported upon, rather than migrants more broadly.

3.3.2 Searching using Migration status

Most corpus-based studies of present-day migration have selected terms that relate to the act of migrating itself, or the citizenship status of the person migrating, as starting points for their research.⁵⁰ Unfortunately, these studies rarely provide justifications for their search term choices. This is perhaps because, as contemporaries of the newspapers they are analysing, it is obvious to the research teams which terms will prove fruitful. It quickly became

⁴⁹ *Glasgow Herald*, 9 April 1849.

⁵⁰ See, for instance, C. Gabrielatos and P. Baker, 'Fleeing, Sneaking, Flooding: A Corpus Analysis of Discursive Constructions of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Press 1996-2005', *Journal of English Linguistics*, 36:1 (2008), pp. 5-38 <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0075424207311247>>; S. Blinder and W. Allen, 'Constructing Immigrants: Portrayals of Migrant Groups in British National Newspapers, 2010-2012', *International Migration Review*, 50:1 (2016), pp. 3-40 <<https://doi.org/10.1111/imre.12206>>.

apparent, however, that language change means that some of their choices are not useful when searching nineteenth-century texts.

Search terms such as these are valuable because, unlike nationality-based queries, they do not presuppose which migrants will feature in the pages of the nineteenth-century press. Instead, they reveal who the newspaper considered to be an ‘immigrant’ or a ‘refugee’, and who they did not. Indeed, as Cohen indicates, ‘who constitutes the self (the acceptable, the insider, the familial), and who the other (the stranger, the outsider, the alien) is the warp and woof of all British migration history and the basic ingredient of British identity.’⁵¹

Query	Total hits
Alien(s)	22,403
Asylum Seeker(s)	0
Denizen(s)	2,052
Deportee(s)	14
Émigré(s)	131
Exile(s)	15,986
Foreigner(s)	47,395
Immigrant(s)	4,831
Migrant(s)	516
Refugee(s)	12,622
Stranger(s)	67,826
Transmigrant(s)	1

Table 3.1 Frequency of query occurrence in the newspaper sample.

To test these queries that relate broadly to migration status, I compiled a list of potential search terms inspired by my prior knowledge of migration discourses, both contemporary and historic, and used the *Complete Oxford English Dictionary* historical thesaurus to find synonyms not already included on the list.⁵² This process resulted in the list in table 3.1. I then

⁵¹ R. Cohen, ‘Fuzzy Frontiers of Identity: The British Case’, *Social Identities*, 1:1 (1995), pp. 35-62 (p. 20) <<https://doi.org/10.1080/13504630.1995.9959425>>.

⁵² This is a similar process of search term selection to that adopted in T. McEnery and H. Baker, *Corpus Linguistics and 17th-Century Prostitution: Computational Linguistics and History* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017), pp. 123-27.

searched for each term in all six of the newspaper corpora. This resulted in the removal of ‘asylum seeker(s)’, ‘denizen(s)’, ‘deportee(s)’, ‘émigré(s)’, ‘migrant(s)’, and ‘transmigrant(s)’ from the list, as each query returned too few results to be useful for corpus analysis.

There are various reasons for the low number of hits produced by these search terms. Some of them, such as ‘asylum seeker(s)’, seem to be of more modern derivation. Others, such as ‘denizen(s)’, appear to have been falling out of use by the nineteenth century. The meaning of some terms has also changed significantly. When ‘migrant(s)’ was used to search a corpus of issues of *The Times* newspaper from between 2000 and 2009, the prevalence of collocates such as ‘skilled’, ‘workers’, ‘illegal’, and ‘economic’ indicates that the term now primarily refers to human migration. In contrast, when ‘migrant(s)’ featured in the nineteenth-century press, it seems predominantly to have referred to animal, and particularly bird, migration. For instance, it collocated with ‘our’ in the *Ipswich Journal*, appearing in phrases such as ‘the bright sunshine has lured our summer migrants to their old haunts’ and ‘the turtle-dove is a summer migrant to our shores’.⁵³ It similarly collocated with ‘birds’ and ‘summer’ in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the latter appearing almost entirely in adverts for the book ‘Our Summer Migrants’ by ornithologist J. E. Harting.

After these search terms were removed, the following were left, ‘alien(s)’, ‘exile(s)’, ‘foreigner(s)’, ‘immigrant(s)’, ‘refugee(s)’, and ‘stranger(s)’. As before, I examined a sample of concordance lines of each remaining search term, and their collocates. This resulted in ‘foreigner(s)’, ‘immigrant(s)’, and ‘stranger(s)’ being excluded for reasons outlined below.

3.3.2.1 *Foreigner(s)*

As the Miarottini example demonstrated, ‘foreigner’ was used to describe migrants in nineteenth-century Britain and could, therefore, return useful results. However, like many of the other queries, it was as likely to refer to people overseas as it was migrants in Britain.

⁵³ *Ipswich Journal*, 4 December 1881; *Ipswich Journal*, 12 February 1888.

When it did refer to migrants in Britain, they were often only short-term visitors or passing through. For instance, when ‘influx’ collocated with ‘foreigner(s)’ in *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, it usually described short term visitors such as ‘the influx of foreigners to visit the National Exhibition’.⁵⁴

Furthermore, the ‘foreigners’ that appeared in the newspapers were often an imaginary or hypothetical conceit as opposed to actual migrants present in Britain. According to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, for instance, ‘our old acquaintance [the] intelligent foreigner’ expresses ‘surprise at our English devotion to classics’ and has ‘ideas about Shakespearean drama’.⁵⁵ The hypothetical foreigner was described as ‘intelligent’ 376 times across the newspaper corpora.⁵⁶ For instance, a correspondent for *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, concerned about the under-funding of London’s hospitals, asked ‘what must intelligent foreigners think, to see elegantly got-up ladies and gentlemen shivering on street corners?’⁵⁷

3.3.2.2 *Immigrant(s)*

An Americanization, ‘immigrant’ does not appear to have been widely adopted into the English language until the 1830s. Google Books’ *N-gram Viewer* is an interface that allows users to map the frequency of N-grams (see section 2.4.2) in Google’s collections of digitised books. An *N-gram Viewer* search of Google’s collection of ‘British English’ texts returned very few instances of ‘immigrant(s)’ prior to the 1830s when its use increased rapidly.⁵⁸ In contrast, in *N-gram Viewer’s* collection of ‘American English’ texts, ‘immigrant(s)’ featured frequently from the late 1730s, a century prior to the first British use. Searching the entire *19th Century British Library Newspapers* on *Gale Primary Sources* reveals that the word was not used by any

⁵⁴ See, for example, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 11 May 1851.

⁵⁵ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 9 February 1865; 3 April 1865; 8 April 1865.

⁵⁶ ‘Intelligent’ occurred 141 times in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 81 in the *Glasgow Herald*, 64 in *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 40 in the *Liverpool Mercury*, 27 in the *Hampshire Telegraph*, and 23 in the *Ipswich Journal*.

⁵⁷ *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 6 June 1875.

⁵⁸ ‘About N-Gram Viewer’, *Google Books N-Gram Viewer* <<https://books.google.com/ngrams/info>> [accessed 13 June 2019].

of the newspapers until 1832, and not widely used until slightly later.⁵⁹ ‘Immigrant(s)’ is not, therefore, an equally useful query over the entire century.

‘Immigrant(s)’ also appears to have been used rather differently in the nineteenth-century newspapers to how it is used today. In present-day use, someone is both ‘emigrant’ and ‘immigrant’ during their migratory journey. They are emigrant from the perspective of the country they leave and immigrant from the perspective of the country they enter. In a corpus of articles from *The Times* newspaper between 2000 and 2009, unlike ‘emigrant(s)’, ‘immigrant(s)’ collocated with words indicating arrival such as ‘influx’, ‘wave’, ‘enter’, and ‘arrived’. Since the nineteenth-century newspapers in the sample were physically located in Britain, it could perhaps be anticipated that they would, like present-day newspapers, label those who arrived in Britain as ‘immigrants’, and those who left Britain as ‘emigrants’. However, a search for the phrase ‘immigrants from’ returned results such as ‘immigrants from Britain’, ‘from England’, ‘from Great Britain’, and ‘from the United Kingdom’ in numbers comparable to those such as ‘immigrants from France’ or ‘immigrants from Russia’. That ‘immigrant’ was also being used by the newspapers to refer to British immigration into other countries was confirmed by the term’s collocates, which included ‘attract’, ‘assisted’, and ‘reception’. When these collocates were viewed in context, they related to the efforts of overseas governments to tempt British settlers. For instance, the Argentinian, Mexican, and Brazilian authorities were described on various occasions as doing ‘their utmost to attract immigrants’.⁶⁰

‘Immigrant(s)’ also strongly associated with the collocate ‘Chinese’, which appeared as one of the top ten collocates of the query in *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, the *Liverpool Mercury*, the *Ipswich Journal*, and the *Hampshire Telegraph*, and the top 15 of the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *Glasgow Herald*. Although there was a small Chinese population in Britain in the nineteenth

⁵⁹ The few documented earlier uses seem to be misspellings or OCR errors for other words.

⁶⁰ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 13 January 1894; 3 July 1875; 19 October 1889.

century, every instance of this collocate appeared in, usually negative, articles about ‘Chinese immigrants’ in the United States and British colonies, not ‘Chinese immigrants’ in Britain.

Ultimately, that ‘immigrant(s)’ was used to refer to migration out of Britain as least as much, if not more, than it was migration into Britain, meant that it was not directly useful in answering my research questions. However, it has not been dismissed entirely. When it did refer to migration to Britain, ‘immigrant(s)’ associated with very similar collocates to ‘alien(s)’. Therefore, although not used as a starting point in and of itself, the query is incorporated into Chapter 4 when pertinent.

3.3.2.3 *Stranger(s)*

According to the *Complete Oxford English Dictionary*, the word ‘stranger’ has been in use as a descriptor for people of other nationalities since the High Middle Ages.⁶¹ Although used in this sense in the nineteenth-century newspaper corpora, it is very difficult to tell when the term was being used to refer to non-British ‘strangers’ as opposed to British ‘strangers’, for it frequently related to both. Feldman explains that by this period ‘the terminology of “strangers” was widely used by contemporaries’ in relation to internal migrants from other parishes.⁶² ‘Stranger’ also appeared frequently in idioms such as ‘truth is stranger than fiction’ and ‘a perfect stranger’. Indeed, ‘fiction’ collocated 504 times across the newspaper sample.⁶³ Although these idiomatic uses could be filtered out by only focusing on certain collocates, the ambiguity over whether the stranger referred to was British or non-British, real or hypothetical, rendered this term unusable for the purposes of this research.

⁶¹ ‘stranger, n. (and adj.)’, *OED Online* (Oxford University Press) <www.oed.com/view/Entry/191250> [accessed 13 June 2019].

⁶² D. Feldman, ‘Migrants, Immigrants and Welfare From the Old Poor Law To the Welfare State’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 13 (2003), pp. 79-104 (p. 84) <<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0080440103000045>>.

⁶³ ‘Fiction’ collocated with ‘stranger’ 128 times in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 116 in the *Liverpool Mercury*, 114 in the *Glasgow Herald*, 69 in the *Hampshire Telegraph*, 53 in *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, and 24 in the *Ipswich Journal*.

3.4 Final Search Queries

Ultimately, 'alien(s)' and 'refugee(s)' were selected as a starting point for accessing discourses of migration in the newspapers. The former forms the basis of Chapter 4, and the latter Chapter 5. As discussed previously, 'immigrant(s)' is included at various points in Chapter 4, in order to highlight areas of convergence and difference between its results and those of 'alien(s)'. Similarly, as 'exile(s)' was found to refer to a very specific subset of 'refugee(s)' it is incorporated into Chapter 5. Although these search terms underpin the chapters, they do not restrict their scope. As discussed in section 2.3, corpus research is not necessarily a one-way process from the distant to the close. Instead the researcher may receive the most nuanced perspective by shifting back and forth between different scales, in order to examine texts from a variety of perspectives. In both chapters, new lines of enquiry, and fresh queries, emerge as salient and are duly incorporated in order to enrich analysis.

Although the etymology of these two queries will be discussed in their respective chapters, some of the reasons for their selection are now briefly outlined, along with a few initial findings. 'Alien(s)' and 'refugee(s)' were found to allow access to a broad cross-section of reporting upon migration and also, when compared, an insight into how newspaper reporting upon voluntary and involuntary migrants differed. Furthermore, unlike nationality terms such as 'German(s)' and 'French', the two queries do not inherently point towards specific groups of migrants. They should, therefore, provide an insight into who the newspapers considered to be 'aliens' and who they considered to be refugees.

Like other potential queries such as 'stranger(s)', 'foreigner(s)', and 'immigrant(s)', 'alien(s)' was used in contexts other than migration. However, unlike these queries, when it did refer to migration, it almost always did so in a British context. This made it well-suited for collocation analysis. For instance, when 'influx' collocated with 'foreigner(s)', articles

discussed 'the influx of foreigners at Rome' and 'the influx of foreigners to Paris'.⁶⁴ Whereas, when 'influx' collocated with 'alien(s)', all the concordance lines related to migrants in Britain, making it easier to draw unambiguous conclusions.

In contrast with many of the other potential queries, 'refugee(s)' had no polysemous uses and always referred to migrants. However, unlike 'alien(s)', 'refugee(s)' did occur in non-British contexts. This was not necessarily an issue because, as shall be explored in Chapter 5, domestic and overseas refugee coverage produced very difficult collocates, making them relatively easy to analyse separate from one another. Furthermore, coverage of overseas refugee was not discussed entirely at a remove. As will be seen, articles elicited emotional and financial support from their British audiences by creating tangible links between them and the overseas refugees. Finally, the relationship between coverage of internal and overseas refugees proved quite different, making it a fascinating avenue for analysis in its own right.

Nonetheless, although 'alien(s)' and 'refugee(s)' proved themselves preferable to the other potential queries tested in this chapter, some caveats must be noted. As discussed, although a researcher can use their intuition to detect absences, search-based methodologies can only really reveal explicit results. Since identifying someone as an 'alien' involves highlighting their difference, this means that the query will possibly uncover more negative than positive articles. Indeed, as Fowler notes, the very process of providing a group of people with a label or category marks them out as 'special and deviant'.⁶⁵ Instances where migrants were discussed with no reference to their migrant status because the reporter simply did not consider it relevant to the story are necessarily excluded from this research.

⁶⁴ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 7 April 1869; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 2 June 1900.

⁶⁵ Fowler, *Language in the News*, p. 94.

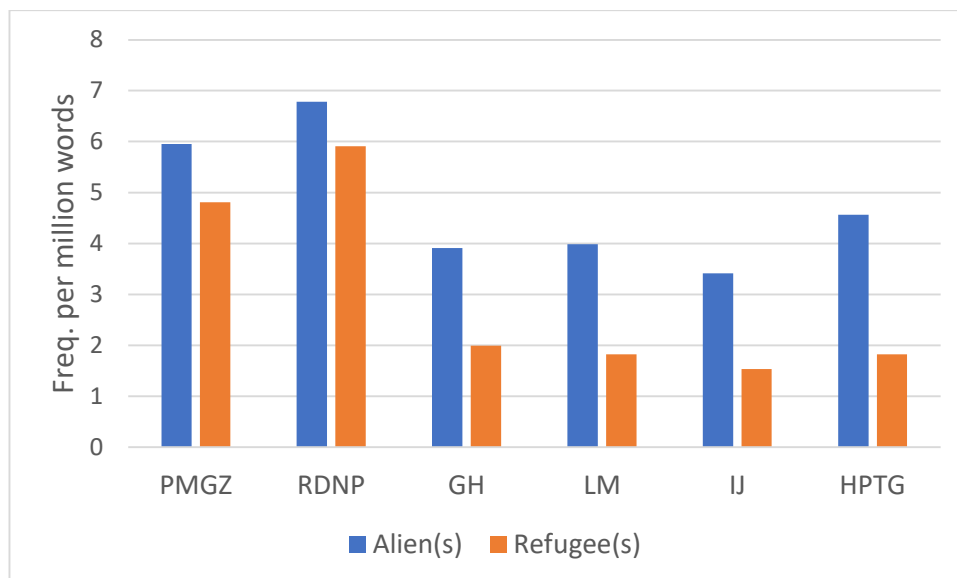


Figure 3.2 Comparative freq. per million words of ‘alien(s)’ and ‘refugee(s)’.

	Alien(s)	Refugee(s)
PMGZ	6.0	4.81
RDNP	6.8	5.91
GH	3.9	1.99
LM	3.15	1.36
IJ	3.4	1.53
HPTG	4.6	1.82

Table 3.2 Results of queries in newspapers in the sample expressed as a freq. per million words.

Several initial findings can now be reported. First, as figure 3.2 and table 3.2 demonstrate, the two London newspapers (the *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Reynolds’s Newspaper*), both discussed ‘alien(s)’ and ‘refugee(s)’ much more than the other newspapers in the sample. This is perhaps due to the concentration of migrants in London.⁶⁶ However, if results were

⁶⁶ The geographical distribution of migrants is documented by Panayi. Although most groups were concentrated in London, it is worth noting that certain migrant groups resided in other cities in large numbers. For instance, for a period in the middle of the century, nearly 18 per cent of people in Liverpool were born in Ireland. See P. Panayi, *Immigration, Ethnicity and Racism in Britain: 1815-1945* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), pp. 52-58. Indeed, an 1853 police census estimated that just 1,900 refugees lived outside of the capital. Police Report (19 March 1853: PRO HO 45/4816), cited in B. Porter, *The Refugee Question in Mid-Victorian Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 16. Though, it is worth noting that the police census likely only counted political refugees in its ‘refugee’ count.

premised solely on the migrant presence in the newspaper's city of publication, the *Liverpool Mercury* should feature the queries a greater number of times per million words than it does. It should be noted that OCR quality can impact the number of results that a query returns, and whilst the OCR quality of the *Ipswich Journal* was comparable to that of the *Liverpool Mercury* and *Glasgow Herald*, the OCR quality of the *Hampshire Telegraph* was much poorer.

The second finding is that the nineteenth-century newspapers did not seem to discuss migration anywhere near as much as the present-day press. 'Alien(s)' could not be used to search a modern corpus due to its strong association with science fiction. Amongst the most frequent collocates of 'alien(s)' in a corpus of articles from *The Times* newspaper between 2000 and 2009 were 'sci-fi', 'invasion', 'abducted', 'space', 'encounters', and 'autopsy'. Although 'immigrant' is by no means synonymous with the nineteenth-century 'alien', there are overlaps and the former can provide an indication of the volume of present-day reporting upon migration to Britain. In just one decade of *The Times* newspaper (the 2000s) 'immigrant(s)' returned 10,408 results and 'refugee(s)' 11,448 results. In the nineteenth-century newspaper sample, the most mentions of the two queries in a single decade occurred in the *Glasgow Herald* in the 1890s, in which 'alien(s)' returned 2,955 hits, and 'refugee(s)' 1,320 hits. Both results are considerably more modest than those seen in a modern newspaper. It is also worth noting that the volume of mentions seen in the *Glasgow Herald* in the 1890s is unusually high. All the newspapers (including the *Herald*) usually mentioned 'alien(s)' and 'refugee(s)' far fewer times per decade.

This large difference in levels of migration reporting is also apparent when results are normalised to allow for newspaper corpora of different sizes to be compared. Table 3.2 displays the number of times each newspaper used the queries 'alien(s)' and 'refugee(s)' as a frequency per million words. It demonstrates that on average throughout the nineteenth-century, migrants were reported upon at a far lower frequency than in *The Times* which, in the 2000s, used 'refugee(s)' 13.92 times per million words, and 'immigrant(s)' 12.65 times per

million words. This finding means that, although there were enough results for the purposes of this research, there were fewer results (and as a result, fewer collocates) than initially anticipated.

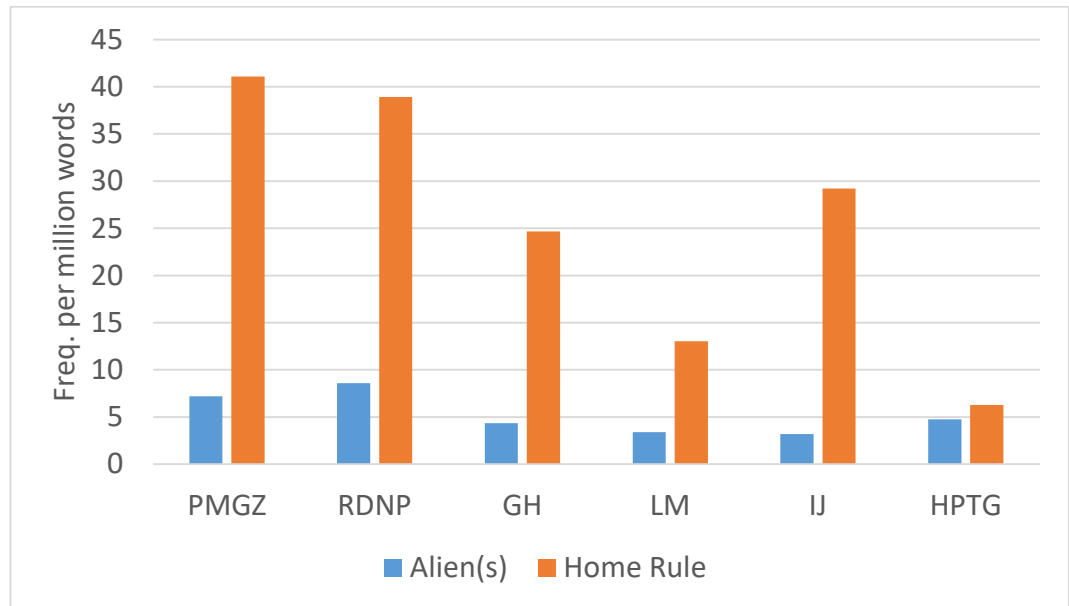


Figure 3.3 Comparative freq. per million words of 'alien(s)' and 'Home Rule' between 1800 and 1900.

It seems, therefore, that migration-related nineteenth-century news was much less common than it is today (at least in the titles included in the newspaper sample). To contextualise how frequently 'alien(s)' appeared in the newspapers compared to other topical nineteenth-century issues, figure 3.3 compares how often 'alien(s)' and 'Home Rule', the Irish independence movement, appeared in each newspaper title as a frequency per million words between 1800 and 1900. Although 'alien(s)' and 'Home Rule' were debated by Parliament and featured in election campaigns, the latter received a much greater quantity of news coverage than the former. The next chapter examines precisely how 'alien(s)' were reported when they did feature in the nineteenth-century newspapers.

4 Aliens

4.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the associations of the query ‘alien(s)’ in the nineteenth-century press using a variety of corpus methods.¹ A legal term used for foreign nationals resident in Britain, ‘alien’ traditionally denoted someone who was outside the Crown’s jurisdiction and therefore not a subject. It was frequently used in Parliament and favoured over terms such as ‘immigrant’ in migration legislation and documentation.² It could be assumed that its use both as a legal term, and in official discourses, granted ‘alien’ neutrality or objectivity. However, as this chapter shall demonstrate, words are never really neutral.

‘Alien’, for instance, also possessed a number of other, non-migration, meanings. These other uses are explored in section 4.2. and see ‘alien’ intertwined with strangeness, foreignness, and otherness, associations which seeped into the word when it referred to migrants. Furthermore, as migration restriction became the subject of popular debate during the nineteenth century ‘alien’ entered into a variety of non-official discourses. This, as Glover argues, resulted in a ‘blurring’ of the ‘division between the letter of the law and everyday prejudices’ and, as a result, ‘alien’ attained a great deal of connotative baggage.³ A category that should, theoretically, have incorporated all migrants, including those who had been resident in Britain for a length of time, became intertwined with a specific subset: impoverished new arrivals.

Section 4.3 examines the collocates of ‘alien(s)’ decade by decade to provide a diachronic overview of the newspapers’ coverage. Section 4.4 then groups the collocates

¹ The data analysed in this chapter was, unless otherwise specified, generated using the query ‘alien[s,]’ which searched for both the singular ‘alien’ and plural ‘aliens’.

² See, for instance, ‘Naturalisation Certificate: Gustav Oppert, from Germany. Certificate A836’ (1872) The National Archives, Kew, HO 334/3/836.

³ D. Glover, ‘Still Closing the Gates: The Legacy of the 1905 Aliens Act’, *Jewish Quarterly*, 60:1 (2013), pp. 18-27 (p. 20) <<https://doi.org/10.1080/0449010X.2013.787288>>.

according to their semantic similarity in order to identify, and unpick, the broad topics with which 'alien(s)' was most often associated in the newspapers. Having established how the nineteenth-century press reported upon 'alien(s)', section 4.5 considers the certainty with which stances can be attributed to the different newspaper titles. Concordance analysis is used throughout the chapter to gain a more nuanced impression of how collocates were used in practice in individual articles. In this way, the chapter moves between a macroscopic engagement with 'alien(s)' and its historical context, and a more microscopic analysis of the language used in the different newspaper titles' representations of 'alien(s)'.

4.2 The 'Alien'

In the nineteenth century, the word 'alien' held several meanings. It was, as discussed, a legal noun that denoted foreign nationals resident in Britain.⁴ This usage also appeared in non-legal contexts. Migrants to Britain were often labelled 'alien' in this sense, making it a particularly pertinent term for this research. In the corpora, 'alien(s)' also appeared as an adjective to describe things that belonged to a foreign country (for instance 'alien cultures'), and to identify things as unfamiliarly strange ('alien to our English habits' is an example that frequently occurred across the newspapers). These two adjectival meanings overlap and are sometimes difficult to disentangle.

The usage that is most relevant to this chapter is the first, the 'alien' as a foreign national resident in Britain.⁵ Until 1844, an individual wishing to be naturalised required a private Act by Parliament that cost around £100. At the beginning of the century, there were also religious barriers to naturalisations and non-Christians could not be naturalised through Parliament

⁴ For an excellent discussion of the 'alien' in Medieval England, see W. M. Ormrod, B. Lambert, and J. Mackman, *Immigrant England, 1300-1550* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018). They argue that Medieval England saw the 'institutionalisation' of 'alien' in its 'legalistic' sense.

⁵ In some definitions, 'alien' also included those who had been born in the United Kingdom, but whose father was not a British subject. See N. W. Sibley and A. Elias, *The Aliens Act and The Right of Asylum* (London: William Clowes and Sons, Limited, 1906), pp. 33-35.

until 1825.⁶ The passing of the 1844 Naturalisation Act shifted power to the Home Office and allowed the Secretary of State to grant naturalisation certificates at a much more modest price of between £1 and £5. However, an individual was still required to have resided in Britain for more than five years to be considered eligible to apply for citizenship, and to find a number of people who could vouch for their 'respectability'.⁷ An alternative path existed in the form of denization, which continued alongside naturalisation for much of the century. This required migrants to acquire letters patent from the monarch. Unlike naturalisation, denization did not confer full citizenship and denizens existed in a liminal state. They still paid 'alien' tax rates, and could not inherit land, hold office, or vote. Although exact numbers are uncertain, the naturalisation process (at least until 1844) was complex and expensive and it seems likely that many of Britain's foreign-born inhabitants remained 'alien' despite having lived in the nation for considerable periods of time.

When used as a noun in the corpus, the meanings of 'alien(s)' were fairly homogenous; it generally referred to migrants. However, an exception, which shall be briefly dwelt on here, was observed in the *Hampshire Telegraph*. Amongst the collocates of 'alien(s)' in the *Telegraph* were 'charitable', 'society', 'held', 'anniversary', and 'feast'. All relate to the 'charity society of aliens for apprenticing poor children', abbreviated to the 'Winchester Aliens' Society'. The 'alien' and 'native' societies were benefactors of impoverished children and held an annual feast, attended by dignitaries, where the 'poor children' who had received apprenticeships were paraded through the city streets. In this context, 'alien' denoted anyone not born in the city, and 'native' referred to people who did originate from the city. Therefore, in Hampshire, 'alien' was awarded an additional layer of meaning as the presence of 'alien' and 'native' societies in the region kept alive a highly parochial definition of the term that appears to have fallen out of popular usage elsewhere.

⁶ C. Holmes, *Anti-Semitism in British Society, 1876-1939* (London: Routledge, 2015), p. 8.

⁷ W. S. Holdsworth, 'The History of the Law as to the Status of British Subjects and Aliens', *The Legal History Review*, 3:2 (1922), pp. 175-214 (p. 198) <<https://doi.org/10.1163/157181922x00275>>.

When used as an adjective to denote strangeness or difference, 'alien' often featured in the construction 'alien to', a phrase which occurred 1114 times across the newspaper sample.⁸ Things were frequently 'alien to' something intangible or emotional such as 'feelings', 'traditions', 'spirit', 'genius', 'nature', and 'habits'.⁹ Sometimes the 'alien' was portrayed as almost subversive in its novelty. For instance, a man was described as having been assaulted for wearing a top hat to a public house, as it 'was considered alien to the habits and feelings of the locality'.¹⁰ His attire set him apart as belonging to a different social or economic class than the public house's usual inhabitants and rendered him open to attack. The newspapers also frequently juxtaposed something that was 'alien' with something that was archetypally 'English' or 'British'. Things were, for instance, 'alien to' 'the spirit and temper of Englishmen', 'the English law', 'British political life', 'an English man', 'our English ways', and 'the habits of the English people'.¹¹

More broadly, the collocates and concordance lines of adjectival 'alien' reveal an overwhelmingly negative set of associations. 'Alien rule' was, for example, most frequently enacted by 'dictators', described as both 'a curse' and 'evil', and people under 'alien rule' were 'dominated', 'oppressed', and 'discontented'. Although these examples are drawn from non-migration uses of the word, these negative associations, and the aforementioned connection between 'alien(s)' and strangeness or sinister otherness, arguably contributed to the connotations conveyed by 'alien(s)' when it was used to describe migrants. As Löbner points out, accidental homonyms are rare and there is usually a shared meaning which underpins two different definitions of a word.¹²

⁸ 'Alien to' occurred 394 times in the *Glasgow Herald*, 275 in the *Liverpool Mercury*, 228 in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 93 in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 69 in the *Ipswich Journal*, and 55 in the *Hampshire Telegraph*.

⁹ 'Genius' was used in its more archaic sense to mean something's prevailing character or spirit.

¹⁰ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 7 June 1895.

¹¹ *Liverpool Mercury*, 21 February 1866; *Glasgow Herald*, 17 October 1860; *Glasgow Herald*, 28 April 1900; *Liverpool Mercury*, 6 August 1819; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 24 January 1867; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 6 October 1870; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 24 January 1867.

¹² S. Löbner, *Understanding Semantics* (London: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 44.

Corpus linguistic software allows these adjectival meanings to easily be excluded from results. However, the adjectival 'alien' did sometimes refer to migrants. For instance, it frequently pre-modified legislative terms when the newspapers discussed the passing of 'Alien Acts' and 'Alien Bills'. It also appeared as an adjective in the phrases 'alien immigration', 'alien immigrant(s)', 'alien question', and 'alien pauper(s)', and less common phrases such as 'alien Jews' and 'alien labour'. Therefore, no instances of 'alien(s)', as either noun or adjective, were excluded from the analysis.¹³ Rather, collocates were considered on a case by case basis, and non-migration collocates manually excluded from the analysis in section 4.4.

4.3 Overview of Newspaper Coverage

It is difficult to establish how much attention the newspapers dedicated to 'alien' migration at different points in the century. Simply examining the frequency with which 'alien(s)' was used over time does not reveal that much because, as discussed, it appeared in a variety of contexts, both migration and non-migration. One means of establishing the topicality of the 'alien' migrant is to examine this frequency data alongside the collocates of 'alien(s)' decade by decade and see what proportion of collocates relate to 'alien' migration, and what proportion to 'alien' as something strange or foreign.¹⁴

¹³ 'Alien(s)' also appeared in the corpora tagged as 'NP1', the label for a singular proper noun in the UCREL Tagset (for more on part-of-speech tagging see section 2.4.4). All instances of 'alien(s)' tagged as a proper noun were caused by OCR errors where the surname 'Allen' had been changed to 'Alien' and, because it was preceded by 'Mr'. or 'Mrs'. , the tagger had detected that it was a surname and tagged it accordingly. As instances of this mis-tagging were so negligible in number, for example they only accounted for 0.68 per cent of the hits of 'alien(s)' in the *Pall Mall Gazette* and 1.67 per cent in the *Liverpool Mercury*, I did not automatically remove them from the initial search, but rather manually filtered them out when semantically sorting the collocates.

¹⁴ To do so, I produced collocate lists for each decade in each newspaper title. I removed grammatical collocates such as 'and' and 'the' from the lists since they occurred in both migration and non-migration contexts and are, therefore, almost impossible to classify. I also removed collocates that were the product of OCR errors. I then took these lists one at a time (for instance, the 1820s in the *Ipswich Journal*) and established how many collocates primarily related to 'alien' migration, and how many to 'alien(s)' in its other uses. For instance, the *Ipswich Journal* produced two collocates in the 1820s, both of which relate to migration, therefore 100 per cent of the collocates produced by 'alien(s)' in the *Ipswich Journal* in the 1820s relate to 'alien' migration.

This revealed that the highest proportion of collocates relate to 'alien' migration in the decades at the beginning (from 1810 to 1840) and the end (the 1890s) of the century. It seems that 'alien(s)' was most likely to be associated with migration, as opposed to its other meanings, in these periods. When the mentions of 'alien(s)' in each decade were normalised as a frequency per million words to allow for comparison, it showed that comparable proportions of newspaper coverage were dedicated to 'alien(s)' across the decades, with some titles (the *Liverpool Mercury* for instance) featuring 'alien(s)' more as a frequency per million words at the beginning than the end of the century. However, in terms of raw frequency, a search for 'alien(s)' in the 1880s or 1890s produced many more results, and therefore more collocates, than a similar search in, for instance, the 1810s or 1820s.¹⁵ This is because, as discussed in section 1.5.2, the newspapers were all drastically larger at the end than beginning of the century.

For instance, although 100 per cent of the collocates produced by the *Ipswich Journal* and *Hampshire Telegraph* in the 1800s and 1810s relate to 'alien' migration, the more modest size of the corpora in this period mean that this amounts to 100 per cent of just one collocate per paper in the 1800s and two collocates per paper in the 1810s. Similarly, in the 1820s, 100 per cent of the collocates in the *Glasgow Herald*, *Liverpool Mercury*, and *Ipswich Journal* relate to migration, and 50 per cent in the *Hampshire Telegraph*. But, once again, the *Glasgow Herald*, *Ipswich Journal*, and *Hampshire Telegraph* only produced two collocates in this decade, and the *Liverpool Mercury* three.

Conversely, although only 69 per cent of the *Pall Mall Gazette's* collocates relate to migration in the 1890s, this is 69 per cent of a much higher 52 collocates. Indeed, the 1890s was the only decade in which a search for 'alien(s)' produced a large number of raw hits

¹⁵ CQPweb, the corpus query processor used to generate the bulk of results in this thesis (see section 2.4.1 for more information about tools), provides users with both raw results and results that have been normalised in various ways to account for variation over time and between newspapers. This means that a researcher can be aware of the limitations of the data and take them into account when conducting analysis.

(resulting in more collocates), and a relatively high proportion of those hits relate to migration. Furthermore, it is also worth considering that by the end of the nineteenth century the newspaper was a fundamentally different medium, with a much larger reach, than it had been at the beginning of the century. The huge growth in newspaper size and audience, prompted by the technological and legislative changes discussed in section 1.5.2, means that articles issued in the 1890s undoubtedly reached more people than those at the beginning of the century.

The significance of the 1890s is further enhanced by the realisation that increases in mentions of 'alien(s)' are not solely attributable to changes in the newspaper landscape. The *Liverpool Mercury*, *Ipswich Journal*, and *Hampshire Telegraph* all peaked in size in the 1880s, but each paper produced many more collocates for 'alien(s)' in the 1890s than the 1880s, indicating that migration increased in topicality in this final decade, independently of wider newspaper growth. All these factors combine to indicate that 'alien' migration was particularly topical in the 1890s.

This topicality was accompanied by a visible shift in the nature of reporting upon 'alien' migration. For most of the century, when 'alien' migration featured in the newspapers, it primarily did so in articles concerning legislation. For instance, in the 1820s, the *Glasgow Herald* produced just two collocates for 'alien(s)': 'act' and 'bill'. In the same decade, the *Liverpool Mercury* produced just three content collocates: 'act', 'bill', and 'against'.¹⁶ 'Act' and 'Bill' relate to the passing, or attempted passing, of various 'Alien Acts' and 'Alien Bills' through Parliament. 'Against' relates to protests and petitions opposing such legislation. One article, for instance, reported upon 'Lords Holland, Rosslyn, Thanet, and Cage' as they 'formally protested *against* the passing of the Alien Act' on numerous grounds including its cruelty and injustice.¹⁷ Across all the newspapers, up until (and including) the 1870s, almost every

¹⁶ A 'content' collocate is a non-grammatical collocate. Grammatical collocates such as 'the' and 'it' are hard to categorise as they appear in a variety of different contexts.

¹⁷ *Liverpool Mercury*, 9 August 1822. Emphasis is my own.

collocate that co-occurs with ‘alien’ migration relates to legislation. The manner in which newspapers reported upon these various ‘alien’ Acts and Bills is explored in more depth in section 4.4.2.

In the 1880s, this began to change. Although the old legislative association is still present, from 1887 a discourse related to ‘alien’ poverty is visible in the urban newspapers. The collocate ‘destitute’ appears in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, *Glasgow Herald*, and *Liverpool Mercury*, and is accompanied by the collocate ‘pauper’ in *Reynolds’s* and the *Herald*.

The 1890s then witness a proliferation of collocates with overtly negative connotations. Poverty terms appear in the more provincial *Ipswich Journal* and *Hampshire Telegraph*. Collocates such as ‘influx’, ‘arriving’, ‘landing’, and ‘number’ indicate a growing concern with ‘alien’ arrivals and quantities, whilst ‘expulsion’, ‘exclusion’, and ‘restriction’ signal increasing discourse on the topic of preventing ‘alien’ migration. Therefore, not only did the 1890s see a rapid expansion in newspaper coverage, as the query ‘alien(s)’ produced far more raw hits and collocates than most previous decades, they also saw a considerable change in tone towards the negative, which is explored in more depth in the following section (4.4).

4.4 Discourses

4.4.1 Semantic Groups

As explained in section 2.4.6, this research groups collocates semantically to identify recurring themes and patterns in newspaper discourse. Table 4.1 shows the semantic groups identified among the collocates of ‘alien(s)’ and provides a brief definition of each category. The full collocate lists are included in Appendix One. Table 4.2 provides examples of collocates that were placed in each semantic group. The number in brackets next to each collocate in the table shows how many of the six newspapers it appeared in. Although some collocates only

appeared in one paper, other collocates with similar meanings occurred in other newspapers. Taken together, these singly occurring collocates become cumulatively salient due to their place in a wider semantic group. Collocates which held overlapping meanings were placed in more than one semantic group. These include 'influx', which refers to the *arrival* of large *numbers*. As discussed in the previous section, the large increase in both the size of the newspapers and the topicality of migration means that most of these groups, aside from legislation, relate to newspaper coverage in the last two decades of the century, and particularly the 1890s.

Semantic Group	Collocate Definitions
Synonyms	Collocates that serve a similar function to 'alien' (e.g. 'immigrant'). Although the meaning of each word is subtly different, all would probably be listed as near synonyms in a thesaurus.
Arrival	Collocates that refer to 'alien(s)' arrivals. All the collocates that denote 'alien(s)' movement fit into this category.
Number	Collocates that denote, usually large, numbers of 'alien(s)'. The category includes very few proper numbers, instead featuring general terms that are used to aggregate something. Many of these are metaphors (e.g. 'influx', 'horde', and 'invasion').
Poverty	Collocates that describe 'alien(s)' as impoverished (such as 'pauper' and 'destitute') and collocates that relate to the issues caused by poverty (such as 'chargeable', which appeared as newspapers expressed concern that 'alien(s)' were 'chargeable' on the rates).
Identity	Collocates that provide additional information about 'alien(s)', such as gender, occupation, and nationality. This category contains very few collocates and is included primarily to draw a contrast with the similar, well populated, category that was identified in relation to 'refugee(s)'.
Legislation & Legal Status	Collocates that relate to 'alien' legislation (e.g. 'bill' and 'act'), the process of passing these through Parliament (e.g. 'reading'), and those that relate more generally to the legal status of 'alien(s)' (e.g. citizens).
Alien as an issue	Collocates that characterise 'alien(s)' as a problem (e.g. 'undesirable') or the subject of discussion (e.g. 'question').
Restriction and Exclusion	Collocates that occur in discussions about the potential exclusion of 'alien(s)' from Britain, and the passing of restrictive legislation. There are overlaps between the collocates in this group and those in the two above.
Britain	Collocates in this category refer to 'alien(s)' physical presence in Britain. Most are concrete (e.g. 'British', 'England') or abstract (e.g. 'country', 'shores') place names. These are the only geographical collocates that associated with 'alien(s)', once the search term's non-migration uses had been excluded.

Table 4.1 The semantic groups manually identified in the collocates of 'alien(s)'.

Semantic Group	Example Collocates
Synonyms	immigrants (6), foreign (3), foreigner (2), immigrant (2), foreigners (1)
Arrival	immigration (6), arriving (4), landing (4), importation (4), influx (3), ports (2), arrived (2), coming (1), come (1), invasion (1)
Number	Importation (4), number (4), influx (3), horde (1), invasion (1)
Poverty	pauper (6), destitute (6), paupers (4), chargeable (1), visible (1)
Identity	Jews (4), Jew (1), seamen (1)
Legislation & Legal Status	act (6), bill (6), law (3), naturalized (3), certificates (3), removal (2), legislation (2), laws (2), passing (2), naturalization (2), birth (2), introduced (1), 1836 (1), 1848 (1), registration (1), relating (1), reading (1), pilots (1), granting (1), subject (this relates to 'aliens' as a legal subject) (1), subjects (1), registered (1), claimant (1), citizens (1)
Alien(s) as an issue	question (3), dealing (3), Undesirable (1), subject (this relates to 'alien(s)' as a subject of inquiry) (1)
Restriction and Exclusion	exclusion (3), against (3), prevent (2), restriction (2), excluded (1), preventing (1), power (1), prohibition (1), prohibiting (1), prohibit (1), regulate (1), expel (1)
Britain	country (4), into (3), British (3), United (2), England (1), shores (1), English (1), realm (1)

Table 4.2 Examples of collocates from each semantic group.

It is striking how much commonality there is in the collocates of 'alien(s)' from newspaper to newspaper. Similar types of collocates appear across the newspaper sample and there were very few collocates which could not be categorised. This suggests that when discussing migration, all the newspapers included similar themes or drew upon common tropes. This could be attributed to the relative newsworthiness of different issues. If one newspaper judged that something related to 'aliens' was newsworthy, it seems likely that other newspapers operating in a similar context would too. However, although the collocates appear to have been broadly similar across the newspaper sample, it will become apparent that not all the newspapers were using these collocates in quite the same manner and expressed different views towards 'aliens'.

Some of these semantic groups are more surprising than others. If one were to speculate about the way 'aliens' were discussed in nineteenth-century newspapers, one might guess that the press was concerned with their numbers or movement. However, even these

potentially predictable associations reveal a great deal about the figure of the 'alien' once their intricacies have been teased apart. For instance, it is notable that all of 'movement' collocates in table 4.2 pertain to the arrival of 'aliens' at their destination. Whilst 'refugee(s)' and 'immigrant(s)' associated with terms like 'transport' and 'convey', which reference broader movement, 'alien(s)' appear to have been considered newsworthy only from the point at which they landed in Britain and became a domestic concern. Similarly, the only geographical collocates associated with 'alien(s)' as migrants to Britain, relate to Britain itself, indicating that migrant origins were under-discussed in newspaper coverage.

Furthermore, the query 'alien(s)' was not commonly associated with words relating to identity or personal characteristics. The 'identity' group is included in tables 4.1 and 4.2 as a point of comparison with the similar group that was identified in the collocates of 'refugee(s)'. However, it is very sparsely populated. The collocates of 'alien(s)' give few clues as to the nationalities, ethnicities, political affiliations, genders, or ages, of the migrants in question.

Interestingly, some of the semantic groups identified by the RASIM project (see sections 1.3 and 2.4.6) in relation to present-day newspaper reporting upon migrants are also evident in nineteenth-century newspaper reporting upon 'alien(s)'. For instance, Gabrielatos and Baker also identified the categories 'number', 'economic problems' (which seems a broader version of my category of 'poverty'), and found many word relating to 'entry' (which corresponds closely to a category which I identified as 'arrival'). This suggests a number of similarities between present day and historical newspaper reporting upon migrants.¹⁸

What follows is a discussion of some of these semantic groups, and the collocates within them, in greater depth, informed by a close reading of the concordance lines. The sub-headings do not strictly reflect the categories in tables 4.1 and 4.2. Rather they use them as a

¹⁸ C. Gabrielatos and P. Baker, 'Fleeing, Sneaking, Flooding: A Corpus Analysis of Discursive Constructions of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Press 1996-2005', *Journal of English Linguistics*, 36:1 (2008), pp. 5-38 (pp. 10-11) <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0075424207311247>>.

foundation to explore some of the query’s most salient and interesting associations, sometimes relating to multiple intersecting semantic groups.

4.4.2 Legislation

Prior to 1880, virtually all the collocates of ‘alien(s)’ relate to legislation. Legislation is also the only association of ‘alien(s)’ that appears to have endured throughout the century. In their investigation into the representation of prostitutes in a corpus of seventeenth-century texts, McEnery and Baker class some collocates as ‘consistent’.¹⁹ They define these as words that collocate with a search term in at least seven of the ten decades of a century. If the newspaper sample is viewed as a whole, some words collocated with ‘alien(s)’ across multiple decades. Foremost amongst these is ‘bill’, which collocated with ‘alien(s)’ in seven of the ten decades, and ‘act’, which collocated with ‘alien(s)’ in six. Both appear in articles relating to the progress of various restrictive or regulatory ‘alien bills’ or ‘alien acts’ through Parliament.

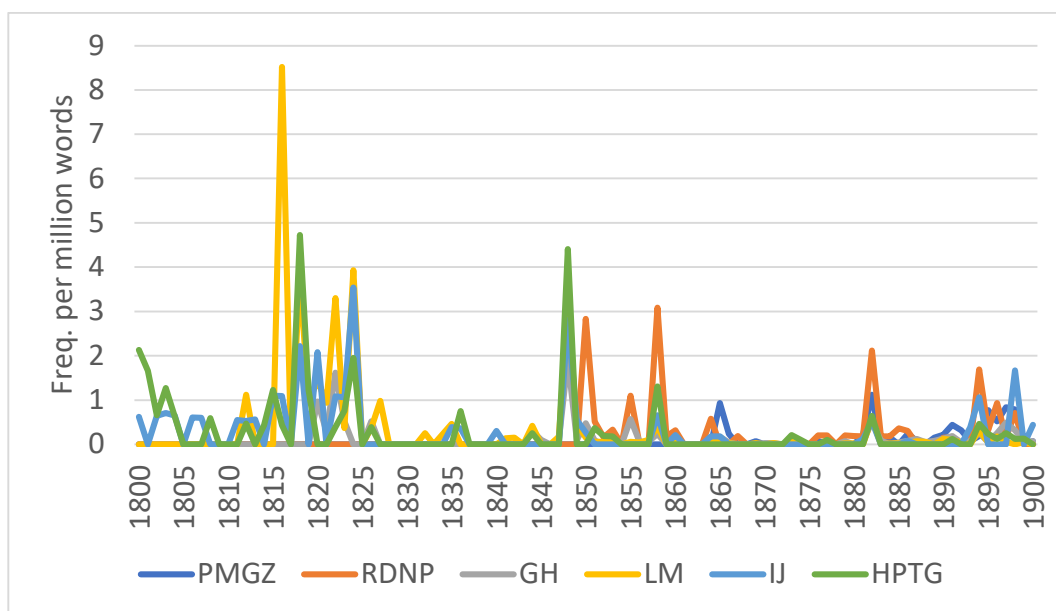


Figure 4.1 Distribution of ‘act’ and ‘bill’ as collocates of ‘alien(s)’ in all newspapers.

¹⁹ T. McEnery and H. Baker, *Corpus linguistics and 17th-Century Prostitution: Computational Linguistics and History* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017).

Figure 4.1 displays the distribution of the two collocates 'act' and 'bill' in all the newspapers in the sample to provides an indication of the main points in the century where newspapers were reporting upon the passing of 'alien(s)' acts and bills. The figure shows that newspaper coverage of 'alien' legislation revolves around several foci. The most prominent of which are a series of spikes that occurred between 1816 and 1824, and one that occurred in 1848. The former relates to the rolling renewal of the 1793 Aliens Act, and the latter to the passing of the Alien Removal Bill (sometimes Act) following Europe's so-called 'year of revolutions' (1848). Both will be discussed in more depth shortly.

Other legislation generated smaller spikes in 1858, 1882, 1894, and 1898. The 1858 spike relates to Lord Palmerston's proposed Conspiracy to Murder Bill, a reaction to militant anarchist attacks in Paris. As the Conspiracy to Murder Bill was primarily discussed in relation to the negative impact it might have on Britain's tradition of sheltering asylum seekers, it is explored in Chapter 5 of this thesis. The 1882 spike relates to the Government's imposition of the much-hated Prevention of Crime Bill upon Ireland following the Phoenix Park Murders, in which the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Lord Frederick Cavendish, and his Permanent Undersecretary, Thomas Burke, were fatally stabbed.²⁰ The Act contained a clause enhancing the Government's powers to remove 'aliens' and there was discussion of extending the clause to Britain.²¹ Since it primarily relates to migration into Ireland rather than Britain, it will not be discussed further here. Finally, as the moral panic around 'destitute aliens' heightened in the 1890s, multiple Alien Bills were introduced into Parliament and subsequently defeated.²² This accounts for both the 1894 and 1898 spikes, which are discussed in more depth shortly.

²⁰ T. Corfe, *The Phoenix Park Murders: Conflict, Compromise and Tragedy in Ireland, 1879-1882* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1968).

²¹ J. Gantt, *Irish Terrorism in the Atlantic Community* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 117-18. For an example of discussion concerning the clause's extension see *Pall Mall Gazette*, 23 June 1882.

²² A. Bashford and J. McAdam, 'The Right to Asylum: Britain's 1905 Aliens Act and the Evolution of Refugee Law', *Law and History Review*, 32:2 (2014), pp. 309-350 (p. 315) <<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0738248014000029>>.

4.4.2.1 *War and Peace Alien Acts (1793 – 1826)*

The spikes between 1816 and 1824 correspond to the repeated renewal of the 1793 Aliens Act. This Act was a response to the upheaval caused by the French Revolution and allayed concerns about the numbers, and potential hidden agendas, of French refugees arriving into Britain in the late eighteenth century.²³ It is notable that despite most of those impacted by the Act arriving in Britain as refugees, the inclusion of ‘aliens’ in the title of the Act under which they were removed resulted in them emerging amongst the results of ‘alien(s)’ rather than ‘refugee(s)’.

The Act required that ‘aliens’ be recorded upon arrival and documented in a register.²⁴ It placed controls upon their movements and places of residence and extended the Crown’s powers of deportation.²⁵ It was renewed several times during the Napoleonic Wars (1803 to 1815), rumbling on into peacetime and finally expiring unrenewed in 1826. The Acts generally lasted for two years, and the spikes in the corpora apparently occurred as each Act neared expiry and a new one was proposed. From 1826, the Acts were replaced with a system of registration. This, amongst other things, required ‘aliens’ to register with the Aliens Office and then provide an update on their place of residence every six months. The 1793 Act was the most punitive. Subsequent iterations were more lenient in terms of free movement but reserved the Government’s power of deportation.²⁶

In this early period, ‘act’ and ‘bill’ appeared most prominently in reports of parliamentary business. Newspapers covered the proposal of legislation, the different readings which had to occur before it passed into law, and the parliamentary debates which it

²³ P. Orchard, *A Right to Flee: Refugees, States, and the Construction of International Cooperation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 81-82.

²⁴ Bashford and McAdam, ‘The Right to Asylum’, p. 331.

²⁵ J. R. Dinwiddy, ‘The Use of the Crown’s Power of Deportation Under the Aliens Act, 1793-1826’, *Historical Research*, 41:104 (1968), pp. 193-211 (p. 194) <<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2281.1968.tb01248.x>>.

²⁶ For more information about these acts and their requirements see R. Kershaw, *Immigrants and Aliens: A Guide to Sources on UK Immigration and Citizenship*, Public Record Office Readers’ Guide; No. 22 (Kew: Public Records Office, 2000), pp. 44-47.

prompted. Each Act achieved a narrow majority of parliamentary support due to the continued political turmoil in Europe. For instance, Lord Castlereagh used the attempted assassination of the Duke of Wellington in Paris to justify the 1818 extension of the Aliens Act for another two years.²⁷

However, despite their continual extension, evidence in the concordance lines of 'act' and 'bill' indicates that these early Alien Acts were unpopular. This often hinged on disapproval at extending wartime legislation into peacetime. In a parliamentary debate of 1818, Castlereagh drew a distinction between 'peace' and 'war' Alien Bills. He intended to demonstrate that whilst early Aliens Acts had been severe, more recent iterations were relatively lenient and justifiable in peacetime.²⁸ However, his terminology was also adopted by the Act's opponents, who condemned as unusual the request of powers to 'send foreigners out of this country' 'in time of peace'.²⁹

This unpopularity is evident in a series of petitions that passed through the pages of the press. The *Glasgow Herald* mentioned a petition from Leicester against the Alien Bill, the *Liverpool Mercury* a petition from Scotland, and the *Ipswich Journal* and *Hampshire Telegraph* a petition from the Lord Mayor, Alderman and the Common Council of the City of London.³⁰ The latter claimed that they could tolerate the Bill during a period of war 'supposing there might be some danger and some ground for upholding it' but now, 'they apprehended danger from the law itself [...as] it might be a means of involving this country in war'.³¹

Most of the newspapers took no editorial stance towards the Acts. This may simply be a result of the lack of editorial opinion present in early-nineteenth-century newspapers more generally (see section 1.5.2). An exception is the *Liverpool Mercury*, which criticised both the

²⁷ G. Newenham Wright, *Life and Campaigns of Arthur, duke of Wellington*, (London: Fisher, 1841), p. 89.

²⁸ *Ipswich Journal*, 9 May 1818.

²⁹ *Liverpool Mercury*, 3 May 1816.

³⁰ *Glasgow Herald*, 1 July 1822; *Liverpool Mercury*, 12 June 1818; *Ipswich Journal*, 15 May 1824; *Hampshire Telegraph*, 17 May 1824.

³¹ *Hampshire Telegraph*, 17 May 1824.

Acts and the Government that enabled them. It called the Acts variously ‘detestable’ and ‘odious’ and celebrated their opponents as ‘vigilant guards of our national character’ who act ‘ably and vigorously’, whilst the Government was described as displaying a ‘cold, selfish, Machiavellian’ approach.³² Although the only evidence of vocal press criticism of the Acts is evident in the *Liverpool Mercury*, as discussed in section 4.5 opinion is not always overt and can be implicit in the content that titles choose to include and omit. For instance, that newspapers included the aforementioned petitions could indicate tacit disapproval of the Act’s extension. Another exception is the *Ipswich Journal* in which, as shall be explored shortly, one article in favour of the Acts appeared.

The Acts also appeared in coverage of (usually anti-Tory), political speeches, used as ammunition against the policies of the incumbent Government or the speakers’ political rivals. The speeches often occurred in elections geographically proximate to the newspaper that featured them. The *Liverpool Mercury*, for instance, contained a speech made by Colonel Williams, a local magistrate and Liberal politician. Williams criticised Liverpool’s previous political representatives for ‘passing an Alien Bill in time of peace, to the eternal shame of the hospitable character of England’.³³ On a different occasion, the *Liverpool Mercury* reported upon a meeting in support of another Liverpool candidate, the Liberal reform politician Thomas Thornley. Amongst the speeches given at the meeting was one that criticised a previous Aliens Act as a ‘Tory misdeed’.³⁴

When associated with legislation, ‘alien(s)’ was generally abstract and did not relate to particular individuals. This is unsurprising, as legislation that must be applied on a national scale is necessarily couched in vague terms and illustrated using hypothetical examples. However, the wider co-text in the *Ipswich Journal* contains instances that give an insight into how migration controls were practically enforced. In an example local to the paper, the *Ipswich*

³² *Liverpool Mercury*, 2 April 1824; 18 October 1822; 28 September 1821.

³³ *Liverpool Mercury*, 3 July 1818.

³⁴ *Liverpool Mercury*, 23 November 1832.

Journal reported how on 'Wednesday, a Frenchman was apprehended in one of the streets of this town [Ipswich], and some doubts [were] arising with respect to his passport'. The 'Frenchman' in question appeared before the magistrate, who ordered the 'Keeper of the Borough Goal' to detain him until his passport could be confirmed by the 'Alien Office'.³⁵

Another local application of the Aliens Act came when Giovanni Bulla, a travelling art salesman, was apprehended under the Aliens Act and imprisoned in Harwich jail, near Ipswich, after 'not being able to give a satisfactory account of himself'. The newspaper editorialised upon the incident, claiming that 'much mischief may result from permitting men of this description to roam at will throughout every part of the kingdom' as there was 'at least a probability' of them being spies.³⁶ The case seems to have been of particular interest to the *Ipswich Journal* because of its situation in a port town. The paper worried that, in Ipswich, a spy could 'obtain' information 'relative to the destination and sailing of our fleets and trading vessels'.³⁷

Interestingly, although based at the busy naval town of Portsmouth, the *Hampshire Telegraph* made very few mentions of the local implementation of the Aliens Acts. Only one instance emerged from the concordance lines that seemed to refer to enactment of the Aliens Acts in or near Hampshire. In 1808, some French smugglers were apprehended after landing on the Isle of Wight (relatively close to Portsmouth). The men were later committed to prison under the Aliens Act by the magistrate at Newport.³⁸ These individual 'aliens' were not usually viewed as indicative or symptomatic of a wider phenomenon, but rather discussed in isolation. This may have been a result of the lower level of migration to Britain in the 1800s and 1810s.

The collocate 'Act' also appeared in conjunction with other individuals who did not possess connections to the local area. For instance, several newspapers mentioned a 'Baron

³⁵ *Ipswich Journal*, 20 July 1805.

³⁶ *Ipswich Journal*, 27 June 1807.

³⁷ *Ipswich Journal*, 27 June 1807.

³⁸ *Hampshire Telegraph*, 11 April 1808.

Gourganid', who had been a close supporter of Napoleon's.³⁹ As Napoleon was, at this point in time, banished to St Helena, Gourganid, as part of his entourage, seems more akin to a political refugee, or at least an exile, than an 'alien'. However, he was expelled from the kingdom 'under the provisions of the Alien Act', resulting in his inclusion in this chapter rather than the next. This does seem to demonstrate that whether someone was spoken about as a 'refugee' or 'alien' was highly context dependent. Ultimately, the Baron appears to have been deemed newsworthy not so much because he was an 'alien' or 'refugee', but because of the spectacle caused by his arrest. It was reported that when the officers arrived to remove him 'he flew to the window and addressed the persons in the street' as 'he wished to excite a mob to rescue him'.⁴⁰ Indeed, unless deportations occurred proximate to a local newspaper, caused a spectacle, or featured high-profile figures, they seem to have received little coverage. Orchard notes that between 1801 and 1823, 235 individuals were deported as a result of the Aliens Acts, the vast majority of whom leave little trace in the newspaper sample.⁴¹

4.4.2.2 *Alien Removal Bill (1848)*

The 1848 Alien Removal Bill was passed as a precautionary measure after a series of revolutionary upheavals in Europe prompted fears that the unrest would spread to Britain. It gave the Government the power 'of removing all aliens who abused the hospitality which they received'.⁴² Interestingly, at least in the newspapers, the Bill does not seem to have roused the opposition that characterised the early 'peace' and 'war' Alien Acts. Indeed, most of the coverage in the newspaper sample simply relates to the Bill undergoing various parliamentary readings. I encountered, for instance, no reports of petitions against the Bill. This may have been because it was a temporary measure passed in reaction to exceptional circumstances. It was also less stringent than previous Acts and whilst the previous Aliens Acts appear to have

³⁹ Dinwiddy, 'The Use of the Crown's Power', p. 209.

⁴⁰ *Ipswich Journal*, 21 November 1818.

⁴¹ Orchard, *A Right to Flee*, p. 83.

⁴² *Glasgow Herald*, 17 April 1848.

been serially renewed long past the point where many contemporaries considered them necessary, this one was not renewed when it expired in 1850.⁴³

As well as containing little reference to wider opposition towards the Bill, few of the newspapers expressed a strong editorial line on it either. There does not appear to be any sentiment to match the scorn that the *Liverpool Mercury* poured onto the Bill's predecessors. Indeed, a reading of the concordance lines returned only one critical article in the *Mercury* itself, which joked that the Bill was the result of paranoia. The Bill, the article claimed, was only proposed because cabinet ministers and peers, who 'cannot look at a Frenchman's face without reading rifles and barricades in every line of his features' had 'encountered of late more frequent moustaches in walking the streets of London'.⁴⁴ However, although the writer did not seem to think the Bill necessary, they expressed little consternation at its passing. The only real opposition lodged to the Bill was that it might affect the 'rights of hospitality' that Britain offered to peaceable foreign nationals, particularly refugees.⁴⁵ This topic is connected to the discourse of Britain's 'right of asylum' and whether or not politically active refugees 'abused' it, which will be dealt with at length in section 5.3.5. Although some of the 'right of asylum' language was present in articles related to the 1848 Bill, it was not until the 1850s, and beyond, that the discourse became more prominent.

4.4.2.3 *Salisbury's Alien Bill (1894)*

In the 1890s, several unsuccessful private bills aimed at restricting migration were introduced to Parliament. The first was proposed in 1894 by Lord Salisbury, then Leader of the Conservative party, and received the most newspaper coverage. It was followed in 1898 by efforts from Howard Vincent, MP for Sheffield, and the Earl of Hardwicke. Salisbury's Bill attempted to restrict from entering Britain, 'aliens' who met the following criteria: physical

⁴³ B. Porter, *The Refugee Question in Mid-Victorian Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 3.

⁴⁴ *Liverpool Mercury*, 5 May 1848.

⁴⁵ *Glasgow Herald*, 17 April 1848.

and mental illness, poverty, criminality, and association with anarchism.⁴⁶ The coverage that the Bill received contrasts tonally with that of the earlier legislation discussed in this section. As shall be seen, it seems to have been associated with more emotive language and strong opinions emerged both in favour of, and against, the bill. This is at least partially attributable to wider changes in newspaper style. As discussed in section 1.5.2, by the 1890s newspapers generally adopted a livelier and more engaging tone. However, it seems notable that the increased emotion coincided with the wider furore in the 1890s around 'pauper' and 'destitute' 'alien(s)' and opposition to anarchism, both of which shall be discussed in more depth later in the thesis.

By the time of the Bill's introduction, most of the newspapers agreed that there was a need to restrict migration, but some disapproved of Salisbury's method of introducing the Alien legislation as a private members' bill that arguably undermined the authority of the incumbent Government. For instance, the *Liverpool Mercury* broadly sympathised with the restriction of pauper migration and 'getting rid of Anarchists'.⁴⁷ However, it believed that the subject needed 'adequate inquiry, carried out by a responsible authority', and accused Salisbury of doing 'mischief'.⁴⁸ Similarly, the *Glasgow Herald* viewed Salisbury's actions as 'alarmist', arguing that if legislation was necessary, it required further discussion before being passed in a measured and sensible manner.⁴⁹ The *Hampshire Telegraph* condemned Lord Salisbury's speech proposing the Bill, in which he sensationally claimed that England was 'the base from which the anarchist operations are conducted', as 'indiscreet'.⁵⁰ Elsewhere the *Hampshire Telegraph* took a similarly disapproving tone, describing the Bill as a 'conceived-in-a-panic measure'.⁵¹

⁴⁶ D. Cesarani and T. Kushner, *The Internment of Aliens in Twentieth Century Britain* (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 29.

⁴⁷ *Liverpool Mercury*, 18 July 1894.

⁴⁸ *Liverpool Mercury*, 18 July 1894.

⁴⁹ *Glasgow Herald*, 7 July 1894.

⁵⁰ *Hampshire Telegraph*, 14 July 1894.

⁵¹ *Hampshire Telegraph*, 21 July 1894.

In contrast, the *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Ipswich Journal* expressed approval for both the Bill and the manner of its introduction. In the 1890s, the once-Liberal *Gazette's* politics were, following various editorial and ownership changes, firmly Conservative. It strongly supported restrictive legislation and condemned the migration of both paupers and anarchists. For instance, in 1897, it wondered why the 1836 Registration of Aliens Act, still on the statute book, had not been put into 'active operation' against anarchists.⁵² Elsewhere it described legislation metaphorically as both a 'pitchfork' and a 'weapon' with which to expel 'undesirable guests'.⁵³ Likewise, the *Ipswich Journal* also expressed strong support for Salisbury's Bill, adding that 'readers of newspapers have frequently been shocked and horrified by the narratives that have been published of the lamentable condition of the herds of these pauper aliens in the East-End of London'.⁵⁴ It gleefully speculated that the bill must have been 'mortifying' for the Liberal Prime Minister Lord Rosebery, whose inaction necessitated Salisbury taking the initiative on a matter of such 'national importance'.⁵⁵ Elsewhere, it described Salisbury as having 'scared the Government by bringing in his Pauper Aliens Bill'.⁵⁶

Of the newspapers studied, only *Reynolds's Newspaper* utterly disapproved of the legislation. It remained sceptical of its necessity and, in an article entitled 'THE TRUTH ABOUT THE ALIENS BILL', set Salisbury's claims side by side with excerpts from a report by a Mr. J. G. Willis of the Statistical Department of the Board of Trade, which debunked many of Salisbury's claims as inflated. The newspaper concluded that 'it will not do [...] for Lord Salisbury to rely on mere generalizations'.⁵⁷

⁵² *Pall Mall Gazette*, 11 August 1897.

⁵³ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 12 August 1897.

⁵⁴ *Ipswich Journal*, 14 July 1894.

⁵⁵ *Ipswich Journal*, 4 July 1894.

⁵⁶ *Ipswich Journal*, 4 August 1894.

⁵⁷ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 15 July 1894.

4.4.3 Number

One of the main ways in which ‘aliens’ were discussed was in terms of their numbers. Actual numbers did not appear in the collocates due to their inherent lack of uniformity. Each article using a number discussed a different particular quantity of ‘aliens’ meaning that no one number was frequent enough to become a statistically detectable collocate. In the concordance lines, however, there were instances in which ‘aliens’ were more specifically quantified. Numbers clustered particularly around collocates in the semantic group of ‘arrival’, such as ‘arrived’ and ‘coming’. For instance, the *Pall Mall Gazette* reported upon the ‘arrival’ of ‘60,000 aliens’ in Hull, and the *Ipswich Journal* noted that ‘...aliens [are] coming into our towns at the rate of between 20,000 and 30,000 a year’.⁵⁸

The only collocates relating to quantity were more generic words used to denote a large amount of something such as ‘influx’ and ‘importation’, which shall be explored in the discussion of metaphors in section 4.4.4. Metaphor was frequently used to portray ‘alien’ numbers in an emotive manner as newspapers reported upon ‘aliens’ ‘swamping’ and ‘flooding’ British cities and the labour force. Headlines such as ‘THE INFLUX OF STARVING ALIENS’ appeared above articles containing parliamentary proceedings, sensationalising otherwise verbatim reports of debates.⁵⁹

That migrants were frequently associated with, often exaggerated or sensationalised, numbers is recognised by historians. Glover stresses the tendency of newspapers to report upon the quantity of migrants arriving in Britain, highlighting ‘the avalanche of numbers that thundered through the headlines of the popular press’.⁶⁰ Bloom states that ‘a key factor in the debate was that there was much confusion on immigrant numbers’.⁶¹ Orchard similarly notes

⁵⁸ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 27 September 1889; *Ipswich Journal*, 9 February 1895.

⁵⁹ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 5 May 1888.

⁶⁰ D. Glover, *Literature, Immigration, and Diaspora in Fin-de-Siècle England: A Cultural History of the 1905 Aliens Act* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 122.

⁶¹ C. Bloom, ‘The Politics of Immigration, 1881-1905’, *Jewish Historical Studies*, 33 (1992), pp. 187-214 (p. 191).

how 'anti-immigration campaigners claimed (with little support) that immigration into Britain was growing exponentially', a hyperbole which Gainer describes as 'the mythical horde'.⁶²

That numbers were sometimes exaggerated was also apparent to contemporaries, and on one occasion the *Pall Mall Gazette* was accused, in a letter written to the newspaper by a Charles Emanuel, of altering figures 'to create an erroneous impression' of 'alien' numbers.⁶³ Indeed, the 1889 *House of Commons Select Committee on Alien Immigration* found that 'alien' numbers had been exaggerated and, as such, did not advise the implementation of new legislation.⁶⁴ This seems reminiscent of claims by researchers that, in relation to contemporary migration, there are large discrepancies between real migrant numbers, and estimates that circulate in the public domain. This discrepancy has sometimes been attributed to media coverage distorting realities.⁶⁵

As with all the semantic groups explored in the remainder of this chapter, the discourse of 'number' is particularly characteristic of the 1880s and 90s. Indeed, this heightened preoccupation with 'alien' numbers is likely one of the reasons why the associations of 'alien(s)' shifted and became more negative during these decades.

All major port authorities were, from 1873, required to send quarterly reports concerning 'alien' arrivals to the Board of Trade.⁶⁶ This was supplemented in 1889 as the aforementioned *Select Committee on Alien Immigration* recommended the collection of more accurate and detailed 'alien' statistics.⁶⁷ Whilst reading concordance lines that featured words

⁶² Orchard, *A Right to Flee*, p. 91; B. Gainer, *The Alien Invasion: The origins of the Aliens Act of 1905* (London: Heinemann, 1972), pp. 6.

⁶³ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 19 December 1900.

⁶⁴ H. Wray, 'The Aliens Act 1905 and the Immigration Dilemma', *Journal of Law and Society*, 33:2 (2006), pp. 302-23 (p. 309) <<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6478.2006.00359.x>>.

⁶⁵ J. Sides and J. Citrin, 'European Opinion about Immigration: The Role of Identities, Interests and Information', *British Journal of Political Science*, 37:3 (2007), pp. 477-504 <<https://doi.org/10.1017/s0007123407000257>>.

⁶⁶ N. J. Evans, 'Commerce, State, and Anti-Alienism: Balancing Britain's Interests in the Late-Victorian Period', in *The Jew in Late-Victorian and Edwardian Culture: Between the East End and East Africa*, ed. by E. Bar-Yosef and N. Valman (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2009), pp. 80-97 (p. 81) <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230594371_5>.

⁶⁷ J. A. Garrard, *The English and Immigration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 28-29.

sorted into the semantic group of 'number', I observed that in the 1890s newspapers suddenly seemed to begin mentioning Board of Trade returns of 'alien' numbers.⁶⁸ To test this theory, I used a proximity query to locate all instances of the phrase 'board of trade' within 20 tokens of 'alien(s)'. It confirmed that of the 88 instances of 'board of trade' and 'alien(s)' co-occurring across the newspaper sample, 77 were in the 1890s. However, it also revealed that whilst the *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Reynolds's Newspaper*, the *Glasgow Herald*, and the *Liverpool Mercury* all featured digests of Board of Trade returns, the *Hampshire Telegraph* did not, and the *Ipswich Journal* featured very few.⁶⁹ Thus, although many newspaper readers had access to regular updates on 'alien' numbers, not all of them did.

4.4.4 Metaphor

As discussed, the newspapers had a tendency to incorporate metaphor when discussing 'alien' numbers. The trend was far more prevalent than the four metaphorical collocates ('influx', 'importation', 'horde', and 'invasion') would suggest. Whenever concordance analysis was conducted, or the wider co-text read, metaphors repeatedly emerged. For instance, the water metaphor was apparent across the newspaper sample and expressed using at least 18 different words, but only 'influx' appeared as a collocate of 'alien(s)' in some of the newspapers.

Through words such as 'flood', 'deluge', 'glut', 'flock', 'swarming', and 'hordes', the water, goods, animal, and military metaphors all involved the implication that migrants were arriving in large quantities. On occasion, metaphors were combined. For example, the mixed metaphor 'the influx of hordes of pauper aliens' features language used in both water ('influx')

⁶⁸ See, for instance, *Liverpool Mercury*, 20 May 1887.

⁶⁹ The proximity query returned 32 instances of the two words co-occurring in the *Liverpool Mercury*, 27 in the *Glasgow Herald*, 15 in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 12 in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, and 2 in the *Ipswich Journal*. For comparative purposes, here are the normalised frequencies: *Reynolds's Newspaper* featured 0.04 instances of the co-occurrence per million words, the *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Liverpool Mercury* 0.03, the *Glasgow Herald* 0.02, and the *Ipswich Journal* 0.00.

and invasion or military ('hordes') metaphors.⁷⁰ As seen in tables 4.1 and 4.2, some metaphorical collocates, such as 'importation' and 'influx' could be sorted into the semantic categories of both 'number' and 'arrival'. This indicates an intersection between the two semantic groups and is perhaps a reflection upon the ability of the metaphor to invoke more than one quality.

Metaphor was not apparent when the newspapers discussed 'alien(s)' prior to the late 1880s, implying that heightened emotional rhetoric coincided with the increase in numbers, and change in composition, of Britain's migrant population.⁷¹ Indeed, metaphor occurred particularly heavily in relation to discussions of 'pauper alien(s)' entering Britain.

Metaphor has a number of effects. As Van der Valk explains, it involves 'one domain of reality' being 'compared with another more familiar domain of reality'.⁷² In this way, metaphor can (over)simplify complex issues by portraying them in an easily comprehensible manner. Often this involves making abstract concerns more concrete. As Lakoff and Johnson show, this simplicity 'can keep us from focusing on other aspects of [a] concept that are inconsistent with [the chosen] metaphor'.⁷³ It is also thought that the images invoked in metaphors bring with them certain connotations. Lakoff refers to this as the 'invariance hypothesis' and claims that when a conceptual scheme, for instance, water or rubbish, is used in a metaphor, all the components and implications of that scheme are carried over to the target, in this case, 'alien(s)'.⁷⁴ This is what makes metaphor such an immediate and visceral rhetorical device, capable of invoking a strong emotional response from readers and listeners and, as Charteris-Black states, 'bridging the gap between the logical and the emotional'.⁷⁵ He uses the metaphor

⁷⁰ *Glasgow Herald*, 20 May 1891.

⁷¹ Earlier instances of metaphor were apparent in relation to 'immigrants' and 'immigration'. However, many of these examples were in articles concerning migration to the United States.

⁷² I. Van de Valk, 'Right-Wing Parliamentary Discourse on Immigration in France', *Discourse & Society*, 5:3 (2003), pp. 381-405 (p. 330) <<https://doi.org/10.1177/09579265030143004>>.

⁷³ G. Lakoff, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 10.

⁷⁴ G. Lakoff, 'The Invariance Hypothesis: Is Abstract Reason Based on Image-Schemas?', *Cognitive Linguistics*, 1:1 (1990), pp. 39-74 <<https://doi.org/10.1515/cogl.1990.1.1.39>>.

⁷⁵ J. Charteris-Black, 'Britain as a Container: Immigration Metaphors in the 2005 Election Campaign', *Discourse & Society*, 17:5 (2006), pp. 563-581 (p. 565) <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926506066345>>.

'swamp', notoriously associated with migration by Enoch Powell, to demonstrate metaphor's emotive power.⁷⁶ He states that 'the association of being overwhelmed by something unpleasant, as in a swamp, has a strong negative force'. Charteris-Black draws attention to the fallacy of this metaphor, explaining that as long as migrants remain a minority, they are far more likely to be 'absorbed into the native "swamp"'.⁷⁷

This fallacy is evident in metaphors in the newspaper sample that reduced Britain and England in scale to amplify the threat posed by the 'alien'. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, for instance, often compared the nation to a household. In one such example, the 'alien' is cast as an unwelcome intruder, the 'stranger within our gates'.⁷⁸ However, whilst the presence of an unknown 'stranger' in a family household would be a cause for concern, it is par for the course that a large country contains many individuals who are, and remain, 'strangers' to one another. In a second example, the *Pall Mall Gazette* asks why it is so wrong 'for the state to [...] refuse admission to dangerous or pauper aliens' if 'it be right and proper for an English land-lord to turn an undesirable resident off his estate'.⁷⁹ Like the previous example, the metaphor compares two illogical domains of experience. The rights of a renting tenant and 'alien' subject are simply not directly comparable. Incidentally, the grandeur of the latter household metaphor speaks volumes about the affluence of the *Pall Mall Gazette's* intended audience, or at least their class affiliation.

Not only do metaphors draw upon these common, everyday frames of reference, they are also familiar due to their oft-repeated nature. Researchers believe that people are exposed to certain metaphors on such a regular basis that they have developed an easy, often subconscious, understanding of their meanings and implications.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Charteris-Black, 'Britain as a Container', p. 567.

⁷⁷ J. Charteris-Black, *Politicians and Rhetoric: The Persuasive Power of Metaphor* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 23.

⁷⁸ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 18 May 1900.

⁷⁹ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 1 August 1894.

⁸⁰ J. Wilson, *Politically Speaking: The Pragmatic Analysis of Political Language*, Language in Society (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1990).

Linguists generally conclude that when metaphor is used in migration contexts it dehumanises. Charteris-Black describes the practice of referring to something that is animate ‘using a word or phrase that in other contexts refers to something that is inanimate’ as ‘depersonalisation’ and notes that metaphors often ‘discourage empathy with immigrants by treating them as objects’.⁸¹ This dehumanisation was often evident in the nineteenth-century newspapers, and specific examples will be discussed in more depth shortly. Several of the metaphors, when taken to their natural conclusions, imply a need for action, often by the Government. O’Brien argues that dehumanising depictions of ‘marginalized groups’ ‘constitute an important and possibly essential’ precursor to distasteful Government policy. He adds that ‘when the public at large accepts these pejorative metaphorical depictions as an accurate means of perceiving group members, regressive policies may be forthcoming’.⁸²

The implications of this kind of metaphorical language were not lost on contemporaries. In her autobiography, the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century social commentator Beatrice Webb described her reaction upon hearing a water metaphor used to describe human labour. She wrote that her companions’ comparison between “‘artificially [raising] the wage of labour’” and “‘forcing water uphill’” ‘puzzled’ her, and that ‘the allusion to water and its ways [gave] a queer physio-mechanical twist to [her] conception of the labouring classes’. She wondered whether the speaker had deliberately chosen the substance of water because they believed that, like labour, it was ‘the most monotonous and most easily manipulated of the elements’. Although she missed some of the subtleties of the metaphor, Webb recognised its potentially dehumanising effects and astutely added that expressions such as these had caused her, for a long time, to view labour as an ‘abstraction’ rather than ‘as separate men and women of different sorts and kinds’.⁸³

⁸¹ Charteris-Black, *Politicians and Rhetoric*, p. 15; Charteris-Black, ‘Britain as a Container’, p. 569.

⁸² G. O’Brien, ‘Indigestible Food, Conquering Hordes, and Waste Materials: Metaphors of Immigrants and the Early Immigration Restriction Debate in the United States’, *Metaphor and Symbol*, 18:1 (2003), pp. 33-47 (p. 44) <https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327868ms1801_3>.

⁸³ B. Webb, *My Apprenticeship* (New York: Longmans, 1926), p. 65.

Nonetheless, although metaphor was often a means of dehumanising the ‘alien’, it was not always negative. *Reynolds’s Newspaper* contained a report in which Gladstone used the trade metaphor to defend migration and draw attention to the hypocrisy of a country that exported paupers to other nations whilst criticising other nations for sending their paupers in turn. He is quoted as having stated that ‘it was not wise for a country which exported a particular commodity to lay restraint upon the importation of that commodity’. In the same speech, Gladstone also used a water metaphor in a counter-discourse to the usual anti-migration rhetoric with which water was associated. He stated that compared to the British labour market as a whole, migration ‘was a drop in the ocean’, implying that the large numbers often quoted in arguments against migration were overblown.⁸⁴

Three metaphors are now explored in more depth: the water metaphor associated with the collocate ‘influx’; the invasion metaphor represented by the collocate ‘invasion’; and the goods metaphor linked to the collocate ‘importation’.

4.4.4.1 *Water*

- (1) ‘...to treat the Norman as the first of the great **waves** of alien immigration into England. Since then the **stream** has never ceased’.⁸⁵
- (2) ‘...the evils brought about by the **continuous stream** of pauperism which is daily **flowing** into London’.⁸⁶
- (3) ‘...unless we keep out the **tide** of immigration from Europe’.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 5 February 1893.

⁸⁵ *Glasgow Herald*, 29 January 1898.

⁸⁶ *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 7 June 1891.

⁸⁷ *Ipswich Journal*, 9 November 1888.

- (4) ‘...if we do not want to see a Judenhetze in the East End, something will have to be done to **deflect the stream** of Jewish immigration to regions less thickly peopled than Whitechapel’.⁸⁸
- (5) ‘...will discuss the possibility of **putting up barriers** against the anticipated **deluge** of penniless foreigners’.⁸⁹
- (6) ‘The **influx** of aliens whose apparent object is to settle in our midst is not decreasing in **volume**’.⁹⁰

Perhaps the most frequently occurring metaphor invoked water. The prevalence of this metaphor is evident in the appearance of ‘influx’ as a top collocate in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Glasgow Herald*, and *Liverpool Mercury*. As seen in example (6), ‘influx’ is sometimes used to signify the arrival of large, and possibly overwhelming, numbers. However, its meaning is intertwined with water, having originated from the Latin to ‘flow in’.⁹¹ The *Pall Mall Gazette* reported upon ‘...the influx of a continuous stream of an alien pauper population’, and the *Glasgow Herald* upon ‘the great influx of pauper aliens into the country’.⁹² Although ‘influx’ emerged the most often in the concordance lines of ‘alien(s)’, the metaphor also manifested in many other forms. In the concordance lines, ‘alien(s)’ were variously described as a ‘stream’, ‘flow’, ‘waves’, ‘flood’, ‘tide’, and as increasing [in] volume’, threatening to ‘overflow’ the ‘drain’, and ‘swamping’ Britain.⁹³ Researchers have sometimes labelled this as a ‘natural

⁸⁸ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 28 April 1891.

⁸⁹ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 28 April 1891.

⁹⁰ *Liverpool Mercury* 13 June 1892.

⁹¹ ‘Influx, N.’, *OED Online* (Oxford University Press, 2016) <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/95533>> [accessed 10 March 2017].

⁹² *Pall Mall Gazette* 18 November 1897; *Glasgow Herald*, 21 February 1888.

⁹³ For an example of each, see the following. Stream: *Pall Mall Gazette*, 2 May 1891. Flow: *Liverpool Mercury*, 4 September 1896. Waves: *Glasgow Herald*, 29 January 1898. Flood: *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 16 September 1900. Tide: *Pall Mall Gazette*, 16 January 1893. Volume: *Liverpool Mercury*, 6 July 1894. Drain: *Liverpool Mercury*, 7 July 1894. Swamping: *Glasgow Herald*, 21 March 1895.

disaster' rather than 'water' metaphor because the water being invoked often refers to unmanageable quantities such as 'floods' and 'deluges'.⁹⁴

These metaphors were not unique to 'alien(s)', but also associated with other migration terms. For example, using a series of proximity searches across the newspapers, the following water metaphors were identified within ten tokens of 'immigrant(s)': tide (107), stream (82), influx (79), flow (33), flood (12), volume (12), flows (8), wave (6), waves (6), swamp (5), swamped (4), backwash (1), floods (1), overflow (1), overflowing (1), streams (1), swamping (1), and tides (1).⁹⁵

The water metaphor has been well documented in previous research. Boke notes its prevalence in present-day migration discourse in the German magazine *Der Spiegel*.⁹⁶ El Refaie similarly finds the Austrian press to have been 'replete' with the water metaphor when covering the 1998 arrival of Kurdish refugees.⁹⁷ Khosravini also finds a 'remarkably high frequency of [...] metaphors of large quantities', many of which are associated with water, such as 'floods', 'tide', and 'influx', in British press coverage of refugees during the Balkan conflict.⁹⁸ Interestingly, like the aforementioned example from *Reynolds's Newspaper*, Khosravini finds that the water metaphor was not always used negatively, but sometimes to 'argue for more humanitarian help'.⁹⁹

⁹⁴ See, for instance, Charteris-Black, 'Britain as a Container'.

⁹⁵ The number in brackets signifies the number of times each metaphor occurred within a ten-word co-text of 'immigrant(s)' across the newspaper sample.

⁹⁶ K. Boke, 'Die Invasion aus den "Armenhäusern Europas" [The Invasion from "Europe's Poorhouses"]', in *Die Sprache des Migrationdiskurses: Das Reden über 'Ausländer' in Medien, Politik und Alltag*, ed. by M. Jung, M. Wengeler and M. Boke (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1997), pp. 164-193, as cited in Van de Valk, 'Right-Wing Parliamentary Discourse', p. 331.

⁹⁷ E. El Refaie, 'Metaphors We Discriminate by: Naturalized Themes in Austrian Newspaper Articles about Asylum Seekers', *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 5:3, pp. 352-71 (p. 358) <<https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9481.00154>>.

⁹⁸ M. Khosravini, 'The Representation of Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Immigrants in British Newspapers during the Balkan Conflict (1999) and the British General Election (2005)', *Discourse & Society*, 20:4 (2009), pp. 477-498 (p. 486) <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926509104024>>.

⁹⁹ Khosravini, 'The Representation of Refugees', pp. 486-87.

Nonetheless, as Chilton indicates, once a metaphorical concept such as water has been invoked, it brings with it a number of associations.¹⁰⁰ ‘Stream’, for instance, which appears in examples (1), (2), and (4), suggests continuous movement in a single direction, implying that migrants will continue to cross into Britain. The ‘tide’, featured in example (3), is less negative, as a tide can both rise and fall; however, Charteris-Black suggests that the reversibility of the tide ‘evokes the concept of repatriation’ and draws attention to migration as a reversible phenomenon.¹⁰¹ Van der Valk believes that the ‘water’ metaphor is often intended to symbolise ‘a loss of control over immigration’.¹⁰² If present in large enough quantities, water is dangerous and destructive. It arrives quickly and can swiftly become overwhelming, and to avoid this outcome, action is required in the form of defences. Examples (4) and (5) are instances of the water metaphor being taken to this conclusion; respectively these examples call for ‘something’ to ‘be done to deflect the stream of Jewish immigration’ and compare anti-‘alien’ legislation to the ‘putting up [of] barriers’.¹⁰³ As discussed, the newspapers had a tendency to mix metaphors. In example (1) the *Glasgow Herald* describes the Normans as the first in the many ‘great waves’ of ‘alien immigration’, before proceeding to conceptualise immigration as a ‘stream’. Although both ‘waves’ and ‘stream’ are types of water, to use them interchangeably does not make sense in a non-metaphorical context and demonstrates the lack of internal logic often present in such emotive language.

4.4.4.2 *Invasion*

(7) ‘England has been **invaded** by immigrants’.¹⁰⁴

(8) ‘...this **invasion** by a **horde** of starving aliens’.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ P. Chilton, *Analysing Political Discourse: Theory and Practice* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 147.

¹⁰¹ Charteris-Black, ‘Britain as a Container’, p. 571.

¹⁰² Van de Valk, ‘Right-Wing Parliamentary Discourse’, p. 331.

¹⁰³ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 28 April 1891.

¹⁰⁴ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 7 May 1888.

¹⁰⁵ *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 14 July 1895.

(9) 'The Prime Minister and, we believe, the majority of the Unionist Party, are strongly in favour of providing **machinery of defence** against the **landing** in this country of foreigners'.¹⁰⁶

(10)'...it has gone on until **the enemy** is already **in possession** of the capital'.¹⁰⁷

Newspapers adopted military language to discuss Britain's 'invasion' by 'hordes' of migrants, as seen in examples (7) and (8). 'Horde' collocated with 'alien(s)' in the *Pall Mall Gazette* and 'invasion' with 'alien(s)' in the *Glasgow Herald*. However, from the examples, it should be apparent that invasion metaphors also occurred in other newspapers. The trope of 'migrants as an invading army' has recurred frequently throughout history and, as Charteris-Black notes, 'creates a powerful political myth evoking cultural-historical fears of "invasion" by alien "others"'.¹⁰⁸ In the late nineteenth century, the metaphor fed into contemporary anxieties about Britain being overrun or infiltrated by a foreign power, typified in the genre of 'invasion literature', which first emerged in the 1870s.¹⁰⁹ It is still apparent in contemporary discourse. In her research into their representation in the Austrian press, El Refaie found that Kurdish refugees were 'regularly represented as an "army" on the point of invading or attacking Europe'.¹¹⁰

Like the water metaphor, the invasion metaphor attributes the characteristics of the frame of reference being invoked to the target subject. If it is reasonable for the newspapers' readers to accept that migrants are 'invading', on the basis that they are arriving in larger

¹⁰⁶ *Ipswich Journal*, 27 May 1898.

¹⁰⁷ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 7 May 1888.

¹⁰⁸ Charteris-Black, 'Britain as a Container', p. 565.

¹⁰⁹ For one of the earliest examples of invasion literature see G. T. Chesney, *The Battle of Dorking: Reminiscences of a Volunteer* (London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1871) Google Books. See also A. Bulfin, "'To Arms!': Invasion Narratives and Late-Victorian Literature', *Literature Compass*, 12:9 (2015), pp. 482-496 <<https://doi.org/10.1111/lic3.12253>>; and M. Hughes and H. Wood, 'Crimson Nightmares: Tales of Invasion and Fear of Revolution in Early Twentieth-Century Britain', *Contemporary British History*, 28:3 (2014), pp. 294-317 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/13619462.2014.941817>>.

¹¹⁰ El Refaie, 'Metaphors We Discriminate by', p. 364.

quantities than in previous years, then it is not that much of a stretch for them to conceptualise the figure of the migrant with some of the attributes of an invading army. Armies take over, destroy that which is their path, and require fighting or defending against. In example (10), migrants are portrayed as being 'in possession of the capital'; the takeover of London is hyperbolically depicted as having already happened. As the newspapers do not specify what the consequences of this 'invasion' are, it is left to the reader to speculate. That armies require fighting is presented as justification for the Government's 'machinery of defence', that is anti-migration legislation, in example (9). As well as suggesting that migrants were arriving in dangerously large numbers, the invasion metaphor also contributed to their portrayal as the 'enemy', something which is made explicit in example (10). This manifestation of the metaphor implies not only that migrants are 'other', but that they have overwhelmed 'us', playing upon a public fear of change. These examples combine to demonstrate how militarised language invokes a sense of crisis, escalating a situation and feeding into moral panics by establishing an enemy out-group.

Reynolds's Newspaper also utilised this metaphor, but in an entirely different manner to the other newspapers, giving an indication of the contrast between the Radical and other political stances towards migration.¹¹¹ Unlike the other newspapers, *Reynolds's* rarely framed the 'alien' as a threat. Instead, the newspaper's military metaphor had a socialist slant, with global capitalism cast as the attacker, using the 'alien' as a weapon to damage 'the great social struggle for the assertion of the just rights of labour'.¹¹² This attribution of blame to wider forces than the individual migrant worker was a trope prevalent throughout *Reynolds's* discussions of 'alien(s)' in Britain. The newspaper viewed many of the difficulties faced by the British working class as either systemic, or symptomatic of elite neglect. Blame was variously ascribed to Government ineptitude, upper-class disregard, global oppression, or the capitalist

¹¹¹ For a breakdown of the newspapers' political stances, see section 1.5.3.

¹¹² *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 7 June 1891.

system. On the few occasions where the newspaper criticised migration, its anger was not usually directed at the 'alien' worker, but at the system which allowed them into Britain. For instance, it stated that it was 'scandalous that the authorities should sit tamely down and permit these numbers to be swollen by the paupers of every race' and that the reason the *Select Committee on the Immigration of Aliens* did not recommend legislation was because 'the majority of themselves and their friends are capitalists who benefit by cheap labour'.¹¹³ It is interesting that the only overtly working-class newspaper used in the thesis was also the only paper that regularly defended migration. This is particularly striking when considered against the idea that the 'alien' was often criticised as the scourge of the working classes. Though, as seen at various other points in this chapter, *Reynolds's Newspaper* was also capable of expressing this negative discourse on occasion.

4.4.4.3 Trade

(11) '...shall put a stop to the **free import** of destitute aliens in the United Kingdom'.¹¹⁴

(12) '...the continual **importation** of foreign aliens, who are ready to work at almost any price'.¹¹⁵

(13) 'Colonel Howard Vincent, MP., delivered an address on trade and the empire, touching upon the unrestricted character of foreign **importation**'.¹¹⁶

(14) '[a] protest (in London Fields) against the **importation** of foreign aliens, who are undermining our industry and ruining our prospects'.¹¹⁷

'Importation' collocated with 'alien(s)' in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Reynolds's Newspaper*, *Glasgow Herald*, and *Liverpool Mercury*. The metaphor works at an intersection between the

¹¹³ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 22 September 1889.

¹¹⁴ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 9 March 1887.

¹¹⁵ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 27 September 1891.

¹¹⁶ *Liverpool Mercury*, 11 June 1894.

¹¹⁷ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 27 September 1891.

categories of arrival and numbers. It also utilises a comparison between ‘alien(s)’ and traded goods, blurring human and non-human registers. When the phrase ‘importation of’ was searched for in the nineteenth-century newspaper corpora more widely it produced 13,740 hits, and the following words most frequently followed it as R1 collocates (collocates that occur one place to the right of the node word/phrase): ‘cattle’, ‘arms’, ‘produce’, ‘slaves’, and ‘corn’ in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and ‘cattle’, ‘arms’, ‘corn’, and ‘disease’ in *Reynolds’s Newspaper*.¹¹⁸ The rest of the newspapers produced very similar results, with other high ranking R1 collocates including ‘wool’ and ‘sugar’ and various types of ‘live’ animal. It seems that in the nineteenth century, as today, people were not usually ‘imported’, the exception being ‘slaves’, historically viewed as commodities. However, despite ‘importations’ contemporary association with goods and chattels, newspapers frequently discussed the ‘importation’ of ‘alien(s)’, as evident in all the examples provided above. The concordance lines reveal that ‘alien(s)’ were most likely to be commodified in this way when the writer was posing economic arguments against them. The result of this choice of wording is that the ‘alien’ is stripped of agency, and portrayed simply as goods, shifted from one location to another, just another market factor impacting labour conditions in Britain.

‘Importation’ is also a nominalisation. It has the effect of removing the agency of the ‘alien’, presenting movement as something that happens to them, rather than something they take an active role in. It obscures the person doing the importing, potentially leading readers to believe that ‘aliens’ were being imported by shadowy figures for nefarious purposes. This plays into the narrative that impoverished migrants fuelled the growth of sweatshops in inner cities (for more on this see section 4.4.6). When the phrase ‘importation’ is considered in light

¹¹⁸ In this instance, collocates was calculated using the ‘Rank by Frequency’ statistic and a window of (+1/+1) to just generate R1 collocates. Most of the collocates were nouns, and the results were filtered using the tags NN1 (singular common noun) and NN2 (plural common noun) to isolate these parts of speech. ‘Importation of’ occurred 4,357 times in the *Liverpool Mercury*, 4,150 in the *Glasgow Herald*, 1,914 in the *Ipswich Journal*, 1,603 in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 1,049 in the *Hampshire Telegraph*, and 667 in *Reynolds’s Newspaper*.

of the wider context of articles which discuss the impact of the 'alien' upon trade, it fuels the insinuation that 'aliens' were being brought to Britain to work for profiteers in sweatshops and undermine British workers. As mentioned in section 1.4, a tendency to 'confuse the deliberately imported foreign blackleg with the immigrant' was highlighted by the historian Garrard.¹¹⁹

The metaphor borrows language that characterised the free trade debates from earlier in the century. Indeed, there were instances in the newspapers where 'importation' was not explicitly present, but individuals taking an anti-migration stance, such as members of the National Union of Conservative and Constitutional Associations, were accused of being 'protectionist'.¹²⁰ However, this version of the metaphor appears to have been fairly novel. For instance, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, after using the 'protectionist' metaphor, felt the need to explain to its readers that 'we speak now not of the competition of foreign goods, but of the competition of foreign labour'.¹²¹ Nonetheless, this linguistic overlap seems to indicate a discursive and, likely, mental link being made between the protection of British industries from foreign goods, which had been the subject of many high profile campaigns over the years, and the perceived impact of 'pauper aliens' upon British workers. Indeed, the metaphoric conflation of the migration of labour, and importation of foreign goods, may have occurred because both were perceived as issues that impacted workers. This is apparent in an article in the *Liverpool Mercury*, which documented a deputation from trade unions 'all over the United Kingdom' visiting the President of the Board of Trade to air their grievances. Two of the unions' most prominent requests were that 'the Government [...] take [...] necessary steps to prohibit the landing of all pauper aliens' and that 'all foreign made goods [be] stamped'.¹²² The ubiquity of the 'importation' metaphor is evident in an article about Salisbury's Alien Bill simply entitled

¹¹⁹ J. Garrard, *The English and Immigration 1880-1910* (London: Published for the Institute of Race Relations, by Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 71.

¹²⁰ *Glasgow Herald*, 10 December 1892.

¹²¹ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 15 March 1886.

¹²² *Liverpool Mercury*, 15 November 1895.

‘undesirable imports’.¹²³ The metaphor must have been so recognisable by 1898, following its frequent use in articles such as example (11), that the conceptual link between Alien Bills and ‘imports’ was eminently clear.

However, this discourse was contested by some contemporaries. For instance, an article in the *Ipswich Journal* recorded the branding of their prospective local MP, Ford Goddard, as a ‘protectionist’ for expressing anti-migration opinions. Ford Goddard dismissed the charge, intimating that he was in favour of free trade and, moreover, did not agree with ‘treating human lives and cases of tea in the same category’. Ford Goddard explicitly recognised that in recent political discussions, humans had been described using terms usually reserved for ‘inanimate objects’.¹²⁴

4.4.5 Identity

As indicated in Chapter 3, whilst words such as ‘alien’, ‘immigrant’, and ‘refugee’ are primarily labels with which to categorise and aggregate, they are unlikely to provide much detail about the experiences of individual migrants. However, whilst ‘refugee(s)’, and indeed ‘immigrant(s)’, co-occurred with collocates that provide some contextual details about the individuals to which the words were being applied, ‘alien(s)’ was shrouded in ambiguity.

For instance, the ‘alien’ migrant was discussed in a much more limited range of geographical contexts than refugees or immigrants. Generally, when geographical collocates co-occur with migration terms in the newspaper corpora they relate either to the migrants’ place of origin, their current location, or their destination. The origins of ‘immigrants’ were explicitly discussed and, across the newspapers, the term collocated with a myriad of identities, including ‘Circassian’, ‘European’, ‘Chinese’, ‘Irish’, and ‘German’. The query ‘refugee(s)’ also associated with a large number of collocates which made it clear where the people it described originated from. As shall be seen in section 5.3.2, the refugees reported

¹²³ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 24 May 1898.

¹²⁴ *Ipswich Journal*, 21 March 1891.

upon in the press were, amongst other things, 'Hungarian', 'Polish', 'Transvaal', 'Italian', and 'Cuban'. In contrast, all of 'alien(s)' geographical collocates were used to refer to the countries in which 'alien(s)' had arrived or could potentially arrive. None of the newspapers' geographical collocates provide an indication of where the 'aliens' in Britain originated from.

This ambiguity arguably contributed towards the dehumanisation of 'aliens'. Alarmist reports of 'increasing numbers' of 'aliens' who were 'flooding' into Britain, were not mitigated by any language which humanised the 'alien'. Like William Evans-Gordon's sombre images of street traders simply captioned 'alien fishwives' and 'alien butchers' (see Figure 4.2), in the absence of other information, 'alien' becomes the sole identity available to the migrants in question.¹²⁵ They are defined purely by their otherness.



Figure 4.2 'Alien Butchers, Stepney', from W. Evans-Gordon, *The Alien Immigrant*.

If the collocates of 'alien(s)' are examined, the only words which can be used to ascertain their identity are 'Jews' and 'Jew' in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 'Jews' in *Reynolds's*

¹²⁵ Image reproduced from W. Evans-Gordon, *The Alien Immigrant* (London: William Heinemann, 1903), p. 40. Evans-Gordon had been elected as MP for Stepney on an anti-'alien' mandate in 1900.

Newspaper, and 'Jews' in the *Liverpool Mercury*. There were no identity collocates for 'alien(s)' in the *Ipswich Journal* or *Hampshire Telegraph*, which seems to indicate that the newspapers discussed 'alien(s)' in abstract terms. This may have been because both were based in areas that experienced comparatively low rates of migration. Indeed, the Ipswich Jewry is noted to have 'disappeared' during the nineteenth century and in 1877 the synagogue was demolished due to neglect.¹²⁶ In contrast, the *Glasgow Herald* produced five identity collocates, 'anarchists', 'religion', 'Jews', 'seamen', and 'females'. However, these pale into insignificance when compared with the nearly 50 collocates related to identity which associated with the query 'refugee(s)' in the *Pall Mall Gazette* alone, and the 150 such identity collocates observed in relation to 'refugee(s)' across the entire newspaper sample. 'Alien seaman' emerged due to complaints about their impact upon British workers (primarily between 1898 and 1900). It is curious that this group did not receive more attention in the newspapers for, as Dummett states, in the 1901 census, they were 'the second largest category of alien workers (next to tailors)'.¹²⁷ The *Glasgow Herald* also briefly discussed 'alien females' in a debate over whether they were more or less likely to become naturalised than men. However, this set of gender-related articles was one of the very few instances where 'alien(s)' was used in a US context and did not relate to Britain. Migrant gender was usually not mentioned frequently enough for any collocates to relate to it and, in the other newspapers, could be considered a discourse which is notable by its absence.

Despite words relating to Judaism being the only identity collocates that co-occurred with 'alien(s)' in most of the newspapers, the association between 'alien(s)' and Judaism was not as strong as might be anticipated. 'Alien' only collocated with 'Jew' five times in the *Pall*

¹²⁶ H. Levine, 'The Jews of East Anglia' in *Provincial Jewry*, ed. by Newman, quoted in G. Alderman, *Modern British Jewry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 25; R. Halliday and B. Susser, 'The Ipswich Jewish Community in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History*, 40.2 (2002), pp. 151-163.

¹²⁷ A. Dummett and A. Nicol, *Subjects, Citizens, Aliens and Others: Nationality and Immigration Law* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1990), p. 163.

Mall Gazette. Likewise, 'Jews' was only a collocates eight times in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, eight times in the *Glasgow Herald*, seven times in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, and five in the *Liverpool Mercury*. It should be stressed that this is not unusual. Many of the collocates of 'alien(s)' only occurred a few times and were more significant as part of wider semantic groups and due to their occurrence across multiple newspaper titles. To take metaphors (section 4.4.4) as an example, 'influx', although emerging on numerous occasions when the concordance lines were read, only actually collocated between seven and 17 times per newspaper, and 'importation' between eight and 18 times. However, it does seem curious how infrequently terms related to Judaism collocated with 'alien(s)' considering how frequently the two are equated in the historiography. As mentioned in section 1.4, the 1905 Aliens Act, widely considered Britain's first restrictive migration legislation, is usually treated by historians as a backlash against an increased number of poor Jewish migrants from the Pale of Settlement, an area within the Russian Empire where Jews were allowed permanent residency.¹²⁸ Glover argues that although the 1905 Aliens Act contained 'no precise definition' of "alien", it was obvious to all that the target was the Eastern European Jew, 'the archetypal outsider'.¹²⁹ Bashford and Gilchrist list an 'acute social anxiety' caused by the arrival of Jewish migrants as a key impetus behind the legislation.¹³⁰ Similarly, Holmes notes the arrival of a community of Russian Poles, most of whom were Jewish, towards the end of the nineteenth century as

¹²⁸ See P. Panayi, 'Multicultural Britain: A Very Brief History', *British Politics Review*, 6:2 (2011), pp. 4-5 (p. 4); A. Lee, 'Aspects of the Working-Class Response to the Jews in Britain, 1880-1914', in *Hosts, Immigrants and Minorities. Historical Responses to Newcomers in British Society, 1870-1914*, ed. by K. Lunn (Folkstone: Dawson, 1980), pp. 107-33; and D. Feldman, 'Jews and the British Empire, c. 1900', *History Workshop Journal*, 63:1 (2007), pp. 70-89 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/hwj/dbm027>>.

¹²⁹ Glover, 'Still Closing the Gates', p. 20.

¹³⁰ A. Bashford and C. Gilchrist, 'The Colonial History of the 1905 Aliens Act', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 40:3 (2012), pp. 409-437 (p. 412) <<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0738248014000029>>.

rousing the 'strength of public sentiment' necessary for the Act to pass.¹³¹ As Trubowitz states, 'Jew' is the 'crucial term' 'left out' of legislative debates.¹³²

It does seem entirely possible that public awareness of the association between the 'alien question' and Judaism in the 1880s and 1890s, meant that there was something of an unspoken understanding of the 'alien(s)' to whom the newspapers referred. Perhaps the way in which the debate was framed, in terms of large quantities of arrivals, and poverty, and the issues raised in 'alien(s)' articles, such as sweating and job competition (both explored in section 4.4.6) provided sufficient information for readers to understand its unspoken subject.

It is notable that individuals writing in the newspapers felt the need to rebut accusations of anti-Semitism. The *Pall Mall Gazette* featured a letter from W. H. Wilkins, an English writer and anti-'alien' campaigner, claiming that he had taken 'special care [...] to emphasise that the [alien] question [...] is in no way a party one, in no sense a sectarian one, in no sense an anti-Semitic one'.¹³³ Lee believes that the fact that 'most anti-alienists took great pains to dissociate themselves from such unworthy views' means that anti-alienism and anti-Semitism ought to be viewed separately.¹³⁴ However, that Wilkins' pre-emptively denied anti-Semitism demonstrates that he was fully aware that this was one way that readers could interpret his anti-'alien' rhetoric, particularly in light of recent increases in Jewish migration.

In 1898, the *Glasgow Herald* acknowledged that its contemporaries were alluding to Judaism through 'innuendo'.¹³⁵ One such example of innuendo appeared in a *Pall Mall Gazette* article concerning the 'pauper alien':

¹³¹ C. Holmes, *A Tolerant Country? Immigrants, Refugees and Minorities in Britain* (London: Faber and Faber, 1991), p. 83.

¹³² L. Trubowitz, 'Acting like an Alien: "Civil" Antisemitism, the Rhetorized Jew, and Early Twentieth-Century British Immigration Law', in *The Jew' in Late-Victorian and Edwardian Culture: Between the East End and East Africa*, ed. by E. Bar-Yosef and N. Valman (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2009), pp. 65-79 (p. 68) <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230594371_4>. Garrard also notes that the 'word "Jew" is conspicuous by its absence' see Garrard, *The English and Immigration*, p. 62.

¹³³ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 25 May 1891.

¹³⁴ Lee, 'Aspects of the Working-Class Response', p. 119.

¹³⁵ *Glasgow Herald*, 28 May 1898.

It is no doubt the case that the Flemings and Huguenots introduced several useful industries in past centuries. But who ever heard of a new trade, besides old clo' that owed its birth to refugees from Russia?¹³⁶

Dealers in second-hand clothes were usually Jewish and the reference to 'old clo' would have been recognised by contemporaries as a reference to Judaism. In their 1804 *Itinerant Traders of London in their Ordinary Costume*, Craig and Phillips described the trade in old clothes as the 'traffic of the early hours of the morning between the Jews, who engross in this trade'.¹³⁷ Mayhew's 1861 *The London Labour and the London Poor* contains a plate entitled 'The Jew Old-Clothes Man', captioned with the street cry of 'Clo', Clo', Clo''.¹³⁸

Another example of this 'innuendo' is apparent in *Reynolds's Newspaper* expressing the opinion that 'if this [anti-migration] policy be adopted, let it be applied all round. Let us restrict the Rothschilds, the Montagues, the Battenbergs, and other idlers, who come here with the intention of living upon the workers of the country'.¹³⁹ Although *Reynolds's Newspaper* defended the working-class 'alien' in this example, the newspapers' equation of long-established Jewish financial families with newly-arrived migrants could be argued to propagate the trope of a Jewish financial conspiracy which is widely recognised as prevalent in anti-Semitic rhetoric.¹⁴⁰ However, interestingly, although contemporaries would have recognised 'Rothschild' and 'Montagu' as Jewish names, the Battenbergs were of German ancestry, and not Jewish. So, whilst the quote has anti-Semitic connotations, it also draws upon *Reynolds's Newspaper's* dislike of wealthy German influence in Britain (see section 4.4.6).

¹³⁶ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 9 December 1895.

¹³⁷ 'Old Clothes' in W. M. Craig, *The Itinerant Traders of London in Their Ordinary Costume, from Modern London; Being the History and Present State of the British Metropolis* (London: Richard Phillips, 1804) <<https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/the-itinerant-traders-of-london>> [accessed 9 April 2019].

¹³⁸ H. Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor* (London: Griffin, Bohn, 1861), p. 118.

¹³⁹ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 16 September 1894.

¹⁴⁰ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 8 December 1895. For tropes common within anti-Semitic rhetoric see M. Reisigl, *Discourse and Discrimination: Rhetorics of Racism and Antisemitism* (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 56.

This conflation of ‘alien(s)’ and ‘Jew(s)’ is again evident in an article in *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, in which the newspaper counteracted Lord Salisbury’s objection to ‘destitute aliens being sent over to this country’ by quoting a Llewellyn Smith who argued that ‘very few foreign Jews come upon the rates of relief’.¹⁴¹ In the absence of information to the contrary, the newspaper assumed that Salisbury’s ‘destitute aliens’ were Jewish. Conflation also emerges in an emotive article in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, in which the writer claims that the ‘immigration of pauper aliens must be prohibited; not restricted or regulated, but prohibited’. The article’s only concrete description of the ‘pauper alien’ is the ‘thousands of foreign Jews’ who ‘stream year by year’ into the city.¹⁴² A final example of this conflation is a more positive article that appeared in the *Glasgow Herald*. Previously characterised as ‘mildly Whiggish’, the newspaper had, following a series of ownership changes, become more Liberal towards the end of the century, and often defended the ‘alien’.¹⁴³ The article in question presented the views of Jewish Trade Unions as the ‘other side of the “pauper alien” question’ that, the newspaper felt, ‘the British public should hear’.¹⁴⁴

Historians have explored the implicit presence of Jews in anti-‘alien’ debates. Trubowitz describes it as ‘civil antisemitism’, a ‘highly nuanced form of anti-Jewish rhetoric operating within the British Parliament during the first part of the twentieth century’ which ‘has received little critical attention [...] because it rarely appears to be as militant, or as dangerous, as the hate-mongering we associate with demagogues like Arnold White’.¹⁴⁵ She argues that the euphemistic ‘undesirable alien’ was ‘primarily and essentially Jewish’ and that the label ‘alien’ was employed to ‘powerful rhetorical effect’ to allow politicians to hold migration discussions ‘without having to name Jews as their target’.¹⁴⁶ Bar-Yosef and Valman similarly conclude that

¹⁴¹ *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 15 July 1894.

¹⁴² *Pall Mall Gazette*, 2 November 1892.

¹⁴³ L. Brake and M. Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Academia Press, 2009), p. 251.

¹⁴⁴ *Glasgow Herald*, 10 December 1895.

¹⁴⁵ Trubowitz, ‘Acting like an Alien’, p. 65.

¹⁴⁶ Trubowitz, ‘Acting like an Alien’, pp. 66-68.

the vocabulary used in front of the *Royal Commission on Alien Immigration* saw “‘alien” masquerading as “Jew””. They cite the editor of the *Shoe and Leather Record*, who appeared before the Commission as a witness, as an example of the damage that such a conflation can cause. In a faintly ridiculous exchange, the commission’s panel realise that the witness is using the term ‘alien’ to refer to English Jews as well as ‘non-naturalized Jews’, transforming ‘alien’ from a legal to a ‘racial’ category.¹⁴⁷ Both Glover and Holmes go so far as to argue that, in this period, ‘alien’ became ‘synonymous’ with the word ‘Jew’.¹⁴⁸

In articles featuring ‘alien(s)’, all national, ethnic, and religious groups, with the possible exception of Jews, seem to have been underrepresented. Although Britain did see a significant increase in the number of Jewish migrants from Eastern Europe and Russia at the very end of the century, in the 1881 and 1891 censuses the most populous foreign-born group was Irish, and the second was German. Neither ‘Irish’ nor ‘German’ appeared in the collocates of ‘alien(s)’. This is despite the fact that, as historians such as Holmes have highlighted, German clerks were the target of native hostility. He notes the ‘whiff of competition [which] comes strongly off the pages of the *Clerks’ Journal* in the 1880s’.¹⁴⁹

A Government report from 1894 on *The Volume and Effects of Recent Immigration* lists ‘Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes’ as among of the most notable migrant groups in terms of volume, alongside ‘Russians and Poles’ and ‘Germans’.¹⁵⁰ However, none of the Scandinavian nationalities appeared as collocates of ‘alien(s)’. This may be because the newspapers did not discuss Irish, German, or Scandinavian migrants using the term ‘alien’, such that the use of

¹⁴⁷ E. Bar-Yosef and N. Valman, ‘Introduction. Between the East End and East Africa: Rethinking Images of “The Jew” in Late-Victorian and Edwardian Culture’, in *The Jew in Late-Victorian and Edwardian Culture: Between the East End and East Africa*, ed. by E. Bar-Yosef and N. Valman (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2009), pp. 1-27 (p. 9) <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230594371_5>.

¹⁴⁸ Glover, ‘Still Closing the Gates’, p. 18; Holmes, *Anti-Semitism*, p. 101.

¹⁴⁹ Holmes, *A Tolerant Country?*, p. 18.

¹⁵⁰ Great Britain. Board of Trade, *Reports on the Volume and Effects of Recent Immigration from Eastern Europe into the United Kingdom* (London: HMSO, 1894), p. 9 <<https://archive.org/details/immigration00greaalienrich>> [accessed 22 April 2016].

other search terms would reveal that these groups were present in the newspaper sample in proportion to their presence in Britain.

However, even if this proved to be the case, it remains to be explained why Jewish migrants were 'alien(s)' and Norwegian and German migrants, for example, were not. It is particularly striking if we consider that in the 1901 census, when the foreign-born population of Britain was at its highest in at least 50 years (and most likely longer), just 1.5 per cent of the population of England and Wales was born overseas.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, only 15 per cent of this 1.5 per cent were born in the Russian Empire, only some of whom would have been Jewish.¹⁵²

4.4.6 'Destitute Aliens' and 'Pauper Aliens'

Historians have ascribed the anti-'alien' hostility that arose at the end of the nineteenth-century to a large number of different causes. Central amongst these are economic arguments. Migrants were held responsible for introducing, or at least exacerbating, the 'sweating system' due to their willingness to tolerate worse conditions than British workers.¹⁵³ The 'sweating system' was the subcontracting of employment (particularly piece work in the tailoring trade) to middlemen who employed large numbers of workers in sweatshops, for long hours and low wages.¹⁵⁴ In an 1890 article on 'The Lords and the Sweating System', Beatrice Potter documented how 'the great majority of workers' attribute their 'sufferings' to two main areas: on the one hand, 'the presence of middlemen, machinery, and subdivision of labour' and, on the other, 'foreign immigration'.¹⁵⁵ 'It is further maintained', she added, that

¹⁵¹ The 1.5 per cent is, as previously discussed, anyone listed in the 1901 census whose birthplace is not England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, the Isle of Man, the Channel Islands, or listed as 'unknown'.

¹⁵² As Gartner finds, it is virtually impossible to establish the actual number of Jews who settling in Britain in this period. See L. P. Gartner, 'Notes on the Statistics of Jewish Immigration to England, 1870-1914', *Jewish Social Studies*, 22:2 (1960), pp. 97-102.

¹⁵³ C. Holmes, *John Bull's Island: Immigration and British Society, 1871-1971* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988), p. 68; P. Panayi, *Immigration, Ethnicity and Racism in Britain, 1815-1945* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 111; T. M. Endelman, *The Jews of Britain, 1656 to 2000* (University of California Press, 2002), p. 157.

¹⁵⁴ For a more comprehensive description of nineteenth-century 'sweating' see D. Bythell, *The Sweated Trades* (London: Batsford, 1978), pp. 12-19.

¹⁵⁵ B. Potter, 'The Lords and the Sweating System', *The Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review*, 27:160 (March 1877-December 1900), pp. 885-905 (p. 886) <<http://search.proquest.com/docview/2639461>>.

these migrants cause English workers to be 'dragged into the ranks of sweated workers or forced into the army of the unemployed'.¹⁵⁶

Migrants were also criticised for their wider socio-economic impact. Holmes' describes the 'alleged impact of immigrant Russian Poles on the housing market', and overcrowding is a theme that emerges in the work of a number of other historians including Alderman and Lee.¹⁵⁷ There is also evidence that migrant cultures and customs caused fear. This sometimes revolved around concerns that migrants were unwilling or unable to integrate. For instance, Panayi highlights the view of 'Eastern European Jews as distinct from British society, and likely to remain so'.¹⁵⁸ According to Lee, reports emerged of entering certain urban areas resembling being 'in a foreign country'.¹⁵⁹ Religious practices could be a source of tension too. Holmes notes that short-term economic disputes could bring 'long-standing religious animosities [...] to the surface', whereas, Kirk opposes the oft-made suggestion that anti-'alienism' was simply a 'mask' for the 'underlying economic causes' of hardship, and describes cultural resentment towards migrants as 'real and significant'.¹⁶⁰

Both Holmes and Cesarani argue that attitudes to migration cannot be studied in absence from the wider context in which they occur.¹⁶¹ The latter adds that 'pro-alienism was closely related to public confidence and optimism'.¹⁶² Stedman Jones explores the wider conditions at the time and reminds us that 'in the late Victorian and Edwardian period, rents

¹⁵⁶ B. Potter, 'The Lords and the Sweating System', p. 893.

¹⁵⁷ C. Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, p. 68; Alderman, *Modern British Jewry* p. 126; Lee, 'Aspects of the Working-Class Response', p. 111.

¹⁵⁸ P. Panayi, *Immigration, Ethnicity and Racism*, p. 116.

¹⁵⁹ Lee, 'Aspects of the Working-Class Response', p. 111.

¹⁶⁰ Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, p. 58; N. Kirk, 'Ethnicity, Class and Popular Toryism, 1850-1870', in *Hosts, Immigrants and Minorities. Historical Responses to Newcomers in British Society, 1870-1914*, ed. by K. Lunn (Folkstone: Dawson, 1980), p. 91.

¹⁶¹ Holmes argues that 'the widespread hostility encountered by Russian Polish Jews in the East End in the late nineteenth century cannot be divorced from the complex changes which affected the housing market.' C. Holmes, 'Historians and Immigration', in *Migrants, Emigrants, and Immigrants: A Social History of Migration*, ed. by C. Pooley and I. Whyte (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 199.

¹⁶² D. Cesarani, 'An Alien Concept? The Continuity of Anti-Alienism in British Society before 1940', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 11:3 (1992), pp. 24-52 (p. 47)
<<https://doi.org/10.1080/02619288.1992.9974788>>.

and prices rose, wages remained stagnant and unemployment [was] a permanent feature on the landscape'.¹⁶³ Similarly, Panayi cites Britain's 'relative prosperity' for the reason it was able to take a 'laissez-faire' approach to migrants for so much longer than other countries. He explicitly links the introduction of the 1905 Aliens Act to ongoing economic depression.¹⁶⁴ Alderman notes that 'it was the misfortune of the [Jewish] immigrants to have come to Britain at a time of economic recession and growing unemployment, which triggered a number of inquiries into social problems', drawing the attention of labour movements and social commentators towards them.¹⁶⁵

The historiography therefore fosters an expectation that economic factors will underpin late nineteenth-century criticism of the 'alien', but that other criticisms will also be present, and indeed prevalent. Some of these criticisms are indeed present in the wider textual context of the 'alien(s)' query. However, according to the corpus analysis, the immediate framing of 'alien(s)' revolved almost entirely around their poverty, to the exclusion of all other social and cultural complaints.

	<i>Pall Mall Gazette</i>	<i>Reynolds's Newspaper</i>	<i>Glasgow Herald</i>	<i>Liverpool Mercury (late period)</i>	<i>Ipswich Journal</i>	<i>Hampshire Telegraph</i>
1	Non-resident	Pauper	Pauper	Destitute	Destitute	Pauper
2	Pauper	Destitute	Destitute	Pauper	Pauper	Destitute
3	Naturalized	Wholly	Naturalised	utterly	an	an
4	Destitute	Utterly	Utterly	wholly	Little	anti-
5	Undesirable	Altogether	Wholly	an	as	

Table 4.3 The top five L1 collocates of 'alien(s)' in all newspapers in the sample.

¹⁶³ G. Stedman Jones, 'Working-Class Culture and Working-Class Politics in London, 1870-1900: Notes on the Remaking of a Working Class', *Journal of Social History*, 7:4 (1974), pp. 460-508 (p. 489) <<https://doi.org/10.1353/jsh/7.4.460>>.

¹⁶⁴ P. Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain: Multicultural Racism since 1800* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2010), p. 62.

¹⁶⁵ G. Alderman, *Modern British Jewry*, pp. 121-22.

Table 4.3 shows the top five L1 collocates for ‘alien(s)’ in each of the newspapers in the sample.¹⁶⁶ As mentioned in section 2.4.6, an L1 collocate is one which appears immediately to the left of the search term. If the search term is a noun, an L1 collocate is often a pre-modifying adjective, which can reveal a great deal about how these groups were most frequently framed. In five of the newspapers, ‘pauper’ and ‘destitute’ were the top L1 collocates of ‘alien(s)’.¹⁶⁷ In the *Pall Mall Gazette*, ‘pauper’ and ‘destitute’ were amongst the top four L1 collocates of ‘alien(s)’. This seems to indicate a very strong association between the figure of the ‘alien’ and poverty in the nineteenth-century British press. The only historian who appears to have correctly stressed the primacy of this connection is Garrard, who notes that ‘apart from numbers, the other major immigrant characteristic was destitution’.¹⁶⁸

4.4.6.1 Collocate Distribution

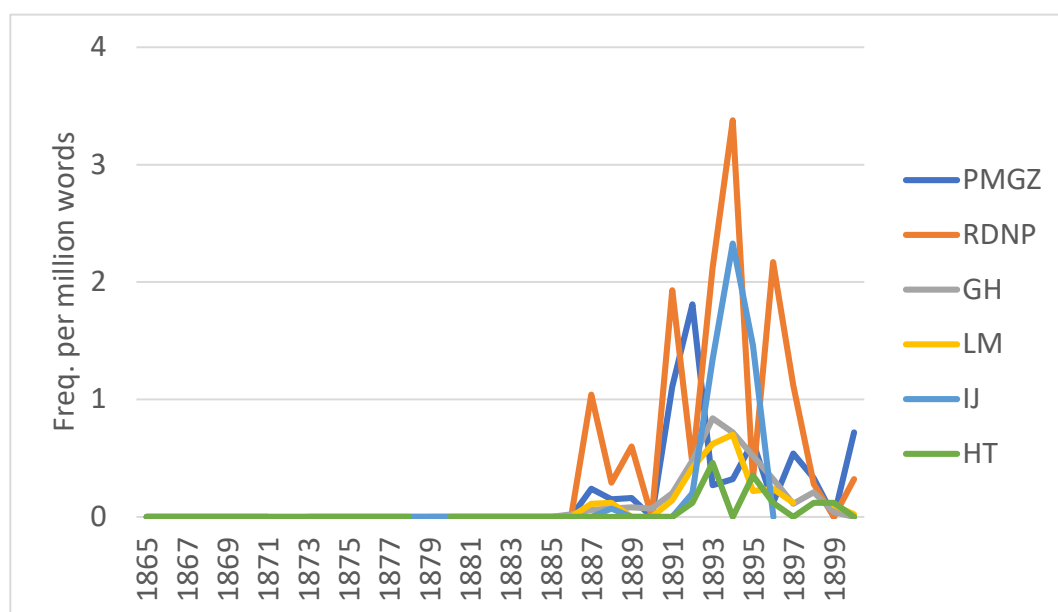


Figure 4.3 Distribution of ‘pauper’ and ‘destitute’ as collocates of ‘alien(s)’ in all newspapers in the sample.

¹⁶⁶ Collocates were calculated using Log Ratio and a window of (-1/-1) to just generate those in the L1 position. Several collocates that were clearly OCR errors have been removed from the results from the *Ipswich Journal* and *Hampshire Telegraph*.

¹⁶⁷ In each the newspapers, ‘pauper’ appeared as an L1 collocate of ‘alien(s)’ between 40 and 96 times, and ‘destitute’ between 38 and 104 times. The only exceptions to this are the *Ipswich Journal* and *Hampshire Telegraph*. In the former ‘destitute’ only collocated 13 times, and ‘pauper’ 12. In the latter, ‘pauper’ collocated just 9 times, and ‘destitute’ 7.

¹⁶⁸ Garrard, *The English and Immigration*, p. 52.

Percentage of Documents By Year, 1800–1930

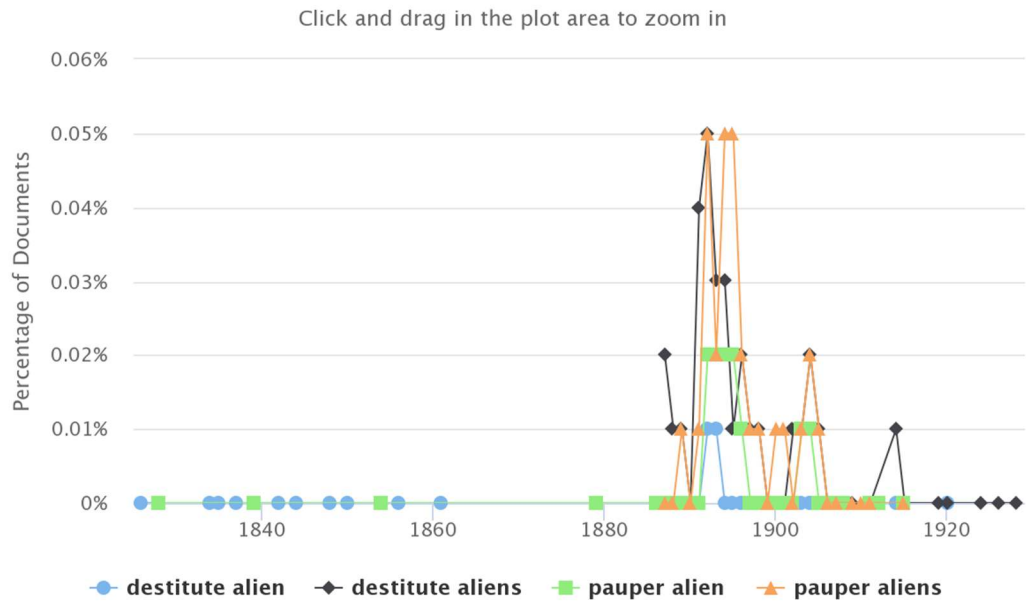


Figure 4.4 Percentage of documents in the British Library Newspapers Collection that contain 'destitute alien', 'destitute aliens', 'pauper alien', and 'pauper aliens' between 1800 and 1900. Created using *Gale Primary Sources*' 'Term Frequency' function.

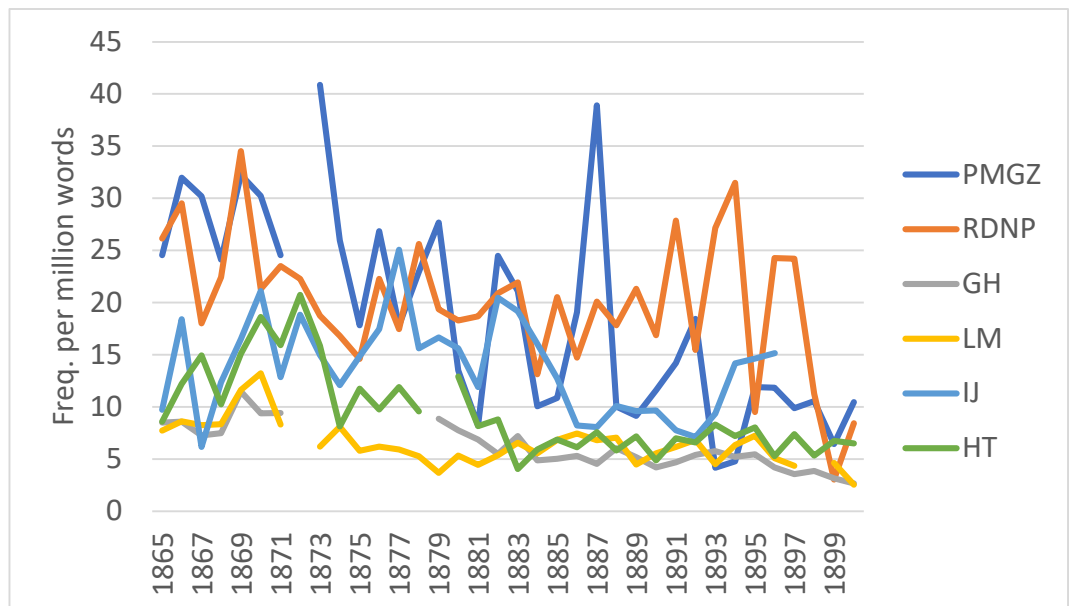


Figure 4.5 Distribution of 'pauper' and 'destitute' in all newspapers in the sample.

Figure 4.3 displays the distribution (as a frequency per million words) of 'pauper' and 'destitute' as collocates of 'alien(s)' in each year of the newspapers from 1865.¹⁶⁹ The year 1865 was used as a start point because that is the date in which the *Pall Mall Gazette* (the newspaper with the shortest date span) was first published and therefore allows for direct comparison across all six newspapers. The figure demonstrates that 'pauper' and 'destitute' first co-occurred with 'alien(s)' in 1886 and, despite mentions peaking in most newspapers between 1891 and 1895, were then present for the rest of the century. Interestingly, Garrard also identifies 1886 as the year in which 'English spokesmen' first 'noticed' that Jewish migration to Britain had increased, despite the 'first large group of immigrants from Eastern Europe' arriving in 1871.¹⁷⁰ Garrard also notes, it seems correctly, that the period between 1888 and 1895 saw 'aliens becoming an important political and partisan problem', with the issue abating after 1895.¹⁷¹ Though, his description of the post-1895 period as one of 'obscurity' for the 'alien' question is probably an overstatement.¹⁷²

Figure 4.4 was created using *Gale Primary Source's* 'Term Frequency' function, which maps the distribution of search terms in the database's collections. It shows the percentage of documents in the whole of the *19th Century British Library Newspapers* collection that 'destitute alien', 'destitute aliens', 'pauper alien', and 'pauper aliens' appeared within (from 1800 to 1930).¹⁷³ Although a little crude, it demonstrates that the trend identified in Figure 4.3 was not isolated to the six newspapers in the sample, but rather present in the nineteenth-century press more widely. It also shows that 'pauper' and 'destitute' 'aliens' featured most in

¹⁶⁹ For each year, the frequency per million words with which 'pauper' collocated with 'alien(s)' was added to the frequency per million words with which 'destitute' collocated with 'alien(s)'. For instance, in the *Pall Mall Gazette* 'pauper' occurred at a frequency of 0.18 times per million words in 1897 and 'destitute' at 0.36 times. So, added together, 'pauper' and 'destitute' collocated with 'alien(s)' in the *Pall Mall Gazette* a total of 0.54 times per million words.

¹⁷⁰ Garrard, *The English and Immigration*, pp. 23-24.

¹⁷¹ Garrard, *The English and Immigration*, p. 27.

¹⁷² Garrard, *The English and Immigration*, p. 34.

¹⁷³ In another example of the lack of transparency in the online interfaces that currently house historical sources, *Gale* provides no indication of specifically what a 'document' is.

the press in the 1890s and lulled thereafter aside from an increase in mentions in 1904, presumably caused by debates preceding the 1905 Aliens Act.

To provide a point of comparison, Figure 4.5 was created using the results of the queries 'pauper' and 'destitute' in the six newspaper corpora. It maps the two terms' usage more broadly, and shows all instances of 'pauper' and 'destitute', including when they did not associate with 'alien(s)'. It shows that the two terms' pattern of collocation with 'alien(s)' does not appear to have been a result of wider trends in the overall frequency of these words. Indeed, the collocates' distribution seems entirely at odds with what was happening with the terms 'pauper' and 'destitute' more widely. Speaking generally, 'pauper' and 'destitute' (with the exception of the *Ipswich Journal* and *Hampshire Telegraph* where they remained relatively stable) gradually decreased in use from 1865 onwards. The 1890s was the decade where, in the newspapers more broadly, 'pauper' and 'destitute' occurred the third *least* (after the 1810s and 1800s).¹⁷⁴ However, this was the very decade when they peaked as collocates of 'alien(s)'.

There were several instances of 'alien(s)' collocating with 'pauper' prior to 1886. However, whilst virtually all late-century references were to the social and economic impact of the arrival of 'pauper aliens' in Britain, the few instances prior to 1886 were different. For instance, in the *Ipswich Journal* in 1853, 'alien(s)' and 'pauper' co-occurred due to their appearance in a list together. The article included the following question 'If one constituency returned a Jew, why should not another elect an alien, or a pauper, or a clergyman?'¹⁷⁵ Although it is interesting that the author decided to select 'Jews', 'paupers', and 'aliens' of all the possible examples of people who might be unsuitable for election, it could simply be that the two words only co-occurred because both were prominent categories of people considered

¹⁷⁴ The average relative frequencies by decade are as follows: the newspapers used the two terms 9.5 times per million words in the 1890s, 6.9 times from 1810-1819, and 3.8 times from 1800-1809.

¹⁷⁵ *Ipswich Journal*, 23 April 1853; *Glasgow Herald*, 4 September 1857.

undesirable for election to Parliament. Either way, the nature of the connection between the 'alien(s)' and pauperism is dissimilar to later cases and therefore considered anomalous.

Other than these earlier anomalies, the strong association between the 'alien' migrant and 'pauperism' and 'destitution' first appeared in the *Glasgow Herald* in September 1886; the *Pall Mall Gazette* in March 1887; *Reynolds's Newspaper* in May 1887; the *Liverpool Mercury* in August 1887; the *Ipswich Journal* in November 1888; and the *Hampshire Telegraph* in January 1891. This seems to demonstrate that 'alien' poverty became newsworthy in the urban newspapers earlier than the more rural newspapers. The four newspapers based in larger urban areas began discussing 'pauper' and 'destitute' 'alien(s)' within 12 months of one another, whilst the two more regional newspapers did not follow suit until two and five years after the *Glasgow Herald's* first mention.

Figure 4.3 reveals that *Reynolds's Newspaper* discussed 'aliens' in relation to poverty the most frequently of all the newspapers. However, as Figure 4.5 shows, in general, *Reynolds's* mentioned pauperism and destitution proportionally more than some of the other newspaper titles. This could be a reflection of *Reynolds's* working-class audience, who (as explored in section 4.4.6) were frequently noted by the newspapers as being the group most affected by the arrival of 'pauper alien(s)'. However, as this chapter has found, *Reynolds's* appears to have been the newspaper most likely to defend the 'alien' and its stance towards the 'alien' was often neutral or positive rather than negative. Although the *Ipswich Journal* mentioned 'alien(s)' the second least frequently of all the newspapers, when it did discuss them, it very strongly associated them with poverty; in this respect, it was second only to *Reynolds's*.

4.4.6.2 *Pauperism and Destitution in c19th Britain*

To investigate the associations of pauperism and destitution for a nineteenth-century audience, 'pauper' and 'destitute' were used as queries in their own right, and their collocates examined in each corpus. That is, collocate lists were produced using all 22,023 instances of

the word 'pauper' and 29,820 instances of the word 'destitute' in the newspapers, not just those mentioned near to a word relating to migration.¹⁷⁶

Amongst the collocates of both 'pauper' and 'destitute' were a number of words related to migration. All the newspapers had at least two of the following words in their top 50 collocates for 'pauper': 'alien', 'aliens', 'immigration', 'immigrants'. In some of the newspapers, the connection was more pronounced. For instance, the word 'alien' was the fourth collocate of 'pauper' in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, and 'immigration' the fifth. It seems, therefore, that the connection between the 'alien', 'pauperism', and 'destitution' ran both ways, and migration was also one of the main associations of poverty in this period.

The collocates of 'pauper' appear superficially fairly neutral, and primarily relate to the practicalities involved in housing and looking after those receiving state assistance under the provisions of the Poor Law. They include a semantic group related to staffing, including collocates such as 'nurses', 'helper', 'nurse', and 'training'. There also appears a semantic group associated with the practical logistics of housing 'paupers'. This includes the collocates 'boarding-out', 'indoor', 'outdoor', and 'workhouse'. That 'pauper' appears to have been primarily associated with the upkeep of those who had fallen upon the Poor Law makes phrases such as the 'arrival of pauper aliens' seem somewhat illogical. The phrase seems to presuppose that all 'aliens' are inevitably going to fall upon the rates.

In contrast, the collocates of 'destitute' contain no reference to these practicalities. Instead, they are underpinned by a moralising tone seemingly absent from the collocates of 'pauper'. The collocates 'friendless', 'fatherless', 'orphans', 'children', 'waif', and 'widows' indicate that the 'destitute' individual was sometimes discussed as a figure of pity (the use of women and children as a device to induce sympathy is explored in section 5.3.3). However,

¹⁷⁶ 'Pauper' occurred 5,007 times in the *Glasgow Herald*, 4,785 in the *Liverpool Mercury*, 4,041 in the *Ipswich Journal*, 2,870 in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 2,802 in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and 2,518 in the *Hampshire Telegraph*. 'Destitute' occurred 9,082 times in the *Liverpool Mercury*, 6,760 in the *Glasgow Herald*, 5,756 in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 2,931 in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 2,718 in the *Ipswich Journal*, and 2,573 in the *Hampshire Telegraph*.

'destitute' also associated with negative collocates such as 'filthy' and 'diseased' indicating a discourse of disgust or repulsion.

In short, 'pauper' and 'destitute' appear to have held quite different associations and been used in different contexts. However, when 'pauper' and 'destitute' pre-modified 'alien(s)', no distinction appears to have been made between the two terms. The phrase 'pauper aliens' occurred 263 times across the newspaper sample and the phrase 'destitute alien(s)' a comparable 284 times, and as will be seen, both appeared in fairly interchangeable contexts.¹⁷⁷

4.4.6.3 *The Discourses Surrounding 'Pauper' and 'Destitute' Aliens*

A search for the phrases 'pauper alien(s)' and 'destitute alien(s)' returned 528 concordance lines across all the newspapers. These concordance lines were expanded once (to reveal 100 words of context either side of the node phrase, 200 words of context in total). In this 106,128-word-sample, 134 specific complaints about impoverished 'alien(s)' were identified. These have been broken down in table 4.4. Whether featuring such opinions constitutes an endorsement by the newspapers shall be explored in more depth in section 4.5.

¹⁷⁷ 'Pauper alien(s)' occurred 99 times in the *Glasgow Herald*, 50 in the *Liverpool Mercury*, 49 in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 43 in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 12 in the *Ipswich Journal*, and 10 in the *Hampshire Telegraph*. 'Destitute alien(s)' occurred 107 in the *Glasgow Herald*, 69 in the *Liverpool Mercury*, 47 in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 40 in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 13 in the *Ipswich Journal*, and 8 in the *Hampshire Telegraph*.

	'pauper' or 'destitute' 'alien(s)':	No. of mentions
Economic Impact	provide job competition to British workers	17
	lower British workers' wages	15
	cause overcrowding (usually of trades or the job market)	13
	are involved in the sweating trade	12
	fall on the poor rates	9
	cause British workers to become unemployed	8
	cause British workers to fall on the poor rates	6
	TOTAL	80
Sanitation/Health	lower the living conditions of British workers	13
	live in insanitary or dirty conditions themselves	8
	bring/carry disease	6
	TOTAL	27
Euphemism	are an 'evil'	15
	cause [unspecified] 'danger' or 'injury' to British workmen	8
	TOTAL	23
Cultural/Values	are criminal	2
	do not speak English	1
	are immoral	1
	TOTAL	4

Table 4.4 The 134 complaints identified in the concordance lines, categorised.

As the historiography indicates, the primary complaints (80 out of 134) were economic. The most prevalent saw impoverished 'aliens' crowding the market place, providing 'unfair [job] competition' and lowering remuneration by working for 'starving wages'.¹⁷⁸

The idea that an 'alien pauper' could also be a worker seems contradictory. As demonstrated, 'pauper' was a label generally associated with the practicalities of housing and maintaining those unable to work. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, for instance, paradoxically criticised 'aliens' as 'workshy' whilst simultaneously condemning their 'crowd[ing] out English labour', by being 'willing to work for less wages'.¹⁷⁹ Gladstone recognised this contradiction as he asked

¹⁷⁸ *Hampshire Telegraph*, 18 February 1893; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 21 September 1895.

¹⁷⁹ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 7 May 1888; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 27 September 1889.

‘could they apply the term “destitute alien” to a man who was supporting himself by work? Was that man a destitute alien?’¹⁸⁰ Gladstone’s decision to present the phrase ‘destitute alien’ in inverted commas seems to indicate recognition both that the label was a misnomer and that it had paradoxically become a defining trope of the debates over migration legislation. *Reynolds’s Newspaper* similarly attempted to dispel the ‘pauper’ label by mentioning a report by the Manchester Board of Guardians which had found that ‘aliens’ in the region did not ‘swell the ranks of paupers’, but instead ‘were industrious’.¹⁸¹ The *Glasgow Herald* went so far as to criticise the terminology of poverty. It corrected the Trades Union Congress for speaking of ‘foreign pauper labour’ when it actually meant ‘foreign labour’, ‘which is a wholly different thing’.¹⁸² Interestingly, these examples indicate that, at least on some occasions, the more left-leaning newspapers in the sample were disputing the ‘pauper alien’ discourse. However, articles such as these remained very much in the minority.

More common, were economic arguments framed around the idea that ‘aliens’ were taking work that could have been completed by British workers and, in the most extreme cases, causing British workers to fall onto the ‘poor rates’, a property-based tax levied in each parish.¹⁸³ In these articles, the British worker was portrayed as the victim, ‘the unhappy Englishman’, who was ‘pinched and maddened with hunger’.¹⁸⁴ The ‘pauper alien’ was criticised for causing ‘mental and physical suffering’ to the British worker by ‘starving our people out of hearth and home’.¹⁸⁵ Notable here is the use of the possessive determiner ‘our’ which, when used in this instance and in phrases like ‘our workmen’, ‘our own poor’, and ‘our own countrymen’, creates a sense of in-group solidarity in the face of an out-group threat (the

¹⁸⁰ *Hampshire Telegraph*, 18 February 1893.

¹⁸¹ *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 18 December 1887; *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 20 May 1888.

¹⁸² *Glasgow Herald*, 12 September 1892.

¹⁸³ For more on the poor law see C. Chinn, *Poverty and Prosperity. The Urban Poor in England, 1834-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), pp. 102-3.

¹⁸⁴ *Ipswich Journal*, 14 July 1894.

¹⁸⁵ *Ipswich Journal*, 14 July 1894; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 7 May 1888.

'alien').¹⁸⁶ Perhaps ironically, these expressions of in-group shared interest were not limited to the Radical *Reynolds's Newspaper*, which often reported on union meetings and the solidarity of the working classes. Rather, this discourse also appeared in newspapers such as the middle-class *Pall Mall Gazette*, a newspaper, it should be noted, which had on many other occasions described 'trade unionism' as a 'tyranny'.¹⁸⁷ The Conservative *Ipswich Journal* also portrayed itself as acting 'in the interests of the working classes'.¹⁸⁸ Class differences appear to have been placed aside as the 'alien' was presented as damaging what was 'ours'. This trope saw the 'alien' being used for political point scoring as, for instance, the *Ipswich Journal* portrayed Gladstone and the Liberals as taking a stance against 'working class voters' on the 'alien' issue.¹⁸⁹

This sometimes overlapped with a recurring trope that cast the impoverished 'alien' as an anti-English entity. The *Ipswich Journal* described 'aliens' as lowering prices to a level that was 'wholly inconsistent with English habits'.¹⁹⁰ The 'alien' did not just damage the 'ratepayer' but the 'British ratepayer', predicated as posing a financial burden to the 'in-group'.¹⁹¹ This sentiment came to the forefront during election campaigns. As mentioned previously, Ipswich was notable for having one of the lowest rates of migration of any town in England during the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, a letter to the *Ipswich Journal* signed by Lord Elcho, the local Whig politician, listed 'foreign pauper immigrants' as an issue upon which he was standing, along with the funding of the army, overseas conflict, and Irish Home Rule.¹⁹² Lord Elcho clearly believed that promising to act upon migration would help him be re-elected.

¹⁸⁶ *Liverpool Mercury*, 25 February 1892; *Ipswich Journal*, 14 July 1894; *Ipswich Journal*, 9 February 1895.

¹⁸⁷ 'Tyranny' appeared amongst the top ten collocates of 'trade union(s)' and 'trade unionism' in the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

¹⁸⁸ *Ipswich Journal*, 9 June 1894.

¹⁸⁹ *Ipswich Journal*, 9 June 1894.

¹⁹⁰ *Ipswich Journal*, 2 February 1894.

¹⁹¹ *Ipswich Journal*, 27 February 1893. For a seminal discussion of social actor representation in the English language, including a case study that uses a newspaper article about immigration, see E. van Leeuwen, 'The representation of social actors' in *Texts and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis*, ed. by C. R. Caldas-Coulthard and M. Coulthard (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 32-70.

¹⁹² *Ipswich Journal*, 25 June 1892.

However, his positioning of this issue near the bottom of a list of pledges may indicate that this was a throw-away policy to mop up additional voters, and not necessarily a high-priority issue in Ipswich. Four years later, during an election campaign in East Bradford, the Unionist candidate Lord Greville was reported as evoking patriotic sentiment with posters featuring slogans such as 'vote for Greville and the exclusion of pauper aliens', 'trade follows the flag' and 'one life, one flag, one fleet, one throne, Britons hold your own'.¹⁹³

Other tropes were discovered when reading the concordance lines. Newspapers featured appeals to 'common sense'. The *Pall Mall Gazette* declared that 'no sensible man can avoid seeing that this state of things cannot go on'.¹⁹⁴ The *Ipswich Journal* asked whether '...surely it is time this kind of thing was stopped'.¹⁹⁵ Incidentally, 'this state of things' and 'this kind of thing' are further examples of the euphemistic language highlighted in section 4.4.5. Such appeals to popularity or common sense to gain support for a controversial standpoint are typical of the *ad populum* fallacy, recognised as a key argumentation strategy in the discourse historical approach to critical discourse analysis.¹⁹⁶ The *Pall Mall Gazette* sometimes purported to be the only 'straight-talking' paper and asked its readers to 'be bold and not mince matters', adding that 'the immigration of pauper aliens must be prohibited'.¹⁹⁷ The *Pall Mall Gazette* continued this 'common sense' theme when commenting upon the Earl of Hardwicke's proposed migration restriction Bill in 1898, stating that 'we cannot see that it [the proposal] would be contrary to the interests of any well-intentioned government'.¹⁹⁸

A smaller, but still notable, group of criticisms focused upon the living conditions of the impoverished 'alien', which were linked to a decline in public morality. As table 4.4 indicates, 27 out of 134 complaints fit into this category of 'sanitation/health'. The *Ipswich Journal*, for

¹⁹³ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 6 November 1896.

¹⁹⁴ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 7 July 1894.

¹⁹⁵ *Ipswich Journal*, 2 June 1900.

¹⁹⁶ Reisigl, *Discourse and Discrimination*, p. 72.

¹⁹⁷ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 2 November 1892.

¹⁹⁸ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 30 March 1899.

instance, reported that the 'alien' was 'seriously affecting the social and moral well-being of thousands in the lower grades of society'.¹⁹⁹ In a small number of instances, the 'alien' was reported as a bringer of disease, particularly cholera. The *Hampshire Telegraph*, likely due to its base in Portsmouth, seemed most concerned with the impact of migration and legislation upon shipping and local port authorities. For instance, in 1892, a year which saw the fifth international cholera pandemic reach Hamburg in Germany, a local board warned the Government of 'the urgent necessity of taking steps to prevent any further immigration of pauper aliens'.²⁰⁰ Later that year, the paper, reporting from an annual dinner of the Portsea Beneficial Society, quoted local MP Sir Frederick Fitzwygram who pointed out 'the need for stringent regulations against the admission of pauper aliens', before immediately complimenting the Portsmouth Corporation for its 'prompt steps to guard the town from the ravages of cholera'.²⁰¹

Interestingly, none of the complaints in table 4.4 related to housing, which Alderman describes as 'the most sensitive and explosive subject of controversy relating to the Jewish influx, both in London and in provincial centres'.²⁰² Although 'overcrowding' was a common criticism, it usually related to the job market, not living conditions. Holmes describes the concern over housing as causing a 'second major wave of hostility' that superseded the first 'wave', the undercutting of wages, in the 1880s.²⁰³ Perhaps the reason this did not emerge strongly from the corpora is that the shift in discourse actually occurred slightly later and in closer proximity to the 1905 Aliens Act, which is outside the scope of this study of the nineteenth-century press. Similarly, although racial or ethnic complaints were sometimes implicit in the language that the newspapers used to frame impoverished 'aliens', there was a near total absence of explicit complaints relating to the religion or culture of the 'alien'. In a

¹⁹⁹ *Ipswich Journal*, 14 July 1894.

²⁰⁰ *Hampshire Telegraph*, 18 June 1892.

²⁰¹ *Hampshire Telegraph*, 8 October 1892.

²⁰² Alderman, *Modern British Jewry*, p. 126.

²⁰³ Holmes, *Anti-Semitism*, p. 15.

rare instance, *Reynolds's Newspaper* quoted the MP Lowles who criticised the 'pauper aliens' who 'came here not knowing the English language'.²⁰⁴

As table 4.4 demonstrates, most of the newspapers attributed their complaints directly to the 'alien'. There were only a few instances where newspapers acknowledged that, as historians now generally believe, many of the issues were pre-existing and systemic. As discussed in section 4.4.4.2, *Reynolds's Newspaper* sometimes attributed 'alien' issues to the authorities, the wider capitalist system, or the elites. In a rare instance of it supporting the 'pauper alien', the *Liverpool Mercury* pointed out that 'sweating is not an exotic plant, introduced amongst us by aliens'.²⁰⁵ Similarly, in 1895 the *Glasgow Herald* claimed that the problem of unemployment is a 'domestic question' 'not in any material degree affected' by 'the immigration of pauper aliens'.²⁰⁶ The *Herald's* seeming lack of concern over the 'pauper alien' 'question' may relate to differences between the Scottish and English situation. Although the 1891 Scottish census documented 1293 migrations from the 'Russian Federation' and 497 from 'Poland', cumulatively, this amounted to less than 0.1 per cent of the Scottish population at the time. The 30,529 'Russian Federation' migrants and 15,705 Polish migrants amounted to 0.2 per cent of the English and Welsh population.²⁰⁷ Although this is still negligible when compared to the population as a whole, the greater size of England and Wales means that, in terms of raw numbers, the movement was considerably larger.

Often no explicit complaints were given against impoverished 'alien(s)' who were, instead, described euphemistically as an 'evil'. For instance, the *Ipswich Journal* reported upon 'pauper aliens' as a 'pressing social evil' and the *Hampshire Telegraph* discussed '...the evil of the existing system'.²⁰⁸ Discourse analysts have argued that moral legitimisation such as this is

²⁰⁴ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 14 February 1897.

²⁰⁵ *Liverpool Mercury*, 3 April 1891.

²⁰⁶ *Glasgow Herald*, 1 December 1893.

²⁰⁷ These figures were calculated using the I-CeM census data. K. Schurer and E. Higgs, 'Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM), 1851-1911', *UK Data Service*.

²⁰⁸ *Ipswich Journal*, 14 July 1894; *Hampshire Telegraph*, 8 September 1894

a means of evaluating something without providing any specific charges that can be questioned or debated.²⁰⁹ The *Pall Mall Gazette*, in particular, seemed to favour euphemism over specific discussion of the issues it had with ‘pauper aliens’. It focussed less on the intricacies of job competition and wage undercutting than the other newspapers, using rather a number of sweeping descriptions such as ‘...the evils which had arisen in the East End of London’.²¹⁰ This may have been because the *Pall Mall Gazette* was consumed by a relatively wealthy audience. These readers were unlikely to be directly impacted by the social and economic consequences of migration that the other newspapers documented. It is also unlikely that its readers had first-hand experience of the sweating trade or lived in areas which saw an increase in the arrival of ‘aliens’ from the 1880s.

This links to a wider trope that saw ‘pauper alien(s)’ discussed as a ‘question’, a word that collocated with ‘alien(s)’ in three of the newspapers. For instance, the *Pall Mall Gazette* reported that ‘the adjourned discussions upon the pauper alien question were resumed by the London Trades Council’.²¹¹ Conceptualising ‘aliens’ as a ‘question’ entails framing a complex topic in very simple terms, and simultaneously implying that an answer must be found. As Richardson explains, once the ‘problem’ label has been acquired, it is difficult to lose. He argues that ‘since the introduction of the anti-Semitic 1905 Aliens Act, British political discourse has, almost ubiquitously, constructed immigration as a problem that politicians need to solve’.²¹² Indeed, my findings indicate that the ‘migrant as problem’ discourse was evident much earlier than 1905. Once established in the social ‘issue’ frame, the ‘alien’ was rendered a vulnerable subject for official enquiries, such as the *Select Committee of the House of Lords*

²⁰⁹ T. Van Leeuwen, ‘Legitimation in Discourse and Communication’, *Discourse & Communication*, 1:1 (2007), pp. 91-112 (p. 98) <<https://doi.org/10.1177/1750481307071986>>.

²¹⁰ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 16 January 1893.

²¹¹ *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 29 September 1889; *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 20 December 1889.

²¹² J. E. Richardson, “Our England”: Discourses of “Race” and Class in Party Election Leaflets’, *Social Semiotics*, 18:3 (1999), pp. 191-224 (p. 323) <<https://doi.org/10.1080/10350330802217105>>.

on the Sweating System and the Board of Trade enquiry into *The Volume and Effects of Recent Immigration*.²¹³

In a small number of cases, the word 'question' was associated with 'alien(s)' in a more positive manner. *Reynolds's Newspaper* featured an article sensationally entitled 'THE PAUPER ALIEN QUESTION'. Although the article conceptualised 'alien(s)' in the same manner as their detractors, it also featured a report of a meeting of the London Trades Council in which most of the opinions aired were pro-migration. For instance, it paraphrased a Mr. Pye of the gold-beaters' guild, who argued that 'foreigners had just as much right to come here as we had to go to foreign countries'.²¹⁴

Arguably, the Poor Law itself reinforced the dichotomy between the British 'in-group' and 'alien' 'out-group'. Walzer explains that 'distributive justice [such as welfare systems], necessarily require[s] hard lines to be drawn between insiders and strangers'.²¹⁵ Traditionally, welfare had been provided at a parish level, and questions of belonging and fiscal responsibility were thus central to the system. Problems were caused by individuals who crossed the boundaries from one parish to another. Those without the right to 'settlement' in an area could be, and were, removed from a parish so as not to become a 'burden' upon the ratepayers. Such decisions were often morally charged and drew distinctions between the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor. The 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act had reducing the role of the parish, centralising relief to the level of poor law unions (comprised of groups of

²¹³ Great Britain. Parliament. House of Lords. Select Committee on the Sweating System. *Report[s] from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Sweating System* (London, 1888) <<http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015043620460>> [accessed 25 July 2019]; Great Britain. Board of Trade, *Reports on the Volume and Effects of Recent Immigration from Eastern Europe into the United Kingdom* (London: HMSO, 1894).

²¹⁴ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 20 December 1891.

²¹⁵ M. Walzer, *Spheres of Justice: A Defence of Pluralism and Equality* (New York, Martin Robertson, 1983), p. 31, cited in D. Feldman, 'Migrants, Immigrants and Welfare From the Old Poor Law To the Welfare State', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 13 (2003), pp. 79-104 (p. 79) <<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0080440103000045>>.

parishes).²¹⁶ Feldman argues that the parish boundaries crossed by internal migrants in early centuries, and the national boundaries crossed by external migrants, are analogous in that both groups ‘posed [...] problems that were structurally similar’.²¹⁷ In both instances, the boundary encouraged the viewing of those on the other side as suspicious ‘strangers’ who were trying to take advantage of that which ‘was ours’.

The concordance lines indicate that the ‘question’ of ‘pauper’ and ‘destitute’ ‘aliens’ was geographically associated with London, specifically the East End, which was one of the main areas to see large arrivals of Jewish migrants from Eastern Europe. Indeed, the area became, as Glover states, the ‘epicentre of anti-immigration agitation in Britain’, and elected several Conservative MPs on anti-migration platforms.²¹⁸

Prior to the increase in migration in the 1880s and 90s, the East End was already strongly associated with poverty. Lammers notes that in Victorian Britain, the East End was ‘the principal imaginative site of urban poverty’, whilst Brodie describes the area as ‘epitomizing poverty in London in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries’.²¹⁹ During this key period, the association between poverty and the East End was arguably exacerbated as both fell under the gaze of social investigators such as Charles Booth. Indeed, the first volume of his influential survey of the working classes *Life and Labour of the People in London*, entitled ‘East London’, was published in 1889.

Stedman Jones argues that the poorer inhabitants of the East End would have ‘constituted a disquieting alien presence in the midst of mid-Victorian plenty’.²²⁰ Presumably,

²¹⁶ For more information about the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act see D. Englander, *Poverty and Poor Law Reform in Nineteenth-Century Britain, 1834-1914: From Chadwick to Booth* (London: Routledge, 2013).

²¹⁷ D. Feldman, ‘The Boundaries of Welfare’, *History in Focus* <<http://www.history.ac.uk/ihr/Focus/Migration/articles/feldman.html>> [accessed 4 June 2018].

²¹⁸ Glover, *Literature, Immigration, and Diaspora*, p. 48.

²¹⁹ B. Lammers, ‘“Alien Dick Whittingtons”: The National Imagination and the Jewish East End’, *Jewish Culture and History*, 1:1 (1998), pp. 41–53 (p. 44) <<https://doi.org/10.1080/1462169X.1998.10512211>>; M. Brodie, *The Politics of the Poor: The East End of London, 1885-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 1.

²²⁰ G. Stedman Jones, *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between Classes in Victorian Society* (London: Verso, 1984), p. 14.

the impoverished migrant residents of the same areas would have been seen as doubly 'alien': made different by virtue of both their migrant status and their poverty. As Jones argues, they constituted a 'deprived, vulnerable and conspicuous group.'²²¹ In a society in which moralising discourses portraying poverty as a social evil had long proliferated, such a group would have provided an easy target for mounting economic resentment. Indeed, that all the newspapers spoke with striking urgency about an issue that was primarily associated with just one area of London may indicate that Bar-Yosef and Valman are correct in claiming that the 'alien question' became a 'metonym' for 'discontents that were both more widespread and more significant'.²²²

Although they were referring to the 'underclass' in the alleged 'dependency culture' of the modern welfare state, Dean and Taylor-Grooby's statement that the label's effect is 'not to define the marginalised, but to marginalise those it defines' seems as appropriate to 'pauper' and 'destitute' in the nineteenth century.²²³ It seems that when the discourses surrounding poverty and migration intersect, those caught at the centre, in this case the 'pauper' or 'destitute' 'aliens', were the subject of an amplified assault which drew upon the worst features of both frames of reference. The 1905 Aliens Act was arguably the direct result of the convergence of these two discourses.

However, 'alien paupers' were not always poor. Although *Reynolds's Newspaper*, like the other titles, reported upon 'pauper aliens' in the East End of London, it also featured a broader republican discourse, unique to the newspaper, which criticised the Queen's dependants, the 'alien' referring to those originating from Germany. The poverty of this group of 'paupers' stemmed from their reliance upon the funding of the tax payer, and apparent lack

²²¹ C. Jones, *Immigration and Social Policy in Britain* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1977), p. 5.

²²² Bar-Yosef and N. Valman, 'Introduction. Between the East End and East Africa: Rethinking Images of "The Jew" in Late-Victorian and Edwardian Culture', in *The Jew' in Late-Victorian and Edwardian Culture: Between the East End and East Africa*, ed. by E. Bar-Yosef and N. Valman (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2009), pp. 1-27 (p. 14) <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230594371_5>.

²²³ H. Dean and P. Taylor-Grooby, *Dependency Culture: The Explosion of a Myth* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 2013), p. 44.

of gainful employment. In one instance, the paper interrupted a social commentary piece on the poverty that 'abounded' in Britain's cities to consider the fact that 'we have amongst us a whole tribe of alien and native paupers, upon whom the uttermost tenderness is lavished'. The article continues in this euphemistic tone, adding that *these* 'paupers' have 'spacious palaces' and 'luxurious carriages in which to ride'. It is only further into the article that *Reynolds's Newspaper* explicitly references 'our princely paupers'. The paper's intimation that these 'paupers' are 'well known to the Queen' confirms that it is discussing her dependants.²²⁴ Elsewhere, the newspaper lamented that 'an increasing proportion [is being] taken from the taxes paid by the working man on his tobacco and his tea for the maintenance of an ever growing progeny of royal paupers'.²²⁵

The first evidence for this discourse was found in 1854, in an early instance of 'alien(s)' collocating with 'pauper'.²²⁶ However, the discourse appears to have been exacerbated by the increased opportunities provided by a rise in 'pauper alien' debates. On occasion, the paper drew parallels between this republican discourse and the arguments of those in favour of anti-migration legislation. Commenting on Lord Salisbury's proposed Alien Bill, for instance, the paper gleefully suggested that 'if aliens in England are to be cleared out our German royal family will have to go with them'.²²⁷ The hypocrisy of the aristocracy also emerges as a key theme in the Radical meetings that *Reynolds's Newspaper* regularly reported upon. In an article concerning a particular meeting at the Grand Assembly Hall in Mile End, *Reynolds's Newspaper* paraphrased a Mr. Steadman, who argued 'that if the Government meant stopping pauper alien immigration let them commence at the top round of the ladder, and export those for whose maintenance the British workmen are heavily taxed'.²²⁸

²²⁴ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 23 August 1874.

²²⁵ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 4 September 1892.

²²⁶ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 8 January 1854.

²²⁷ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 12 April 1896.

²²⁸ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 15 March 1896.

4.5 Newspaper Stances

This chapter has, at various points, and in relation to certain issues, attributed stances to different newspaper titles. However, it proved hugely difficult to establish the broader attitudes of individual newspapers towards the ‘alien’. There are multiple reasons for this difficulty, several of which shall be explored here.

One thing that complicated categorisation of a newspaper’s stance was the propensity for change amongst their owners. Some of the titles experience multiple changes in ownership during the period in question, and often this was accompanied by an overhaul of a newspaper’s entire staff and its politics.²²⁹ These changes are compounded by the fact that very little is known about the contributors to periodical newspapers and articles were rarely attributed to a single author.²³⁰ One thing that is known is that journalists moved between, or wrote for, multiple newspaper titles. The *Liverpool Mercury*, for instance, drew upon many of the same journalists as the *Pall Mall Gazette* which might suggest a similarity in tone. For instance, activist Josephine Butler wrote for both newspapers, as did Henry William Lucy, beginning his journalistic career with the *Mercury* before writing for the *Gazette* in later life.²³¹

Another reason why consistent attitudes proved difficult to pin down is that although the newspapers did feature articles directly condemning the ‘alien’, many of the more negative comments were revealed to be quotes when examined *in situ*. For example, the *Pall Mall Gazette* stated that ‘the destitute alien is, as Mr. Richards reminded the House of Commons yesterday, one of the curses of our civilization, and a fruitful cause of overcrowding, immorality, dirt, and disease’.²³² This is a question which has long troubled researchers

²²⁹ The *Pall Mall Gazette*, for instance, began life as a Conservative paper under owner George Smith and editor Frederick Greenwood (1865-1880); became Liberal following the inheritance of the ownership by Smith’s son-in-law, who hired the controversial editor W.T. Stead; before becoming Conservative again towards the end of the century under the ownership of William Waldorf Astor.

²³⁰ J. Mussell, *The Nineteenth-Century Press in the Digital Age* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 40.

²³¹ Brake and Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*, pp. 88, 382.

²³² *Pall Mall Gazette*, 18 May 1900.

analysing newspapers – namely, whether featuring an opinion in a newspaper constitutes an endorsement or not. In this instance, the use of the word ‘as’ clearly indicates that the *Pall Mall Gazette* agreed with Richards. However, not all instances were so transparent.

Often newspapers reported, supposedly verbatim and seemingly neutrally, sections of debates from the Houses of Commons and Lords which include critical, and occasionally inflammatory, opinions of migration. It could be argued that the newspapers were simply relaying current news to their readers. However, these debates were often reported in isolation. This raises the question of why, out of a whole day of parliamentary proceedings, a newspaper chose to include the small section of debate where migrant numbers were discussed, or where a certain individual made a highly negative comment about the ‘alien’. The practice of citing the opinion of an authority figure, legitimised by virtue of their public standing, to voice an opinion which newspapers could not necessarily be seen to directly support, is well documented for the contemporary press by Van Leeuwen.²³³ Factors such as the amount of space which a quoted figure is given, the position of their quote in an article, and the inclusion or lack of contradictory opinions, can all provide an indication of whether a newspaper agreed or disagreed with a quoted individual. They demonstrate why, where possible, close analysis is still vital, as nuanced judgements can often only be reached by examining articles on a case-by-case basis.

Reynolds’s Newspaper featured several hostile letters from its readers. Although *Reynolds’s* did not comment in approval of these letters, it also made no attempt to negate them. This does not seem to have been a conscious instance of Van Leeuwen’s aforementioned legitimisation tactic because, as established, *Reynolds’s* attitude towards migration was comparatively positive for the period. It seems unlikely that the newspaper was trying to tacitly endorse, for example, an individual with the pen name ‘Northumbrian’ when they wrote a letter to the paper stating that ‘the East-End of London positively swarms with

²³³ Van Leeuwen, ‘Legitimation in Discourse’, pp. 94-97.

filthy low-toned foreigners who herd together like beasts'.²³⁴ However, whether or not it was the intention of *Reynolds's Newspaper*, by featuring opinions such as Northumbrian's in its pages, the paper publicised them. Santa Ana drew a similar conclusion after examining the *Los Angeles Times'* use of metaphor. He argued that 'while the *Los Angeles Times'* news writers are not overtly racist, their continued use of the metaphor contributes to demeaning and dehumanizing the immigrant worker', something which was exacerbated by the 'newspaper's privileged role as a major vehicle for political discourse in California'.²³⁵ If nothing else, *Reynolds's Newspaper* ensured that the comments of Northumbrian, which perpetuated some of the dehumanising metaphors explored in section 4.4.4, were seen by some of its vast working-class audience.

In December 1896, *Reynolds's Newspaper* featured another letter, written by a Mr. James Annand. Annand penned a series of political musings for the paper under the premise of addressing letters to a fictional worker. This particular letter featured a lengthy defence of the 'alien' migrant on a number of grounds, including the idea that 'alien' numbers were insignificant; that 'aliens' were hard working; that, like the Huguenot refugees, 'aliens' may have previously unrecognised skills to contribute to the British economy; and that the hypocritical English were, themselves, 'flooding the whole world' with people.²³⁶ It is unclear whether Annand's letter negates the effects of Northumbrian's. However, it might indicate that *Reynolds's Newspaper* simply sought conflict in its letters page, irrespective of the newspaper's position more broadly.

An example found in the *Pall Mall Gazette* is similarly confusing. The usually fairly moderate newspaper featured Arnold White as a guest writer. White was a journalist and unsuccessful MP, primarily known for his demagogic anti-'alien' campaigns. Furthermore, a

²³⁴ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 5 February 1893.

²³⁵ O. Santa Ana, "'Like an Animal I Was Treated': Anti-Immigrant Metaphor in US Public Discourse", *Discourse & Society*, 10:2 (1999), pp. 191-224 (p. 217) <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926599010002004>>.

²³⁶ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 13 December 1896.

number of the mentions of 'alien(s)' in the *Pall Mall Gazette* appeared in advertisements for White's anti-'alien' book *The Destitute Alien in Great Britain*. It could be argued that the *Pall Mall Gazette* was the only newspaper to advertise Arnold White's book not because of its anti-'alien' beliefs, but rather because it alone of the titles in the newspaper sample had a strong literary focus. However, in respect to this, it is worth noting that the newspaper's staff have control over which books they feature. The newspapers' willingness to feature articles from a small group of strident anti-'alienists' such as White, and his associates Dunraven and Wilkins (see section 4.4.5), figures who were largely absent from the other newspapers, seems to speak volumes about its stance in this period, which, as discussed earlier, moved away from its prior liberalism. This is also true of the newspaper's propensity to follow the activities of the Association for the Prevention of Destitute Aliens, an anti-migration lobbying group established by the aforementioned White and Dunraven in 1891.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the linguistic portrayal of the 'alien' in a selection of nineteenth-century newspapers, primarily using a combination of collocation and concordance analysis to allow both close and distant reading. Although analysis was inevitably weighted towards collocates that emerge from data from the final decades of the century, when a growth in newspaper size coincided with particularly heated debates around the place of newly arrived migrants in British society, the chapter demonstrated that there was a distinct shift in the associations of the query 'alien(s)'.

'Alien' migration does not appear to have been discussed with any urgency until the 1880s and 1890s. Prior to these decades, mentions of 'alien(s)' primarily related to the debating, and imposition, of legislation, or to the word's non-migration usage to denote something strange or different. However, as the number of Eastern European migrants increased at the end of the century, 'alien(s)' increased in topicality and prominence. The

discourses surrounding it also underwent a shift and acquired a distinctly negative discourse prosody. In the last few decades of the century, 'alien(s)' was very strongly associated with poverty. 'Alien(s)' was also, erroneously, most frequently used to describe *new* arrivals into Britain despite, in its legal sense, applying to a much larger group of individuals who had not been naturalised. If used accurately, it would have referred to German sugar bakers, French teachers and governesses, Italian waiters, and many other groups living and working in Britain.

These new arrivals were dislocated from their wider migratory journeys, their newspaper appearances marked by a dearth of collocates that could have been used to identify them. Instead, the term was ambiguous, providing little clarity over who these 'alien(s)' actually were, other than that they were impoverished and arriving at an apparently alarming rate. This lack of specificity, whether intended or not, served to dehumanise the 'alien' and allowed the issues surrounding migration to be discussed in isolation from the migrants themselves. Although the 'question' of 'pauper' and 'destitute' aliens' was overwhelmingly portrayed by all newspapers as a London-centred issue, the extent of coverage it was given by the regional press, including the Scottish *Glasgow Herald*, is remarkable. This surely contributed to the Government's ability to pass national legislation in the form of the 1905 Aliens Act on an 'issue' that, in reality, only impacted very specific areas of the country and sectors of the population.

Although census data shows that, for most of this period, the most populous foreign-born communities were from countries such as Ireland, France, and Germany, none of these nations appeared in the collocates, or the immediate context surrounding 'alien(s)'. As demonstrated in section 4.4.5, the only clue given as to the provenance of the 'aliens' being discussed was, on a limited number of occasions, the collocates 'Jew' and 'Jews'. However, the two words only co-occurred with 'alien(s)' infrequently. This is striking when it is considered that the 1905 Aliens Act, and the anti-'alien' sentiment that preceded it, has primarily been attributed to the large-scale Jewish migration of the 1880s and 1890s. It is likely that public

knowledge of the rise in Jewish migration, and the manner in which the 'alien' debate was framed, meant that newspaper readers did not require the identity of the 'alien' to be clearly articulated. Indeed, the section contained several examples of newspapers conflating the terms 'alien(s)' and 'Jew(s)' as though they were interchangeable. The absence of these details served to enhance the imprecision of 'alien' reporting and, by proxy, the imprecision of the out-group threat. Cumulatively, these points serve to demonstrate that although a legislative term, 'alien' was certainly not neutral, bringing with it a great deal of connotative baggage.

Perhaps the most significant finding is that 'aliens' were framed in a very similar manner by both the pro- and anti-migration lobbies. In all the newspapers, including the *Radical Reynolds's Newspaper*, which was almost always pro-migration, the more Liberal titles which could sometimes contain pro-migration sentiment, and the staunchly Conservative and usually anti-'alien' newspapers in the sample, 'alien(s)' associated with very similar collocates. This may have been because, as Pooley found, 'the local press really only took an interest in issues regarding migration when they were linked to a large national news story'.²³⁷ Sometimes it was because all newspapers were reporting upon the same source material. For instance, if 'aliens' were discussed as being 'imported' in Parliament, this phrase would potentially make it into every title in the newspaper sample. This could have been exacerbated by the nineteenth-century culture of 'scissors and paste' journalism (discussed in section 1.5.3). However, similar language was also evident in pro- and anti-migration opinions in the newspapers' original and editorial content, demonstrating that it had become acceptable to frame 'aliens' in a number of very narrow ways. This may have been because the parameters of the debate were set by a handful of very vocal anti-migration lobbyists.²³⁸ Whatever the cause, both sides discussed 'pauper' and 'destitute' 'alien(s)', but rarely explicitly discussed

²³⁷ C. Pooley, 'Newspaper Reporting of Migrants in England 1851-1911: Spatial and Temporal Perspectives', *Journal of Migration History*, forthcoming, p. 17.

²³⁸ Indeed, Alderman discusses how 'the themes on which he [White] wrote and spoke were taken up in political circles' in Alderman, *Modern British Jewry*, p. 124.

their identity, instead using metaphor, focusing upon their numbers, and discussing them as arrivals rather than their movements more generally. This is sharply illustrated by the example of James Annand, the pro-‘alien’ writer of letters to *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, who was in possession of views radically different to those of anti-‘alien’ polemicist Arnold White, but still conceptualised ‘aliens’ as a ‘question’, invoked patriotism and used the word ‘flooding’.²³⁹

²³⁹ *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 13 December 1896.

5 Refugees

5.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the associations of the query ‘refugee(s)’ in the nineteenth-century newspaper sample.¹ Section 5.2 provides an overview of newspaper coverage. It looks at the distribution of the query result, and its collocates in each decade of the nineteenth century, to identify which refugee groups received the most press attention at different points in time. Section 5.3 examines the discourses surrounding ‘refugee(s)’, grouping collocates thematically to identify trends, and then using concordance analysis to explore some of those trends in more depth. Finally, section 5.4 turns to examine absences, identifying groups that might be expected to fall under the ‘refugee’ label but are, in fact, missing from the newspaper coverage. Throughout, attention is given to areas of similarity and divergence with the discourses surrounding ‘alien(s)’ that were highlighted in the previous chapter.

Although notions of asylum and sanctuary have existed since time immemorial, the word ‘refugee’ appears to have entered British English with the Huguenots, Protestants who took shelter in Britain after they lost their right to worship in France following the 1685 revocation of the Edict of Nantes.² Direct evidence for this can be sought through

¹ The query ‘refugee[s,]’ was used to search CQPweb, which returns results for the singular ‘refugee’ and plural ‘refugees’.

² P. Marfleet, ‘Understanding “Sanctuary”: Faith and Traditions of Asylum’, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 24:3 (2011), pp. 440-55 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fer040>>. For more information about the refugees to Britain in this period see B. Cottret, *The Huguenots in England: Immigration and Settlement, c. 1550-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); and R. D. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage: The History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985). For a comparison between the Huguenots and the rather different treatment meted out to the German ‘Poor Palatines’ who arrived a little over 20 years after the Huguenots, see A. G. Olson, ‘Huguenots and Palatines’, *Historian*, 63:2 (2001), pp. 269-86 <<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6563.2001.tb01466.x>>. More widely, the word ‘refugee’ is thought to have originated in France with the arrival of Low Country Calvinists during the Reformation, see A. R. Zolberg et al., *Escape from Violence: Conflict and the Refugee Crisis in the Developing World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 5.

Early English Books Online (EEBO), the largest online collection of Early Modern English, which contains quality-controlled transcriptions of over 125,000 texts published between 1400 and 1800.³ A large section of *EEBO* (1.2 billion words) is accessible in corpus form on Lancaster's CQPweb platform.⁴ Of the 218 times that 'refugee(s)' appears in this corpus, 193 (or 88 per cent) occur in texts published between 1690 and 1699, the decade following the Edict of Nantes' revocation. All other instances of 'refugee(s)' are subsequent to this. Furthermore, the words that collocate most closely with 'refugee(s)' in *EEBO* are 'French' and 'Protestant'.

Although 'refugee' thus appears to have begun life closely intertwined with a specific ethnoreligious group, by the nineteenth century the word was being much more widely applied. The findings that will be reported in this chapter indicate that in nineteenth-century newspapers 'refugee', in contrast to 'alien', could denote people from a variety of geographical, religious, and political backgrounds. Shaw attributes the word's 'cultural shift' to the French Revolution (1789-1799), which broadened the 'refugee' category so that it related 'more generally to any persecuted foreigner'.⁵ However, the evidence also suggests that, despite this widened denotation, the newspapers primarily reported upon *non-political* 'refugees' overseas, and *politically active* 'refugees' within Britain. Yet there were other groups in Britain, particularly Eastern European Jews, who arguably also warranted the 'refugee' label, but with whom it does not appear to have been regularly associated.

³ 'About Early English Books Online - EEBO', *EEBO: Early English Books Online* <<https://eebo.chadwyck.com/about/about.htm>> [accessed 10 January 2019].

⁴ There are two *EEBO* corpora on CQPweb, V2 and V3. This paragraph uses V3, which contains more texts.

⁵ C. Shaw, *Britannia's Embrace: Modern Humanitarianism and the Imperial Origins of Refugee Relief* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 2; C. Shaw, 'Recall to Life: Imperial Britain, Foreign Refugees and the Development of Modern Refuge, 1789-1905' (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 2010), p. 1.

The absence of these other groups may relate to the lack of a legal definition of 'refugee'. Indeed, it was not until 1951 that the Geneva Convention, of which Britain was a signatory, became the first document to enshrine a 'single definition' of the term 'refugee' in international law.⁶ It declared that a refugee was 'someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion'.⁷ Prior to this point, whether an individual was treated as a refugee and given asylum had largely been a matter of the sensibilities and legal frameworks of the nation in which they arrived.

Today, in the UK, a person is not a refugee until they have been 'recognised' as such by the British Government. Whilst their application is under consideration, they are legally classed as an 'asylum seeker'.⁸ The phrase 'asylum seeker' had no legal equivalent in nineteenth-century Britain and, as was observed in section 3.3.2, is entirely absent from the corpora. Instead, protection for refugees was not enshrined in law, but rather was upheld by the same absence of laws that allowed other migrants free entry. As Schuster and Solomos note, in nineteenth-century Britain, 'granting asylum meant merely refusing to extradite'.⁹

⁶ S. Aprile & D. Diaz, 'Europe and its Political Refugees in the 19th Century', *Books and Ideas* (18 April 2016), <<http://www.booksandideas.net/Europe-and-its-Political-Refugees-in-the-19th-Century.html>> [accessed 4 June 2018].

⁷ United Nations. UN General Assembly, 'Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees' (28 July 1951), Treaty Series, No. 2545, p. 152 <<https://www.refworld.org/docid/3be01b964.html>> [accessed 10 January 2019]. Although Marfleet rightly warns historians against viewing the Geneva Convention as the beginning of refugee status, the Convention does hold significance as the first time the international 'state system' acknowledged and formalised the refugee category. See P. Marfleet, 'Refugees and History: Why We Must Address the Past', *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 26:3 (2007), pp. 136-148 (p. 138) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/rsq/hdi0248>>.

⁸ Refugee Council, 'Asylum Seekers and Refugees - Who's Who?', *The Truth about Asylum* <<https://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/information/refugee-asylum-facts/the-truth-about-asylum/>> [accessed 6 May 2019].

⁹ L. Schuster and J. Solomos, 'The Politics of Refugee and Asylum Policies in Britain: Historical Patterns and Contemporary Realities', in *Refugees, Citizenship and Social Policy in Europe*, ed. by A. Bloch and C. Levy (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 1999), pp. 51-75 (p. 53) <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230371248_3>.

It could be argued that this liberal border policy rendered the refugee category superfluous. If anybody is free to enter a country, their reason for doing so becomes immaterial. It is true that whether an individual was viewed as a refugee or an 'alien' had little bearing on their initial right to enter Britain. However, as this chapter will demonstrate, there existed fundamental differences in the newspapers' coverage of 'alien(s)' and 'refugee(s)' that surely impacted upon the two groups' reception once present in Britain. Whilst refugees to Britain were not necessarily always viewed positively, they received little of the vitriol that characterised much newspaper coverage of 'aliens'. Furthermore, although the 'right of asylum' was not enshrined in law, it was widely constructed as an unwritten right, legitimised by tradition and natural laws of hospitality, particularly when called into question.

5.2 Overview of Newspaper Coverage

5.2.1 Spikes in Occurrences of 'Refugee(s)'

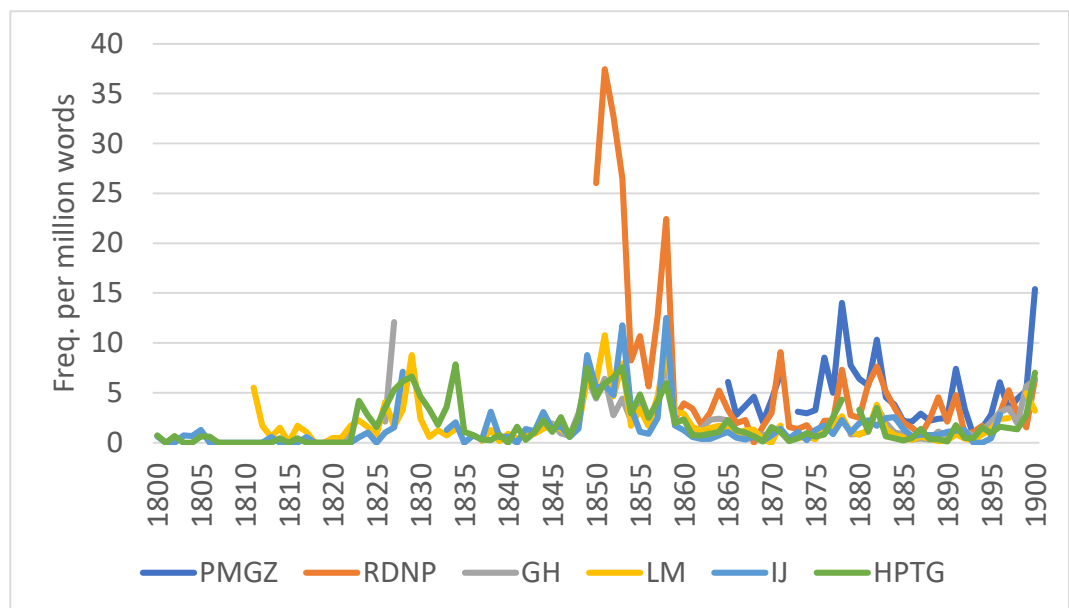


Figure 5.1 Distribution of 'refugee(s)' in all newspapers in the sample.

Figure 5.1 displays the distribution of the normalised results for the query 'refugee(s)' in the newspaper sample. Section 4.3 demonstrated that 'alien(s)' was most topical in the 1890s when the moral panic around 'pauper alien(s)' escalated. In contrast, refugees seem to have garnered press attention throughout the century, but were more topical at some points than at others.¹⁰ As shall be seen (section 5.3.2), every title other than *Reynolds's Newspaper* dedicated more coverage to overseas refugees than those within Britain. However, the most prominent spikes in newspaper coverage, and the points at which those spikes correlate across multiple newspaper titles, generally correspond to the presence of certain refugee groups in Britain.

The first spike in newspaper coverage is in the mid to late 1820s and appears to have been caused by the arrival of a series of groups of ex-military refugees from Portugal, Italy, and Spain, on the south coast of Britain. There are also two spikes in the middle of the century, one between 1849 and 1853, which is particularly pronounced in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, and a second in 1858. The former relates to the aftermath of the revolutionary fervour which swept Europe in 1848, and the latter to the trial of a number of militant political refugees on British soil. Discussion of the 1858 spike is postponed to section 5.3.5, since it corresponds closely to the 'right of asylum' debates, to be dealt with there. The two earlier spikes shall be discussed shortly.

In addition to these spikes, which appeared across the newspaper sample, several spikes only occurred in specific titles. The *Hampshire Telegraph* mentioned 'refugee(s)' 7.85 times per million words in 1834; this is nearly three standard deviations above the mean for that title of 1.79. This spike was not evident in any other newspaper. The

¹⁰ To calculate spikes, I took the number of times each newspaper title used the query 'refugee(s)' per year, normalised as a frequency per million word. I then calculated the mean frequency of each title's mentions of 'refugee(s)', and the standard deviation from that mean. I treat as 'spikes' those years in a newspaper title that were at least two standard deviations above that newspaper's mean.

concordance lines reveal that most of the coverage relates to Polish refugees, and that the spike was caused by an incident local to the *Hampshire Telegraph*. In 1834, 212 survivors of a Polish uprising against Russian rule on board the ship *Marianne* became caught in a storm. Forced to take shelter, they landed in Portsmouth (in Hampshire) and ultimately decided to settle in the city rather than continue, as originally intended, to America.¹¹ Another spike occurred in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1878.¹² The presence of geographical place names such as ‘Turkish’, ‘Bosnia’, ‘Macedonia’, ‘Rhodopes’ (a mountain range in the Balkans), and ‘Serbia’ in the concordance lines imply that this spike relates to the Russo-Turkish War (1877-1878). A final spike occurred in 1900 in both the *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Hampshire Telegraph*, and relates to the Boer War.

5.2.1.1 *Military Refugees (the 1820s)*

All the sample newspapers that were published in the 1820s (the *Liverpool Mercury*, *Ipswich Journal*, and *Hampshire Telegraph*) reported upon ‘refugee(s)’ more than average in the years 1828 and 1829.¹³ For example, in 1829, the *Liverpool Mercury* mentioned refugee(s) 8.79 times per million words, three standard deviations above the paper’s mean of 1.91. Each newspaper yielded just three collocates for ‘refugee(s)’ in this decade: ‘Portuguese’, ‘Italian’, and ‘Spanish’, all of which relate to groups of ex-soldiers who sought asylum in Britain.

In 1828, a number of liberal Portuguese refugees arrived on the south coast, having fled a civil war that erupted out of an inheritance squabble over the Portuguese crown between two sons of the former king, the liberal Pedro, with whom the refugees aligned,

¹¹ ‘Portsmouth’s Polish Community Marks 180th Anniversary’, *BBC* (23 February 2014) <<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-hampshire-26315789>> [accessed 6 May 2019].

¹² ‘Refugee(s)’ were mentioned by the *Gazette* 14.02 times per million words in 1878, again, nearly three standard deviations above the newspaper’s mean of 4.86.

¹³ The *Glasgow Herald* also showed a spike in mentions of ‘refugee(s)’ in 1827. However, the corpus only actually contains nine issues of the newspaper from that year due to gaps in the original archive. The nine archived issues must include one or more where refugees are prominent, but since we cannot infer that what is true of one day, is true of the rest of the year, the spike has been excluded from this analysis.

and the absolutist Dom Miguel.¹⁴ The refugees were the subject of a prolonged exchange of letters between the Duke of Wellington and various Portuguese dignitaries, in which the former accused the refugees of having ‘taken advantage’ of ‘the hospitality afforded to them in this country’, and of disturbing the peace by continuing to bear arms.¹⁵ The *Liverpool Mercury* expressed scepticism, stating that:

The Duke of Wellington has, it seems, taken it into his head that there is some mighty danger in permitting the 4000 Portuguese refugees to reside longer in Plymouth, notwithstanding that their conduct here has been exemplary, and their residence highly beneficial to the town.¹⁶

However, it is worth noting that the inclusion of the adverb ‘here’ may imply that these are the words of a correspondent local to Plymouth and not the editorial voice of the *Mercury*. The paper’s defence of the refugees may relate to their shared ‘constitutional’ and liberal political outlook. Support for this interpretation can be found in the *Mercury*’s criticism of the British Government for sheltering the absolutist king of Portugal, Dom Miguel I, an action it described as ‘in defiance of the voice of the nation [Britain]’.¹⁷

The Italian and Spanish refugees were remnants of the Napoleonic Wars, having fought under the banners of Wellington and liberalism.¹⁸ They entered the newspapers after approaching the Lord Mayor of London for charity; claiming recompense for the hardships that they had suffered whilst fighting for the British cause. One, for instance, noted the ‘three bullets in his body’ that he had ‘received in [...] battle’.¹⁹ Sympathy

¹⁴ J. Baptista de Sousa, *Holland House and Portugal, 1793-1840: English Whiggery and the Constitutional Cause in Iberia* (London: Anthem Press, 2018), pp. 79-93.

¹⁵ ‘Correspondence Regarding the Portuguese Military Refugees in Great Britain’, in *The Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politics and Literature of the Year 1829*, ed. by E. Burke (London: Baldwin and Cradock, 1830), pp. 449, 460.

¹⁶ *Liverpool Mercury*, 5 December 1828.

¹⁷ *Liverpool Mercury*, 5 December 1828.

¹⁸ C. Shaw, ‘The British, Persecuted Foreigners and the Emergence of the Refugee Category in Nineteenth-Century Britain’, *Immigrants & Minorities*, 30:2-3 (2012), pp. 239-262 (p. 243) <<https://doi.org/10.1080/02619288.2010.502715>>.

¹⁹ *Ipswich Journal*, 18 December 1824.

appears to have been forthcoming, as the *Ipswich Journal* records public subscriptions for their upkeep.²⁰ Surprisingly, the usually apathetic *Journal* (see section 5.3.4) described the fundraising efforts for the refugees as ‘highly respectable’ and ‘gratifying to the friends of humanity’.²¹

Much of this solidarity seems to have stemmed from a sense of gratitude for their military service. Indeed, the *Liverpool Mercury* was highly impressed by the ordered military discipline with which the Portuguese refugees conducted themselves whilst in Plymouth, citing it as a counter-argument to Wellington’s suggestion that the refugees posed a public danger.²² This, along with the politics of the Spanish and Italian refugees, which were more moderate than those of later arrivals (to be discussed momentarily), may explain why the *Ipswich Journal* expressed support for the cause of a group of political refugees, something which seems out of character given their more usual rhetoric in later decades, to which this discussion now turns.

5.2.1.2 *Revolutionary Refugees (1848 – the late 1850s)*

All five of the newspapers published at that time displayed an increase in mentions of ‘refugee(s)’ between 1849 and 1853. 1848 saw a series of revolutionary uprisings that, at least temporarily, toppled Governments across Europe.²³ Most were swiftly suppressed, producing a generation of political exiles.²⁴ Indeed, the 1850s saw the entrance of the collocate ‘political’ into all the newspapers’ collocate lists for ‘refugee(s)’. However, whilst spikes in *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, and the *Liverpool Mercury*, *Ipswich*

²⁰ *Ipswich Journal*, 13 December 1828.

²¹ *Ipswich Journal*, 29 November 1828.

²² *Liverpool Mercury*, 5 December 1828.

²³ See J. Sperber, *The European Revolutions, 1848-1851* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); P. Smith Robertson, *The Revolutions of 1848, a social history* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952); and for an engaging popular history M. Rapport, *1848: Year of Revolution* (London: Abacus, 2009).

²⁴ S. Manz and P. Panayi, ‘Refugees and Cultural Transfer to Britain: An Introduction’ in *Refugees and Cultural Transfer to Britain*, ed. by S. Manz and P. Panayi (Ebook Central: Routledge, 2013), pp. 2-31 (pp. 4-6).

Journal, and *Hampshire Telegraph*, were statistically significant (all were over two standard deviations above their newspapers' mean relative frequency of mentions of refugees, and some over three), the increase in mentions in the *Glasgow Herald* was not. The reason for this is unclear. Although, as shall now be discussed, it could relate to the newspapers' relative proximity to the revolutionary refugees.

Much of the newspapers' coverage in this period centred on the Hungarian leader Lajos Kossuth and his entourage. Kossuth arrived in Britain in 1851, accompanied by revolutionaries not just from his native Hungary, but also from other countries such as Italy and Poland, to much publicity and fanfare. He landed on the south coast, before undertaking a tour of England that saw him visit London, Winchester, Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham.²⁵ Aside from the *Glasgow Herald* (based approximately 220 miles away), and the *Ipswich Journal* (based approximately 84 miles away), all the newspapers were printed within 20 miles of one of the stops on Kossuth's tour. This geographical proximity, or lack thereof, seems to be reflected in their language choices.

To identify how the different titles positioned themselves in relation to the revolutionary refugees, the newspapers' concordance lines from 1849-1851 were sorted one space to the right (concordance sorting was introduced in section 2.4.5). This revealed that, in the *Glasgow Herald's* concordance lines, the refugees are discussed at a distance; they are 'in London', 'in England', and 'resident in the capital'. The other titles, in contrast, contain more determiners that mark locations nearby, such as 'refugees in **this** country', 'refugees in **this** metropolis', and 'refugees arrived at **this** place'.²⁶ The Scottish paper's avoidance of 'this country' may, however, simply be a reflection that Kossuth's 1851 tour was confined to England. *Reynolds's Newspaper* used the most specific locations, perhaps

²⁵ G. Claeys, 'Mazzini, Kossuth, and British Radicalism, 1848-1854', *Journal of British Studies*, 28:3 (1989), pp. 225-61 (p. 245) <<https://doi.org/10.1086/385936>>.

²⁶ See, for instance: *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 20 April 1851 and 12 April 1851; and the *Liverpool Mercury*, 14 March 1851.

due to its editor's personal involvement in refugee social circles.²⁷ For instance, it discussed refugees 'resident at 42 King Street, Soho', 'at present located in Turnmill Street', and 'at 44 John Street, Smithfield'.²⁸

For the same reason it is unsurprising that although evident in all the newspapers, this spike is particularly large in *Reynolds's Newspaper*. The title mentioned refugees 37.46 times per million words in 1851 and 32.77 times per million words in 1852; the former is nearly four standard deviations above the newspaper's mean of 6.05.²⁹ The 1850s is often cited as the height of British radical involvement in international politics.³⁰ It was certainly the period when G. W. M. Reynolds, the editor of *Reynolds's Newspaper*, was most personally active in international political circles.³¹ Indeed, during this period of fervour, he named two of his children for European revolutionaries exiled in Britain. Kossuth Mazzini Reynolds (named for the aforementioned Hungarian leader and for the Italian revolutionary Giuseppe Mazzini) was born in 1850 and Ledru Rollin Reynolds (named for Alexandre Ledru-Rollin, a radical politician who helped bring about universal male suffrage in France) in 1852.³²

These mid-century revolutionaries also included a number of high-profile French refugees such as Victor Hugo and the aforementioned Ledru-Rollin, who established a thriving community on Jersey that became something of a thorn in Anglo-French

²⁷ A. Taylor, "'Some Little of Contemptible War upon her Hands": *Reynolds's Newspaper* and Empire' in *G.W.M. Reynolds: Nineteenth-Century Fiction, Politics, and the Press*, ed. by A. Humphreys and L. James (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2008), p. 100.

²⁸ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 25 May 1851; 23 March 1851; 11 May 1851.

²⁹ Three standard deviations is 30.61, whilst four is 38.79.

³⁰ I. Prothero, 'Chartists and Political Refugees', in *Exiles from European Revolutions: Refugees in Mid-Victorian England*, ed. by S. Freitag and R. Muhs (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003), pp. 209-233 (p. 228).

³¹ Claeys, 'Mazzini, Kossuth, and British Radicalism', p. 252.

³² F. Bensimon, 'The French Exiles and the British', in *Exiles from European Revolutions: Refugees in Mid-Victorian England*, ed. by S. Freitag and R. Muhs (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003), pp. 88-102 (p. 98).

diplomatic relations.³³ If the collocates are examined decade by decade, 'Jersey' is associated with 'refugee(s)' in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, the *Glasgow Herald*, the *Liverpool Mercury*, and the *Hampshire Telegraph* in the 1850s. The size of the refugee group fluctuated over time, growing in 1871 as refugees from the failed French Commune arrived in mainland Britain and the Channel Islands. Collocates that appeared the 1870s and indicate that newspapers were devoting attention to these French communards include 'communist', 'commune', 'political', and 'French' in the *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Reynolds's Newspaper*; 'political', 'French', and 'Paris' in the *Glasgow Herald*; and 'communist', 'political', 'France', and 'French' in the *Liverpool Mercury*. However, 1871, the year the French Commune fell, produced only a small spike that did not register as statistically significant in any of the titles, indicating that this refugee movement was less prominent in the newspapers in relative terms than the others previously mentioned.

³³ For instance, in 1855, a speech by French refugee Felix Pyat was published in *L'Homme*, the radical refugee newspaper established by exiles on Jersey. Believing that the speech incited violence against both the French emperor Louis Napoleon and the Queen, Jersey's Lieutenant Governor, Love, expelled Pyat, and a number of other refugees, from the island. For more, see C. Shaw, 'Success in a Failed Campaign: The French Refugees of Jersey and the Making of an Abstract "Right to Refuge"', *Journal of British Studies*, 57:3 (2018), pp. 493-515 <<https://doi.org/10.1017/jbr.2018.85>>.

	Collocates of 'refugee(s)'	Associated Event(s)	Newspapers
1820s	Portuguese	Liberal Wars (1828)	LM, IJ, HPTG
1830s	Polish	November Uprising (1830)	LM, IJ, HPTG
1850s	Hungarian, Polish, Jersey, Italian, Austrian, French	Aftermath of 'Year of Revolutions' (1848)	RDNP, GH, LM, IJ, HPTG
1860s	Polish, France, French	January Uprising (1863-4)	PMGZ, RDNP, GH, HPTG
	Confederate, Richmond, Southern, coloured, Canada, states, Texas	American Civil War (1861-65)	PMGZ, GH, LM
	Cretan, Candiotte, Greece	Christian displaced by the Cretan Revolt (1866-69)	PMGZ, LM
1870s	Communist, commune, political, France, French, Paris	French Commune (1871)	PMGZ, RDNP, GH, LM, IJ, HPTG
	Herzegovinia(n), Bosnia(n), Montenegro, Turkish, Christian, Bulgarian	Balkan Crisis (1875-78)	PMGZ, LM
	Mussulman, Roumelia. Constantinople, Christian	Russo-Turkish War (1878-79)	PMGZ
1880s	Egypt, Alexandria, Cairo, Egyptian, Malta	Anti-Christian rioting in Alexandria (1882)	PMGZ, RDNP, GH, LM, IJ, HPTG
	Cuban, Gibraltar, Spanish	Cuban diplomatic incident (1882)	PMGZ, GH, LM
	Jewish, Russia	Russian persecution of Jews (1881-2)	PMGZ, LM
	Berber, Khartoum	British Sudan Campaign during the Mahdist War (1884-5)	PMGZ, GH, LM
	Bulgarian, Roumelia	Bulgarian Crisis (1885-88)	PMGZ, GH, LM, HPTG
1890s	Armenian, Armenians, churches, Christian, Bulgaria	Hamidian Massacres (1894-6)	PMGZ, RDNP, GH, LM, HPTG
	Thessalian, Thessaly, Cretan, Greek, Mussulman, Athens, Greece	Greco-Turkish War (1897)	PMGZ, GH, LM
	Durban, Transvaal, Johannesburg, Rand, African, Boers, Cape, Town	Boer War (1899-1902)	PMGZ, GH, LM

Table 5.1 Refugee movements identified in the newspaper sample.

5.2.2 Refugee Groups that Featured in the Newspapers

When the collocates of ‘refugee(s)’ were examined decade by decade, it became obvious that groups of collocates could be clustered together as relating to specific refugee movements. Table 5.1 lists the collocate groups identified in each decade, the newspapers that featured collocates within each group, and the likely event(s) that caused each movement of refugees.³⁴ Collocates were linked to events based upon the dates in which they appeared, and an examination of their context in collocate-specific concordances.³⁵

Many of these refugee movements (those impelled by the Cretan Revolt, Balkan Crisis, Russo-Turkish War, Bulgarian Crisis, Hamidian Massacres, and Greco-Turkish War) were caused by the growing instability of the Ottoman Empire, the figurative ‘sick man of Europe’, whose fragmentation manifested in violence.³⁶ Indeed, that most of the refugee groups that drove spikes in newspaper references seem to have been displaced by conflict probably explains why ‘warfare’ is one of the main semantic groups that associates with the query (see tables 5.2 and 5.3).

Certain movements caught the attention of most, if not all, of the then-active newspapers. These points of common focus (the Liberal Revolution, November Uprising, Year of Revolutions, January Uprising, and French Commune) generally relate to refugee movements that saw people arrive in Britain. An exception, to be discussed in section 5.4, is the Russian persecution of Jews. Although Jewish refugees did arrive in Britain, this refugee group primarily featured in overseas coverage within the newspaper sample. Two other refugee movements outside Britain gained widespread press attention: Christians

³⁴ Not all the collocates in the group appeared in the specific newspapers noted for that group in table 5.1. These are simply titles that contain at least one of the collocates in the decade and, therefore, contain at least five references to the refugee movement in question.

³⁵ For more about concordance lines and collocates see sections 2.4.5 and 2.4.6.

³⁶ For a survey of this period from a national perspective, see C. Jelavich and B. Jelavich, *The Establishment of the Balkan National States, 1804-1920* (London: University of Washington Press, 1977).

fleeing rioting in Alexandria, Egypt (1882); and the Hamidian Massacres (1896-7) (enacted by the Ottoman Empire against Armenians in the mid-1890s).³⁷ Both involved the persecution of Christians, which seems to confirm Gill's argument that, when British public discourse mapped the 'boundaries of compassion', some were more likely to be encompassed than others.³⁸

When the distribution of the collocates associated with refugee movements external to Britain was examined, it showed that coverage was rarely sustained, such that refugees flitted in and out of the pages of the press. This is illustrated by Figures 5.2 and 5.3, which show the distribution of several of the proper nouns that collocated with 'refugee(s)'. As can be seen, each noun co-occurred with 'refugee(s)' for just a few years around the 'crisis point' that caused the refugees' displacement before virtually vanishing from the collocate list. The Armenian refugees referred to by collocates in figure 5.2 only appeared in the newspapers in the years immediately preceding and following the Hamidian massacres. Similarly, 'Cuban' and 'Gibraltar' (figure 5.3) only appeared within ten tokens of 'refugee(s)' in 1882, around the time of a diplomatic incident involving Cuban refugees taking shelter on Gibraltar (see 5.3.5). A similar pattern was discernible around other external refugee groups. This seems to indicate that refugees external to Britain were generally topical from the point at which they were displaced from, or chose to leave, their nation of origin. If they captured the attention of the press, it was usually only very briefly.

³⁷ For more on the events of 1882, see M. E. Chamberlain, 'The Alexandria Massacre of 11 June 1882 and the British Occupation of Egypt', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 13:1 (1977), pp. 14-39 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/00263207708700332>>. For a step-by-step account of the Hamidian Massacres and the British reaction, see A. J. Kirakossian, 'Introduction' in *The Armenian Massacres, 1894-1896: U.S. Media Testimony*, ed. by A. J. Kirakossian (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004), pp. 15-46. The book contains articles published in American periodicals and documents the US reaction to the massacres. See also D. Rodogno, *Against Massacre: Humanitarian Interventions in the Ottoman Empire, 1815-1914* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), pp. 196-202.

³⁸ R. Gill, *Calculating Compassion: Humanity and Relief in War, Britain 1870-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 4, 76.

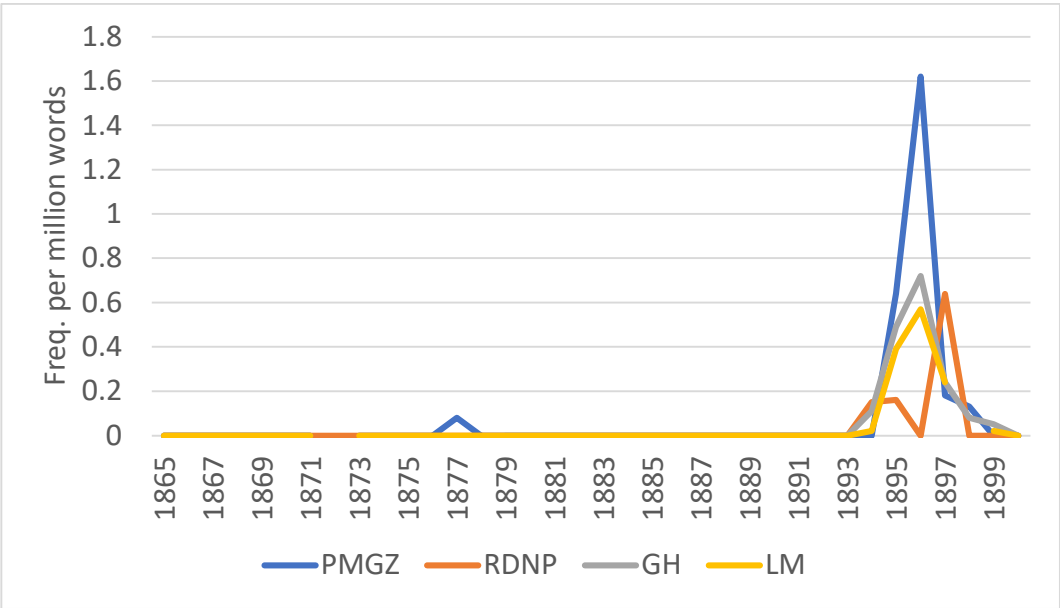


Figure 5.2 Distribution of 'Armenian(s)' within ten tokens of 'refugee(s)'.

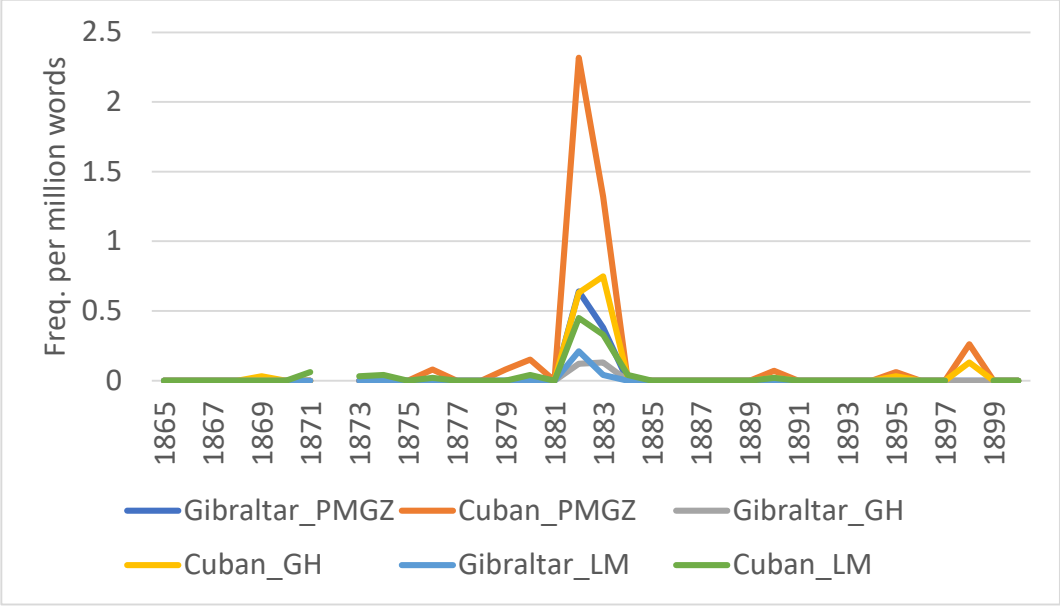


Figure 5.3 Distribution of 'Cuban' and 'Gibraltar' within ten tokens of 'refugee(s)'.

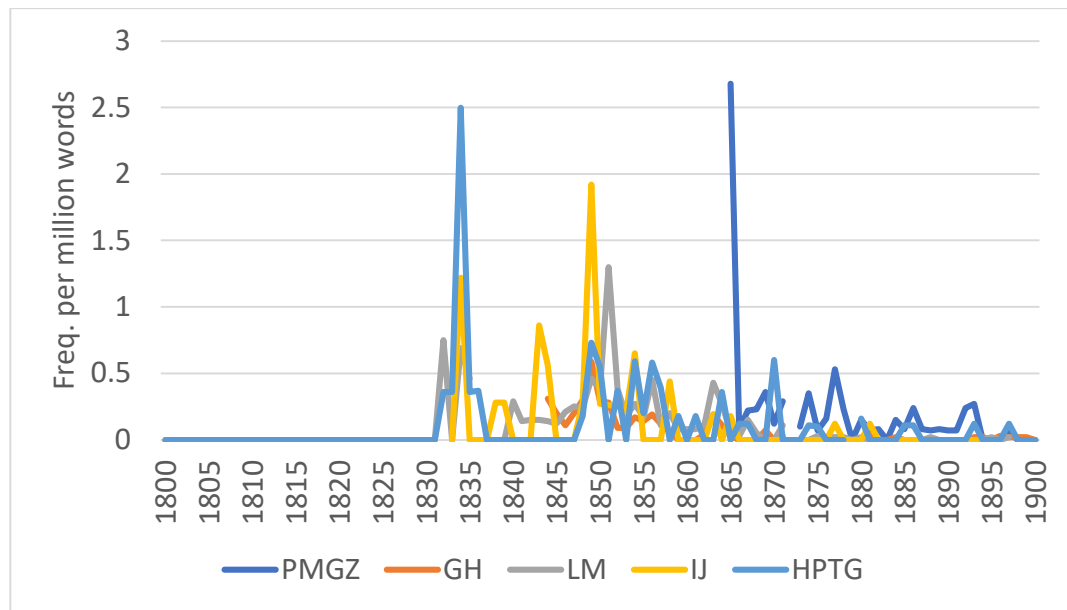


Figure 5.4 Distribution of 'Polish' within ten tokens of 'refugee(s)'.

In contrast, refugees located within Britain received more consistent newspaper attention, particularly if they were present in the country across a long period. For instance, Polish refugees were a fairly constant presence in Britain throughout the nineteenth century and tended to include themselves in the struggles of other refugee groups.³⁹ Figure 5.4 shows the distribution of 'Polish' as a collocate of 'refugee(s)' in the newspapers (*Reynolds's Newspaper* is excluded from the graph because its coverage was, as previously discussed, concentrated very heavily in the 1850s and this would dominate the chart). The Polish refugees in Britain, unlike the Cuban and Armenian refugees, seem to have been able to draw the press' gaze on more than a single occasion. 'Polish' was also the most consistent of any collocate in the newspaper sample (see section 4.4.2 for a definition of consistent collocates), being a statistically observable collocate in at least three newspapers in each of the six decades between the 1830s and 1880s – and additionally in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in the 1890s. In an admittedly smaller sets of

³⁹ For details of the political activities of the Polish refugees in London, see P. Brock, 'Polish Democrats and English Radicals 1832-1862: A Chapter in the History of Anglo-Polish Relations', *The Journal of Modern History*, 25:2 (1953), pp. 139-56 <<https://doi.org/10.1086/237597>>.

newspapers, 'Spanish' also collocated with 'refugee(s)' in six decades of the century, 'Hungarian' in five, 'Italian' in four, and 'French' in three. All these collocates involved reference to political refugees *in Britain*.

5.3 Discourses

5.3.1 Semantic Groups

Using the same approach applied to 'alien(s)' in the previous chapter, the collocates of 'refugee(s)' were semantically grouped to identify prominent discourses in the newspaper coverage. The full collocate lists for each newspaper are included in Appendix Two. Table 5.2 outlines the semantic groups identified in the collocates of 'refugee(s)' across the newspaper sample and table 5.3 includes further examples of the types of collocates on which each group was based. As before, the number in brackets that follows each collocate in table 5.3 indicates the number of newspaper titles it collocated with 'refugee(s)' in.

Semantic Group	Scope of Group
Identity	Collocates that label particular refugee groups (e.g. nationalities) or describe their social affiliations (e.g. political). Most of the collocates appear in the L1 position and pre-modify 'refugee(s)'. The category can be subdivided into three main groups: nationality collocates (e.g. 'French', 'Hungarian', 'Italian', 'Polish', and 'Spanish'), political collocates (e.g. 'political', 'communist', 'republican', and 'Carlist'), and religious collocates (e.g. 'Christian', 'Jewish', and 'Mussulman'). There is also a lesser category of familial identity, which includes the words 'women' and 'children'.
Location	Collocates that refer to refugees' places of origin, places they passed through, or their final destination. Examples include 'France', 'Alexandria', 'England', 'Switzerland', 'Jersey', and 'Turkey'.
Movement	Collocates that suggest refugee movement. Some focus on their arrival at a destination (e.g. 'arrive' and 'arrived'). Some relate to the act of undertaking a journey (e.g. 'board' as in 'on board a ship'). Some relate to the refugees' movement back to their country of origin (e.g. 'return').
Expulsion	Collocates that refer to the removal of refugees by others (e.g. the Government). Calls for refugee expulsion were not always heeded in practice.
Residence	Collocates that relate to the act of residing somewhere (e.g. 'resident' 'residing') and places of abode or a lack thereof (e.g. 'home', 'homeless').
Quantity	Collocates that denote or connote numbers of refugee(s), usually large. These include 'number', 'crowded', and 'thousands'.
Hardship	Collocates that suggest refugee suffering. The category includes words such as 'distressed', 'destitute', 'distress', 'unfortunate', and 'wounded'.
Support	Collocates that function to express support and solidarity with refugees, both symbolic and material. The category features a large number of collocates that relate to charitable giving, such as 'fund', 'behalf' (as in 'on behalf of'), 'relief', 'assistance', and 'aid'.
Asylum	Collocates that relate to the seeking of asylum by refugees, or to its provision. The category includes words such as 'asylum', 'shelter', 'protection', and 'afforded'. Many of the collocates in this group occurred in the context of debates about the 'right of asylum'.
Abuse	This group overlaps with the 'asylum' category, particularly in relation to debates around the 'right of asylum'. However, I felt it represented a distinct discourse that was worth drawing out. Collocates in this group associate refugees with criminal activity (e.g. 'arrest', 'arrested', and 'criminals'). They cast the granting of asylum as an issue (e.g. 'certain' and 'abuse', as in 'certain refugees abuse the system') and a political 'question'.
Warfare	Collocates described refugees with military backgrounds (e.g. 'officers' and 'general'), refugees engaging in violence (e.g. 'armed'), and refugees caught up in warfare (e.g. 'unarmed').

Table 5.2 The semantic groups manually identified in the collocates of 'refugee(s)'.

Semantic Group		Example Collocates
Identity	National	France (6), French (6), Hungarian (6), Italian (6), Polish (6), Spanish (6), Turkish (6), Armenian (5), Russian (5)
	Political	Political (6), Communist (4), Commune (2), Republican (2), Carlist (1), Confederate (1), democratic (1), Nihilist (1)
	Religious	Christian (4), Jewish (3), Mussulman (3), Jews (2), Protestant (2), Dervish (1), Mahommedan (1)
	Misc.	foreign (5), women (4), Thessalian (3), families (2), Neapolitan (2), southern (2), children (1), European (1)
Location		France (6), Alexandria (5), country (5), England (5), Switzerland (5), Austrian (4), Egypt (4), Jersey (4), Paris (4), Turkey (4)
Movement		arrived (6), board (5), arrive (4), arriving (4), fled (3), influx (3), return (3), arrival (2)
Expulsion		expulsion (6), extradition (5), expelled (4), surrender (4), expel (3), return (3), demanded (1)
Residence		residing (5), homes (3), resident (2), homeless (1)
Quantity		number (6), crowded (5), many (5), thousand (5), hundred (4), numbers (4), continue (3), influx (3)
Hardship		distressed (4), destitute (3), distress (3), unfortunate (3), wounded (3), poor (2), sufferings (2), brave (1)
Support		fund (5), behalf (4), relief (4), hospitality (3), assistance (2), benefit (2), aid (1), committee (1)
Asylum		asylum (6), shelter (4), afforded (3), hospitality (3), protection (2), shores (2), safety (1)
Abuse		arrest (3), arrested (3), certain (3), question (3), abuse (2), suspected (2), criminals (1), dangerous (1)
Warfare		soldiers (3), deserters (2), insurgent (2), rebels (1), troops (1)

Table 5.3 Example collocates from each semantic group.

The *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Glasgow Herald*, and *Liverpool Mercury* seem to have been relatively alike in their coverage of refugees and prominently featured all of the semantic groups in the two tables. Although its coverage was similar in many respects, *Reynolds's Newspaper* exhibited fewer, and rather different, collocates in the 'hardship' category than these three newspaper titles. Whilst they sympathised with 'distressed' and 'destitute' refugees, *Reynolds's Newspaper* praised refugees' bravery and fortitude. As shall be explored, this is probably because *Reynolds's* primarily reported upon political refugees in Britain (see section 5.3.2), who tended to attract moral rather than material support, whereas the other newspapers were more concerned with the suffering of

overseas refugees. This difference in geographical focus is also evident in *Reynolds's Newspapers'* lack of religious 'identity' collocates which, again, generally appeared in articles about overseas refugees.

The *Ipswich Journal* and *Hampshire Telegraph* featured similar collocates of 'refugee(s)' to one another but diverged, in this sense, from the other newspaper titles. Both linked 'refugee(s)' to the semantic groups of (national) identity, (political) identity, location, expulsion, asylum, movement, and quantity. However, the other semantic groups were either largely, or entirely, absent. This is partially due to the size discrepancy between the corpora. The smaller the newspaper, the less space it has to devote to coverage of any specific topic, resulting in less evidence for statistically-identified collocates. Indeed, the *Ipswich Journal* and *Hampshire Telegraph* had the lowest absolute number of hits for 'refugee(s)', whilst the *Liverpool Mercury* and *Glasgow Herald* had the most.⁴⁰ Some discrepancies, however, cannot be attributed to differences in corpus size. Rather they seem to be due to the nature of the two newspapers. For instance, both newspapers were typical in producing a great number of geographical collocates. However, whilst not actively hostile, neither the *Ipswich Journal* nor *Hampshire Telegraph* appear to have provided much support to charitable campaigns or expressed a great deal of sympathy for refugees, internal or external to Britain. The *Journal* featured no collocates that fit into the 'support' category, and the *Telegraph* only one (as detailed below).

5.3.2 Geography

Whilst 'aliens' were discussed in vague and ambiguous terms (see section 4.4.5), 'refugee(s)' collocated with a large number of proper nouns, evident in its semantic

⁴⁰ 'refugee(s)' occurred 5794 times in the *Liverpool Mercury* (total from all three corpora), 3543 in the *Glasgow Herald*, 2251 in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 1712 in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 969 in the *Hampshire Telegraph*, and 651 in the *Ipswich Journal*.

preference for the groups of 'identity' and 'location' in tables 5.2 and 5.3. Most of these proper nouns are geographical locations and denote either refugees' countries of origin, countries that they passed through, or their destinations. Thus, whilst, as discussed in section 4.4.5, the identity of groups dubbed 'alien(s)' is difficult to uncover, a plethora of information exists concerning the groups who the British press placed within the scope of the label 'refugee'.

There are many possible reasons for refugees to have been closely associated with a wide range of locations. It could perhaps reflect the transient nature of the refugee, who sometimes moves through a number of different countries seeking safety. It could also be because refugees' backstories often begin with flight from an act of violence and are therefore more likely to contain intrigue and drama than those of other migrants, which may have piqued the interest of the press and, as a result, made the refugees' country of origin more likely to appear as part of a wider story. As seen in tables 5.2 and 5.3, refugee groups were frequently reported upon in relation to the events that made them refugees. Specific geographical references may have subsequently been included in relation to refugees as short-hand allusions to events previously discussed by the newspapers. The most simple explanation is that the geographical terms were included to fulfil the newspapers' need to succinctly establish who and where, two of the 'five Ws' around which journalism often centres, in order to orient their audience relative to the news story.⁴¹ Since most of the 'aliens' reported in the press were present in Britain, there was not the same necessity to establish 'where' as there was with refugees who were often located overseas.

However, this does not explain why the newspapers rarely mentioned the origins of the 'alien' as, surely, it is necessary to establish 'who' a migrant is wherever they are

⁴¹ The other three being 'what', 'when', and 'why'. The origin of the '5 Ws' is unclear, but they are often taught on introductory journalism courses.

located. The absence of information pertaining to 'alien' origins is apparent when examining post-modifying phrases beginning with the preposition 'from'. The two word sequence 'refugee(s) from' occurred 1,035 times across the newspaper sample, indicating the extent to which refugees were presented as directly linked to the place they had left.⁴² In contrast, 'alien(s) from' only occurred 232 times.⁴³ In terms of normalised frequencies, each newspaper also used 'refugee(s) from' more than 'alien(s) from'.⁴⁴ Furthermore, when it followed 'alien(s)', 'from' was rarely used to introduce a geographical location. Instead, it demonstrated opposition or difference, as seen in, for instance, 'alien from the spirit of the times' and 'alien from our national character'.⁴⁵

Whatever the cause, the result of this accumulation of geographical context was that 'refugee(s)' were not spoken about in the same vague, dislocated manner as 'alien(s)'. Instead, refugees were accompanied by details that may have helped to humanise and make them more easy recipients of newspaper readers' empathy

Examination of the concordance lines showed that many of the articles containing these geographical collocates did in fact relate to overseas refugees. As can be seen in figure 5.5, in a random sample of 200 concordance lines per newspaper containing 'refugee(s)', most of the newspapers in the sample dedicated between 67 and 86 percent of these mentions to refugees external to Britain.⁴⁶ The only exception was *Reynolds's*

⁴² 'Refugee(s) from' occurred 350 times in the *Glasgow Herald*, 307 in the *Liverpool Mercury*, 196 in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 91 in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 52 in the *Hampshire Telegraph*, and 39 in the *Ipswich Journal*.

⁴³ 'Alien(s) from' occurred 85 times in the *Glasgow Herald*, 57 in the *Liverpool Mercury*, 48 in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 15 in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 14 in the *Ipswich Journal*, and 13 in the *Hampshire Portsmouth Telegraph*.

⁴⁴ 'Refugee(s) from' was used 0.42 times per million words in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 0.31 in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 0.2 in the *Glasgow Herald*, 0.11 (on average) in the *Liverpool Mercury*, 0.1 in the *Hampshire Telegraph*, and 0.09 in the *Ipswich Journal*. 'Alien(s) from' was used 0.1 times per million words in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 0.05 in the *Glasgow Herald* and *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 0.04 (on average) in the *Liverpool Mercury*, 0.03 in the *Ipswich Journal*, and 0.02 in the *Hampshire Telegraph*.

⁴⁵ *Glasgow Herald*, 23 June 1870; *Liverpool Mercury*, 13 June 1845.

⁴⁶ A random sample of 200 concordance lines was calculated in CQPweb from the results of a search for 'refugee(s)'. Enough wider context was read to establish whether each article

Newspaper, which dedicated a larger proportion of its mentions (50 percent) to the struggles of internal political refugees. Since this thesis has the aim of examining migration to Britain, references to overseas refugees could be construed as false-positives, and therefore irrelevant. However, from a socio-historic perspective, it is fascinating that migration which was geographically external to the nation might have been discussed as much as migration into Britain and that there are interesting discursual differences between the two.

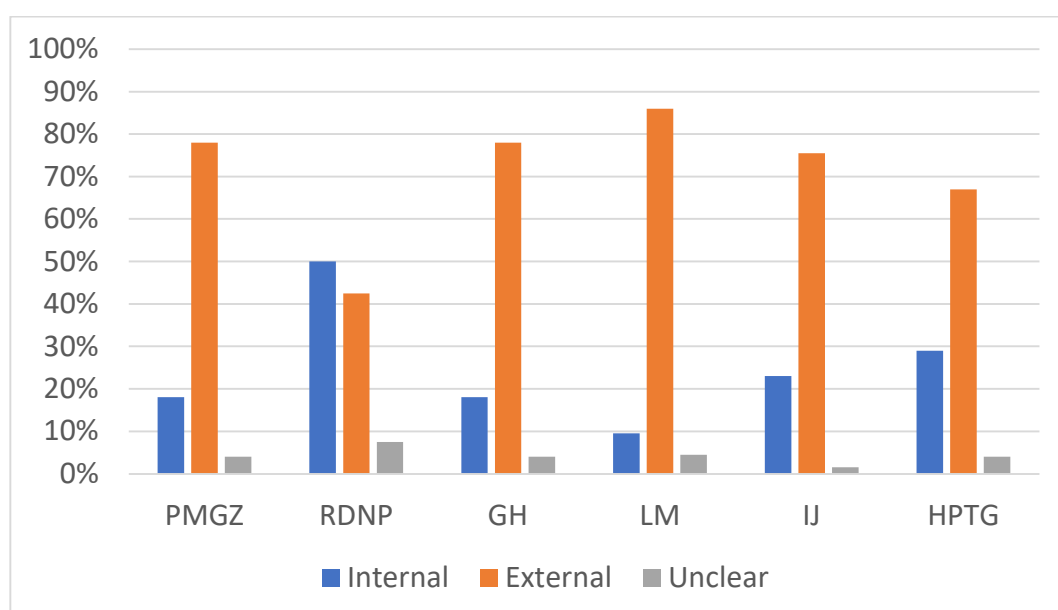


Figure 5.5 Percentage of coverage, in a 200-line random sample, that each newspaper devoted to ‘refugee(s)’ internal and external to Britain.

I could have isolated references to refugees in Britain by just focusing on certain collocates. However, a number of factors meant that this was not desirable and, ultimately, I considered all of the collocates of refugee(s)’ during this analysis, even those that referred to refugee groups who never once set foot in Britain. First, nineteenth-

concerned refugees internal or external to Britain. Articles concerning charity campaigns taking place in Britain were counted as relating to ‘internal’ refugees if, like many of *Reynolds’s*, they collected for refugees within Britain. If the money collected was being sent overseas, the articles were counted as concerning ‘external’ refugees. The ‘unclear’ column contains articles which could not be categorised due to poor OCR, articles that did not concern human movement, and articles where it was not clear whether the refugees being discussed were internal or external.

century British colonialism complicates the distinction between ‘British’ and ‘overseas’. For instance, a diplomatic incident involving refugees in Gibraltar, a British territory, was treated with outrage comparable to if it had happened on British soil (see 5.3.5 for details). Secondly, the nature of refugee reporting sometimes eroded the clear boundaries between domestic and overseas. As the semantic group ‘support’ demonstrates, newspapers frequently facilitated fundraising and charitable efforts for overseas refugees, becoming conduits that tangibly connected their readers to the wider world. As Antoinette Burton notes, ‘the traffic of colonial goods, ideas, and people across metropolitan borders...[threw] into question the very Victorian distinctions between “home” and “away”’.⁴⁷ Finally, there exist some illuminating contrasts between the language used to describe refugees internal and external to Britain. Charity, for instance, appears to have flowed much more freely to refugees geographically distant to Britain than to those starving and struggling to find work in it (see section 5.3.4). These divergences are worth exploring in more depth.

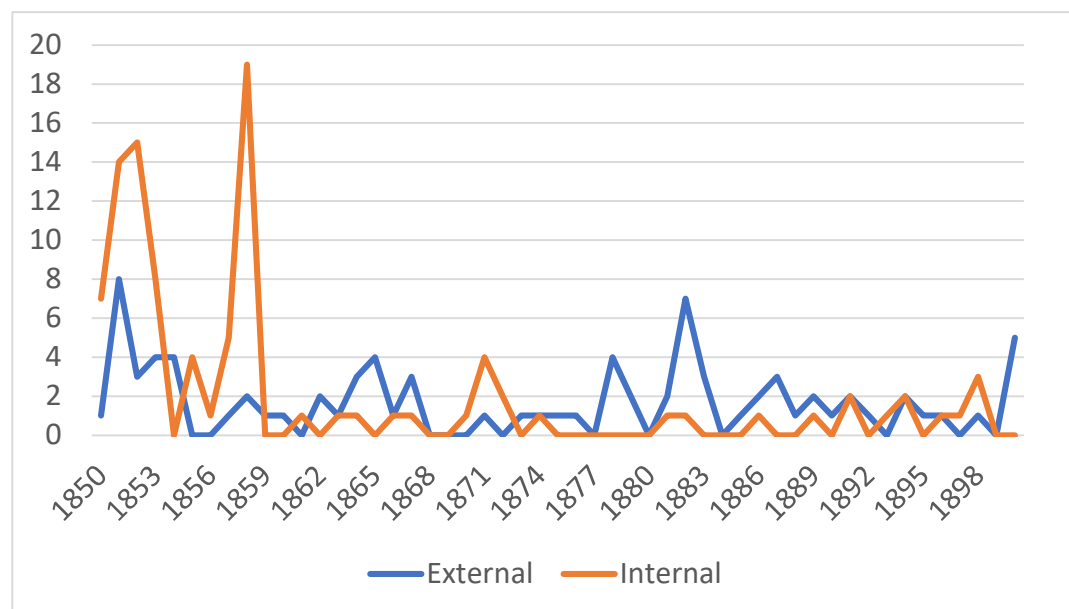


Figure 5.6 Distribution of mentions of internal and external ‘refugee(s)’ in *Reynolds’s Newspapers’* 200-line sample.

⁴⁷ A. M. Burton, *After the Imperial Turn: Thinking with and through the Nation* (Durham, [N.C.]: Duke University Press, 2003), p. 4.

Figure 5.6 compares the distribution over time of internal versus external instances of 'refugee' in *Reynolds's Newspaper's* 200-example sample. It demonstrates that the majority of *Reynolds's* references to internal refugees were concentrated in the 1850s, the decade which, as discussed in section 5.2.1.2, saw the arrival of high-profile European revolutionaries in Britain. Between 1865 and 1900, *Reynolds's* exhibits a distribution of references to internal and external refugees which more closely resembles that seen in the other titles.

Although the newspapers reported refugee movements globally, they devoted most attention to Europe. This is illustrated by the 219 L1 collocates of 'refugee(s)' across the newspaper sample, 168 of which were content rather than grammatical words (such as 'the', 'a', 'of').⁴⁸ Of these 168 content collocates, 99 were geographical, 36 of which were distinct places. 75 per cent, or 27 out of 36, of the distinct geographical L1 collocates were locations within Europe. Of the rest, six related to Africa (mostly South Africa) and three to the Americas.

This European focus must partially have been because most of the refugees who took shelter in Britain were European. However, as has been demonstrated, refugees within Britain only accounted for a proportion of most of the newspapers' uses of the term 'refugee'. Therefore, the attention to Europe may also be a reflection of the existing networks of communication down which news could be transmitted, and/or a manifestation of the newspapers' Eurocentric sensibilities. In their seminal study of 'news factors' (now more likely to be described as 'news values'), Galtung and Ruge argue that events are more likely to become 'news' if they are *meaningful*, that is perceived as geographically or culturally proximate and relevant to a newspapers' audience, or if they

⁴⁸ As discussed in section 2.4.6, L1 collocates are those which occur immediately before the search term.

occur in a nation deemed to have a direct impact on the country in which a newspaper is published.⁴⁹ Refugee movements in Europe fit these criteria.

Galtung and Ruge also claim that these 'news values' lead newspapers to omit geographically distant events unless they fulfil a different news value by, for instance, impacting a very large number of people, or involving members of the elite.⁵⁰ This is evident in relation to non-European refugees, who were primarily mentioned in association with locations with a British imperial presence. As table 5.1 showed, the non-European events that displaced refugees and caught the attention of the newspapers were the American Civil War (1861-65); Anti-Christian rioting in Alexandria (1882); the Cuban diplomatic incident (1882); the British Sudan Campaign (1884-5); and the Boer War (1899-1902). All but the first of these involved British overseas interests: North Africa (where a period of British occupation began following the 1882 Anglo-Egyptian War), Gibraltar, and South Africa. The exception, America, of course had its own legacy of British colonial involvement. British activity in these locations mean that the press likely possessed correspondents in these places and channels through which information could travel. Thus, events in colonial possessions fulfilled the news value of cultural relevance.

Although the newspapers reported upon refugees who had left their country for a variety of reasons – political, religious, and conflict-related – those present in Britain who were referred to as 'refugee(s)' by the press were overwhelmingly those whose refugee status arose from previous political activity. 'Political' collocated with 'refugee(s)' 674 times across the newspaper sample; by frequency, 'political' was the top L1 collocate in every newspaper in the sample as well as one of the top collocates of 'refugee(s)' in all of

⁴⁹ See J. Galtung and M. H. Ruge, 'The Structure of Foreign News: The Presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus Crises in Four Norwegian Newspapers', *Journal of Peace Research*, 2:1 (1965), pp. 64-90 <<https://doi.org/10.1177/002234336500200104>>.

⁵⁰ Galtung and Ruge, 'The Structure of Foreign News', pp. 64-90

the newspapers when measured using the Log Ratio statistic.⁵¹ Additionally, a number of the most frequently occurring identity collocates denoted specifically political refugees, including 'Hungarian', 'Polish', 'Italian', 'Spanish', and 'French', all of whom were present in Britain at some point in the century. Although Britain was not alone in sheltering these refugee groups, the concordance lines reveal that the collocate 'political' and the nationality collocates primarily featured in articles about refugees in Britain, rather than any similar groups in other host countries.

5.3.3 Quantity and Individuality

Like 'aliens', refugees were reported upon in terms of their numbers. Both associated with a semantic group of 'quantity' and overlapping collocates such as 'number' and 'influx'. However, this is where their similarities end. Whilst 'aliens' associated with quantifying expressions such as 'horde' and 'invasion' that lack specificity, 'refugee(s)' associated with specific numbers such as 'thousand', 'hundred', '2000', '3000', and '400'. The precision in the latter set of collocates throws the ambiguity of the former into relief.

Furthermore, aside from perhaps 'influx', even when 'refugee(s)' associated with vaguer quantifiers, the overall tone of the discourse was not necessarily negative. For instance, although newspapers used the word 'crowded' to indicate a large quantity of refugees, the word appeared in articles that contained graphic depictions of refugee suffering, thus drawing attention to the refugees' harrowing conditions rather than their numbers. For instance, the *Pall Mall Gazette* emotively described Spanish soldiers who 'crowded' at the docks in Chile as 'living skeletons'.⁵² This makes a sharp contrast with press complaints of 'aliens' 'crowding' the tailoring trade and the 'already congested'

⁵¹ 'Political' collocated with 'refugee(s)' 177 times in the *Liverpool Mercury*, 140 in the *Glasgow Herald*, 134 in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 126 in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 58 in the *Hampshire Telegraph*, and 37 in the *Ipswich Journal*.

⁵² *Pall Mall Gazette*, 18 July 1898.

'industrial centres'.⁵³ That collocates in the 'quantity' group predominantly feature in articles about refugees located overseas might suggest that newspapers found it easier to report sympathetically upon large numbers of migrants if they were located at a distance, and Britain was not their final destination.

Often, large number collocates were modified by determiners or adverbs, such as 'many' or 'chiefly', to inform the reader that a high proportion of those suffering were 'women and children'. Examples of this include '4000 refugees, many of them women and children' and 'upwards of a thousand refugees, chiefly women and children'.⁵⁴ To assist my analysis of the concordance lines, I downloaded the concordance of 'refugee(s)' with 100 words of context before and after each hit from CQPweb and loaded it into AntConc to look for N-grams.⁵⁵ The three-word N-gram 'women and children' appeared 204 times within 100 words of 'refugee(s)', most frequently in the *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Glasgow Herald*.⁵⁶ Additionally, 'women' featured in the CQPweb collocate lists in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Glasgow Herald*, *Liverpool Mercury*, and *Ipswich Journal*, usually as part of the construction 'women and children'. When the phrase 'women and children' was used to search the newspaper corpora it produced 11,246 hits and all of the titles associated it with collocates suggesting helplessness ('defenceless', 'helpless', 'weakly', 'delicate', 'innocent', 'victims', and 'huddled'), distress ('shrieking', 'weeping', 'terror', 'screams', and 'cries'), and violence ('massacred', 'assaults', 'butchered', 'murdered', 'outrages', 'trampled', and 'slaughter').⁵⁷ In short, numbers were used to convey the scale of refugee suffering by evoking its impact upon those considered by society to be weak, vulnerable,

⁵³ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 19 February 1893; *Glasgow Herald*, 9 October 1895.

⁵⁴ *Ipswich Journal*, 22 July 1882; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 30 December 1878.

⁵⁵ For a discussion of N-grams, see section 2.4.2.

⁵⁶ 'Women and children' occurred (within 100 words of 'refugee(s)') 68 times in the *Glasgow Herald*, 51 in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 53 in the *Liverpool Mercury*, 17 in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 9 in the *Hampshire Telegraph*, and 6 in the *Ipswich Journal*.

⁵⁷ 'Women and children' occurred (across the newspapers in their entirety) 2,591 times in the *Liverpool Mercury*, 2,503 in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 2,468 in the *Glasgow Herald*, 1,606 in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 1,071 in the *Hampshire Telegraph*, and 1,007 in the *Ipswich Journal*.

and subsequently in need of protection, rather than to highlight the size of a potential migrant problem, as was the case with 'alien'.

As well as being quantified, refugees were also individualised. Across the newspapers there were 41 instances of the sequences 'refugee(s) named' or 'refugee(s), named', whereas there was only one instance of 'alien(s) named' or 'alien(s), named'.⁵⁸ The concordance lines show that the phrase usually occurred in articles about political refugees within Britain. Presumably, that particular community's small size and proximity to the journalists made it easier for individuals to become known.⁵⁹ Across the concordance lines containing the phrase 'political refugee(s)', and those discussing specific groups known to be present in Britain (such as 'Polish refugee(s)'), more named individuals emerged. An article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1891, for instance, discussed the 'little community of Polish and Siberian refugees in London', and mentioned by name some of their number including Felix Volkhovsky, a Russian revolutionary and writer, and his 'little daughter' Vera Bourtsett, who was 'only ten years of age'.⁶⁰

The *Pall Mall Gazette* seemed particularly interested in adventurous tales, dwelling on the fact that two of Volkhovsky's guests had narrowly escaped sentencing for working in a secret printing office.⁶¹ A search for 'Felix Volk*' returned examples describing his 'marvellous escape', even 'one of the most marvellous escapes of our time', though the *Glasgow Herald*, with a somewhat disappointed tone, noted that Volkhovsky's story lacked 'the terrible incidents of some previous narrators'.⁶² Volkhovsky himself seems to

⁵⁸ 'Refugee(s) named' occurred 15 times in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 7 in the *Liverpool Mercury*, 6 in the *Glasgow Herald*, 5 in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 5 in the *Hampshire Portsmouth Telegraph*, and 3 in the *Ipswich Journal*. The one instance of 'alien(s) named' was in the *Ipswich Journal*.

⁵⁹ See B. Porter, *The Refugee Question in Mid-Victorian Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 16. Porter includes the caveat that the frequent movement of the refugees made them difficult to count, and that police reports of their numbers amounted to little more than guesses.

⁶⁰ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 20 January 1891.

⁶¹ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 20 January 1891.

⁶² The wild card (*) was included to account for spelling variation and OCR errors. The quotes are taken from *Pall Mall Gazette*, 12 December 1890; *Hampshire Telegraph*, 31 March 1894; *Glasgow Herald*, 17 November 1890.

have been aware of the draw of such an adventurous tale, as another example refers to a lecture he delivered in aid of the 'Friends of Russian Freedom' entitled 'The Story of my Life: personal experiences of a Russian democrat in solitary confinement in Siberia as an exile, and in his escaping to freedom'.⁶³ In another example of refugees being named in association with adventurous stories, a journalist from the *Pall Mall Gazette* allegedly visited the lodgings of Pablo, a Cuban refugee in Britain. The reporter narrated that Pablo 'lit a cigarette, and was drifting back to the days when he was fighting for freedom [...] his eyes [...] kindling with horror at the recollection of the cruelties of his persecutors'.⁶⁴

Nonetheless, some named individual refugees were curiously absent from the concordance of 'refugee(s)'. The events of 1848 (see section 5.2.1.2) meant that certain high-profile revolutionaries had attained a level of celebrity prior to their arrival in Britain. The Hungarian leader Lajos Kossuth was, for instance, greeted by huge crowds when he toured England in 1851. Shaw claims that 'newspaper presses hummed with excitement' anticipating Kossuth's arrival, following his journey towards Britain, day by day.⁶⁵ The *Liverpool Mercury* described the 'considerable excitement in town when it was known that the brave foreigners had arrived'.⁶⁶ However, although 'Hungarian' was a collocates of 'refugee(s)' in all the newspapers, and amongst its top three collocates in all bar the *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Glasgow Herald*, 'Kossuth' only collocated with 'refugee(s)' in *Reynolds's Newspaper*. A search for 'Kossuth' returned 3,708 hits across the newspaper sample, 1,139 of which were in 1851, the year of his tour of Britain, but a search for his name within ten tokens of 'refugee(s)' returned just 27 hits.⁶⁷ Therefore, although an

⁶³ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 10 February 1891.

⁶⁴ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 19 April 1898.

⁶⁵ Shaw, *Britannia's Embrace*, p. 73; Shaw, 'Recall to Life', p. 67.

⁶⁶ *Liverpool Mercury*, 7 March 1851.

⁶⁷ 'Kossuth' occurred 1,207 times in the *Liverpool Mercury*, 888 in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 847 in the *Glasgow Herald*, 416 in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 186 in the *Hampshire Telegraph*, and 164 in the *Ipswich Journal*.

undisputable presence in the newspapers, it seems that Kossuth was rarely described as a 'refugee'.

This seems to confirm Porter's claim that figures like Garibaldi and Kossuth 'were not feted as refugees', as neither had the intention to settle in Britain, 'but [rather] as freedom fighters whose heroic reputations and adventures had gone before them'.⁶⁸ However, that does not explain the absence from the collocates of the names of high-profile refugees who were longer-term residents in Britain. These include the revolutionary Russian thinkers Bakunin, Kropotkin, and Stepniak. There is little evidence, at least in these results, to support Porter's other argument that in the last few decades of the century prominent Russian refugees, such as the three just named, 'came to dominate [...] the public image of the refugee community in Britain'.⁶⁹

Slatter notes that these Russian revolutionaries self-described as 'emigrants', a word which implies agency and 'the continuation of revolutionary politics by other means' rather than simply 'banishment'.⁷⁰ To test Slatter's conclusion, I examined the top 50 collocates of 'emigrant(s)' in the newspaper corpora. Although the revolutionaries might have adopted the term 'emigrant' to describe themselves, the exercise gave no indication that the newspapers also did so. Collocates such as 'farmers', 'colonists', 'prospectors', 'settlers', 'inducements', 'state-aided', 'Canada', 'Australia', and 'handbooks' overwhelmingly indicate that 'emigrant' primarily referred to those migrating from Britain to British colonies. A search for 'émigré*' was similarly fruitless, returning fewer than 100 hits per newspaper, which indicates that the word was not widely used in the nineteenth century, at least not in newspaper language.

⁶⁸ B. Porter, 'The Asylum of Nations: Britain and the Refugees of 1848', in *Exiles from European Revolutions: Refugees in Mid-Victorian England*, ed. by S. Freitag and R. Muhs (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003), pp. 43-58 (p. 47).

⁶⁹ Porter, *The Refugee Question*, p. 18.

⁷⁰ J. Slatter, 'Bears in the Lion's Den: The Figure of the Russian Revolutionary Emigrant in English Fiction, 1880-1914', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 77:1 (1999), pp. 30-55 (p. 31).

I also tested the query 'exile(s)', having encountered it in several articles featuring refugees. 'Exile' held punitive connotations that imbued it with a sheen of glamour. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, for instance, imagined Victor Hugo in 'the stern desolation of his exile' on Jersey as 'a beacon across the sea [...] inspiring resoluteness and faith'.⁷¹ *Reynolds's Newspaper* similarly romanticised Hugo as an 'exiled poet'.⁷² However, a search within the newspaper sample for 'Stepniak' within ten tokens of 'exile(s)' returned only six hits, a search for 'Kropotkin' returned just one, and a search for 'Bakunin' returned none.

As a near synonym of 'refugee', 'exile' is worth exploring in its own right. 'Refugee' and 'exile' were not directly synonymous. An exile appears to have been a refugee explicitly banished from their country. This is confirmed by a search for 'exile(s)', which returned 15,986 hits across the newspapers and had a tendency to collocate with words relating to incarceration.⁷³ 'Exile' was something one could be 'sentenced' to, and was closely associated with the words 'prison', 'condemned', and 'imprisonment' in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and 'prison' in *Reynolds's Newspaper*. Yet, in the newspapers, 'refugee' and 'exile' were apparently used interchangeably to label certain national groups. Both words were observed to possess similar geographical collocates in the L1 position, including 'Hungarian', 'Italian', and 'French'. Both words also showed a similar distribution pattern, peaking in use in the 1850s. The only geographical L1 collocate which associated with 'exile(s)', and not 'refugee(s)', was 'Siberian'. This exception seems to have been because during the nineteenth century Russia exiled political prisoners, particularly from Poland, to Siberia to work in labour camps.⁷⁴ Since Siberia was part of the Russian empire, these

⁷¹ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 28 February 1881.

⁷² *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 8 August 1852.

⁷³ 'Exile(s)' occurred 4,149 times in the *Glasgow Herald*, 3,784 in the *Liverpool Mercury*, 3,205 in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 2,676 in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 1,419 in the *Hampshire Telegraph*, and 753 in the *Ipswich Journal*.

⁷⁴ For more on the Siberian exile system, see A. Wood, 'Administrative Exile and the Criminals' Commune in Siberia' in *Land Commune and Peasant Community in Russia*, ed. by R. Bartlett (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1990), pp. 395-414.

'exiles' had not technically left one country for another and were still under the jurisdiction of Russia, so were not refugees.

As discussed in section 2.4.4, automated semantic annotations, whilst less precise than manual ones, can be used to gain a quick impression of a search term's associations, when that term is not central enough to the analysis to be given full manual classification. This method revealed that 'exile' associated with words in the semantic group of 'Life and Death', including 'life', 'death', 'kill', 'perished', and 'suicide'. These collocates seem to be contextually associated with obituaries for high profile exiles. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, for instance, reported upon the death of 'the famous Polish exile, Count Ladislaw Plater', who had been active in the 1830 revolution, and the 'Russian exile' Matthew Zaleskevie, once Tsar Alexander II's bodyguard.⁷⁵ These deceased exiles had in common a high enough profile for newspapers to dedicate space to reporting their death, as well as a connection to Britain. The obituaries explained that Plater had sought refuge in London immediately after the failure of the Polish revolution; Zaleskevie died in New York, but as a younger man had escaped imprisonment on a charge of nihilism and sought refuge in London.⁷⁶

'Exile' also associated strongly with a group of personal pronouns.⁷⁷ In the *Pall Mall Gazette* alone, 'exile' associated with pronouns including 'himself', 'themselves', 'his', 'her', 'he', 'she', 'him', and 'her' 3,205 times. Of the personal pronouns identified in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 1330 were clearly gendered, 87 per cent of these were male and just 13 per cent female.⁷⁸ This seems to support Shaw's claim that the 'exile' was more likely to be gendered male than female in Victorian newspapers.⁷⁹ A number of the female pronouns referred to women who had accompanied male family members into exile. For

⁷⁵ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 25 April 1889; 10 March 1891.

⁷⁶ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 25 April 1889; 10 March 1891.

⁷⁷ These were apparent in the category of 'Z', in which the semantic tagger places elements that are not fully semantic.

⁷⁸ 'his' occurred 581 times, 'he' 456 times, 'him' 122 times, 'her' 125 times, and 'she' 46 times.

⁷⁹ Shaw, 'The British, Persecuted Foreigners, and the Emergence of the Refugee Category', p. 255

instance, the paper discusses ‘a wife who has come into voluntary exile for her husband’s sake’, a Mdme. de Valdrome who ‘re-joined her son in exile’, and a Madame Dreyfus who ‘decided to share her husband’s exile’.⁸⁰ Interestingly, the latter two cases could indicate that Madame de Valdrome and Madame Dreyfus achieved fame in their own right as, in these specific articles, exiled male relatives are defined by their relationships (‘son’ and ‘husband’) to the two women.

Given the press’ tendency to focus on high-status refugees, and those whose lives contained elements of drama, romance, or adventure, the newspapers clearly did not accurately represent the experience of all refugees. Some political refugees were forced to abandon campaigning and simply engage in a struggle to survive. For example, *Reynolds’s Newspaper* reported upon an inquest into the death of John Morris, mentioning in passing that he was a Polish refugee. Morris, who had been renting a room in London’s East End at the time of his death, was apparently ‘frequently without food or firing’. Although the cause of death was listed as a ‘congestion of the brain’, the deceased was noted as being ‘very emaciated and begrimed with dirt and filth’, providing a stark contrast to the glamour often associated with refugees and exiles.⁸¹ This example demonstrates the necessity of using distant and close reading in conjunction. Collocation, a form of distant reading, enabled me to gain a sense of the overall tone that the newspapers employed when reporting upon refugees. However, since John Morris’ experience, although perhaps more realistic, is not typical of the newspapers’ usual tone, I was only able to find him because I also close read collocates in context.

5.3.4 Expressions of Support and Charity Appeals

When the newspapers reported upon ‘destitute’ ‘alien(s)’, the associations were overwhelmingly negative (see section 4.4.6). In contrast, in the concordance lines, the

⁸⁰ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 3 January 1878; 4 January 1878; 5 January 1895.

⁸¹ *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 4 April 1852.

'destitute' refugee emerged as a figure of sympathy frequently mentioned in the context of charity appeals. For instance, the *Glasgow Herald* reported that Lord Salisbury had issued 'a second instalment for the destitute Sassun refugees from the Armenian relief fund'; it similarly printed an appeal to its readers to assist the 'thousands' of 'destitute' refugees who 'filled' Cape Town during the Boer War.⁸² Indeed, the semantic group of 'support' (seen in tables 5.2 and 5.3) indicates that press coverage, rather than demonising the refugee's poverty, could be utilised to try to relieve it. The newspaper discourse seems to be aimed at generating sympathy and public awareness for suffering refugees, a framing that was often presented alongside tangible requests for charity.

A reading of the concordance lines indicated that these requests for charity were often facilitated by regional networks, and therefore saw the local intersect with the national and international. It emerged in the previous chapter that 'aliens' were often reported at a remove, discussed in relation to Parliament and the East End of London, but we read of charity fundraisers for 'refugees' being hosted by local branches of philanthropic organisations, in venues that would be familiar to readers of the paper. For instance, *Reynolds's Newspaper* documented a gathering of a group dubbed the 'friends of democracy' in support of the Hungarian refugees, noting that other branches of the organisation had met in Edinburgh, Gateshead, Darlington, Hartlepool, Sunderland, and Newcastle.⁸³ As Shaw demonstrates, newspapers enabled 'geographically, politically and socially diverse Britons' to become involved in relief efforts.⁸⁴

A search for 'refugee(s)' within ten tokens of 'fund' found a number of instances of adverts or notices placed in the newspapers which called for donations ranging from 'money' and 'clothing' to 'medicines' and 'tents', and listed addresses for subscriptions to

⁸² *Glasgow Herald*, 5 August 1895; 11 October 1899.

⁸³ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 1 June 1851.

⁸⁴ Shaw, 'Recall to Life', p. 72.

be forwarded to.⁸⁵ It also revealed evidence of a parade of committees, boards, and funds, set up to assist refugees that used the newspapers to publicise their causes.

The *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Glasgow Herald*, and *Liverpool Mercury* predominantly fundraised for the material needs of overseas non-political refugees and promoted numerous philanthropic bodies including the 'Candian Refugees Relief Fund', the 'Coloured Refugees Relief Board', the 'Greek Refugees Fund', the 'English Fund to Moslem Refugees', the 'Cape Town Refugees Relief Fund', and the 'Glasgow Fund for the African Refugees'.⁸⁶

In contrast, *Reynolds's Newspaper* primarily promoted charitable support for political refugees in Britain. As the collocate 'meeting' attests, this support often took the form of meetings in solidarity with refugees' causes. These often featured in the newspaper's regular column 'Meetings: and democratic intelligence'. The collocate 'meeting' occurred most often in the early 1850s (specifically 1852), the period when celebrated political refugees, such as Kossuth, were present in Britain. This supports the idea that this decade was the peak of Radical involvement in international politics. Indeed, if the collocates of *Reynolds's Newspaper* are examined decade by decade, those relating to 'hardship' and 'support' only appear in the 1850s. This was in contrast with the newspaper sample, where the only other title to feature collocates of 'hardship' or 'support' in the 1850s was the *Liverpool Mercury*. This supports the analysis that the other newspapers' refugee support was directed to other groups than the political refugees.

However, as the collocate 'benefit' indicates, *Reynolds's Newspaper* did not just offer moral support to refugees, but also advertised fundraising events. 'Benefit' appeared in articles concerning events ranging from a 'subscription ball', to tea parties,

⁸⁵ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 15 December 1866; *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 5 December 1853; *Glasgow Herald*, 6 February 1867.

⁸⁶ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 15 December 1866; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 4 November 1879; *Liverpool Mercury*, 30 August 1897; *Liverpool Mercury*, 24 February 1880; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 11 October 1899; *Glasgow Herald*, 17 October 1899.

lecture series, and concerts.⁸⁷ The paper even featured an advert for a canal excursion for ‘the benefit of the refugees’. For the price of one shilling, supporters could listen to the on-board music and meet some of ‘the leading democrats [... currently] present in London’. If they wanted to display ‘true fraternity’, attendees could ‘invite a refugee to dinner’ afterwards.⁸⁸ The other newspapers also featured social events in support of refugees, but these were generally of a far less political nature. For instance, the *Pall Mall Gazette* relayed details of ‘a matinee for refugees’ at the Palace Theatre of Varieties on Shaftesbury Avenue.⁸⁹ Although the article did not specify which refugees the matinee raised money for, the surrounding articles, and the newspapers’ single-minded focus upon the Boer War and Transvaal Refugees in the last few years of the century, provide a strong hint.

Neither the *Ipswich Journal* nor the *Hampshire Telegraph* expressed much sympathy for refugees or referred in their context to many charitable campaigns. The semantic group of ‘support’ was largely absent from the *Telegraph*, its only trace being the word ‘fund’, which occurred just six times as a collocate of ‘refugee’. The same semantic group was entirely absent from the *Journal*. Similarly, the semantic group of ‘hardship’ appeared in neither paper. One exception that emerged when reading the concordance lines was, as discussed in section 5.2.1.1, the two newspapers’ support for the Spanish and Italian soldiers present in Britain in the 1820s.

The only other exception seems to have been refugees displaced by the Boer War, who were supported to some extent by all the newspapers. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Glasgow Herald*, and *Liverpool Mercury* were particular champions of South African refugees. The ‘official’ South African refugee fund was the Lord Mayor’s ‘Transvaal

⁸⁷ For an example of a ball see *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 24 April 1864; a lecture series see *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 25 August 1850; and a concert see *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 4 April 1852.

⁸⁸ *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 1 June 1851.

⁸⁹ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 23 October 1899.

Refugees Fund'. 'Transvaal' occurred within ten tokens of 'refugee(s)' 61 times in the *Glasgow Herald*, 38 times in the *Liverpool Mercury*, and 36 times in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. The two words also co-occurred five times in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, four in the *Ipswich Journal*, and once in the *Hampshire Telegraph*. The *Glasgow Herald* also promoted other funds that did not contain 'Transvaal' in their titles. One was the local 'Glasgow South African Refugees Relief Fund'. A proximity query for 'refugee(s)' within ten tokens of 'African' returned 22 hits in the *Glasgow Herald*, most of which related to the fund, but only one hit in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and two in the *Liverpool Mercury*.

The language used in the fundraising appeals differed depending upon the money's intended recipients. The overseas refugee was usually cast as a victim and featured in articles replete with pathos. This may reflect on the nature of the external refugees who featured in the press. As observed in section 5.2.2, they were often displaced by violence and, although their situations may have arisen from political circumstance, were not usually actively involved in politics themselves. Refugees were described as 'homeless, destitute, and starving', 'suddenly reduced to total want and destitution', and suffering 'a fate which common humanity cannot but shudder to contemplate'.⁹⁰ In an article entitled 'THE ARMENIAN QUESTION. A PAINFUL STORY', the *Liverpool Mercury* reported that Armenian refugees were 'houseless wanderers now living in the woods and mountains, in caves, and hollow trees' some 'without covering for their nakedness'. The newspaper noted that the lack of food had caused them to 'become sickly; their skins turn yellow, their strength is gone'. The article closed by stating that 'the Duke of Westminster will be glad to receive at Grosvenor House donations for the relief' of the Armenians' 'terrible sufferings'.⁹¹

⁹⁰ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 15 December 1866; *Glasgow Herald*, 6 February 1867.

⁹¹ *Liverpool Mercury*, 10 August 1895.

The sensationalist *Reynolds's Newspaper* used perhaps the most emotive language. In 1878, a report concerning refugees stranded at Constantinople stressed 'the misery of the refugees', which 'baffles every attempt to relieve it'. The article drew on the 'women and children' trope (see section 5.3.3), dwelling particularly upon the 'misery' endured by the 'little children'. It gradually escalated in explicit reference to violence as it described the children being 'trampled to death' in crowded and cramped wagons, being rolled off roofs into snow drifts, and becoming victims of mothers who, 'maddened by misery', had taken to committing 'horrors that we read about in accounts of famous ancient sieges', that is, infanticide.⁹²

In 1900, the *Liverpool Mercury* printed a letter that hints at the sometimes gendered nature of refugee relief. In it, a Kate Morrison of Liverpool appealed to the 'gentlemen' who read the paper for donations of 'cast-off boys clothing' for the 'Women and Children's Refugee Fund'. She made this appeal on behalf of the Fund's secretary, her friend Mrs. Keith Trotter, the wife of a colonel who was presumably posted in South Africa.⁹³ It is interesting that donations specifically targeted at women and children were being organised separate from the all-pervasive Lord Mayor's Mansion House Fund for South African refugees, perhaps indicating that the fund was somehow deficient in meeting the needs of certain refugees. If this is the case, then these needs were apparently recognised by women, and met by a fund that was organised and advertised through a network of female correspondence.

The concordance lines reveal that these charity appeals were accompanied by notices from the editor giving thanks for particularly impressive donations, presumably to encourage others to follow suit, due either to a sense of shame or a desire to see their name in print.⁹⁴ *Reynolds's Newspaper* appears to have been a particular proponent of

⁹² *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 3 February 1878.

⁹³ *Liverpool Mercury*, 22 May 1900.

⁹⁴ *Glasgow Herald*, 11 March 1897.

this tactic. For instance, it cited the ‘good example’ set by the ‘City of London Ladies Shoe Makers’ Committee’ who subscribed to the relief of the Hungarian and Polish refugees.⁹⁵ Elsewhere, a Mr. Brown, who wrote to *Reynolds’s Newspaper* for assistance after allegedly bankrupting himself assisting refugees, was described as being ‘beyond all praise’, and his efforts were characterised in a subsequent article as ‘noble’.⁹⁶ And, following discussion of the provision of 15 shillings for a fund by the cooperatives of Liverpool, *Reynolds’s* expressed a ‘sincere hope’ that others would follow their ‘noble example’.⁹⁷ For some funds, *Reynolds’s Newspaper* listed every subscriber no matter how humble their donation, for example a Mr Pichies who contributed just two shillings.⁹⁸ Though, it should be noted that for much of the working classes, who formed the bulk of *Reynolds’s Newspaper’s* readership, two shillings could amount to almost a day’s wage.⁹⁹ Through this regular commentary, the newspaper, in its own words, ‘afford[ed]’ its own form of ‘moral and material aid’.¹⁰⁰

5.3.5 The ‘Right of Asylum’

One of the key ways in which Britain’s political refugees were discussed within the newspapers related to their ‘right of asylum’. The phrase emerged repeatedly when reading the concordance lines and was a top N-gram when I downloaded the concordance of the query ‘refugee(s)’ into Antconc. ‘Asylum’ also collocated with ‘refugee(s)’ in all six newspapers. Britain’s open border and lack of legislation meant that, for much of the century, refugees were free to enter the country unchallenged. For most of this time, that the ‘right of asylum’ was available to ‘political exiles and refugees of all nations, parties,

⁹⁵ *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 22 September 1850.

⁹⁶ *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 17 August 1851; *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 15 February 1852.

⁹⁷ *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 20 April 1851.

⁹⁸ *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 20 April 1851.

⁹⁹ Thorold Rogers, for instance, estimated the average weekly income of an agricultural labourer to be about 13s in 1866. J. E. Thorold Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages: The History of English Labour* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1884, reprinted 2006), p. 510.

¹⁰⁰ *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 5 February 1882.

and opinions' was, as shall be observed, viewed as a point of pride across the political spectrum and a symbol of Britain's natural tolerance. However, backing for this cornerstone of British Liberalism began to sour as the nature of the refugees and their politics changed, to the extent that in 1898 the *Pall Mall Gazette* dismissed the tradition as 'silly sentimentalism'.¹⁰¹ This section examines the discourses surrounding the phrase 'right of asylum' in more detail and identifies four tropes frequently observable in articles containing the phrase. It demonstrates that although the associations of the 'right of asylum' became more negative, the newspapers did prove capable of expressing strong support for the tradition throughout the century, despite their increasing expressions of disapproval over the methods and causes of the refugees themselves.

A query for the phrase 'right of asylum' returned 486 hits across the newspapers.¹⁰² Orchard claims that the phrase had become 'entrenched' by the 1850s.¹⁰³ Although he seems to be correct in so far as the phrase 'right of asylum' was common in the 1850s, as figure 5.7 demonstrates, it only actually appears to have emerged into use in 1852. Orchard does not provide a concrete reason for this entrenchment. However, in the newspaper sample, other than one earlier anomalous instance, 'the right of asylum' first appeared in an article about a parliamentary debate concerning the 'threatened ill-treatment of British travellers' by the Austrian Empire as retaliation for Britain's extension of the 'right of asylum' to Kossuth's Hungarian revolutionaries.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 12 September 1898.

¹⁰² 'Right of asylum' occurred 154 times in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 112 in the *Liverpool Mercury*, 105 in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 73 in the *Glasgow Herald*, 21 in the *Ipswich Journal*, and 21 in the *Hampshire Portsmouth Telegraph*.

¹⁰³ Orchard, *A Right to Flee*, p. 86.

¹⁰⁴ *Liverpool Mercury*, 13 April 1852.

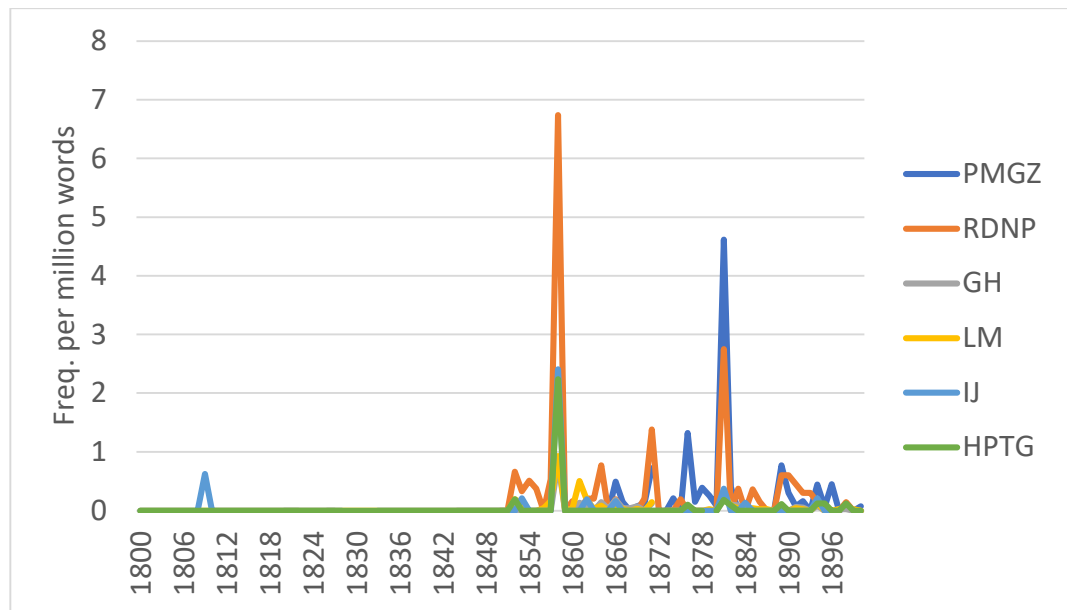


Figure 5.7 Distribution of the phrase 'right of asylum' in all newspapers in the sample.

Figure 5.7 also displays two distinct spikes in usage, one in 1858 and another in 1881, both of which were caused by attempts upon the lives of European heads of state. This supports Porter's belief that such high-profile violent incidents knocked British confidence and provided 'a fertile soil for anti-alienism to grow in'.¹⁰⁵ The first spike is prominent in all of the newspapers (aside from the *Pall Mall Gazette*, not yet published). The second is apparent in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Reynolds's Newspaper*, and *Liverpool Mercury*, but less so in the smaller *Ipswich Journal* and *Hampshire Telegraph*. It is also, unusually, less prominent in the *Glasgow Herald*.

The 1858 spike was a result of the Orsini affair, a failed attempt to assassinate the French Emperor Napoleon III, and the subsequent anti-refugee measures taken by the British and European Governments.¹⁰⁶ The incident became problematic as it emerged that the Italian refugee Felice Orsini, one of the perpetrators, had worked as a touring lecturer in Britain, had held links to British radicalism, and had used bombs manufactured

¹⁰⁵ B. Porter, 'The British Government and Political Refugees, c. 1880-1914', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 2 (1983), pp. 23-45 (p. 30) <<https://doi.org/10.1080/02619288.1983.9974556>>.

¹⁰⁶ For more about the Orsini affair see B. Porter, 'The Orsini Affair' in *The Refugee Question in Mid-Victorian Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 170-199.

by a firm in Birmingham. The aftermath of the affair saw the trial in England of Simon Bernard, a French surgeon and political refugee accused of introducing some of the plotters.¹⁰⁷ 'Bernard' collocated with 'refugee(s)' in several of the newspapers in 1858. The Orsini affair also saw Prime Minister Palmerston's Government attempt to pass the Conspiracy to Murder Bill, which would have made plotting against the lives of foreign rulers a capital offence. The incident saw discourses of opposition and unease enter refugee coverage, represented in the corpus data by collocates such as 'expulsion', 'expel', 'expelled', 'question', 'suspected', 'arrest', 'dangerous', and 'extradition', which co-occurred with 'refugee(s)' for the first time in the 1850s. Nonetheless, the backlash against Palmerston's bill, and Bernard's sensational acquittal, testify to continued public support for political refugees.¹⁰⁸

The 1881 spike was triggered by the assassination of Tsar Alexander II of Russia. Most of the year's references to the 'right of asylum' in the corpus occur in the months following his death in March. Although Alexander II's assassins had no obvious links to Britain, the incident appears to have drawn attention to Britain's liberal asylum laws. As shall be seen, many mentions of 'right of asylum' in 1881 are responses to calls from continental Europe for Britain to take a stricter line on asylum.

A reading of the concordance lines reveals that whilst the Orsini affair generally caused the newspapers to defend British asylum policy, the assassination of Alexander II drove the newspapers to condemn it. This markedly different reaction may have been down to the second assassination's success. Although the Orsini affair had been alarming, Napoleon III had emerged unscathed. However, the vitriol with which the press condemned the second incident, particularly in light of the lack of British involvement,

¹⁰⁷ Porter, 'The Orsini Affair', pp. 190-199.

¹⁰⁸ For details of the popular demonstrations against the Conspiracy Bill, see Porter, *The Refugee Question*, p. 120. For more on Bernard's acquittal, see Porter, *The Refugee Question*, 190-196.

seems to suggest that a wider disintegration of support for British asylum policies had occurred in the intervening years.

From the concordance lines of the phrase 'right of asylum', several tropes emerged:

- i. The provision of asylum is a sacred tradition and source of pride
- ii. Asylum gives Britain moral superiority over its neighbours
- iii. Britain's asylum policy is being 'abused' by 'certain' refugees
- iv. The right of asylum is no longer practical

All these tropes emerged repeatedly across the newspaper sample. However, the neat division between positive and negative opinion which these tropes, as codified, represent did not play out so neatly in reality. Tropes both in favour, and against, the right of asylum appeared alongside one another, contributing to a sense of confusion. Each shall be explored in a little more depth in the sections that follow, using examples from the concordance lines to demonstrate how it manifested in the press.

5.3.5.1 *The provision of asylum is a sacred tradition and source of pride*

- (1) 'the sacred right of asylum of which the British flag is an emblem'.¹⁰⁹
- (2) 'England [...] is proud of being an asylum for down-trodden refugees'.¹¹⁰
- (3) 'If providence ever marked out such an asylum in Europe, it must be in these shores, so impossible to be invaded, and in this population so difficult to be moved'.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ *Liverpool Mercury*, 30 January 1862.

¹¹⁰ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 8 May 1870.

¹¹¹ *Glasgow Herald*, 23 September 1850.

(4) 'the generous feelings of Englishmen would be opposed to such a violation of the laws of hospitality, as the delivering up without adequate cause those who had sought the sanctity of her shores'.¹¹²

As in example (1), the provision of asylum was often described using words such as 'sacred'. Indeed, a proximity search for 'right of asylum' within five tokens of 'sacred' returned 16 results.¹¹³ The word 'sacred' also occurred on other occasions, outside of this small context, but still within articles concerning the 'right of asylum'. The *Liverpool Mercury* celebrated 'the/that sacred right of asylum' on multiple occasions, also calling it a 'sacred principle' and 'sacred privilege'.¹¹⁴ Other newspapers adopted a similar tone. *Reynolds's Newspaper* described it as 'the most sacred right', the *Hampshire Telegraph* as the 'sacred right of asylum', and the *Glasgow Herald* as 'the sacred duties of hospitality'.¹¹⁵

All of these examples see asylum portrayed as something worthy of almost spiritual devotion. The adjective 'sacred' implies that asylum was not viewed as simply a legal right but rather, within the perspective of Enlightenment philosophy, as a natural, or God-given, right, something universal and inalienable, existing independently of and transcending human laws. This could reflect the traditional status of places of worship as sanctuaries for fugitives. As Marfleet notes, even after James I abolished church sanctuaries in 1623, the association lived on in popular consciousness.¹¹⁶

When the word 'sacred' was queried in the newspapers in its own right, it returned 57,145 hits and primarily collocated with words from semantic fields of religion and music,

¹¹² *Ipswich Journal*, 5 March 1853.

¹¹³ The two co-occurred 8 times in the *Liverpool Mercury*, 3 in the *Ipswich Journal*, 2 in the *Glasgow Herald*, 1 in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 1 in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, and 1 in the *Hampshire Telegraph*.

¹¹⁴ *Liverpool Mercury*, 30 January 1862; 17 April 1858; 22 February 1858; 4 June 1864; 27 December 1861; and 23 March 1867

¹¹⁵ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 13 March 1853; *Hampshire Telegraph*, 6 February 1858; *Glasgow Herald*, 21 November 1900.

¹¹⁶ P. Marfleet, 'Understanding "Sanctuary"', pp. 440-41.

the former category including 'shrine', 'covenant', 'scriptures', and 'relic'.¹¹⁷ When the phrase 'sacred right of' was queried, 'asylum' sat alongside other 'sacred rights' such as: property, trial by jury, religious freedoms and, unsurprisingly given turbulent European politics, the right to insurrection and revolution against neglectful governments. The gravity of the phrase 'sacred right' is somewhat undermined by tongue-in-cheek uses such as 'the sacred right of wasting the nation's time', 'the sacred right of making a fool of himself', 'the sacred right of dining', and 'the sacred right of beating peasants with sticks'.¹¹⁸ However, the humour in these instances appears to derive from the bathetic juxtaposition of the grandiose 'sacred right' with mundane or ridiculous actions.

As quote (3) indicates, Britain's role as a place of asylum was frequently conceptualised as a long-standing 'tradition'. Refugees were said to enjoy the 'traditional hospitality of British soil', the fruits of 'this time honoured practice', and the 'ancient right of asylum'.¹¹⁹ Newspapers sometimes took this a step further, and insinuated that Britain's role as an asylum was geographically predetermined. Some articles emphasised the country's island nature by reference to physical features such as its 'shores' (as seen in quotes (3) and (4)). For instance, the *Liverpool Mercury* used geography to explain why sheltering refugees did not come as easily to the French as the British, arguing that 'France is not protected on all sides by the sea like England'.¹²⁰

The geographical trope also extended to British territory overseas, as evident in newspaper examples relating to an incident when the authorities in Gibraltar released three Cuban asylum seekers to hostile Spanish officials. The handover became a 'major

¹¹⁷ 'Sacred' occurred 16,034 times in the *Liverpool Mercury*, 15,031 in the *Glasgow Herald*, 8,801 in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 6,485 in the *Ipswich Journal*, 6,006 in the *Hampshire Telegraph*, and 4,788 in *Reynolds's Newspaper*.

¹¹⁸ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 6 March 1882; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 3 September 1896; *Glasgow Herald*, 12 March 1897; *Liverpool Mercury*, 1 June 1864.

¹¹⁹ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 6 March 1853; *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 7 February 1858; *Liverpool Mercury*, 2 February 1885.

¹²⁰ *Liverpool Mercury*, 11 March 1880.

diplomatic incident' which led to the dismissal of the colonial secretary and chief inspector of police.¹²¹ Gibraltar was under British governance and arguably had a duty of care to the refugees comparable to if they had sought refuge in Britain itself. This sentiment was apparent in newspaper coverage. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, for instance, argued that 'political refugees seeking shelter upon British soil [Gibraltar], with or without passports or papers, should at least have been granted the fullest privileges'.¹²² The incident was adopted as something of a liberal cause celebre. As a result, 'Cuban refugees' are the only specific group external to Britain to receive a comparable level of mentions to groups of refugees within Britain. The *Pall Mall Gazette* seems to have become especially interested, mentioning the Gibraltar incident no fewer than 46 times over 26 separate articles. As headlines are often capitalised in the corpora, a case-specific query for 'REFUGEE[S,]' returned mostly article headlines. This query revealed that whilst very few specific national groups appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette's* headlines, 'THE CUBAN REFUGEES' became a regular refrain in the newspaper, appearing in 14 headlines in the three months between November 1882 and February 1883.

The 'right of asylum' was also portrayed as a point of patriotic pride, as evident in the reference to the 'British flag' in quote (1). 'Asylum' was frequently associated with references to 'England', 'the English' and 'British', and the possessive 'our'. The *Liverpool Mercury*, for instance, wrote of 'our right of asylum', 'our cherished right of asylum', and 'our prize and boasted right'.¹²³ Alluding to John of Gaunt's patriotic speech in Shakespeare's *Richard II*, both the *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Reynolds's Newspaper* described

¹²¹ S. Constantine, *Community and Identity: The Making of Modern Gibraltar since 1704* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), p. 27, ft. 109.

¹²² *Pall Mall Gazette*, 6 November 1882; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 10 November 1882.

¹²³ *Glasgow Herald*, 2 April 1858; *Liverpool Mercury*, 5 February 1858; *Liverpool Mercury*: 6 February 1858; *Liverpool Mercury*, 17 April 1858; *Liverpool Mercury*, 17 December 1861; *Liverpool Mercury*, 29 July 1857.

the 'right of asylum' as 'the crowning glory of our "sceptred Isle"'.¹²⁴ The *Glasgow Herald* described asylum as a key facet of 'the glorious British constitution'.¹²⁵

The newspapers also frequently cast the British public as staunch supporters of the 'right of asylum'. This is evident in the appeal in quote (4) to 'the generous feelings of Englishmen'. Even whilst criticising the 'right of asylum', the *Hampshire Telegraph* persisted in describing it as 'perhaps the one principle to which the national mind most closely clings'.¹²⁶ Under editor Stead (introduced in section 1.5.3), the *Pall Mall Gazette* asserted that 'even the most bigoted and reactionary Tory would have vied with the most advanced Radical in defending the right of asylum', insinuating that asylum transcending party politics to unite all patriotic Englishmen.¹²⁷ The *Liverpool Mercury* stated that this 'right' was based on the English people's 'own healthy instinct of justice and freedom, not, we fear, on the firmness or sagacity of their rulers', whilst the *Glasgow Herald* praised the 'honest spirit of the British public'.¹²⁸ These examples all convey a sense that the provision of asylum rested on public support that the Government was powerless to erode.

There may have been some truth in this belief; public support for the right of asylum is sometimes credited with causing both the rise and fall of Lord Palmerston's popularity during the 1850s. His assistance of the popular Hungarian refugees at the beginning of the decade gained him widespread public support.¹²⁹ However, his efforts to mend foreign relations with the anti-assassination Conspiracy to Murder bill provoked vocal public dissatisfaction.¹³⁰

¹²⁴ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 14 February 1858; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 18 June 1889.

¹²⁵ *Glasgow Herald*, 29 January 1849.

¹²⁶ *Hampshire Telegraph*, 25 September 1875.

¹²⁷ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 18 June 1889.

¹²⁸ *Liverpool Mercury*, 5 August 1857; *Glasgow Herald*, 2 April 1858.

¹²⁹ Shaw, *Britannia's Embrace*, p. 68.

¹³⁰ Porter, 'The British Government', p. 28; Bensimon, 'The French Exiles and the British', p. 94.

The Radical *Reynolds's Newspaper* featured this trope particularly strongly, and conceptualised refugees as part of an 'International Brotherhood of Workers' that included the British public. In an article censuring newspapers such as *The Times* and *Northern Star* for disparaging remarks towards political refugees, *Reynolds's Newspaper* expressed no doubt that the refugees had the 'brotherly sympathy of the British people'.¹³¹

5.3.5.2 *Asylum gives Britain moral superiority over its neighbours*

(5) 'This was, he said, the first step of a series of concessions which would destroy the right of asylum, and make us the jackals of despotic Governments'.¹³²

(6) 'The duty of that House, however, was not to give up, even to gratify the French Government, the right of asylum, or to alter the established law of England.'¹³³

The second trope is that the 'right of asylum' gave Britain moral superiority over other European nations that lacked similar policies. This fits with Shaw's idea that a 'morality tale' existed in the nineteenth century that cast Britons as the rescuers of refugees.¹³⁴ This trope was sometimes extended to the notion that Britain was a moral beacon, responsible for setting an example for other nations. For instance, Britain was framed as having a duty to oppose Austrian requests for refugee extradition so that 'weaker allies may gain both the courage and the support necessary' to similarly oppose despotic governments.¹³⁵

When European nations criticised Britain's position on asylum, the trope was inverted to devalue those nations by portraying them as morally corrupt. Porter

¹³¹ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 13 April 1851.

¹³² *Pall Mall Gazette*, 4 August 1866.

¹³³ *Ipswich Journal*, 13 February 1858.

¹³⁴ Shaw, *Britannia's Embrace*, p. 2.

¹³⁵ *Liverpool Mercury*, 12 March 1852.

recognises this, citing an article from *The Times* which stated that ‘every civilised people on the face of the earth must be fully aware that this country is the asylum of nations’, the implication being that those who did not similarly offer asylum were uncivilised.¹³⁶ At times it seems that Britain’s political refugees were simply viewed as a means of gaining one-upmanship over other European nations. Indeed, Dummett and Nicol portray the granting of asylum as a self-serving act, simply a means of displaying national power to other states.¹³⁷

As demonstrated in quote (5), charges such as despotism were rife. *Reynolds’s Newspaper* described European nations who criticised Britain’s asylum policy as both ‘tyrants and traitors’ and ‘foreign despots’.¹³⁸ In particular, Austria and Russia, who repeatedly placed pressure upon nations such as Turkey and Switzerland for sheltering their political enemies, were sensationally described by *Reynolds’s* as an ‘unholy alliance of [...] monsters’.¹³⁹ All the newspapers featured imagery which, although perhaps less flamboyantly hostile than that of *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, drew upon this notion of European tyranny. The *Glasgow Herald* described the Hamburg police as being ‘like vultures to their prey [refugees]’.¹⁴⁰ Even the Conservative *Ipswich Journal* described extradition requests as ‘the imperious demands of foreign despots’.¹⁴¹ At times when criticism of Britain’s asylum policy was particularly prevalent, jingoistic language appeared portraying asylum as a bulwark of traditional British values, which was under siege from external factors. This imagery sometimes took the form of military metaphor. Asylum was, for instance, under ‘mediated attack’ from assailants trying to ‘destroy it’.¹⁴² It received

¹³⁶ *The Times*, 28 February 1853 cited in Porter, *The Refugee Question*, p. 9.

¹³⁷ A. Dummett and A. Nicol, *Subjects, Citizens, Aliens and Others: Nationality and Immigration Law* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1990), p. 143.

¹³⁸ *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 5 December 1852; *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 19 July 1857.

¹³⁹ *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 25 May 1851.

¹⁴⁰ *Glasgow Herald*, 23 September 1850.

¹⁴¹ *Ipswich Journal*, 5 March 1853.

¹⁴² *Liverpool Mercury*, 10 August 1857; *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 25 July 1886.

'deadly' and 'great' 'blows' in the form of calls for extradition treaties.¹⁴³ It was 'jealously guarded' and required 'defence' against a 'crusade' by the French.¹⁴⁴

This sense that Britain was under attack by foreign powers led, by proxy, to suspicion of British officials who appeared sympathetic to this continental position. The timing of the introduction of the Conspiracy to Murder Bill, for instance, caused a great deal of speculation to emerge in the concordance. The newspapers widely asserted that the Bill's appearance in the aftermath of the Orsini affair indicated that it had been requested by foreign governments. This sense that the British Government might bow to French demands is apparent in (6), a quote from Lord J. Russell that appeared in the *Ipswich Journal's* parliamentary coverage. The *Hampshire Telegraph* similarly quoted a Mr. Warren, who stated in Parliament that the bill was being 'introduced under circumstances derogatory to the dignity of England'.¹⁴⁵ The *Glasgow Herald* described the Government as 'acting under a foreign and evil influence'.¹⁴⁶ The *Liverpool Mercury* expressed disgust at the 'disgraceful and cowardly' 'policy of adapting British legislation to continental exigencies', adding that 'England is not yet brought so low that she need permit foreigners [...] to revise her laws for her' and that 'we are not inclined to alter our criminal law to please the French people'.¹⁴⁷

British politicians who opposed asylum were not presented as doing so of their own volition, but rather portrayed as the weak puppets of European powers. *Reynolds's Newspaper* depicted Palmerston as under the command of 'the French despot' and 'obey[ing] his imperial master'.¹⁴⁸ On another occasion, it discussed the 'intimate

¹⁴³ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 27 November 1892; *Liverpool Mercury*, 5 February 1858.

¹⁴⁴ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 23 June 1889; *Liverpool Mercury*, 25 March 1853; *Liverpool Mercury*, 16 January 1862; *Liverpool Mercury*, 20 January 1858.

¹⁴⁵ *Hampshire Telegraph*, 13 February 1858.

¹⁴⁶ *Glasgow Herald*, 23 September 1850.

¹⁴⁷ *Liverpool Mercury*, 29 July 1857; 27 April 1858; 8 February 1858.

¹⁴⁸ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 7 February 1858.

relationship' between Lord Malmesbury and Napoleon III.¹⁴⁹ The *Liverpool Mercury* characterised the Conspiracy to Murder Bill as a 'sop thrown' by the Premier 'to the loyal and blood thirsty indignation of Louis Napoleon's colonels'.¹⁵⁰

The European powers who called for Britain to do more to protect their interests in the matter of the plots of political refugees were, at least in the 1850s, framed by the newspapers as though they were overreacting. The *Liverpool Mercury* stated that 'in this country we require considerably stronger proof of guilt than that which usually suffices in a French court of justice'.¹⁵¹ The newspapers expressed a belief that by enacting restrictive legislation, European Governments were in fact fuelling radical politics and making their leaders targets for hostility. Porter similarly identified this trope, describing it as 'the assumption that political excesses were usually provoked by illiberal systems'.¹⁵²

Several of the newspapers, including the *Glasgow Herald*, advocated the idea that Britain should lead by example and demonstrate the correct way to deal with political dissent. The *Herald* argued that awarding freedom of speech to political refugees undermined their protests against tyrannical governance, forcing them to 'rave in vain', their 'fanciful theories' and 'vapouring exhortations' falling upon deaf ears.¹⁵³ By enabling political campaigning, rather than providing opposition, it was believed that Britain had extinguished the potency of radicalism. The *Herald* added that once in Britain, the refugees' 'pen retains but little of its power'.¹⁵⁴ British newspapers were also quick to point out that European critics of Britain's provision of asylum might someday require it themselves. After President Carnot of France criticised Britain's asylum policy, the *Hampshire Telegraph* commented that he would do well to change his opinion as 'some

¹⁴⁹ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 15 August 1852.

¹⁵⁰ *Liverpool Mercury*, 12 February 1858.

¹⁵¹ *Liverpool Mercury*, 10 August 1857; *Liverpool Mercury*, 20 January 1858.

¹⁵² B. Porter, 'The *Freiheit* Prosecutions, 1881-1882', *The Historical Journal*, 23:4 (1980), pp. 833-856 (p. 838) <<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X00025097>>.

¹⁵³ *Glasgow Herald*, 23 September 1850.

¹⁵⁴ *Glasgow Herald*, 23 September 1850.

day Britain may be a refuge for an exiled French president'.¹⁵⁵ Likewise, the *Liverpool Mercury* claimed that none had 'enjoyed more freely or abused more scrupulously' the right of asylum than 'Louis Napoleon himself'.¹⁵⁶

5.3.5.3 *Britain's asylum policy is being 'abused' by 'certain' refugees*

(7) There are those who 'find shelter on our shores, thankful for the asylum, [and] only seek to live amongst us quietly' and 'a very different type, [...] who have no claim on our toleration'.¹⁵⁷

(8) '[...] the privilege is certainly being most grossly abused by the miscreants who have taken refuge here because their presence will no longer be tolerated in their own countries'.¹⁵⁸

As discussed, the 'right of asylum' debate arose following a series of high-profile bombings and assassinations across Europe. As refugees were increasingly believed to have a capacity for violence, newspapers began to question Britain's indiscriminate asylum policy, which often manifested in a trope of 'abuse'.

This trope saw the separation of migrants – using the age-old dichotomy of 'desirable' and 'undesirable' – into, as quote (7) demonstrates, those who 'only seek to live amongst us quietly' versus 'a very different type'.¹⁵⁹ These 'new kind[s]' of refugees were described as 'bad apples', 'dangerous characters', and 'miscreants'.¹⁶⁰ They were compared unfavourably not only with their more peaceful contemporaries, but also with refugee groups who had preceded them, being described as 'of a much worse

¹⁵⁵ *Hampshire Telegraph*, 27 April 1889.

¹⁵⁶ *Liverpool Mercury*, 10 August 1857.

¹⁵⁷ *Glasgow Herald*, 2 April 1858.

¹⁵⁸ *Liverpool Mercury*, 17 February 1894.

¹⁵⁹ This trope appears repeatedly in the literature and has been explored perhaps most recently in the popular book *The Good Immigrant*. See N. Shukla, *The Good Immigrant* (London: Unbound, 2017).

¹⁶⁰ *Glasgow Herald*, 2 April 1858; *Ipswich Journal*, 10 December 1898; *Liverpool Mercury*, 17 February 1894.

character'.¹⁶¹ The *Pall Mall Gazette* stated that 'there is no comparison between an honest rebel', presumably a reference to celebrity refugees such as Kossuth and Garibaldi, 'and these enemies of all society and civilisation'.¹⁶²

This discourse shares characteristics with the discourse of 'bogus' and 'genuine' asylum seekers identified by researchers of contemporary migration, which, as Goodman et al. state, allows people to 'present themselves as caring about some (genuine) refugees' wellbeing and also argu[e] against refugee rights in general'.¹⁶³ By turning upon a violent sub-group charged with 'abusing' British hospitality, newspapers could distance themselves from outright condemnation of the asylum policy they had long defended.

As seen in quote (8), the word 'abuse' was ubiquitous within the 'right of asylum' debates, appearing as a collocate of the phrase in both the *Glasgow Herald* and *Liverpool Mercury*. 'Refugee' is a moral category, accompanied by a sense of ethical duty to those who fall within it. The discourse of 'abuse' abnegated Britain of its responsibility towards refugees whose immorality rendered them undeserving of support. In short, refugees were portrayed as culpable for the erosion of their rights, shifting blame from the state. Often this kind of language appeared alongside a wider defence of the 'right of asylum'. For instance, the *Glasgow Herald* argued that 'while maintaining the right of asylum, it becomes us to guard against any abuses of it'.¹⁶⁴ In this sense, the restriction of access to 'certain refugees' was portrayed as a means of protecting the integrity of Britain's asylum policy as a whole. The pervasiveness with which the word 'abuse' was adopted by the press may have been fuelled by its use by high-profile figures. In one of two early examples

¹⁶¹ *Glasgow Herald*, 2 April 1858.

¹⁶² *Pall Mall Gazette*, 7 July 1894.

¹⁶³ See, for instance, N. Lynn and S. Lea, "'A Phantom Menace and the New Apartheid": The Social Construction of Asylum-Seekers in the United Kingdom', *Discourse & Society*, 14:4 (2003), pp. 425-452 <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926503014004002>>; and S. Goodman, A. Sirriyeh, and S. McMahon, 'The Evolving (Re)Categorisations of Refugees throughout the "Refugee/Migrant Crisis"', *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 27:2 (2017), pp. 105-14 (p. 106) <<https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.2302>>.

¹⁶⁴ *Glasgow Herald*, 2 April 1858.

of the word's use in association with refugees, Lord Lyndhurst is reported to have stated in Parliament that refugees were 'abusing the protection which our Laws afford them'.¹⁶⁵ In the other, Baron Brunow, the Russian minister in London, implored the British Government to halt 'the abuse of the rights of asylum', as it was 'irreconcilable with the principles of public law'.¹⁶⁶

The euphemistic 'abusers' and 'dangerous characters' to whom the newspapers referred were most likely anarchists. However, anarchism emerged only rarely in the concordance lines, and wider context, of articles returned by the query 'refugee(s)'. This, despite there being several points at which the discourses of 'refugee(s)' and 'anarchism' could potentially intersect. One instance was, in 1881, as Johann Most, a German refugee in Britain, was tried for libel after his Anarchist paper *Freiheit* published an article praising the assassination of Tsar Alexander II and inciting similar action against other heads of state.¹⁶⁷ Another instance occurred in 1892-3, when the British secret service instigated the Walsall plot, an alleged anarchist bomb making scandal, using an undercover agent.¹⁶⁸ Two of the bomb-makers, Jean Battalo an Italian shoemaker and Victor Cailles an Italian engine driver, were refugees who met at the Walsall Anarchist Club in the Midlands.¹⁶⁹

To take the *Freiheit* prosecution as an example, 'Herr Most' appeared 27 times in the *Glasgow Herald*, 11 of which were in 1881, the year of his trial. However, although the *Herald* covered the *Freiheit* libel case with interest, not once did it mention 'refugee(s)' within 50 tokens of 'Most' in 1881. Similarly, a search for 'Herr Most' shows that the *Pall Mall Gazette* mentioned him 42 times in 1881. However, in the same year,

¹⁶⁵ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 6 April 1851.

¹⁶⁶ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 11 April 1852.

¹⁶⁷ See B. Porter, 'The *Freiheit* Prosecutions', pp. 833-856.

¹⁶⁸ It is now widely believed that Auguste Coulon, the member of the Walsall anarchists who suggested that the group make bombs together, was a British agent. Whilst the other conspirators received five- to ten-year jail sentences, Coulon was not prosecuted. For more information see Bantman, *The French Anarchists in London*, pp. 105-6.

¹⁶⁹ M. C. Frank, *The Cultural Imaginary of Terrorism in Public Discourse, Literature, and Film* (London: Routledge, 2017), p. 102. The professions of the anarchists were listed in the court proceedings: *Pall Mall Gazette*, 30 March 1892.

'Most' only twice appeared within 50 tokens of 'refugee(s)'. This absence may relate to the way in which the events were framed by the press. Although all of them involved, or were at least tangentially connected to, refugees sheltering in Britain, those involved had other identities, such as 'anarchist', that may have taken precedence.

Therefore, a search for 'anarchist', 'anarchists', and 'anarchism' (which returned 13,108 hits across the corpora) provides a necessary insight into how each paper viewed this political movement.¹⁷⁰ The *Ipswich Journal* and *Hampshire Telegraph* did not discuss anarchism enough to generate any collocates of meaningful frequency.¹⁷¹ The collocates in the other four newspapers were very similar. All created a link between anarchism and European countries, including references to France and Spain, in their collocates. There was also a strong link between anarchism and socialism, as all the newspapers frequently featured the latter as a collocate of the former, often in constructions such as 'the socialists and anarchists'.¹⁷² More interesting is the universal association between anarchists and criminality, seen through the collocates 'arrest', 'arrests', 'arrested', 'police', and 'trial', which confirms Shpayer-Makov's claim that 'the dominant view in the public media portrayed the individual anarchist as an unscrupulous criminal'.¹⁷³ In actuality, militant activities were the domain of a small fringe of the wider anarchist movement. However, inevitably, these violent individuals captured the press' attention and dominated public discourse on anarchism.

Newspapers sensationalised the threat of anarchy, transforming a small number of violent individuals into a major cause for anxiety and falsely claiming that, dissatisfied with

¹⁷⁰ '(anarchist | anarchists | anarchism)' returned 4,757 hits in the *Glasgow Herald*, 3,249 in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 2,361 in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 2,238 in the *Liverpool Mercury*, 294 in the *Ipswich Journal*, and 209 in the *Hampshire Telegraph*.

¹⁷¹ The top collocates were words which had not collocated that many times but had simply risen to the top of the list due to their obscurity, therefore, I placed a restriction that words had to have collocated at least 20 times upon the search.

¹⁷² 'Socialist', 'socialists' and 'socialism' collocated with '(anarchist | anarchists | anarchism)' 114 times in the *Glasgow Herald*, 87 in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 84 in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and 38 in the *Liverpool Mercury*.

¹⁷³ Shpayer-Makov, 'Anarchism in British Public Opinion', p. 487.

life in Europe, anarchists were crossing to London in great numbers. In reality, anarchists would have constituted a minute proportion of Britain's refugee community, which was already very small. Indeed, as Shpayer-Makov states, compared to the rest of Europe, the anarchist movement in Britain 'was particularly small and nonviolent'.¹⁷⁴ This did not prevent the *Glasgow Herald* from describing anarchists as 'numerous' in one article, and as a 'battalion' in another.¹⁷⁵ Nor did it prevent the *Pall Mall Gazette* printing headlines such as 'MORE ANARCHISTS FOR LONDON – THE MENACING NUMBER OF REFUGEES', and metaphorically describing anarchism as a 'regular invasion'.¹⁷⁶ Elsewhere, the *Pall Mall Gazette* hyperbolically described London as the 'head centre of practical Anarchism'.¹⁷⁷ A sense of anxiety was evident as the *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Glasgow Herald*, and *Liverpool Mercury* all contained the collocate 'plot', and the *Glasgow Herald* the collocates 'propaganda' and 'conspiracy', which fits with another of Shpayer-Makov's conclusions, that anarchism was 'stereotyped as an organised conspiracy'.¹⁷⁸

Anarchy's opposition to political systems appears to have been a particular source of fear. The *Ipswich Journal* criticised anarchists as 'the monsters who are of no party, except [...] the party of assassinations'.¹⁷⁹ The *Pall Mall Gazette* detailed anarchist 'outrages' at length, discussing the 'cruel murder of General Garfield' of the United States, anarchists in London delivering 'speeches of a most inflammatory nature' and 'threatening letters' received by the Spanish Embassy.¹⁸⁰ However, despite its opposition to the violent *actions* of anarchists, the *Glasgow Herald* was still capable of supporting the

¹⁷⁴ H. Shpayer-Makov, 'Anarchism in British Public Opinion 1880-1914', *Victorian Studies*, 31:4 (1988), pp. 487-516 (p. 488).

¹⁷⁵ *Glasgow Herald*, 2 April 1858; 18 July 1894.

¹⁷⁶ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 15 February 1895.

¹⁷⁷ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 17 February 1894.

¹⁷⁸ Shpayer-Makov, 'Anarchism in British Public Opinion', p. 499.

¹⁷⁹ *Ipswich Journal*, 13 March 1858.

¹⁸⁰ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 9 August 1897.

provision of refuge to those who simply expressed *opinions*, as it worried about any legal measure that would cause Britain 'to regard opinion as a crime'.¹⁸¹

In the *Glasgow Herald* and *Pall Mall Gazette*, anarchists also associated with a semantic group of collocates relating to disapproval. The former included the collocates 'outrage' and 'condemned', the latter the collocates 'outrage', 'outraged', and 'condemned'. The *Pall Mall Gazette* condemned anarchists because they 'preached the most violent doctrines', whilst the *Glasgow Herald* reported upon the 'latest horrible outrage of the anarchists', and described anarchist acts as eliciting a 'thrill of horror'.¹⁸² The *Liverpool Mercury*, once so measured, wrote of the 'old-blood plotting of assassination', 'diabolic plots', and 'the monster Anarchy'.¹⁸³ These exaggerations seem to confirm Bantman's assessment that as well as causing anxiety and playing into fears of national decline, the rise of militant anarchism also became a 'morbid fascination of the tabloid press'.¹⁸⁴

As seen in quote (7), despite being more characteristic of later periods, the abuse trope did not suddenly appear with the rise of anarchism in the 1880s and 1890s but, rather, was apparent from the mid-century. An 1853 article, reprinted by the *Hampshire Telegraph* from *The Times*, reported upon a Government-sanctioned search of the house of celebrity refugee Kossuth. The article in question praised the Government for putting 'the law rigorously in force against such foreign refugees residing in this country who have abused the tolerant hospitality of England'.¹⁸⁵ Notably, this was five years before the Orsini affair (see section 5.3.5), which heralded the era of more militant refugees; moreover, it is unclear what 'abuse' Kossuth had committed. However, over time, the

¹⁸¹ *Glasgow Herald*, 26 November 1898.

¹⁸² *Pall Mall Gazette*, 26 June 1894; *Glasgow Herald*, 9 November 1893; *Glasgow Herald*, 26 November 1898.

¹⁸³ *Liverpool Mercury*, 6 April 1881; *Liverpool Mercury*, 5 April 1892.

¹⁸⁴ C. Bantman, *The French Anarchists in London, 1880-1914: Exile and Transnationalism in the First Globalisation* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), p. 116.

¹⁸⁵ *Hampshire Telegraph*, 16 April 1853.

vitriol against political refugees seems to have increased in volume and, in much late nineteenth-century newspaper coverage of the asylum debates, the refugee seems to more closely resemble Bantman's 'revolutionary terrorist' than Shaw's 'heroic figure [possessing] courage, liberal principles, and a strong sense of honour and justice'.¹⁸⁶

As the newspapers began to question Britain's asylum policy, previous criticism of European nations became more muted. Some of the newspapers displayed embarrassment at the actions of Britain's refugee guests. The *Hampshire Telegraph* expressed regret at the attempted assassination of Napoleon III, adding that 'had an attempt been made to deprive our own gracious Queen of life our righteous indignation would know no limits'. However, the article still lauded Britain's 'laws of hospitality' as a patriotic 'glory'.¹⁸⁷ Similarly, refugees were criticised by the *Ipswich Journal* in the aftermath of Tsar Alexander II's assassination for making 'this country the hatching-ground of plots against the lives of friendly monarchs'.¹⁸⁸ The *Pall Mall Gazette* complained that to shelter anarchists was to 'make our right of asylum a terror to civilized Europe'.¹⁸⁹ Elsewhere, displaying an unusual concern for the good opinion of foreign rulers, the *Pall Mall Gazette* criticised any refugee activity that could cause 'national mortification'.¹⁹⁰

Similarly, support was expressed for police surveillance, which had at one time been a point of contention and suspicion. Previously, incidents such as the opening of Mazzini's mail by the Post Office (1844), and the increased police powers proposed in the Conspiracy to Murder Bill (1858) had been roundly criticised by most of the

¹⁸⁶ Bantman, *The French Anarchists in London*, p. 116.

¹⁸⁷ *Hampshire Telegraph*, 27 February 1858.

¹⁸⁸ *Ipswich Journal*, 9 August 1881.

¹⁸⁹ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 30 May 1871.

¹⁹⁰ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 19 August 1889; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 4 December 1882.

newspapers.¹⁹¹ In 1852, the *Liverpool Mercury* treated with contempt the idea that England should have a system of ‘espionage’ or ‘surveillance’ with which to monitor refugees.¹⁹² However, by 1885, the *Mercury* had changed its tone, and wrote that since anyone could enter England, it was incumbent upon the police to ‘keep doubtful men under supervision’, adding that people should ‘trust the skill of our detectives to unravel the mystery by which the dynamiters have too often succeeded in enwrapping themselves’.¹⁹³

5.3.5.4 *The right of asylum is no longer practical*

(9) ‘...we must give up boasting – indeed we have almost done so already – that our country is par excellence the refuge of the destitute and the oppressed’.¹⁹⁴

(10) ‘Other nations are armed against the vermin in their midst [...] now is the time for England also to range in line with them, and wipe off a reproach which has insensibly developed out of a tradition of which we were once rightly proud’.¹⁹⁵

As the violence of a small number of political refugees received widespread condemnation from other European Governments, newspapers which had previously championed the right of all to asylum shifted to a mixed or unclear position. By the end of the century, only *Reynolds’s Newspaper* still showed uncritical support for the policy; most of the other newspapers either outright condemned it, or expressed a belief that it

¹⁹¹ Mazzini was introduced in section 5.2.1.2. For examples of criticisms of the incidents see the *Glasgow Herald* on the 29 July 1857 and 3 February 1858. For more information about the Mazzini incident, see Porter, ‘The British Government’, p. 34; and Prothero, ‘Chartists and Political Refugees’, p. 217.

¹⁹² *Liverpool Mercury*, 12 March 1852.

¹⁹³ *Liverpool Mercury*, 2 February 1885.

¹⁹⁴ *Glasgow Herald*, 18 July 1894.

¹⁹⁵ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 19 July 1894.

could not continue in its current form. The quotes above, both of which originate from the 1890s, reflect this; quote (9) expresses a desire that the right of asylum be allowed to fall by the wayside, and quote (10) discusses it in the past tense, as something that has already departed. It is worth noting that quote (9) draws upon the trope of destitution, indicating that the two were linked in the newspaper discourse, perhaps due to their shared association with 'migration'.

Pride in Britain's asylum policy, a mainstay of earlier newspaper reporting, became an opinion which was lampooned when expressed by others. This new scepticism was evident in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, whose tone changed quite significantly in the 1890s (though, as the paper had recently transitioned from Liberal to Conservative editorship, this may be as attributable to ownership, and subsequently political, changes as to a wider move against Britain's asylum policies). The paper began to include the phrase 'right of asylum' in inverted commas as if it was a sentiment espoused by others but not one in which the paper placed any trust.¹⁹⁶ In another article, the *Gazette* dismissed the 'right of asylum' as 'silly sentimentalism'.¹⁹⁷ Similarly, the *Glasgow Herald* criticised Radicals and Socialists who 'prated', or spoke foolishly and at great length, about the right of asylum, and attacked the politicians who were 'wont to dilate upon the inalienable right of asylum', mocking their 'smug satisfaction'.¹⁹⁸ It criticised the Government's position on asylum as being 'tender hearted'.¹⁹⁹

Those who spoke out against Liberal asylum policy were sometimes praised as speaking common sense. This is an example of the *ad populum* fallacy already identified in relation to pauper 'aliens' (see section 4.4.6). The *Pall Mall Gazette* congratulated one such individual for having 'the courage to put into words what everyone has put in

¹⁹⁶ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 10 August 1900.

¹⁹⁷ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 12 September 1898.

¹⁹⁸ *Glasgow Herald*, 1 September 1892; 18 July 1894.

¹⁹⁹ *Glasgow Herald*, 18 July 1894.

thoughts'.²⁰⁰ In another article, Government proposals for restrictions on the right of asylum were described as having the support of 'the common-sense Englishman'.²⁰¹ This poses a stark contrast to the idea, explored in relation to the first trope, that the British Government were eroding 'sacred rights' in opposition to 'the generous feelings of Englishmen'.²⁰² Only *Reynolds's Newspaper* retained unwavering support for the policy. In 1851, it described Lord Lyndhurst's efforts to deport refugees as 'vile' and 'insidious'.²⁰³ Forty year later, as extradition once again became a parliamentary issue, the paper similarly described it as a 'deadly blow'.²⁰⁴

5.4 Absences

This chapter has so far explored the discourses related to refugee groups *present* in the newspapers, this section focuses upon *absences*. As section 5.3.2 discussed, the refugees who received press coverage in Britain were overwhelmingly political refugees. To some extent this reflects the actual situation. Britain was indeed a major European destination for political refugees.²⁰⁵

The newspapers did make reference to humanitarian refugees in Britain. For instance, the *Glasgow Herald* featured a delegation of Armenian refugees, and the *Hampshire Telegraph* documented the arrival of a Greek family on Portsmouth docks, in a state of great 'distress' and speaking 'very broken English'.²⁰⁶ The local constable, upon finding that Portsmouth lacked a Greek consul, admitted the family to the workhouse. However, reports in the newspaper of such incidents appear far and few between. The fact that the *Hampshire Telegraph* thought the experience of a single family worth

²⁰⁰ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 7 July 1894.

²⁰¹ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 19 July 1894.

²⁰² *Ipswich Journal*, 5 March 1853.

²⁰³ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 30 March 1851.

²⁰⁴ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 27 November 1892.

²⁰⁵ Porter, *The Refugee Question*, pp. 1-3.

²⁰⁶ *Glasgow Herald*, 16 April 1895; *Hampshire Telegraph*, 23 October 1897.

reporting strongly suggests that this was an unusual occurrence. Indeed, as the examples in section 5.3.4 demonstrate, charitable assistance generally seems to have been distributed to non-political refugees in countries proximate to the situations from which they fled.

However, the absence of Eastern European Jews from refugee reporting is less easily explained. As discussed in section 1.4, starting from the 1880s, a large number of Jews arrived in Britain. At least some of their number were refugees, having fled from increasing religious and ethnic hostility in the Russian Empire. In 1871, Jewish property was burned in Odessa, and in 1881 Jews were blamed for Tsar Alexander II's assassination. This marked the beginning of pogroms and an increasingly unbearable living situation.²⁰⁷ However, 'Jew', 'Jews', and 'Jewish' very rarely collocated with 'refugee(s)' in any of the newspaper corpora except outside the context of Britain.

None of the collocates in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, the *Hampshire Telegraph* or *Ipswich Journal* related to Jewish refugees. Words related to Jewish refugees did collocate 79 times across the *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Liverpool Mercury*, and *Glasgow Herald*. However, almost all of the articles that contain them referred to Jewish refugees outside of Britain, primarily in America, where many Jews sought refuge, and in Argentina and Palestine, where Baron Hirsch, a German Jewish philanthropist, was engaged in establishing Jewish colonies.²⁰⁸ Some of the Jewish refugees who arrived in Britain in the 1880s and 1890s were Polish. However, as figure 5.4 demonstrated, 'Polish' primarily collocated with 'refugee(s)' between 1830 and 1870, with a particularly high rate of mentions in the 1850s. The term therefore appears to represent earlier Polish refugees, including those who fled after the failed 1831 revolution, and those who fought alongside and arrived at

²⁰⁷ C. Bloom, 'The politics of immigration, 1881-1905', *Jewish Historical Studies*, 33 (1992), pp. 187-214 (p. 187).

²⁰⁸ 'Jewish' collocates with 'refugee(s)' 27 times in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 22 in the *Liverpool Mercury (late)*, and 15 in the *Glasgow Herald*. 'Jews' collocates with 'refugee(s)' 8 times in the *Liverpool Mercury (late)*, and 7 in the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

the same time as Kossuth's Hungarian refugees (1851) (who, as we have seen, were the subject of much discussion). The fact that their community far outnumbered that of the political refugees (see section 1.4 for a discussion of migrant numbers) makes the dearth of references to Jewish refugees within Britain striking.

Many of the articles in which 'refugee(s)' collocated with terms relating to Judaism were published between 1881 and 1882, prior to the increase in the number of Jews arriving in Britain and the ensuing moral panic (outlined in the previous chapter). As Alderman points out, in the early 1880s, the 'exodus' was considered to be a 'short-term emergency'.²⁰⁹ This perhaps explains both the sympathy extended to the refugees, and the curiosity with which they were described. Both of these reactions are exemplified in an article in the *Liverpool Mercury* entitled 'THEIR DEPARTURE FOR AMERICA', one amongst several articles in which the paper documented Jewish refugees who passed through the city. The article describes the 'strange-looking company' as a spectacle whose 'appearance excited much interest and sympathy'. It is replete with pathos comparable to that extended to overseas refugees such as 'painful scenes of departure'. The refugees include humanised individuals, including a small child and its parents and a 'young surgeon, a very intelligent and well-educated man'.²¹⁰ The *Pall Mall Gazette*, reporting upon the same group of 349 in an article entitled 'THE OUTRAGES OF JEWS IN RUSSIA', described the refugees' 'terrible stories of outrage'. The article's sympathy is also apparent in its inclusion of the detail that a third of the arrivals were children, an emotive tactic (discussed in section 5.3.4) which, once again, commonly featured in reporting upon overseas non-political refugees.²¹¹

Several of the articles in which the collocate 'Jew' featured were charity fundraisers. However, these inevitably saw funds being sent out of the country to help

²⁰⁹ G. Alderman, *Modern British Jewry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 113.

²¹⁰ *Liverpool Mercury*, 13 February 1882.

²¹¹ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 11 February 1882.

Jews overseas. Some of these campaigns went further than simply outsourcing their relief and began to overtly encourage and financially assist Jewish refugees to resettle elsewhere, thus diminishing their presence in Britain. A high-profile example of this is evident in articles concerning the Lord Mayor of London's Mansion House charity fund, which collected money on behalf of Jewish refugees, and spent much of its proceeds exporting them to America.²¹² Another, smaller-scale, example featured in the *Ipswich Journal*, a paper which, as demonstrated, did not discuss Jews as refugees enough for the group to occur as a collocate. The *Journal* reported upon a meeting held by the 'Jews Refugees Society', attended by local church leaders. The society is described as stressing the necessity of religious toleration and, along with the 'Young Women's Institute', as having raised money for the provision of houses for Jewish refugees. These houses were, however, to be built in Jerusalem, not Ipswich.²¹³

Tellingly, after the *Glasgow Herald* erroneously reported upon a public meeting fundraising to provide aid for Jewish refugees 'arriving in this country', one of the meeting's organisers, evidently worried about the newspaper's mistake having repercussions for their reputation, wrote a letter to the paper's editor containing a correction. The letter stated emphatically that the fundraising had three purposes, none of which involved assisting Jewish refugees to settle in Britain. The first, rather euphemistically, involved 'diverting them from congested labour markets'; the second 'assisting their emigration and settlement in suitable localities'; and the last 'generally alleviating [their] sufferings'.²¹⁴

The articles that did discuss Jewish refugees who had settled in Britain, rather than passing through *en-route* to another destination, contained glimmers of hostility. A letter written to the *Pall Mall Gazette* by the minister of the New West-End Synagogue criticised

²¹² *Pall Mall Gazette*, 26 October 1882.

²¹³ *Ipswich Journal*, 27 September 1884.

²¹⁴ *Glasgow Herald*, 15 January 1892; 16 January 1892.

the newspaper for blaming the conditions in the East-End of London upon ‘the influx of foreign Jewish refugees’.²¹⁵ It is unclear whether ‘refugee’ was the term used in the *Pall Mall Gazette*’s original article, or whether it was the minister’s personal interpretation of euphemistic terms such as ‘destitute alien’, explored in section 4.4.6. Another article spoke of ‘successive invasions of Jewish refugees’, utilising a military metaphor more commonly associated with ‘alien(s)’ (see section 4.4.4.2).²¹⁶ Ultimately, articles that labelled Jews living in London as refugees were very few in number.²¹⁷ However, the fact that the Jewish community were labelled as refugees *at all* indicates that contemporaries were capable of framing them using such terms. This makes it even more striking that they were so infrequently described as refugees by the newspapers.

There are several possible explanations for why the newspapers did not frame Jewish arrivals as seekers of refuge. Britain’s lack of codification of what it meant to be a ‘refugee’ lent the term some ambiguity. Evans-Gordon’s use of the word ‘probably’ in the following quote indicates that contemporaries recognised this uncertainty ‘[...] probably every person coming from Russia, whether Jew, Catholic, or member of the Orthodox Church, could with perfect justice say that according to the standards of this country he was a persecuted person, either religiously or politically’.²¹⁸ Evans-Gordon intended to draw attention to the dangers of Britain’s lax ‘standards’ in policing its borders. However, his words also reflect the way in which Britain’s absence of legislation meant that the ‘refugee’ category could probably have been more broadly interpreted and applied than it was by the nineteenth-century press.

The historiography provides some elucidation for this absence. Bashford and McAdam argue that, in nineteenth-century Britain, ‘the notion of “asylum” connoted

²¹⁵ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 23 February 1886.

²¹⁶ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 30 April 1891.

²¹⁷ Another is the article ‘Making Men and Women of Jewish Refugees’ in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 21 June 1889.

²¹⁸ W. Evans Gordon, cited in Porter, ‘The British Government’, p. 31.

“political asylum”²¹⁹. This interpretation certainly seems supported by the evidence from the newspaper corpora. Bashford and McAdam attribute this to Britain’s open border policy, which meant that ‘asylum’ was only a governmental concern when other states requested the extradition of refugees within Britain, something that only really happened over political matters.²²⁰ The refugee status of political asylum seekers came into being at the point at which it was questioned, and was therefore continually reinforced. As the asylum status of non-political refugees remained largely unchallenged, it was more likely to quietly slip from popular consciousness, or simply never emerge in the first place.

Furthermore, the language used by some historians indicates that the Jews who arrived in Britain in the late nineteenth century do not correspond with neat categories like ‘refugee’. Wray uses the terms ‘alien’ and ‘refugee’ interchangeably when describing them, and both Bade and Alderman label them both ‘emigrants’ and ‘refugees’.²²¹ Nonetheless, most historians, including Slatter, Kushner, Porter, and Pellew, place the Jews in the ‘refugee’ category.²²² Porter goes so far as to claim that nearly all the migrants against which ‘it [the 1905 Aliens Act] was directed were political refugees in a sense’.²²³

The reason for this confusion is that, although many of those who arrived in England in the 1880s and 1890s were fleeing from an area where Jews had been persecuted, the immediate reason for their departure was often economic. Manz and Panayi acknowledge that although some were fleeing antisemitism, others were fleeing economic

²¹⁹ A. Bashford and J. McAdam, ‘The Right to Asylum: Britain’s 1905 Aliens Act and the Evolution of Refugee Law’, *Law and History Review*, 32:2 (2014), pp. 309-350 (p. 323) <<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0738248014000029>>.

²²⁰ Bashford and McAdam, ‘The Right to Asylum’, p. 323.

²²¹ H. Wray, ‘The Aliens Act 1905 and the Immigration Dilemma’, *Journal of Law and Society*, 33:2 (2006), pp. 302-23 <<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6478.2006.00359.x>>; K. Bade, *Migration in European History* (Hoboken: Wiley, 2008), pp. 143, 154; Alderman, *Modern British Jewry*, pp. 111-12.

²²² J. Slatter, *From the Other Shore: Russian Political Emigrants in Britain, 1880-1917* (London: F. Cass, 1984); T. Kushner, *Remembering Refugees: Then and Now* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006); Porter, ‘The British Government’, p. 31; J. Pellew, ‘The Home Officer and the Alien Act’, *Historical Journal*, 32:2 (1989), pp. 369-385 <<https://doi.org/lancs.ac.uk/10.1017/S0018246X00012206>>.

²²³ Porter, ‘The British Government’, p. 31.

deprivation.²²⁴ Indeed, Boustan re-examines the ‘persecution theory of Jewish Emigration’, concluding that violence was only one factor amongst ‘a confluence of demographic events’ that caused Jewish emigration, including population growth and economic factors like business cycle fluctuations.²²⁵ Alderman argues more strongly that ‘most emigrants from Eastern Europe were not, [...] in the narrow sense, the victims of persecution. Most came from Lithuania and White Russia, where there was comparatively little anti-Jewish violence’; and adds that ‘the overriding reason for Jewish emigration from eastern Europe to England was economic’.²²⁶ However, he somewhat contradicts himself by claiming that ‘the Russian pogroms that followed the assassination of Alexander II [...] turned the trickle of Jewish refugees from Russia [...] into a flood’, and that the ‘economic’ motivation stemmed from ‘ever more onerous restrictions on Jewish life’ in the Russian Empire.²²⁷

In the case of the Jews, economics and anti-Semitism are so intertwined that they are difficult to disentangle and examine separately. This is because many Tsarist anti-Semitic policies had economic repercussions. For instance, quotas were placed upon Jewish employment in certain sectors of the job market. Therefore, although many Jews were fleeing economic deprivation, if traced backwards, the origin of that deprivation might well have been rooted in earlier persecution. This may have made it difficult for contemporaries to conceptualise the group in a similar manner to other, more visibly persecuted, refugee groups who had been forced to leave their homes because of a single revolutionary event rather than creeping hostility and deteriorating economic conditions. Zolberg recognises the ambiguity between economics and politics in the cases both of

²²⁴ *Refugees and Cultural Transfer*, ed. by Manz and Panayi, p. 7.

²²⁵ L. Platt Boustan, ‘Were Jews Political Refugees of Economic Migrants? Assessing the Persecution Theory of Jewish Emigration, 1881-1914’ in *The New Comparative Economic History. Essays in Honor of Jeffrey G. Williamson*, ed. by T. J. Hatton, K. H. O’Rourke, and A. M. Taylor (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2007), pp. 267-290.

²²⁶ Alderman, *Modern British Jewry*, pp. 111-12.

²²⁷ Alderman, *Modern British Jewry*, pp. 111-12.

nineteenth-century Jews who migrated from Russia and of the Irish who left Ireland after the potato famine. He labels both groups 'unrecognised refugees' to highlight the point that although they were not widely recognised as such by contemporaries, they may well have been under today's definitions.²²⁸

Another key difference between the Jewish community and other refugee groups was the former's relative permanency and size. Porter estimates that Britain's political refugee community peaked at about 7,000 in the mid-1850s, and was much lower at other times in the century.²²⁹ He indicates that political refugees' small numbers were fundamental in shaping their 'relationship with their hosts'.²³⁰ In contrast, the number of Jews arriving was unprecedented relative to earlier movements (see section 1.4 for a discussion of numbers). Not only did Jewish refugees arrive in far larger numbers but many were, out of necessity, destined to become permanent residents in Britain. As Manz and Panayi indicate, 'the refugees from the Russian Pale of Settlement had more in common with a mass migratory movement' than previous refugee groups.²³¹ In contrast, the majority of political refugees did not intend to become long-term residents and frequently expressed a vocal yearning to return home. Their presence in Britain rather than America, for example, was frequently a physical indication that they desired to return whenever possible or opportune. Britain was, as characterised by Diethé, a figurative 'waiting room'.²³² The political refugees' transitory nature meant that although their arrival may have caused short-term consternation, long-term they were unlikely to be perceived as a threat to British jobs and wages. The decision over whether to label

²²⁸ Zolberg et al., *Escape from Violence*, p. 7.

²²⁹ Porter notes that the frequent movement of the refugees made them difficult to count, and that police reports of their numbers amount to little more than guesses. Porter, *The Refugee Question*, p. 16.

²³⁰ Porter, *The Refugee Question*, p. 18.

²³¹ *Refugees and Cultural Transfer*, ed. by Manz and Panayi, p. 7.

²³² C. Diethé, 'Keeping Busy in the Waiting-Room: German Women Writers in London Following the 1848 Revolution', in *Exiles from European Revolutions: Refugees in Mid-Victorian England*, ed. by S. Freitag and R. Muhs (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003), pp. 253-274 (p. 254).

someone an 'alien', 'immigrant', or 'refugee' may, therefore, have depended on whether the individual seemed likely to settle or not. Indeed, Cottret documents that in the early modern period, 'alien' was used specifically to describe foreigners permanently settling in England.²³³

Perhaps the most important difference was that the political refugees had a means of making their own voices heard, in stark contrast to others whose representation was at the mercy of outsiders. Britain's political refugees, although few in number, were highly vocal. Some published their own newspapers and magazines; others contributed towards established titles. The corpus contains examples of political refugees organising events including rallies, lecture series, fundraising campaigns and book signings. It is unsurprising, therefore, that the group is widely acknowledged to have had an impact on the media disproportionate to its size. As Lattek accurately notes 'we know much more about the experiences of articulate and politically active refugees [...] than those of the Hessian broom-girls of London'.²³⁴ This exposure allowed political refugees greater control over their own narrative and is echoed in the refugee literature that emerged during this period. In contrast to the social commentaries upon 'aliens' written by their opponents such as Arnold White and William Evans-Gordon, books written by political refugees themselves, such as *Memories of my Exile* by Lajos Kossuth, appeared in adverts across the corpus.²³⁵ This means that refugees arriving in Britain possessed a backstory, and were already associated with a wider context. As a result, they were unlikely to simply be portrayed as arrivals, dislocated from their wider migratory journey and subsequently dehumanised, as 'aliens' so frequently were.

²³³ Cottret, *The Huguenots in England*, p. 1.

²³⁴ C. Lattek, *Revolutionary Refugees: German Socialism in Britain, 1840-1860* (London: Routledge, 2005), p. 9.

²³⁵ For instance: *Pall Mall Gazette*, 12 August 1880.

5.5 Conclusion

The discourses surrounding ‘refugee(s)’ were less heterogeneous than those associated with ‘alien(s)’ and differed depending upon who the term was being used to describe. Press coverage revolved around two main groups: politically active refugees, mostly within Britain, and non-politically active refugees, often fleeing conflict, predominantly located overseas. Every paper in the sample, apart from *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, dedicated more coverage to overseas non-politically active refugees. However, this chapter also found that newspaper coverage converged on politically active refugees within Britain, who received more consistent newspaper coverage than external refugees, effectively becoming a point of commonality across the newspaper sample.

Some associations were common to the two types of refugees. Both, for instance, in contrast with the ambiguous ‘alien’ (see section 4.4.5), associated with large semantic groups of proper nouns which denoted their nationalities, countries of origin, and political and religious beliefs. These nouns made it easy to establish which refugee groups were gaining the attention of the press, and how that shifted over time. However, most of the other discourses identified within the collocates related to one or the other type of refugee, rather than equivalently to both.

Overseas refugees were discussed within a largely positive discourse prosody. Although portrayed as victims, their sufferings were almost always described with empathy and pathos. Their numbers were reported with more precision and accuracy than those of ‘aliens’, and terms for large quantities were used to highlight the scale of human tragedy – rather than the size of their potential impact upon the public purse. The larger metropolitan newspapers (the *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Glasgow Herald*, and *Liverpool Mercury*) focused upon the violence and warfare these refugees had fled, their hardships and struggles, and the tragic impact of their displacement upon ‘women and children’. This was often a fundraising tactic, and newspapers dedicated much space to campaigns

for the 'benefit' or the 'relief' of overseas refugees. However, some overseas refugees appeared more likely to receive news coverage than others and the gaze of the press seems to have been dictated by news values such as geographical proximity and cultural relevance. Most overseas refugees were situated within Europe, and those who were not, could generally be found in places where Britain held, or had held, an imperial interest.

Similarly, although the *Ipswich Journal* and *Hampshire Telegraph* did report positively upon overseas refugees, they primarily did so in two high-profile instances where violence impacted Christians. Elsewhere, the two newspapers appear more circumspect in their support for refugee-related charitable causes. However, this may be because these titles had a provincial remit, and likely had fewer resources at their disposal to dedicate to overseas coverage than larger titles like the *Glasgow Herald* and *Liverpool Mercury*.

In contrast, the associations of political refugees were superficially quite negative. They were associated with semantic groups of abuse and extradition and became embroiled in debates around their right to asylum. Nonetheless, although newspapers condemned anarchist abuses of the 'right of asylum', the link between 'refugee(s)' and 'anarchism' was perhaps not as strong as might have been predicted. In reality newspaper coverage of refugees was dominated by the arrival of high-profile celebrity revolutionary refugees in the 1850s. This may relate to the prominence and proximity of the 1850s revolutionaries, some of whom toured England to rally support for their causes. Ultimately, although most of the newspapers were more ambivalent towards the political refugees than overseas non-political refugees, the former were still discussed within a more positive discourse prosody than were 'aliens'. Political refugees were humanised, awarded political identities and often names, (sometimes) associated with intrigue and adventure, and occasionally portrayed as romantic heroes.

The Radical *Reynolds's Newspaper* subverted some of these associations. It associated political refugees in Britain with some of the discourses that the other newspaper titles reserved for non-political refugees located overseas. These included the semantic groups of 'support' and 'hardship'. Thus, *Reynolds's* relayed the struggles of the political refugees, and listed subscriptions and benefits on their behalf.

To gain a better insight into the discourses surrounding political refugees within Britain, I conducted an in-depth examination of a phrase, 'right of asylum', which repeatedly accompanied references to political refugees in the concordance lines. The associations of the 'right of asylum' shifted over the century. It shifted from the subject of near-universal praise, a celebrated and sacred tradition, to being depicted as a cause for anxiety and relic of a kinder era of nobler refugees. However, even as they expressed doubts about the politics of political refugees, most newspapers remained capable of supporting their right to continue receiving protection on British soil. Indeed, although the separation of refugees into the 'desirable' and 'undesirable' enabled the criticism of the 'right of asylum', it was not a wholly negative trope. The very existence of the category of 'desirable' refugee allowed for the existence of political refugees who had done nothing to deserve the ire of the state. Though, it is worth noting that the 'desirable refugee' was often presented as the historicised honest rebel and discussed as one would a dying breed. Nonetheless, even in 1898, after a series of anarchist assassinations and explosions, the *Glasgow Herald* was still capable of worrying about a day when Britain would 'regard opinion as a crime'.²³⁶

Chapter 4 found that although the 'alien' had an ambiguous identity, there were many tacit indications that the term was being used to refer to impoverished Jews. This chapter complemented that finding by revealing that the Jews who arrived in Britain in the 1880s and 1890s could be, but were not usually, conceptualised as refugees, despite

²³⁶ *Glasgow Herald*, 26 November 1898.

perhaps warranting the label. I argued that the omission of Jewish refugees from ‘refugee’ reporting, and the legitimacy and support it could engender, stemmed in part from the nature of their arrival, which placed them in a liminal territory between the categories of ‘alien’ and ‘refugee’. However, it should not be forgotten that Jews appear to have been conceptualised as refugees until they began arriving into Britain in large numbers, at which point the newspapers began to frame them in a manner that bears more resemblance to the framing of mass migratory movements. This shift indicates an element of newspaper agency in the reconceptualization of the Jewish refugee as ‘alien’. I contended that this reconceptualization was aided by a lack of regulation, or a legal definition, of refugees in nineteenth-century Britain. It was easy to remove Jews from the ‘refugee’ discourse because they were never firmly associated with it to begin with. In contrast, if they arrived in Britain today, the Jews of the 1880s and 1890s would have applied either for work or family visas, or for asylum, rendering it legally clear to observers whether they were refugees or ‘aliens’.²³⁷ Though, it is worth noting that, even today, newspapers do not always accurately reflect these legal distinctions in their discursive framing.²³⁸

²³⁷ For more details about Britain’s current asylum procedure, see ‘Claiming asylum in the UK’, *gov.uk* <<https://www.gov.uk/claim-asylum>> [accessed 1 May 2019].

²³⁸ See, for instance, B. Anderson and S. Blinder, *Who Counts as a Migrant? Definitions and Their Consequences*, Migration Observatory briefing, COMPAS (University of Oxford: Migration Observatory, 2019) <<https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/who-counts-as-a-migrant-definitions-and-their-consequences/>> [accessed 4 February 2019].

6 Conclusion

6.1 The 1905 Aliens Act

'Section 1. Power to Prevent the landing of undesirable immigrants'

'(1) ...the immigration officer shall withhold leave [to land] in the case of any immigrant who appears to him to be an undesirable immigrant within the meaning of this section.'

'(3) For the purposes of this section an immigrant shall be considered an undesirable immigrant –

(a) if he cannot show that he has in his possession or is in a position to obtain the means of decently supporting himself and his dependents'

'...but, in the case of an immigrant who proves that he is seeking admission to this country solely to avoid prosecution or punishment on religious or political grounds [...] leave to land shall not be refused.'

'The expression "immigrant" in this Act means an alien steerage passenger who is to be landed in the United Kingdom'.¹

This thesis draws to a close on the 31st December 1900, the date printed on the last issues contained within the British Library's nineteenth-century newspaper collection. The decision to allow the newspapers to dictate the parameters of this research was ultimately one of practicality.² However, it resulted in the omission of the event with which most historical work into nineteenth-century migration culminates: the passing of the 1905 Aliens

¹ Great Britain. House of Commons. *An Act to Amend the Law with Regard to Aliens*, Stat. 5 Edw. VII. c. 13, 1905 <<https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Edw7/5/13/contents/enacted>> [accessed 10 May 2019], pp. 1, 3, 4, 8.

² This was for a number of reasons, but primarily the lack of available sources for comparative research. I would first have had to locate regional newspapers outside of the British Library's nineteenth-century newspaper collection, creating discontinuity. I would then have had to convert them into corpus format, creating a number of practical and copyright issues or, alternatively, analysed them in a non-corpus manner which would have limited the ability to draw comparisons with the research contained within this thesis. Finally, once in corpus format, it is unlikely that there would be space for these newspaper corpora in CQPweb, which would have required me to analyse them using another tool which potentially utilised different analytical measures, again making comparison with my research into the British Library's collection difficult. Ultimately it was felt that corpus research into the language immediately preceding the 1905 Aliens Act would best form a discrete study.

Act. Although it remained outside the scope of my analysis, the significance of the Act in the historical literature of migration means that it is inevitable to wonder how the language change identified within this research may have contributed to the Act's passing. This section therefore steps outside of the corpora for a moment to trace the 'alien' debates from 1900 to 1905 and consider the broader consequences of my findings.

After a brief hiatus at the end of the nineteenth century, when the Boer War and Irish Home Rule took centre stage, the 1900 election saw the 'alien' 'question' re-emerge into politics with renewed vigour. Several restrictionist MPs were returned to parliament including, notably, Major William Evans-Gordon.³ Pellew highlights the role of these local leaders in stoking the growing 'antipathy towards [...] newcomers amongst some east-enders'.⁴ Evans-Gordon was also to become the driving force behind the British Brothers' League, a proto-fascist anti-immigration pressure group formed in 1901, which held large rallies in the east-end of London.⁵ In 1902, following this increased pressure, the government allowed another public enquiry into migration, the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration. The Commission ultimately returned a restrictionist majority report and more moderate minority report.⁶ In a moment that was to have long-standing repercussions for Britain's relationship with migration, Balfour's Conservative government did what its predecessors had not: follow the most stringent recommendations of the Commission to introduce the piece of legislation that ultimately became the 1905 Aliens Act. Garrard believes that the government's receptiveness to the findings of the majority report may have stemmed from its increasing 'desperation' in

³ J. Garrard, *The English and Immigration 1880-1910* (London: Published for the Institute of Race Relations by Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 37.

⁴ Pellew, 'The Home Office and the Aliens Act, 1905', *The Historical Journal*, 32.2 (1989), (pp. 369-385), pp. 370, 371.

⁵ A number of historians, including Hayes and Cohen, highlight the formation of the British Brothers' League as one of the major steps towards the government adopting legislation. See, for instance, Debra Hayes, 'From Aliens to Asylum Seekers. A History of Immigration Controls and Welfare in Britain' in Cohen, S., B. Humphries, and E. Mynott, eds., *From Immigration Controls to Welfare Controls* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 39; S. Cohen, 'The Local State of Immigration Controls', *Critical Social Policy*, 22.3 (2002), (pp. 518-543), p. 540.

⁶ Pellew, 'The Home Office and the Aliens Act', p. 371.

the face of a looming election in a year that had been characterised by ‘a series of heavy by-election defeats’.⁷ Ironically, their firmer stance on migration was not enough to save the Conservatives, who suffered a landslide defeat in the 1906 election, leaving their Liberal successors to reluctantly enforce a piece of restrictionist legislation they had long opposed. In her study of the 1905 Act from a civil service perspective, Pellew notes that the Liberals overcame their distaste for the legislation by administering it ‘badly’.⁸

As a result of its lacklustre implementation, the 1905 Aliens Act is widely viewed as a deeply unsuccessful piece of legislation. However, it is also considered to mark a watershed in British attitudes to migration and migration controls. It laid the foundations for subsequent, more restrictive, legislation and, as Glover notes, it ‘permanently changed the country’s political culture’.⁹ In Britain today, migration controls are an accepted part of state apparatus and debates revolve around the form they should take, not whether or not they should exist. In contrast, as Cohen indicates, ‘prior to the campaign culminating in the Aliens Act 1905 [...] it was those advocating [migration] controls who were viewed as being on the political fringe’.¹⁰

As explored in section 1.5.4, it is immensely difficult to establish newspaper influence or impact, not least because of the individualistic nature of reading habits. However, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that this radical redefinition of Britain’s relationship with migration was in some way connected to the fundamental shift in the language of migration that has been documented within this thesis. Although most historians agree that the Act was, at its core, a backlash against Jewish migration from Russia and Eastern Europe, as Cohen argues ‘the fact that it took nearly a quarter of a century for controls to be enacted’ shows

⁷ Garrard, *The English and Immigration*, p. 44.

⁸ Pellew, ‘The Home Office and the Aliens Act, 1905’, p. 379.

⁹ D. Glover, ‘Still Closing the Gates: The Legacy of the 1905 Aliens Act’, *Jewish Quarterly*, 60:1 (2013), pp. 18-27 (p. 19) <<https://doi.org/10.1080/0449010X.2013.787288>>.

¹⁰ Cohen, ‘The Local State’, p. 520

that the act was not an inevitable result of this migratory movement, and ‘that there was a significant ideological battle to be won’.¹¹

To linguists, the power of language in shaping attitudes is all too apparent. Although section 4.5 found that newspapers sometimes include negative discourses to disagree with them, or highlight their inaccuracy, linguists have stressed that readers do not necessarily remember the content of specific newspapers articles, but rather internalise their wider prosodies and associations.¹² As Hoey and others have advocated, we are lexically primed to remember words in relation to the contexts in which we encounter them.¹³ This implies that the newspapers, whether consciously or unconsciously, primed their readers to view migrants in a certain manner, and that readers may then have taken these associations forward into other contexts. We can speculate, therefore, that issue after issue contributed to a wider association between the Irish and violence (see section 3.3.1), refugees within Britain and militant political activity (see Chapter 5) and, fundamentally for debates over the Aliens Act, encouraged a view that the ‘alien’ was not a German butcher or French domestic servant, but rather part of a crowd of threatening and impoverished new arrivals (see Chapter 4).¹⁴ What is more difficult to unravel is whether the newspaper was primarily reactive, its language reflecting a wider souring of attitudes towards migration, or whether the newspaper was more proactive and instrumental in the spread of anti-migrant sentiment, providing a medium for smaller scale grievances to be projected onto an entire population.

Arguably, the tendency of the regional papers to fill their pages with London-centric content did play a role in allowing something that primarily impacted London’s East End to

¹¹ Cohen, ‘The Local State’, p. 520.

¹² C. Gabrielatos and P. Baker, ‘Fleeing, Sneaking, Flooding: A Corpus Analysis of Discursive Constructions of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Press 1996-2005’, *Journal of English Linguistics*, 36:1 (2008), 5-38 (pp. 20-21) <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0075424207311247>>.

¹³ M. Hoey, *Lexical Priming: A New Theory of Words and Language* (London: Routledge, 2005).

¹⁴ In the 1881 census, German nationals in Britain were most commonly categorised as ‘Persons working and dealing in food, tobacco, drink, and lodging’, whilst the top occupational category for French nationals was ‘Persons engaged in domestic offices or services’ – see K. Schurer and E. Higgs, ‘Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM), 1851-1911’, *UK Data Service*.

lead to political change on a national level. Newspapers shape their readers' sense of what is important. 'News' is not a neutral commodity, waiting to be collected. Rather, by featuring content, a newspaper can legitimise it, imbuing it with a sense of 'newsworthiness' or significance, which is not necessarily proportionate to its actual impact. It does seem in this case that, as Lane astutely notes, 'levels of protest were related, not to the real dimensions of immigration, but to imagined ones'.¹⁵ For, whilst migrants formed 32 per cent of the population of Whitechapel by 1900, they only made up around 3 per cent of the population of Manchester and Leeds, the cities with the highest concentration of migrants outside of London.¹⁶ This outward radiation of content from the capital also enabled the widespread circulation of certain linguistic tropes and frames of reference that are still commonplace today, so that areas with little experience of migration could, for instance, read about the 'importation' of 'pauper' 'aliens'. This normalisation of dehumanising language was arguably a necessary precursor to the 1900 election of MPs on anti-migration platforms and to the formation and wider acceptability of groups such as the British Brothers' League.

Indeed, the wording of the Aliens Act (particularly the sections quoted at the beginning of this conclusion) seems redolent of many of the linguistic trends highlighted in this thesis. This indicates that certain ways of conceptualising the 'alien', not present in the newspapers prior to the 1880s, had, by 1905, become commonplace. Specifically, the Act codified the dichotomy between 'desirable' and 'undesirable' migrants and defined 'undesirability' primarily in terms of poverty. It explicitly described the 'immigrant' as an 'alien steerage passenger', insinuating that if you could afford to travel in better accommodation than the hold, you did not deserve to be labelled 'immigrant' or 'alien'. Furthermore, by defining the 'immigrant' as someone 'who is to be landed', the Act (like the newspapers in

¹⁵ A. T. Lane, 'The British and American Labour Movements and the Problem of Immigration, 1890-1814' in *Hosts, Immigrants and Minorities. Historical Responses to Newcomers in British Society, 1870-1914*, ed. by K. Lunn (Folkstone: Dawson, 1980), p. 355.

¹⁶ Lane, 'The British and American Labour Movements', p. 355.

section 4.4.1) portrayed the ‘alien’ as an arrival, dislocated from their wider migratory journey. However, it is worth noting that, like the two main chapters in this thesis, the Act also struggled with the tension between the desire to keep out impoverished ‘aliens’ and the desire to uphold Britain’s traditional role as an ‘asylum’, ultimately enshrining the latter into European law for perhaps the first time. The significance of this, Bashford and McAdam argue, has been crucially overlooked.¹⁷

Over 30 years ago, in his seminal *John Bull’s Island*, Colin Holmes stressed the need for further critical study of the ‘imagery of opposition towards immigration’.¹⁸ Historians have long recognised the role of the newspaper in creating and facilitating the spread of anti-migrant sentiment. However, as discussed in section 1.3, this recognition has almost always taken the form of allusion. Panayi is typical as he euphemistically mentions the ‘press campaign’ that contributed to the passing of the Aliens Act, without stopping to explore the campaign’s nature or dimensions.¹⁹ Therefore, perhaps the most significant way in which this research has contributed to the historical debate is through its sustained focus upon the newspaper medium. In contrast with the suggestions of some migration historians, including Panayi, this research has revealed little evidence of an organised and regimented ‘press campaign’ to vilify migrants. What it has illuminated is a less deliberate, but arguably just as damaging, process by which dehumanising language pervades public discourse and becomes normalised.

In doing so, it has also provided much needed historical context for those studying modern migration, an area where a great deal of work centres around the role of discourse. Ironically, much of the language uncovered during the course of this research would not look

¹⁷ A. Bashford and J. McAdam, ‘The Right to Asylum: Britain’s 1905 Aliens Act and the Evolution of Refugee Law’, *Law and History Review*, 32:2 (2014), pp. 309-350 (p. 311) <<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0738248014000029>>.

¹⁸ C. Holmes, *John Bull’s Island: Immigration and British Society, 1871-1971* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988), p. 306.

¹⁹ P. Panayi, *Immigration, Ethnicity and Racism in Britain, 1815-1945* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 116.

amiss on a present-day newsstand. For example, as highlighted in section 4.4.1, the semantic groups identified within the collocates of the query ‘alien(s)’ overlapped significantly with those found by the RASIM and Migration Observatory projects in newspapers printed between 1996 and 2012.²⁰ Furthermore, the nineteenth-century press adopted many of the same metaphors as present day newspapers. For instance, the water metaphor that associated with ‘alien(s)’ across the newspaper sample (see section 4.4.4.1), is also highlighted by Boke in present-day German newspapers, by Van de Valk in present-day French newspapers, by El Refaie in present-day Austrian newspapers, and by both Charteris-Black and Khosravinik in present-day British newspapers.²¹ Kushner appears to have been correct when he noted the ‘tedious unoriginality of anti-alienists past and present’.²²

As well as contributing to the historical debate, this research has also provided linguists with evidence of just how long-standing many contemporary representations of migrants are, and of the important role historians play in opening up the scope of debates into the language surrounding migration and providing vital contextualisation. As Lucassen laments, there has been little dialogue between social scientists and historians on the subject of migration meaning that ‘only occasionally is historical knowledge explicitly embedded in

²⁰ Gabrielatos and Baker, ‘Fleeing, Sneaking, Flooding’, pp. 10-11; S. Blinder and W. Allen, ‘Constructing Immigrants: Portrayals of Migrant Groups in British National Newspapers, 2010-2012’, *International Migration Review*, 50:1 (2016), pp. 3-40 <<https://doi.org/10.1111/imre.12206>>.

²¹ K. Boke, ‘Die Invasion aus den “Armenhausern Europas” [The Invasion from “Europe’s Poorhouses”]’, in *Die Sprache des Migrationdiskurses: Das Reden über ‘Auslander’ in Medien, Politik and Alltag*, ed. by M. Jung, M. Wengeler and M. Boke (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1997), pp. 164-193, as cited in I. Van de Valk, ‘Right-Wing Parliamentary Discourse on Immigration in France’, *Discourse & Society*, 5:3 (2003), pp. 381-405 (p. 331) <<https://doi.org/10.1177/09579265030143004>>; E. El Refaie, ‘Metaphors We Discriminate by: Naturalized Themes in Austrian Newspaper Articles about Asylum Seekers’, *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 5:3, pp. 352-71 (p. 358) <<https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9481.00154>>; J. Charteris-Black, ‘Britain as a Container: Immigration Metaphors in the 2005 Election Campaign’, *Discourse & Society*, 17:5 (2006), pp. 563-581 (p. 571) <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926506066345>>; M. Khosravinik, ‘The Representation of Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Immigrants in British Newspapers during the Balkan Conflict (1999) and the British General Election (2005)’, *Discourse & Society*, 20:4 (2009), pp. 477-498 (p. 486) <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926509104024>>.

²² T. Kushner, *Remembering Refugees: Then and Now* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), p. 182.

the social-scientific discussion'.²³ My findings provide compelling evidence for the necessity of further research into the continuities and discontinuities between the discourses of migration, past and present.²⁴

The anti-migrant linguistic tropes identified in this thesis likely have a long history that remains to be uncovered. Indeed, earlier in the nineteenth century another group, the Irish, was the target of similar hostility. Both Curtis and de Nie have explicitly explored the rhetoric that surrounded mid-century Irish migration, though both focus much more on the Irish in Ireland than as migrants in Britain.²⁵ Their research reveals that although the Irish were perhaps subject to more overt religious and ethnic negative stereotyping than the later Jewish migrants, both groups faced many similar accusations.²⁶ For instance, de Nie notes that 'Irish migrants were noted for their willingness to work extremely long hours at hard jobs (for little money)' and 'it was often alleged that Irish migrants drove down wages'.²⁷ Nonetheless, as explained in section 1.4, that the Irish were not referred to by the newspapers as 'aliens' resulted in their exclusion from this research. It was arguably this difference in status that meant that the backlash against Jewish migration at the end of the century could result in the Aliens Act, whilst that against Irish migration in the mid-century could not. As Lucassen states, 'because the Irish were not aliens in a technical sense, this free migration could only be curtailed through the poor-relief system, enshrined in the Acts of Settlement'.²⁸ In contrast,

²³ L. Lucassen, *The immigrant threat: the integration of old and new migrants in western Europe since 1850* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005), pp. 16-17.

²⁴ Charlotte Taylor, currently at the University of Sussex, has begun to address this gap with a project examining '(dis)continuity in the representation of migrants in the UK over the last 200 years'. She has recently published an article about the Windrush generation. See C. Taylor, 'Representing the Windrush generation: metaphor in discourses then and now', *Critical Discourse Studies* (2018), pp. 1-21 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/17405904.2018.1554535>>.

²⁵ L. Curtis, *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1971); M. De Nie, *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798-1882* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), 19.

²⁶ For the racial elements of anti-Irish stereotypes, see also M. J. Hickman, *Religion, Class and Identity: the Irish in Britain: The State, the Catholic Church and the Education of the Irish in Britain* (Avebury, 1997).

²⁷ M. de Nie, *The Eternal Paddy*, p. 19.

²⁸ L. Lucassen, *The Immigrant Threat*, p. 32.

‘when aliens were defined as non-nationals, the state and its representatives could then voice fears concerning the financial costs of immigration, which resulted in the various “aliens” acts in the nineteenth century’.²⁹

6.2 A Corpus Linguistic Approach to History

6.2.1 Advantages

As well as examining trends in newspaper reporting upon migrants, this research also set out to assess the advantages and limitations of taking a corpus linguistic approach to historical sources and historical research questions. The widespread digitisation of their source base means that historians now face an overwhelming body of material. This historical ‘big data’ is only going to continue to expand, not just because digitisation features prominently on the agendas of institutions such as archives and libraries, but also because those studying late twentieth, and twenty-first century, history will have to deal with large quantities of ‘born digital’ material as they turn their gaze to the internet age. I proposed a corpus linguistic approach, as I believed that it could potentially assist historians to digest the ever-increasing body of digital text now at their disposal.

I anticipated that, for historians, the main benefits of a corpus approach would be twofold. First, corpus linguistics seemed better able to handle the scale of large digital sources than many of the pre-existing archival interfaces used to access them. Secondly, unlike many of the tools and methods currently used to approach large digital sources, corpus linguistics enables text to be viewed at multiple scales, allowing the historian to shift between the close analysis traditional within their discipline, and the distant reading more typically found within the arsenals of digital humanists. However, little research has been conducted in this area. This thesis therefore makes a major contribution to the field of history by demonstrating how

²⁹ L. Lucassen, *The Immigrant Threat*, p. 104.

the corpus linguistic approach can allow historical sources to be manipulated and explored in exciting new ways, expanding the scope of historical research questions.

This research has shown that corpus linguistics enables historians to begin to better digest the vast amount of evidence at their disposal. At various points, this research allowed me to search for trends within 5.5 billion words of text (the total number of words contained within all six newspaper corpora), many more than it would be possible for a historian to read using traditional methods. Indeed, if the average reading speed is around 200 words a minute, it would take a historian approximately 456,000 hours (or 220 years' worth of 40-hour working weeks) to read all six corpora included in this thesis end to end. Corpus linguistics therefore reduces the need for selectivity, instead allowing the historian to begin their research by examining a trend across the entirety of all historical records at their immediate disposal.

The speed gain of adopting a corpus linguistic approach allows historical trends to be observed at a much greater scale than previously possible. For instance, Shaw found that within the literary category of refugee narratives, the term 'refugee' underwent a 'cultural shift'. Originally describing those who had suffered religious persecution, it was later applied much 'more generally to any persecuted foreigner'.³⁰ Corpus linguistics enabled me to investigate Shaw's conclusion across a much wider array of texts than possible through traditional close reading methods. I was able to track the distribution and changing associations of 'refugee(s)' across 500 years of textual data, following its shifts in meaning through *Early English Books Online (EEBO)*, and then the *British Library 19th Century Newspaper Collection*. The changing associations of 'refugee(s)' were rendered strikingly visible when so much text was compared over such a long sweep of time.

³⁰ C. Shaw, *Britannia's Embrace: Modern Humanitarianism and the Imperial Origins of Refugee Relief* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 2; C. Shaw, 'Recall to Life: Imperial Britain, Foreign Refugees and the Development of Modern Refuge, 1789-1905' (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 2010), p. 1.

Similarly, after correctly highlighting the existence of a connection between ‘alien(s)’ and the language of poverty, the historian Garrard, presumably due to time constraints, shifted his gaze elsewhere. In contrast, this research was able to, amongst other things, track the distribution of poverty collocates. This showed that the significant association between ‘alien(s)’ and the terms ‘pauper’ and ‘destitute’ was first apparent in 1886 and 1887, and seems to have been newsworthy in the larger urban newspapers two years before it appeared in the *Ipswich Journal* and a full five years before it appeared in the *Hampshire Telegraph*. I was then able to look at the linguistic associations of all 51,843 instances of ‘pauper’ and ‘destitute’ across the six newspapers. Prior to my adoption of digital methods, I would not have been able to justify reading that many lines of text simply to satisfy my curiosity about the wider associations of poverty terms, which, although illuminating, were tangential to my main research questions.

However, this large-scale accumulation of evidence is arguably insignificant without the specificity and nuance that can be achieved through the close reading more typical of traditional historical research. Without this, I would probably not have discovered the link between the ‘right of asylum’ and John of Gaunt’s ‘sceptred isle’ in Shakespeare’s *Richard II*; or that those attending a canal excursion cum fundraiser were asked to take a political refugee home for tea, demonstrating that a good meal could sometimes be the best form of solidarity; or that Mr. Pye from the gold beaters guild stood in front of the London Trades Council to tell them he thought that ‘foreigners had just as much right to come here as we had to go to foreign countries’.³¹ Therefore, this research also emphasised the necessity of combining large-scale distant readings of texts with more traditional historical methodologies in order to generate historically meaningful conclusions.

³¹ *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 14 February 1858; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 18 June 1889; *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 1 June 1851; *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 20 December 1891.

This is an area where corpus linguistics excels over many other large-scale digital methods. Corpus linguistics includes the functionality to allow historians to transition, albeit not always seamlessly, between a more traditional close reading approach and a larger-scale distance reading approach. It enabled the examination of individual manifestations of large-scale language trends, and the better contextualisation of specific examples within texts as a whole. Thus, to return to the examples of the previous paragraph, it revealed that although the *Richard II* allusion only occurred in two newspapers, there *was* a statistically significant association between the ‘right of asylum’ and hyperbolic descriptors such as ‘sacred’. It showed that the canal excursion was just one of many such events reported upon by *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, as evidenced by the collocates ‘benefit’ and ‘meeting’. Finally, it enabled Mr. Pye’s statement to be situated within a Radical tradition that bucked the wider hostility to migration more typical of the 1890s.

6.2.2 Challenges

In theory, the process adopted within this thesis is hugely scalable. Trends towards digitisation mean that a large number of historical sources are already available in formats that could be analysed using corpus tools. Even just considering the medium of the newspaper, there exists an immense volume of digital text ripe for corpus analysis. For instance, most major British newspapers, including *The Times*, *Financial Times*, *Economist*, *Daily Mail*, *Daily Mirror*, *Telegraph*, *Guardian*, *Observer*, and a huge number of regional periodicals, exist in a digital format. However, as this thesis demonstrated, practical barriers often exist to prevent the uptake of corpus linguistics on a larger scale. In my case, it was the CQPweb server reaching capacity soon after this project began. Large digital corpora occupy large amounts of space.

Another barrier that may arise is access. The expense of digitisation means that much has been conducted by libraries and archives in collaboration with private partners, who then charge users to access digital text using their interfaces. Indeed, as outlined in section 1.5, this

research could arguably only have taken place as part of a collaborative doctoral partnership with the British Library, which enabled unprecedented access to the raw text contained within their digital newspaper collections. These private and profit-making gatekeepers are not likely to look kindly upon the widespread bypassing of their (paid) interfaces by researchers in favour of (free) corpus linguistic software. However, recent developments in these interfaces, for instance *Gale's* addition of a 'topic finder' tool that examines large-scale trends (explored in section 1.1), do indicate that companies are keeping abreast of trends within the digital humanities. It seems likely, therefore, that if demand for corpus linguistic style research tools grew amongst historians, the guardians of these digital sources may create off the peg tools enabling their texts to be searched in a corpus linguistic-like manner. This suggests that the practicalities of dealing with historical texts may cause historical corpus linguistics research to develop in a fundamentally different direction to traditional corpus linguistics research. Whilst proponents of the latter frequently create their own corpora and tools, historians are likely to be much more reliant upon corpora and tools created by others.

Other issues that arose during this research stemmed from trying to combine two quite idiosyncratic methodologies. Approaching corpus linguistics from a historical background, the decontextualisation and dematerialisation of historical corpora proved to be a major issue. From their first introduction to the discipline, historians are repeatedly reminded of the significance of context. Tim Hitchcock explores how the way in which the historical discipline has evolved places legitimacy in archival research, and privileges contact with primary sources, explaining that 'when we endeavour to convey the essence of our profession to our undergraduate students, we most frequently fall back on an introduction to [original] sources.'³² For instance, John Tosh's textbook *The Pursuit of History*, recommended reading for many first year undergraduates (myself included), equates knowledge of context

³² Tim Hitchcock, 'Digital Searching and the Reformulation of Historical Knowledge' in Mark Greengrass and Lorna Hughes (eds.) *The Virtual Representation of the Past*, 84.

with understanding, stating that ‘the underlying principle of all historical work is that the subject of our enquiry must not be wrenched from its setting’.³³

This privileging of context becomes problematic when the historian is confronted with a corpus. As corpus linguists widely agree, corpora, for all their many uses, inevitably decontextualise text.³⁴ The format of a corpus makes it difficult to establish which page in a paper information originally appeared upon, whether an article was headline news or buried at the back of an issue, and where exactly on a page the article would have been positioned. This means that whilst, as Pumfrey et al. found, it allows historians to ‘pose new types of research questions that could not have been addressed before’, corpus linguistics can also make it difficult for historians to ask some of their usual research questions.³⁵

It also raises questions about the significance of a source's form, and whether the loss of stylistic features inherent in the original medium impacts the way in which the language of the source is experienced. If nothing else, as Mussell argues, ‘the repetition of various visual features, such as layout, the mast head, the look of the page – was an important way through which publications exerted an identity over time’.³⁶ Erasing this stylistic information makes it surprisingly difficult to tell one newspaper from another and their distinct identities blur. The raw text format, for instance, resulted in the loss of the *Pall Mall Gazette*’s minimalist two column format and increasingly innovative use of illustration and bold headlines. Likewise, it masked that, unlike the other titles, the *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Reynolds’s Newspaper* positioned editorial content rather than adverts on the front page, information which

³³ J. Tosh, *The Pursuit of History* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2006), pp. 10, 36.

³⁴ H. G. Widdowson, ‘On the Limitations of Linguistics Applied’, *Applied Linguistics*, 21:1 (2000), pp. 3-25 (p. 7) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/21.1.3>>; P. Baker, *Using Corpora in Discourse Analysis* (London: Continuum, 2006), p. 18. See also M. Leedham, *Chinese Students’ Writing in English: Implications from a Corpus-Driven Study* (MyiLibrary: Routledge, 2015), p. 141.

³⁵ S. Pumfrey, P. Rayson, and J. Mariani, ‘Experiments in 17th Century English: Manual Versus Automatic Conceptual History’, *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 27:4 (2012), pp. 395-408 (p. 395) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/lc/fqs017>>.

³⁶ J. Mussell, *The Nineteenth-Century Press in the Digital Age* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 25.

provided an insight into their editors' priorities and beliefs about their role and the role of the newspaper.

One means of countering this decontextualisation would be the development of multimodal corpora for historical use, specifically corpora that display both raw text and an image of the historical document from which the text is taken, alongside one another. Hypothetically, when users select a concordance line, or click a query match to view more context, as well as displaying the current raw text format, concordancers could also feature an image that shows the concordance line within its original position on the newspaper page. This would not only serve to remind the historian of the visual nature of their source, but also help them to decipher text riddled with OCR errors. Digital methodologies and tools are constantly evolving, and the scope of possibility shifts year by year. It does not seem too much of a stretch to think that multimodal historical corpora will be available in the future.

Until this happens, however, a smaller improvement could see historians working to enrich the context of digital corpora by playing an active role in their annotation and the addition of metadata. Each article in a newspaper corpus could, for instance, be marked-up with the number of the page on which it appeared, and the total number of pages in that issue. This would give a better impression of how migration articles were distributed at different points in time and allow historians to ask whether they were front page news or buried amongst pages of adverts and miscellany. It should be possible to automate this, since the metadata already exists in other editions of the digital newspapers.

6.2.3 Final Thoughts

When I consider my research practice prior to the adoption of corpus linguistics, I realise that it rarely involved archival study. Rather, like many historians, my encounters with historical texts have long been digitally mediated. It is just that, as Mussell points out, 'the

capacity for the digital to simulate elides the dramatic changes printed objects must undergo before they can be represented on screen'.³⁷

Thus, the advent of digital archives has already fundamentally changed the historian's working patterns. Our reading is faster as we can search sources with greater precision and economy. Instead of leafing through a bound volume or scrolling chronologically through micro-film we click from screen to screen, and disparate fragments of a source are dislocated from the whole and condensed into one viewing experience. Therefore, issues such as context and scale are not isolated to historians who adopt a corpus approach but are arguably debates that should be occurring within the historical discipline more widely.

That these debates are not taking place is partially attributable to how historians have traditionally conceptualised digital sources. There is a growing school of thought which condemns the situation whereby digital versions of sources are often treated, and cited, as if a researcher had physically held and leafed through them, effectively dismissing the changes which they have undergone. As Hitchcock states, 'the impact of new technology has been subtly downplayed'.³⁸ A number of historians believe that to counterbalance this elision of original and digital, we need a greater understanding of the 'archaeology' of our digital sources. One proponent of this view is Mak, who states that we need to view the 'digitally-encoded entity as a cultural object'.³⁹ In her academic blog, Werner warns that, 'these books don't magically turn into digital texts, but are processed in a series of steps, each portion of which is worth thinking about in terms of how it shapes the object'.⁴⁰

³⁷ Mussell, *The Nineteenth-Century Press in the Digital Age*, p. 4.

³⁸ T. Hitchcock, 'Confronting the Digital: Or How Academic History Writing Lost the Plot', *Cultural and Social History*, 10:1 (2013), pp. 9-23 (p. 12).

³⁹ B. Mak, 'Archaeology of a Digitization', *Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology*, 65:8 (2014), pp. 1515-26 (p. 26).

⁴⁰ S. Werner, 'Fetishizing Books and Textualizing the Digital', *Wynken de Worde* (2011) <<http://sarahwerner.net/blog/2011/07/fetishizing-books-and-textualizing-the-digital/>> [accessed 10 June 2016].

Arguably, the changes which sources have undergone during digitisation should not only be rendered more transparent, but also celebrated for the opportunities that they provide. As Mussell argues, 'digitization is a radical transformation of material form and so takes place in an economy of loss and gain'.⁴¹ The loss of material information inherent within corpus linguistics must, therefore, be offset against the potential gains of using text in this format. As Tanner, Munoz and Ros stress, despite their flaws, on balance 'text capture' methods such as OCR add 'value to the resource and the user experience'.⁴² Likewise, as I hope this research has demonstrated, the ability to access the *19th Century British Library Newspapers* in corpus form opens up exciting research possibilities and allows the text to be manipulated in ways which would simply not have been possible had it remained in its original format.

This research has shed new light onto nineteenth-century newspaper representations of migrants but has only begun to scratch the surface of the possibilities created by the myriad of technologies, tools, and data now at our disposal. I hope that the work in this thesis will begin to inspire other historians, many of whom already use large digital databases and archives, to consider how the scale of these sources could be better used to their advantage, and how distant reading need not replace their traditional approaches, but could instead complement them. If more historians, from across the discipline, were empowered to consider distant reading as a key part of their regular arsenal, this would likely lead to tools and interfaces that are more intuitive and workable for all. It would also begin to break down the barrier that has been arisen, or at least increase dialogue and mutual understanding, between discretely 'digital' history and the discipline more broadly.

⁴¹ J. Mussell, 'Doing and Making: History as Digital Practice', in *History in the Digital Age*, ed. by T. Weller (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 79-94 (p. 82).

⁴² S. Tanner, T. Muñoz, and P. H. Ros, 'Measuring Mass Text Digitization Quality and Usefulness: Lessons Learned from Assessing the OCR Accuracy of the British Library's 19th Century Online Newspaper Archive', *D-Lib Magazine*, 15:7/8 (2009) <<https://doi.org/10.1045/july2009-munoz>>.

Appendix One

All collocates of 'alien(s)' from each newspaper

NB: This includes *all* collocates, including OCR-errors and grammatical collocates (that were removed during analysis), and collocates that do not relate to migration. Furthermore, the results are as they would appear in CQPweb (which combines upper and lower case versions of words, displaying the most common version).

Pall Mall Gazette

No.	Word	Total no. in whole corpus	Expected collocate frequency	Observed collocate frequency	Log Ratio (filtered)
1	Immigration	1,510	0.09	88	10.02
2	Naturalization	431	0.03	14	9.14
3	immigrant	210	0.01	6	8.95
4	intruders	249	0.02	7	8.92
5	naturalized	625	0.04	13	8.48
6	non-resident	249	0.02	5	8.43
7	pauper	2,802	0.17	43	8.03
8	immigrants	1,051	0.06	16	8.02
9	horde	431	0.03	6	7.89
10	alien	2,096	0.13	28	7.83
11	absentee	472	0.03	5	7.49
12	expel	812	0.05	8	7.39
13	INFLUX	1,154	0.07	10	7.20
14	destitute	5,756	0.34	47	7.11
15	domination	874	0.05	7	7.08
16	expulsion	2,104	0.13	14	6.81
17	undesirable	1,420	0.09	7	6.38
18	religions	1,454	0.09	7	6.34
19	yoke	1,306	0.08	6	6.28
20	ascendency	1,375	0.08	6	6.20
21	avowedly	1,193	0.07	5	6.14
22	importation	2,524	0.15	10	6.06
23	1836	2,106	0.13	8	6.00
24	exclusion	2,963	0.18	10	5.83
25	peoples	2,583	0.15	8	5.71
26	nationalities	1,672	0.10	5	5.66
27	seed	2,956	0.18	7	5.32
28	corporations	2,116	0.13	5	5.31
29	foreigners	6,406	0.38	14	5.20
30	aristocracy	2,813	0.17	6	5.17

31	foreigner	2,873	0.17	6	5.14
32	tongue	5,198	0.31	10	5.02
33	arriving	6,381	0.38	12	4.98
34	status	2,703	0.16	5	4.96
35	race	39,038	2.32	72	4.96
36	landing	3,862	0.23	7	4.93
37	nationality	3,408	0.20	6	4.89
38	Jew	2,873	0.17	5	4.87
39	traditions	4,776	0.28	8	4.82
40	strangers	3,690	0.22	6	4.77
41	shores	5,560	0.33	9	4.77
42	element	9,489	0.57	15	4.73
43	habits	7,674	0.46	12	4.72
44	excluded	3,841	0.23	6	4.72
45	repeal	3,936	0.23	6	4.68
46	midst	6,083	0.36	9	4.64
47	wholly	11,727	0.70	17	4.61
48	racess	16,013	0.95	23	4.60
49	enforced	4,888	0.29	7	4.59
50	Ave	6,291	0.38	9	4.59
51	hostile	8,397	0.50	12	4.59
52	creed	5,634	0.34	8	4.58
53	Suspected	4,945	0.29	7	4.57
54	paupers	3,692	0.22	5	4.51
55	Registration	4,641	0.28	6	4.44
56	citizen	4,854	0.29	6	4.38
57	Jews	6,633	0.40	8	4.34
58	governed	4,228	0.25	5	4.31
59	elements	7,627	0.45	9	4.31
60	preventing	4,242	0.25	5	4.31
61	privileges	6,979	0.42	8	4.27
62	religion	16,577	0.99	19	4.27
63	resident	10,495	0.63	12	4.27
64	utterly	10,563	0.63	12	4.26
65	spirit	37,946	2.26	37	4.04
66	minority	7,460	0.44	7	3.98
67	citizens	8,565	0.51	8	3.97
68	certificates	8,837	0.53	8	3.93
69	born	15,708	0.94	14	3.91
70	Transvaal	10,407	0.62	9	3.86
71	Clause	14,155	0.84	12	3.83
72	holding	14,209	0.85	12	3.83
73	laws	23,411	1.39	19	3.77
74	Grant	27,875	1.66	22	3.73
75	blood	22,527	1.34	17	3.67

76	Church	126,921	7.56	91	3.59
77	origin	9,810	0.58	7	3.58
78	contract	21,372	1.27	15	3.56
79	genius	10,104	0.60	7	3.54
80	ideas	13,283	0.79	9	3.51
81	99	16,254	0.97	11	3.51
82	rule	51,532	3.07	34	3.47
83	population	29,152	1.74	19	3.45
84	language	28,211	1.68	17	3.34
85	subjects	27,026	1.61	16	3.32
86	ports	18,835	1.12	11	3.30
87	legislation	17,528	1.04	9	3.11
88	labour	39,481	2.35	20	3.09
89	an	1,024,951	61.02	519	3.09
90	prevent	26,356	1.57	13	3.05
91	faith	19,674	1.17	9	2.94
92	passing	22,724	1.35	10	2.89
93	law	105,144	6.26	46	2.88
94	Act	124,283	7.40	54	2.87
95	Bill	131,245	7.81	49	2.65
96	native	29,878	1.78	11	2.63
97	entirely	42,188	2.51	14	2.48
98	arrived	62,969	3.75	20	2.42
99	number	137,042	8.16	38	2.22
100	land	124,945	7.44	34	2.19
101	people	156,596	9.32	41	2.14
102	country	196,871	11.72	48	2.03
103	power	94,722	5.64	22	1.96
104	against	212,396	12.64	48	1.93
105	English	169,433	10.09	37	1.88
106	United	97,206	5.79	20	1.79
107	foreign	108,814	6.48	21	1.70
108	under	255,957	15.24	45	1.56
109	Government	261,192	15.55	41	1.40
110	our	341,378	20.32	53	1.38
111	into	311,534	18.55	48	1.37
112	from	1,220,011	72.63	166	1.19
113	who	679,616	40.46	91	1.17
114	being	328,901	19.58	44	1.17
115	not	1,399,270	83.30	152	0.87
116	no	701,595	41.77	76	0.86
117	are	1,405,371	83.66	149	0.83
118	but	1,056,482	62.89	112	0.83
119	as	1,980,022	117.87	209	0.83
120	to	8,663,743	515.77	887	0.78

121	by	2,480,478	147.67	245	0.73
122	is	3,546,860	211.15	322	0.61
123	In	5,726,302	340.90	513	0.59
124	of	13,575,879	808.19	1161	0.52
125	"	3,760,080	223.84	312	0.48
126	That	3,038,758	180.90	247	0.45
127	and	9,362,898	557.39	738	0.41
128	the	22,510,753	1340.10	1628	0.28

Reynolds's Newspaper

No.	Word	Total no. in whole corpus	Expected collocate frequency	Observed collocate frequency	Log Ratio (filtered)
1	IMMIGRATION	559	0.04	54	10.62
2	naturalization	102	0.01	6	9.85
3	absentee	431	0.03	12	8.72
4	ALIENS	523	0.04	11	8.31
5	pauper	2,870	0.20	53	8.12
6	immigrants	400	0.03	7	8.04
7	destitute	2,931	0.20	40	7.67
8	rapacious	532	0.04	5	7.13
9	importation	969	0.07	9	7.11
10	alien	1,441	0.10	13	7.07
11	epileptic	759	0.05	6	6.88
12	Hodgson	687	0.05	5	6.76
13	yoke	955	0.07	6	6.54
14	dynasty	1,296	0.09	7	6.32
15	foreigner	1,814	0.12	7	5.84
16	landowners	1,318	0.09	5	5.81
17	realm	1,438	0.10	5	5.69
18	strangers	2,660	0.18	9	5.65
19	paupers	2,726	0.19	7	5.25
20	Jews	3,202	0.22	7	5.01
21	religion	7,934	0.54	17	4.99
22	landing	2,911	0.20	6	4.93
23	Church	51,558	3.50	100	4.84
24	tithe	2,649	0.18	5	4.80
25	governed	2,722	0.19	5	4.76
26	hostile	3,817	0.26	7	4.76
27	arriving	4,780	0.32	8	4.63
28	aristocracy	8,726	0.59	14	4.57
29	race	15,597	1.06	23	4.45
30	stranger	4,707	0.32	6	4.23
31	rulers	4,036	0.27	5	4.19
32	dealing	5,994	0.41	7	4.11
33	ports	5,227	0.36	6	4.08
34	language	12,104	0.82	13	3.99
35	FITS	5,700	0.39	6	3.96
36	native	12,858	0.87	13	3.90
37	legislation	9,147	0.62	9	3.86
38	landlords	8,782	0.60	8	3.75
39	spirit	19,223	1.30	17	3.71

40	subjects	10,382	0.70	9	3.68
41	laws	17,441	1.18	15	3.67
42	birth	8,603	0.58	7	3.59
43	establishment	9,869	0.67	8	3.58
44	rule	23,742	1.61	17	3.40
45	Ireland	48,330	3.28	34	3.38
46	landlord	13,458	0.91	9	3.30
47	blood	37,767	2.56	24	3.23
48	Bill	102,833	6.97	64	3.20
49	arrived	35,332	2.40	21	3.13
50	an	649,189	44.02	339	2.95
51	Act	75,797	5.14	31	2.59
52	Wales	32,014	2.17	13	2.58
53	foreign	43,151	2.93	17	2.54
54	country	122,503	8.31	41	2.30
55	Irish	50,497	3.42	16	2.23
56	land	63,721	4.32	20	2.21
57	British	51,308	3.48	16	2.20
58	question	82,727	5.61	23	2.04
59	number	81,077	5.50	22	2.00
60	England	85,286	5.78	21	1.86
61	Government	120,316	8.16	28	1.78
62	into	261,790	17.75	44	1.31
63	are	602,781	40.88	90	1.14
64	this	685,088	46.46	87	0.91
65	as	1,140,605	77.35	131	0.76
66	of	7,970,089	540.48	893	0.72
67	by	1,440,796	97.71	149	0.61
68	in	3,563,168	241.63	332	0.46
69	and	5,596,703	379.53	494	0.38

Glasgow Herald

No.	Word	Total no. in whole corpus	Expected collocate frequency	Observed collocate frequency	Log Ratio (filtered)
1	immigra-	88	0.00	11	11.84
2	immigration	2,106	0.08	171	11.14
3	immi-	306	0.01	12	10.03
4	naturalised	484	0.02	18	9.95
5	immigrant	235	0.01	6	9.39
6	PAUPER	5,007	0.20	118	9.27
7	naturalisation	347	0.01	7	9.04
8	immigrants	1,246	0.05	23	8.91
9	destitute	6,760	0.26	113	8.77
10	intruder	504	0.02	8	8.69
11	gration	799	0.03	12	8.61
12	expulsion	2,178	0.09	26	8.27
13	aliens	1,756	0.07	18	8.05
14	migration	1,183	0.05	8	7.45
15	influx	2,805	0.11	17	7.29
16	Restorer	3,189	0.13	17	7.10
17	domination	1,314	0.05	7	7.10
18	alien	5,197	0.20	24	6.89
19	paupers	6,140	0.24	28	6.87
20	placer	1,279	0.05	5	6.65
21	foreigner	3,351	0.13	13	6.64
22	yoke	2,464	0.10	8	6.38
23	despotic	1,624	0.06	5	6.31
24	prohibiting	2,400	0.09	7	6.23
25	exclusion	4,391	0.17	12	6.13
26	importation	6,952	0.27	18	6.05
27	aristocracy	2,991	0.12	7	5.91
28	exclude	5,017	0.20	11	5.81
29	ANARCHISTS	2,345	0.09	5	5.77
30	prohibit	2,882	0.11	6	5.74
31	chargeable	3,320	0.13	6	5.54
32	restriction	6,475	0.25	11	5.45
33	regulate	5,601	0.22	9	5.37
34	tongue	6,426	0.25	10	5.32
35	utterly	16,245	0.64	25	5.30
36	corporations	4,172	0.16	6	5.20
37	creed	8,426	0.33	12	5.19
38	hostile	12,012	0.47	16	5.09
39	traditions	6,097	0.24	8	5.07

40	foreigners	9,355	0.37	12	5.04
41	stranger	7,946	0.31	10	5.01
42	landing	16,082	0.63	20	4.99
43	acquiring	5,925	0.23	7	4.92
44	rulers	6,959	0.27	8	4.88
45	strangers	9,641	0.38	11	4.87
46	religion	26,769	1.05	30	4.84
47	Kit-	8,205	0.32	9	4.81
48	genius	11,871	0.46	13	4.81
49	Jews	7,520	0.29	8	4.77
50	shores	17,514	0.68	18	4.72
51	prohibition	4,877	0.19	5	4.72
52	tyranny	4,939	0.19	5	4.70
53	seamen	13,644	0.53	13	4.61
54	enemies	9,512	0.37	9	4.60
55	ZANZIBAR	7,505	0.29	7	4.58
56	acquisition	5,464	0.21	5	4.55
57	Burke	5,597	0.22	5	4.52
58	invasion	6,952	0.27	6	4.47
59	races	28,239	1.10	24	4.45
60	habits	18,580	0.73	15	4.37
61	restrictions	7,433	0.29	6	4.37
62	laws	47,236	1.85	37	4.33
63	element	15,211	0.59	11	4.21
64	wholly	23,734	0.93	17	4.20
65	resident	27,029	1.06	18	4.09
66	race	106,970	4.18	71	4.09
67	Rae	33,071	1.29	21	4.02
68	elements	11,282	0.44	7	3.99
69	ideas	18,605	0.73	11	3.92
70	born	26,798	1.05	15	3.84
71	legislation	36,012	1.41	20	3.83
72	females	13,011	0.51	7	3.79
73	certificates	20,858	0.82	11	3.76
74	removal	29,824	1.17	15	3.69
75	labour	93,905	3.67	47	3.68
76	dealing	36,649	1.43	18	3.65
77	countries	39,389	1.54	19	3.63
78	law	234,736	9.17	113	3.62
79	visible	14,562	0.57	7	3.62
80	imposed	18,829	0.74	9	3.61
81	population	60,100	2.35	27	3.52
82	language	38,229	1.49	17	3.51
83	blood	43,137	1.69	19	3.50
84	altogether	61,407	2.40	27	3.49

85	Hair	59,806	2.34	26	3.48
86	rights	53,054	2.07	23	3.47
87	introduction	20,984	0.82	9	3.46
88	arriving	21,125	0.83	9	3.45
89	Republic	21,384	0.84	9	3.43
90	spirit	142,829	5.58	58	3.38
91	rule	103,740	4.05	42	3.37
92	contract	54,700	2.14	22	3.37
93	feelings	22,813	0.89	9	3.34
94	Gray	51,904	2.03	20	3.30
95	relating	24,674	0.96	9	3.22
96	regarded	50,813	1.99	17	3.10
97	prevent	60,332	2.36	20	3.09
98	Act	375,479	14.67	122	3.06
99	word	65,479	2.56	21	3.04
100	CHURCH	419,500	16.39	128	2.97
101	treated	45,604	1.78	13	2.87
102	native	57,375	2.24	15	2.74
103	power	221,818	8.66	57	2.72
104	World	136,702	5.34	35	2.71
105	Quebec	55,155	2.15	14	2.70
106	Bill	479,315	18.72	121	2.69
107	become	91,889	3.59	22	2.62
108	introduced	54,766	2.14	13	2.60
109	largely	52,243	2.04	12	2.56
110	an	3,128,730	122.21	695	2.51
111	entirely	93,775	3.66	20	2.45
112	soil	66,270	2.59	14	2.44
113	coming	72,986	2.85	15	2.40
114	Ireland	222,306	8.68	45	2.37
115	subject	222,840	8.70	44	2.34
116	Wales	88,415	3.45	17	2.30
117	country	510,131	19.93	90	2.18
118	people	324,857	12.69	57	2.17
119	Mrs	183,511	7.17	32	2.16
120	Grant	95,710	3.74	16	2.10
121	British	360,020	14.06	59	2.07
122	United	228,157	8.91	36	2.01
123	tion	338,900	13.24	52	1.97
124	Bridge	145,192	5.67	22	1.96
125	hold	120,462	4.71	18	1.94
126	Government	443,395	17.32	63	1.86
127	States	244,155	9.54	34	1.83
128	because	166,985	6.52	23	1.82
129	number	368,048	14.38	50	1.80

130	regard	177,294	6.93	24	1.79
131	AGAINST	454,096	17.74	61	1.78
132	land	388,527	15.18	52	1.78
133	question	349,159	13.64	46	1.75
134	into	732,538	28.61	93	1.70
135	whom	190,029	7.42	24	1.69
136	foreign	245,756	9.60	31	1.69
137	who	1,578,448	61.65	177	1.52
138	upon	742,572	29.01	77	1.41
139	under	686,974	26.83	70	1.38
140	such	666,518	26.03	63	1.28
141	A.	1,110,658	43.38	100	1.21
142	our	841,471	32.87	75	1.19
143	those	559,076	21.84	49	1.17
144	any	1,194,916	46.67	104	1.16
145	S.	731,897	28.59	61	1.09
146	not	3,259,162	127.30	235	0.88
147	Mr	2,484,489	97.04	179	0.88
148	so	1,774,058	69.29	127	0.87
149	as	5,423,088	211.82	384	0.86
150	's	5,263,053	205.57	352	0.78
151	are	3,121,681	121.93	208	0.77
152	they	2,413,494	94.27	160	0.76
153	to	28,214,301	1102.04	1835	0.74
154	"	10,302,911	402.43	658	0.71
155	were	2,806,821	109.63	177	0.69
156	that	7,864,664	307.19	486	0.66
157	their	2,139,549	83.57	132	0.66
158	but	2,193,360	85.67	132	0.62
159	which	3,461,768	135.22	207	0.61
160	By	6,825,168	266.59	403	0.60
161	was	6,454,001	252.09	381	0.60
162	of	37,467,116	1463.45	2152	0.56
163	or	5,114,421	199.77	281	0.49
164	the	59,612,885	2328.45	3017	0.37
165	in	17,195,862	671.66	865	0.37
166	is	8,603,384	336.04	427	0.35
167	and	27,657,836	1080.30	1326	0.30

Liverpool Mercury (early period) (1811-1840)

No.	Word	Total no. in whole corpus	Expected collocate frequency	Observed collocate frequency	Log Ratio (filtered)
1	religion	3,193	0.16	8	5.66
2	language	3,273	0.16	7	5.43
3	native	2,665	0.13	5	5.24
4	passing	3,425	0.17	5	4.88
5	Acts	4,624	0.23	6	4.71
6	Bill	28,097	1.39	36	4.69
7	Act	22,132	1.10	23	4.39
8	considered	6,125	0.30	5	4.04
9	country	31,101	1.54	11	2.83
10	an	202,789	10.06	59	2.55
11	"	388,014	19.25	41	1.09

Liverpool Mercury (mid period) (1841-1870)

No.	Word	Total no. in whole corpus	Expected collocate frequency	Observed collocate frequency	Log Ratio (filtered)
1	Warwick-lane	80	0.00	7	11.29
2	absentee	224	0.01	9	10.09
3	dependency	262	0.01	6	9.25
4	aliens	408	0.02	7	8.83
5	Restorer	1,139	0.04	11	7.99
6	situ-	810	0.03	5	7.34
7	alien	1,979	0.08	11	7.18
8	rulers	1,965	0.08	8	6.73
9	bayonets	1,303	0.05	5	6.65
10	aristocracy	2,111	0.08	8	6.63
11	Rae	9,845	0.38	29	6.26
12	hostile	4,385	0.17	12	6.16
13	Quebec	17,261	0.66	38	5.84
14	enemies	3,984	0.15	8	5.71
15	auctioneers	5,184	0.20	9	5.50
16	interference	5,668	0.22	8	5.20
17	Jonathan	3,753	0.14	5	5.12
18	removal	16,425	0.63	21	5.06
19	religion	13,250	0.51	15	4.88
20	citizens	6,217	0.24	7	4.87
21	races	6,838	0.26	7	4.74
22	Allan	5,521	0.21	5	4.56
23	wholly	7,097	0.27	6	4.46
24	imposed	5,944	0.23	5	4.45
25	language	15,569	0.60	13	4.44
26	race	19,554	0.75	16	4.41
27	rule	17,839	0.69	12	4.13
28	blood	26,280	1.01	17	4.07
29	registered	12,592	0.48	8	4.05
30	feelings	12,792	0.49	8	4.03
31	Allen	10,353	0.40	6	3.92
32	Andrew	10,734	0.41	6	3.86
33	subjects	16,109	0.62	9	3.86
34	church	133,753	5.14	63	3.62
35	Hair	31,527	1.21	14	3.53
36	treated	20,308	0.78	8	3.36
37	BILL	139,026	5.34	54	3.34
38	laws	23,485	0.90	8	3.15
39	Ireland	60,460	2.32	20	3.11

40	establishment	43,392	1.67	12	2.85
41	Irish	55,950	2.15	13	2.60
42	Act	123,245	4.74	27	2.51
43	Co.	229,136	8.81	47	2.42
44	an	1,403,007	53.93	278	2.37
45	law	87,549	3.37	16	2.25
46	Mrs.	114,546	4.40	19	2.11
47	power	91,235	3.51	15	2.10
48	Co	187,009	7.19	27	1.91
49	against	160,962	6.19	22	1.83
50	own	139,294	5.35	19	1.83
51	J.	454,612	17.48	60	1.78
52	late	191,071	7.35	24	1.71
53	as	1,802,049	69.27	139	1.01
54	they	918,678	35.31	68	0.95
55	Mr.	1,672,499	64.29	116	0.85
56	;	4,704,270	180.83	284	0.65
57	in	6,622,785	254.57	364	0.52
58	to	10,501,698	403.67	577	0.52
59	And	11,393,633	437.96	613	0.49
60	of	15,032,346	577.83	697	0.27
61	,	56,625,188	2176.60	2421	0.15

Liverpool Mercury (late period) (1871-1900)

No.	Word	Total no. in whole corpus	Expected collocate frequency	Observed collocate frequency	Log Ratio (filtered)
1	IMMIGRATION	1,075	0.03	102	11.70
2	gration	267	0.01	9	10.11
3	immigrants	591	0.02	17	9.88
4	naturalised	240	0.01	5	9.40
5	pauper	3,207	0.10	60	9.24
6	destitute	4,098	0.13	74	9.19
7	Eives	515	0.02	8	8.97
8	Elves	1,770	0.06	26	8.89
9	Cannon-	661	0.02	8	8.60
10	RESTORER.	623	0.02	6	8.27
11	Expulsion	1,178	0.04	11	8.23
12	alien	3,087	0.10	25	8.02
13	aliens	900	0.03	5	7.47
14	1848	1,616	0.05	8	7.30
15	Restorer	3,661	0.12	16	7.12
16	Cburch	1,182	0.04	5	7.08
17	kit-	3,740	0.12	15	7.00
18	exclusion	2,117	0.07	8	6.91
19	restriction	2,422	0.08	9	6.89
20	influx	1,932	0.06	7	6.85
21	extraction	1,386	0.04	5	6.85
22	Cannon-street	2,176	0.07	7	6.68
23	aLord	1,887	0.06	5	6.40
24	Beresford	3,423	0.11	9	6.39
25	importation	3,392	0.11	8	6.23
26	sympathies	2,746	0.09	6	6.12
27	EMIGRATION	5,099	0.16	11	6.10
28	foreigners	4,974	0.16	10	6.00
29	paupers	3,687	0.12	7	5.92
30	Claimant	2,987	0.09	5	5.74
31	tribes	3,921	0.12	5	5.34
32	abolished	3,961	0.13	5	5.33
33	pilots	7,762	0.24	9	5.21
34	hostile	5,434	0.17	6	5.13
35	utterly	8,190	0.26	9	5.13
36	Jews	4,628	0.15	5	5.10
37	granting	5,631	0.18	6	5.08
38	certificates	11,296	0.36	12	5.08
39	Irishmen	4,946	0.16	5	5.01

40	religion	14,577	0.46	14	4.93
41	disestablishment	5,578	0.18	5	4.83
42	wholly	8,139	0.26	7	4.77
43	Church	229,091	7.21	196	4.77
44	landing	15,553	0.49	13	4.73
45	99	38,606	1.22	30	4.63
46	feelings	9,024	0.28	7	4.62
47	arriving	9,652	0.30	7	4.53
48	racess	12,630	0.40	9	4.50
49	rae	24,329	0.77	17	4.47
50	bishops	8,805	0.28	6	4.44
51	imposed	10,946	0.35	7	4.35
52	introduction	9,391	0.30	6	4.34
53	laws	24,595	0.77	15	4.28
54	race	57,435	1.81	33	4.19
55	Allen	16,462	0.52	9	4.12
56	regarded	25,896	0.82	14	4.10
57	Quebec	24,221	0.76	13	4.09
58	Hair	56,807	1.79	30	4.07
59	born	17,875	0.56	9	4.00
60	birth	14,199	0.45	7	3.97
61	seamen	12,193	0.38	6	3.97
62	Establishment	28,273	0.89	13	3.87
63	S9	15,356	0.48	7	3.86
64	dealing	20,016	0.63	9	3.84
65	institution	40,008	1.26	16	3.67
66	-Mrs	18,180	0.57	7	3.61
67	clause	26,420	0.83	10	3.59
68	World	80,304	2.53	30	3.57
69	resident	22,244	0.70	8	3.52
70	Wales	140,518	4.42	43	3.28
71	Contract	26,160	0.82	8	3.28
72	Act	179,473	5.65	54	3.26
73	Ireland	113,899	3.59	33	3.20
74	rule	52,113	1.64	15	3.19
75	population	31,629	1.00	9	3.18
76	foreign	145,733	4.59	39	3.09
77	King	73,262	2.31	18	2.97
78	number	220,025	6.93	51	2.88
79	Mrs.	209,129	6.58	48	2.87
80	spirit	106,356	3.35	24	2.84
81	law	144,471	4.55	32	2.82
82	question	171,334	5.39	34	2.66
83	regard	86,644	2.73	17	2.64
84	61	118,963	3.75	22	2.56

85	an	2,589,988	81.53	478	2.55
86	country	236,147	7.43	42	2.50
87	power	111,609	3.51	19	2.44
88	Bill	223,445	7.03	36	2.36
89	British	164,902	5.19	24	2.21
90	Irish	123,755	3.90	18	2.21
91	people	180,663	5.69	25	2.14
92	come	124,823	3.93	17	2.11
93	into	411,545	12.95	52	2.01
94	States	137,034	4.31	17	1.98
95	against	259,233	8.16	32	1.97
96	Government	243,140	7.65	28	1.87
97	London	701,613	22.09	79	1.84
98	who	1,043,700	32.85	117	1.83
99	George	202,557	6.38	22	1.79
100	A.	918,078	28.90	96	1.73
101	these	360,569	11.35	37	1.71
102	under	427,398	13.45	43	1.68
103	S.	708,041	22.29	71	1.67
104	those	291,426	9.17	28	1.61
105	upon	482,809	15.20	42	1.47
106	our	381,734	12.02	33	1.46
107	were	1,543,073	48.57	126	1.38
108	was	3,826,501	120.45	267	1.15
109	they	1,218,356	38.35	82	1.10
110	not	1,815,213	57.14	121	1.08
111	as	3,234,619	101.82	215	1.08
112	Mr.	2,244,548	70.65	148	1.07
113	that	3,920,298	123.40	257	1.06
114	's	3,680,873	115.86	232	1.00
115	are	1,636,951	51.53	102	0.99
116	this	1,627,739	51.24	94	0.88
117	which	1,753,946	55.21	101	0.87
118	of	21,177,906	666.62	1211	0.86
119	it	3,398,224	106.97	184	0.78
120	he	2,919,741	91.91	156	0.76
121	to	17,991,568	566.33	937	0.73
122	is	4,098,718	129.02	213	0.72
123	in	11,253,269	354.22	543	0.62
124	the	34,717,670	1092.82	1585	0.54
125	and	20,969,690	660.07	851	0.37

Ipswich Journal

No.	Word	Total no. in whole corpus	Expected collocate frequency	Observed collocate frequency	Log Ratio (filtered)
1	immigration	268	0.01	20	11.21
2	immigrants	154	0.01	6	10.21
3	aliens	287	0.01	8	9.71
4	Alien	1,161	0.04	10	7.99
5	destitute	2,718	0.09	17	7.53
6	Pauper	4,041	0.14	18	7.03
7	foreigners	2,325	0.08	5	5.98
8	hostile	3,033	0.10	5	5.60
9	racess	8,961	0.31	7	4.52
10	religion	9,618	0.33	7	4.42
11	population	17,478	0.60	8	3.75
12	Bill	127,879	4.37	50	3.52
13	word	24,073	0.82	9	3.45
14	race	29,676	1.01	11	3.44
15	Wales	28,002	0.96	10	3.39
16	reading	26,212	0.90	9	3.33
17	Hair	28,210	0.96	9	3.23
18	blood	35,333	1.21	11	3.19
19	spirit	29,603	1.01	9	3.16
20	Ireland	44,692	1.53	11	2.85
21	Church	177,201	6.05	38	2.65
22	Act	128,305	4.38	27	2.62
23	An	811,178	27.69	152	2.46
24	en	71,499	2.44	12	2.30
25	tire	135,889	4.64	18	1.96
26	"	2,141,477	73.10	154	1.08
27	Mr.	2,033,026	69.40	119	0.78

Hampshire Telegraph

No.	Word	Total no. in whole corpus	Expected collocate frequency	Observed collocate frequency	Log Ratio (filtered)
1	Priories	11	0.00	5	14.16
2	immigration	221	0.01	7	9.49
3	IMMIGRANTS	206	0.01	6	9.36
4	Charitable	3,584	0.16	26	7.33
5	pauper	2,518	0.12	11	6.59
6	Alien	2,028	0.09	6	6.03
7	destitute	2,573	0.12	7	5.90
8	Restorer	2,342	0.11	5	5.55
9	Feast	2,452	0.11	5	5.49
10	ation	4,424	0.20	6	4.90
11	anniversary	5,310	0.24	5	4.37
12	stranger	5,733	0.26	5	4.26
13	race	24,392	1.11	17	3.94
14	MIrs	14,421	0.66	10	3.93
15	Bill	110,956	5.06	70	3.79
16	Airs	17,500	0.80	11	3.79
17	Clause	12,984	0.59	7	3.57
18	Sirs	15,212	0.69	8	3.53
19	SOCIETY	92,143	4.20	45	3.42
20	celebrated	27,729	1.26	13	3.36
21	law	61,039	2.78	18	2.69
22	act	119,616	5.45	31	2.51
23	Mir	60,050	2.74	14	2.36
24	Church	118,513	5.40	24	2.15
25	Miss	184,485	8.41	36	2.10
26	Mrs.	377,511	17.21	64	1.90
27	G.	188,240	8.58	30	1.81
28	held	150,424	6.86	23	1.75
29	an	1,019,181	46.45	151	1.70
30	S.	220,482	10.05	32	1.67
31	H.	237,092	10.81	32	1.57
32	Tire	281,139	12.81	35	1.45
33	J.	387,170	17.65	48	1.44
34	lie	502,181	22.89	53	1.21
35	Mr.	1,364,355	62.19	125	1.01
36	,	45,830,715	2088.94	2449	0.23

Appendix Two

All collocates of 'refugee(s)' from each newspaper

NB: This includes *all* collocates, including OCR-errors and grammatical collocates (that were removed during analysis), and collocates that do not relate to migration.

Pall Mall Gazette

No.	Word	Total no. in whole corpus	Expected collocate frequency	Observed collocate frequency	Log Ratio (filtered)
1	Candiotte	25	0.00	7	12.98
2	repatriation	51	0.00	8	11.92
3	Herzegovinian	117	0.01	15	11.58
4	Thessalian	104	0.01	5	10.04
5	Communist	631	0.03	20	9.41
6	Huguenot	529	0.03	14	9.14
7	Bosnian	384	0.02	9	8.96
8	Cuban	2,047	0.10	46	8.90
9	Polish	4,374	0.21	87	8.72
10	CRETAN	1,371	0.07	26	8.65
11	Mussulman	1,372	0.07	24	8.53
12	Hanoverian	428	0.02	6	8.21
13	Armenian	2,558	0.12	30	7.95
14	Candia	588	0.03	5	7.48
15	passports	618	0.03	5	7.41
16	influx	1,154	0.06	9	7.35
17	Jewish	3,911	0.19	27	7.18
18	Roumelia	1,919	0.09	13	7.15
19	DURBAN	1,779	0.09	12	7.14
20	Nihilist	775	0.04	5	7.08
21	Herzegovina	1,767	0.09	11	7.03
22	expel	812	0.04	5	7.01
23	extradition	2,178	0.11	13	6.97
24	expulsion	2,104	0.10	12	6.90
25	Thessaly	1,093	0.05	6	6.84
26	Bulgarian	5,617	0.27	28	6.70
27	refugees	1,869	0.09	9	6.65
28	insurgent	1,679	0.08	8	6.64
29	expelled	2,135	0.10	9	6.46
30	Mahommedan	1,672	0.08	7	6.45
31	Berber	1,439	0.07	6	6.45
32	distressed	1,969	0.10	8	6.41

33	fled	3,429	0.17	13	6.31
34	Bosnia	2,668	0.13	10	6.29
35	Montenegro	2,410	0.12	9	6.29
36	JOHANNESBURG	2,180	0.11	8	6.26
37	batch	2,020	0.10	7	6.18
38	surrender	8,525	0.41	26	5.99
39	Zululand	1,748	0.08	5	5.90
40	arriving	6,381	0.31	18	5.88
41	TRANSVAAL	10,407	0.50	29	5.86
42	asylum	5,797	0.28	16	5.85
43	shelter	4,397	0.21	12	5.83
44	Wednesday.	2,592	0.13	7	5.82
45	Servian	3,514	0.17	9	5.74
46	Legation	2,789	0.13	7	5.71
47	Carlist	2,796	0.13	7	5.71
48	DESTITUTE	5,756	0.28	14	5.67
49	-Reuter	3,025	0.15	7	5.59
50	criminals	3,593	0.17	8	5.54
51	sufferings	2,709	0.13	6	5.53
52	homes	9,605	0.46	21	5.51
53	homeless	2,337	0.11	5	5.48
54	Benevolent	3,769	0.18	7	5.28
55	SWITZERLAND	7,047	0.34	13	5.27
56	Crete	3,312	0.16	6	5.24
57	Khartoum	4,126	0.20	7	5.14
58	surrendered	3,036	0.15	5	5.10
59	Rand	7,433	0.36	12	5.07
60	political	78,173	3.76	126	5.07
61	Hungarian	9,095	0.44	14	5.00
62	Geneva	4,396	0.21	6	4.83
63	Commune	3,689	0.18	5	4.82
64	residing	5,227	0.25	7	4.80
65	seeking	5,076	0.24	6	4.62
66	relief	31,333	1.51	37	4.62
67	Socialist	4,433	0.21	5	4.55
68	Natal	11,872	0.57	13	4.51
69	villages	6,517	0.31	7	4.48
70	slave	5,597	0.27	6	4.48
71	Jews	6,633	0.32	7	4.46
72	RETURNING	14,553	0.70	15	4.42
73	Boer	6,026	0.29	6	4.37
74	Constantinople	18,334	0.88	18	4.35
75	churches	11,335	0.55	11	4.34
76	transport	6,351	0.31	6	4.30
77	Protestant	9,541	0.46	9	4.30

78	demanded	9,771	0.47	9	4.26
79	Parisian	5,436	0.26	5	4.26
80	crowded	10,914	0.53	10	4.25
81	Bulgaria	7,665	0.37	7	4.25
82	Servia	5,500	0.26	5	4.24
83	hundreds	9,079	0.44	8	4.20
84	convey	5,722	0.28	5	4.19
85	territory	15,133	0.73	13	4.16
86	Fund	37,547	1.81	32	4.15
87	Greece	12,002	0.58	10	4.12
88	DRIVEN	12,093	0.58	10	4.11
89	sought	9,677	0.47	8	4.11
90	wounded	15,984	0.77	13	4.08
91	arrive	12,447	0.60	10	4.06
92	arrived	62,969	3.03	48	3.99
93	BELGIUM	9,440	0.45	7	3.95
94	Russian	64,172	3.08	47	3.93
95	arrest	9,788	0.47	7	3.90
96	distress	9,942	0.48	7	3.87
97	arrested	14,412	0.69	10	3.85
98	Turkish	37,591	1.81	26	3.85
99	Thousands	17,390	0.84	12	3.85
100	numbers	21,961	1.06	15	3.83
101	Frontier	17,569	0.85	12	3.83
102	return	77,771	3.74	49	3.71
103	arrival	17,882	0.86	11	3.68
104	COLONY	17,938	0.86	11	3.67
105	ESCAPED	9,982	0.48	6	3.65
106	thousand	31,606	1.52	18	3.57
107	Cape	30,422	1.46	17	3.54
108	Christian	23,573	1.13	13	3.52
109	unfortunate	12,875	0.62	7	3.50
110	Spanish	33,442	1.61	17	3.40
111	Austrian	20,397	0.98	10	3.35
112	GREEK	22,758	1.09	11	3.33
113	number	137,042	6.59	66	3.33
114	French	143,677	6.91	69	3.32
115	whom	74,771	3.59	35	3.28
116	fromn	20,207	0.97	9	3.21
117	hundred	42,698	2.05	19	3.21
118	among	111,308	5.35	48	3.17
119	soldiers	23,628	1.14	10	3.14
120	granted	24,414	1.17	10	3.09
121	continue	25,067	1.21	10	3.05
122	behalf	22,691	1.09	9	3.05

123	here	125,732	6.04	40	2.73
124	women	46,197	2.22	14	2.66
125	who	679,616	32.67	193	2.56
126	condition	51,261	2.46	14	2.51
127	states	115,084	5.53	31	2.49
128	Italian	52,016	2.50	14	2.49
129	TELEGRAM	46,719	2.25	12	2.42
130	British	140,372	6.75	36	2.42
131	allowed	46,949	2.26	12	2.41
132	from	1,220,011	58.64	310	2.40
133	board	95,882	4.61	24	2.38
134	PARIS	133,352	6.41	31	2.27
135	town	78,561	3.78	18	2.25
136	France	105,693	5.08	24	2.24
137	Committee	89,947	4.32	18	2.06
138	back	75,187	3.61	15	2.05
139	many	198,168	9.53	36	1.92
140	some	389,142	18.70	66	1.82
141	these	312,768	15.03	49	1.71
142	question	150,495	7.23	22	1.61
143	have	1,290,993	62.05	180	1.54
144	were	697,964	33.55	86	1.36
145	are	1,405,371	67.55	173	1.36
146	other	430,434	20.69	45	1.12
147	the	22,510,753	1081.98	2096	0.95
148	been	1,012,162	48.65	94	0.95
149	had	813,875	39.12	72	0.88
150	with	1,699,672	81.70	142	0.80
151	in	5,726,302	275.24	471	0.78
152	has	1,219,337	58.61	96	0.71
153	to	8,663,743	416.42	678	0.70
154	of	13,575,879	652.53	1010	0.63
155	that	3,038,758	146.06	225	0.62

Reynolds's Newspaper

No.	Word	Total no. in whole corpus	Expected collocate frequency	Observed collocate frequency	Log Ratio (filtered)
1	Hungarian	1,367	0.08	78	10.00
2	Polish	2,609	0.15	113	9.58
3	garian	172	0.01	6	9.26
4	Communist	252	0.02	6	8.69
5	expulsion	1,024	0.06	24	8.67
6	Armenian	382	0.02	6	8.08
7	expel	657	0.04	8	7.70
8	extradition	787	0.05	7	7.25
9	located	691	0.04	6	7.21
10	expelled	1,366	0.08	8	6.64
11	Kossuth	888	0.05	5	6.58
12	hospitality	1,267	0.08	7	6.55
13	asylum	4,720	0.28	25	6.49
14	Jersey	3,249	0.19	17	6.48
15	Commune	1,162	0.07	6	6.46
16	Alexandria	1,913	0.11	9	6.32
17	Geneva	1,150	0.07	5	6.21
18	Italian	10,489	0.62	41	6.05
19	political	36,980	2.19	134	5.94
20	distressed	1,689	0.10	6	5.91
21	tical	1,692	0.10	6	5.91
22	resident	4,015	0.24	10	5.40
23	Bernard	2,134	0.13	5	5.31
24	Switzerland	2,151	0.13	5	5.30
25	shores	2,277	0.14	5	5.22
26	Austrian	5,973	0.35	13	5.21
27	shelter	3,503	0.21	7	5.08
28	Republican	5,772	0.34	10	4.88
29	French	53,781	3.18	92	4.86
30	Democratic	8,249	0.49	14	4.85
31	brave	5,643	0.33	9	4.76
32	afforded	5,292	0.31	8	4.68
33	foreign	43,151	2.55	59	4.53
34	Russian	16,583	0.98	22	4.49
35	Turkish	7,650	0.45	10	4.47
36	surrender	3,881	0.23	5	4.45
37	suspected	4,128	0.24	5	4.36
38	correspondence	4,293	0.25	5	4.30
39	movements	4,441	0.26	5	4.25

40	GERMAN	18,811	1.11	21	4.24
41	Constantinople	4,530	0.27	5	4.22
42	arrive	5,791	0.34	6	4.13
43	residing	13,641	0.81	14	4.12
44	territory	4,901	0.29	5	4.11
45	FUND	13,775	0.81	14	4.11
46	Spanish	7,925	0.47	8	4.10
47	respecting	9,583	0.57	9	3.99
48	Turkey	7,971	0.47	7	3.89
49	Egypt	8,124	0.48	7	3.87
50	arrived	35,332	2.09	26	3.64
51	sympathy	10,932	0.65	8	3.63
52	nations	9,842	0.58	7	3.59
53	unfortunate	11,878	0.70	8	3.51
54	England	85,286	5.04	54	3.42
55	numbers	15,806	0.93	10	3.42
56	behalf	20,868	1.23	13	3.40
57	Paris	36,189	2.14	22	3.36
58	numerous	14,389	0.85	8	3.23
59	benefit	21,737	1.29	12	3.22
60	among	40,435	2.39	21	3.14
61	relief	20,131	1.19	9	2.92
62	country	122,503	7.24	52	2.85
63	here	61,313	3.62	26	2.84
64	number	81,077	4.79	29	2.60
65	named	57,130	3.38	19	2.49
66	France	36,475	2.16	12	2.48
67	certain	49,904	2.95	16	2.44
68	board	57,821	3.42	18	2.40
69	meeting	66,491	3.93	19	2.27
70	whom	62,684	3.71	16	2.11
71	Several	81,211	4.80	20	2.06
72	many	110,478	6.53	27	2.05
73	London	242,177	14.32	59	2.04
74	who	565,582	33.43	131	1.97
75	against	137,314	8.12	29	1.84
76	present	129,107	7.63	26	1.77
77	these	180,396	10.66	36	1.76
78	from	815,848	48.23	157	1.70
79	some	261,949	15.48	47	1.60
80	other	280,227	16.57	48	1.54
81	are	602,781	35.63	95	1.42
82	have	739,238	43.70	111	1.35
83	were	706,028	41.74	90	1.11
84	this	685,088	40.50	83	1.04

85	in	3,563,168	210.63	378	0.84
86	the	14,638,425	865.31	1506	0.80
87	of	7,970,089	471.13	775	0.72
88	a	4,363,599	257.94	353	0.45
89	to	5,910,612	349.39	439	0.33
90	and	5,596,703	330.83	415	0.33

Glasgow Herald

No.	Word	Total no. in whole corpus	Expected collocate frequency	Observed collocate frequency	Log Ratio (filtered)
1	Sassun	179	0.00	11	11.68
2	Selino	113	0.00	5	11.18
3	Thessalian	168	0.00	7	11.09
4	Huguenot	157	0.00	5	10.69
5	Communist	241	0.01	6	10.33
6	Mussulman	605	0.01	14	10.22
7	CUBAN	3,704	0.07	78	10.08
8	Armenian	4,801	0.10	93	9.96
9	Cretan	2,331	0.05	30	9.36
10	Candia	1,430	0.03	14	8.96
11	Deserters	1,214	0.02	11	8.84
12	expulsion	2,178	0.04	16	8.54
13	Polish	8,175	0.16	56	8.44
14	exiles	987	0.02	6	8.26
15	garian	1,218	0.02	7	8.18
16	Dervish	1,394	0.03	8	8.18
17	Dongola	1,586	0.03	8	7.99
18	Johannesburg	5,456	0.11	27	7.97
19	Servian	1,891	0.04	8	7.74
20	Berber	1,788	0.04	7	7.63
21	extradition	1,629	0.03	6	7.54
22	Bulgarian	5,219	0.10	18	7.44
23	DESTITUTE	6,760	0.14	23	7.42
24	Transvaal	15,333	0.31	50	7.36
25	vaal	1,563	0.03	5	7.33
26	distressed	3,458	0.07	11	7.33
27	Jewish	4,994	0.10	15	7.24
28	Bulgaria	5,672	0.11	17	7.24
29	expelled	2,730	0.05	8	7.21
30	Boer	9,791	0.20	28	7.17
31	Legation	3,183	0.06	9	7.15
32	Athens	7,538	0.15	21	7.13
33	Hungarian	13,326	0.27	37	7.13
34	Refugees	2,995	0.06	8	7.07
35	influx	2,805	0.06	7	6.97
36	Neapolitan	2,513	0.05	6	6.91
37	hospitality	3,391	0.07	8	6.89
38	Tientsin	2,567	0.05	6	6.88
39	batch	3,304	0.07	7	6.74

40	WOLFF	3,073	0.06	6	6.62
41	shelter	10,168	0.20	19	6.56
42	Switzerland	6,464	0.13	11	6.42
43	arriving	21,125	0.42	35	6.38
44	Khartoum	3,873	0.08	6	6.29
45	Confederate	7,563	0.15	11	6.19
46	surrender	11,507	0.23	15	6.04
47	asylum	16,473	0.33	21	6.00
48	relieving	4,716	0.09	6	6.00
49	political	110,910	2.21	140	5.99
50	relief	62,983	1.25	76	5.92
51	Pretoria	7,535	0.15	9	5.91
52	CYPRUS	5,129	0.10	5	5.62
53	fled	13,668	0.27	13	5.58
54	Durban	5,312	0.11	5	5.57
55	Crete	7,990	0.16	7	5.46
56	homes	18,535	0.37	16	5.44
57	Italian	63,674	1.27	53	5.39
58	DISTRESS	19,965	0.40	16	5.33
59	emigrants	7,757	0.15	6	5.28
60	ARREST	15,609	0.31	12	5.27
61	so-called	6,897	0.14	5	5.19
62	Republican	8,277	0.17	6	5.19
63	Protestant	14,028	0.28	10	5.16
64	Trans-	9,906	0.20	7	5.15
65	FUND	89,193	1.78	63	5.15
66	thousands	32,186	0.64	22	5.10
67	Soudan	7,394	0.15	5	5.09
68	flight	7,638	0.15	5	5.04
69	Egypt	44,529	0.89	27	4.93
70	Boers	15,154	0.30	9	4.90
71	seeking	10,188	0.20	6	4.89
72	rebels	13,875	0.28	8	4.86
73	unfortunate	26,021	0.52	15	4.86
74	frontier	20,071	0.40	11	4.78
75	families	33,328	0.66	18	4.76
76	crowds	11,167	0.22	6	4.76
77	territory	24,236	0.48	13	4.75
78	Russian	62,586	1.25	33	4.73
79	8000	9,483	0.19	5	4.73
80	abuse	9,544	0.19	5	4.72
81	crowded	30,909	0.62	16	4.70
82	prevails	11,900	0.24	6	4.66
83	landing	16,082	0.32	8	4.64
84	Brazilian	20,269	0.40	10	4.63

85	feed	10,209	0.20	5	4.62
86	Rand	40,294	0.80	19	4.57
87	prisoners	39,219	0.78	18	4.53
88	garrison	13,339	0.27	6	4.50
89	principally	18,175	0.36	8	4.47
90	hundred	62,369	1.24	27	4.44
91	thousand	46,544	0.93	20	4.43
92	sought	23,690	0.47	10	4.41
93	Spanish	63,507	1.26	26	4.36
94	Porte	19,630	0.39	8	4.36
95	Greece	14,830	0.30	6	4.35
96	respecting	19,857	0.40	8	4.34
97	Cuba	17,410	0.35	7	4.34
98	Turkey	22,815	0.45	9	4.31
99	transport	12,830	0.26	5	4.29
100	arrested	23,132	0.46	9	4.29
101	escaped	18,279	0.36	7	4.27
102	permit	15,669	0.31	6	4.27
103	Cairo	13,060	0.26	5	4.27
104	women	63,201	1.26	24	4.25
105	camp	29,279	0.58	11	4.24
106	African	51,901	1.03	19	4.20
107	numbers	55,991	1.11	20	4.17
108	hundreds	22,738	0.45	8	4.14
109	Christian	55,403	1.10	19	4.11
110	shores	17,514	0.35	6	4.11
111	composed	20,793	0.41	7	4.08
112	MALTA	35,684	0.71	12	4.08
113	arrived	327,527	6.52	109	4.06
114	among	175,349	3.49	58	4.06
115	wounded	36,653	0.73	12	4.04
116	3000	24,680	0.49	8	4.03
117	bringing	30,906	0.62	10	4.02
118	protection	37,498	0.75	12	4.01
119	churches	41,184	0.82	13	3.99
120	mostly	19,470	0.39	6	3.95
121	Richmond	19,597	0.39	6	3.94
122	Alexandria	35,956	0.72	11	3.94
123	returning	52,326	1.04	16	3.94
124	JERSEY	20,092	0.40	6	3.91
125	amongst	61,377	1.22	18	3.88
126	assembled	20,616	0.41	6	3.87
127	return	220,396	4.39	63	3.85
128	number	368,048	7.33	105	3.84
129	escape	28,477	0.57	8	3.82

130	native	57,375	1.14	16	3.81
131	residing	50,358	1.00	14	3.80
132	French	270,802	5.39	75	3.80
133	Turkish	47,268	0.94	13	3.79
134	here	348,924	6.95	95	3.77
135	5000	22,191	0.44	6	3.76
136	colony	33,341	0.66	9	3.76
137	arrive	37,366	0.74	10	3.75
138	Mayor	22,513	0.45	6	3.74
139	2000	41,536	0.83	11	3.73
140	Greek	38,234	0.76	10	3.72
141	NATAL	35,079	0.70	9	3.69
142	EUROPEAN	31,322	0.62	8	3.68
143	continue	69,771	1.39	17	3.61
144	countries	39,389	0.78	9	3.52
145	safety	40,061	0.80	9	3.50
146	soldiers	40,152	0.80	9	3.49
147	foreign	245,756	4.89	55	3.49
148	whom	190,029	3.78	41	3.44
149	receiving	32,682	0.65	7	3.43
150	assistance	46,934	0.93	10	3.42
151	southern	61,192	1.22	13	3.42
152	behalf	62,367	1.24	13	3.39
153	regarding	52,985	1.06	11	3.38
154	Gibraltar	45,006	0.90	9	3.33
155	filled	45,034	0.90	9	3.33
156	who	1,578,448	31.42	314	3.32
157	living	41,103	0.82	8	3.29
158	reached	77,406	1.54	15	3.28
159	Returned	99,439	1.98	19	3.26
160	bring	95,993	1.91	18	3.24
161	help	53,920	1.07	10	3.22
162	settled	43,560	0.87	8	3.21
163	island	67,903	1.35	12	3.15
164	landed	45,294	0.90	8	3.15
165	400	51,664	1.03	9	3.13
166	Cape	104,631	2.08	18	3.11
167	German	87,258	1.74	15	3.11
168	reports	94,475	1.88	16	3.09
169	France	126,921	2.53	21	3.06
170	Russia	56,864	1.13	9	2.99
171	benefit	57,091	1.14	9	2.99
172	coming	72,986	1.45	11	2.92
173	poor	122,460	2.44	17	2.80
174	PARIS	175,413	3.49	24	2.78

175	STATES	244,155	4.86	32	2.72
176	British	360,020	7.17	47	2.71
177	England	228,285	4.54	29	2.67
178	come	221,365	4.41	28	2.67
179	many	420,943	8.38	53	2.66
180	including	139,340	2.77	17	2.62
181	Canada	99,112	1.97	12	2.61
182	from	4,835,945	96.25	543	2.50
183	already	162,225	3.23	18	2.48
184	several	318,892	6.35	35	2.46
185	these	879,416	17.50	95	2.44
186	certain	192,162	3.83	20	2.39
187	leave	157,060	3.13	16	2.36
188	receive	141,650	2.82	14	2.31
189	children	173,582	3.46	16	2.21
190	State	481,523	9.58	43	2.17
191	some	824,978	16.42	72	2.13
192	South	402,123	8.00	35	2.13
193	came	174,934	3.48	15	2.11
194	are	3,121,681	62.13	265	2.09
195	brought	219,470	4.37	18	2.04
196	sent	272,978	5.43	22	2.02
197	have	2,843,960	56.60	227	2.00
198	report	343,753	6.84	27	1.98
199	board	396,690	7.90	30	1.93
200	town	360,316	7.17	27	1.91
201	left	541,100	10.77	39	1.86
202	question	349,159	6.95	24	1.79
203	other	1,247,009	24.82	77	1.63
204	now	1,042,308	20.75	63	1.60
205	were	2,806,821	55.87	162	1.54
206	country	510,131	10.15	28	1.46
207	large	848,729	16.89	46	1.45
208	most	674,751	13.43	36	1.42
209	over	562,820	11.20	30	1.42
210	their	2,139,549	42.58	106	1.32
211	into	732,538	14.58	36	1.30
212	had	2,786,031	55.45	135	1.28
213	should	820,873	16.34	39	1.26
214	the	59,612,885	1186.50	2831	1.26
215	up	911,821	18.15	43	1.25
216	that	7,864,664	156.53	343	1.13
217	has	2,242,786	44.64	94	1.07
218	been	2,753,815	54.81	113	1.04
219	of	37,467,116	745.72	1514	1.02

220	all	2,564,637	51.05	94	0.88
221	in	17,195,862	342.26	607	0.83
222	with	5,134,378	102.19	179	0.81
223	to	28,214,301	561.56	879	0.65
224	a	22,112,637	440.12	680	0.63
225	and	27,657,836	550.48	719	0.39

Liverpool Mercury (early period) (1811-1840)

No.	Word	Total no. in whole corpus	Expected collocate frequency	Observed collocate frequency	Log Ratio (filtered)
1	Portuguese	1,297	0.02	18	9.90
2	Polish	739	0.01	10	9.86
3	Spanish	4,181	0.06	18	8.20
4	Italian	1,698	0.03	7	8.13
5	French	15,368	0.23	5	4.46
6	many	26,469	0.39	5	3.68
7	who	105,785	1.56	15	3.27
8	were	122,452	1.81	13	2.85
9	the	3,572,933	52.72	96	0.87

Liverpool Mercury (mid period) (1841-1870)

No.	Word	Total no. in whole corpus	Expected collocate frequency	Observed collocate frequency	Log Ratio (filtered)
1	Cretan	287	0.01	13	10.82
2	Hungarian	3,425	0.09	93	10.05
3	naturalised	213	0.01	5	9.84
4	Polish	5,677	0.15	116	9.63
5	Lombard	560	0.02	10	9.43
6	EXTRADITION	565	0.02	10	9.42
7	expulsion	1,007	0.03	17	9.35
8	HANOVERIAN	457	0.01	5	8.72
9	expel	737	0.02	7	8.51
10	deserters	727	0.02	6	8.31
11	expelled	1,459	0.04	8	7.71
12	passports	925	0.02	5	7.69
13	Neapolitan	2,899	0.08	14	7.53
14	lombardy	1,518	0.04	6	7.24
15	political	35,066	0.92	127	7.11
16	exile	1,404	0.04	5	7.09
17	SWITZERLAND	3,383	0.09	12	7.08
18	hospitality	1,456	0.04	5	7.03
19	shelter	3,247	0.09	8	6.55
20	Italian	29,903	0.79	72	6.52
21	revolutionary	2,132	0.06	5	6.48
22	Jersey	5,010	0.13	11	6.39
23	Bernard	3,431	0.09	7	6.28
24	Piedmont	2,533	0.07	5	6.23
25	Texas	3,081	0.08	6	6.21
26	denounced	2,806	0.07	5	6.09
27	asylum	8,470	0.22	12	5.75
28	foreigners	3,829	0.10	5	5.64
29	abuse	4,103	0.11	5	5.54
30	suspected	4,147	0.11	5	5.52
31	resident	11,011	0.29	13	5.49
32	arriving	6,365	0.17	7	5.39
33	Canton	4,969	0.13	5	5.26
34	surrender	7,375	0.19	7	5.18
35	frontier	6,418	0.17	6	5.15
36	arrest	6,434	0.17	6	5.15
37	Spanish	21,694	0.57	20	5.13
38	Porte	7,605	0.20	7	5.13
39	relative	16,924	0.45	15	5.08

40	Turkey	14,021	0.37	12	5.03
41	Egypt	6,478	0.17	5	4.88
42	respecting	15,617	0.41	12	4.87
43	territory	7,882	0.21	6	4.86
44	Austrian	18,460	0.49	13	4.74
45	foreign	95,016	2.50	66	4.72
46	arrested	10,510	0.28	7	4.66
47	interior	10,821	0.29	7	4.62
48	afforded	12,385	0.33	8	4.62
49	Roman	22,549	0.59	14	4.56
50	settled	12,435	0.33	7	4.42
51	Austria	27,738	0.73	15	4.36
52	Richmond	9,266	0.24	5	4.36
53	French	129,326	3.40	69	4.34
54	chiefly	14,700	0.39	7	4.18
55	countries	12,769	0.34	6	4.16
56	nations	12,843	0.34	6	4.15
57	dangerous	15,026	0.40	7	4.15
58	residing	19,460	0.51	9	4.14
59	soldiers	15,976	0.42	7	4.06
60	Russian	21,992	0.58	9	3.96
61	relief	28,172	0.74	11	3.89
62	behalf	26,628	0.70	10	3.84
63	Among	43,612	1.15	16	3.80
64	abroad	16,463	0.43	6	3.79
65	England	107,536	2.83	39	3.79
66	numbers	19,817	0.52	7	3.75
67	question	111,485	2.93	39	3.73
68	Southern	21,855	0.58	7	3.61
69	number	139,198	3.66	42	3.52
70	arrival	30,102	0.79	9	3.51
71	conduct	36,439	0.96	9	3.23
72	whom	80,957	2.13	19	3.16
73	respect	45,284	1.19	10	3.07
74	many	156,559	4.12	32	2.96
75	who	688,846	18.12	138	2.93
76	arrived	75,366	1.98	15	2.92
77	States	93,005	2.45	18	2.88
78	here	92,181	2.42	17	2.81
79	return	72,743	1.91	12	2.65
80	country	163,745	4.31	27	2.65
81	whose	67,993	1.79	11	2.62
82	poor	61,863	1.63	10	2.62
83	shall	92,219	2.43	14	2.53
84	Paris	74,805	1.97	11	2.48

85	party	76,799	2.02	11	2.45
86	several	162,558	4.28	23	2.43
87	report	102,070	2.68	13	2.28
88	London	378,937	9.97	46	2.21
89	against	160,962	4.23	18	2.09
90	place	203,432	5.35	22	2.04
91	from	1,914,607	50.35	190	1.92
92	have	1,104,174	29.04	106	1.87
93	are	1,069,258	28.12	94	1.74
94	some	336,500	8.85	29	1.71
95	other	551,286	14.50	46	1.67
96	has	834,694	21.95	63	1.52
97	all	948,128	24.93	70	1.49
98	that	3,036,444	79.85	208	1.38
99	were	927,433	24.39	62	1.35
100	been	1,098,380	28.88	67	1.21
101	in	6,622,785	174.16	369	1.08
102	The	24,037,479	632.11	1267	1.00
103	had	1,202,547	31.62	60	0.92
104	of	15,032,346	395.30	692	0.81
105	to	10,501,698	276.16	479	0.80

Liverpool Mercury (late period) (1871-1900)

No.	Word	Total no. in whole corpus	Expected collocate frequency	Observed collocate frequency	Log Ratio (filtered)
1	Thessalian	141	0.00	9	12.29
2	Bosnian	219	0.00	9	11.62
3	Communist	319	0.00	12	11.48
4	CUBAN	1,711	0.02	49	11.08
5	Mussulman	390	0.01	11	11.06
6	Armenian	2,571	0.04	56	10.67
7	Cretan	1,081	0.02	17	10.19
8	insurgent	1,062	0.02	12	9.71
9	Herzegovina	690	0.01	7	9.55
10	Jewish	3,476	0.05	22	8.87
11	expulsion	1,178	0.02	6	8.55
12	extradition	1,244	0.02	6	8.47
13	Zululand	1,058	0.01	5	8.44
14	Bulgarian	4,346	0.06	18	8.25
15	HARDSHIPS	1,235	0.02	5	8.22
16	Bosnia	1,328	0.02	5	8.11
17	Polish	3,377	0.05	11	7.90
18	Transvaal	9,263	0.13	30	7.90
19	SURRENDER	5,527	0.08	17	7.82
20	sufferings	2,053	0.03	6	7.75
21	Durban	3,151	0.04	9	7.71
22	distressed	2,635	0.04	7	7.61
23	influx	1,932	0.03	5	7.57
24	Bulgaria	4,667	0.06	11	7.44
25	destitute	4,098	0.06	9	7.33
26	OULTON	3,675	0.05	8	7.32
27	Khartoum	2,387	0.03	5	7.27
28	Athens	3,349	0.05	7	7.26
29	Johannesburg	2,966	0.04	6	7.22
30	Trans-	4,739	0.07	9	7.12
31	asylum	9,214	0.13	16	6.99
32	Jews	4,628	0.06	8	6.99
33	GENEVA	3,504	0.05	6	6.97
34	relief	42,079	0.57	64	6.80
35	-Reuter	4,064	0.06	6	6.76
36	arriving	9,652	0.13	12	6.51
37	Boer	7,267	0.10	9	6.51
38	Shelter	4,958	0.07	6	6.47
39	fled	5,892	0.08	7	6.45

40	territory	12,409	0.17	13	6.26
41	homes	17,788	0.24	17	6.13
42	political	56,052	0.77	50	6.03
43	Egypt	26,528	0.36	22	5.93
44	fund	58,891	0.80	47	5.87
45	Alexandria	19,790	0.27	13	5.59
46	Boers	9,197	0.13	6	5.58
47	Greece	8,154	0.11	5	5.49
48	crowded	19,770	0.27	12	5.48
49	numbers	25,555	0.35	15	5.43
50	Austrian	15,538	0.21	9	5.41
51	permit	8,708	0.12	5	5.40
52	thousand	21,305	0.29	12	5.37
53	distress	14,451	0.20	8	5.34
54	sending	12,796	0.18	7	5.33
55	escaped	9,237	0.13	5	5.31
56	Constantinople	13,211	0.18	7	5.28
57	hundred	27,492	0.38	14	5.22
58	Turkish	37,708	0.51	19	5.21
59	Natal	14,070	0.19	7	5.19
60	Russian	39,588	0.54	19	5.14
61	Austria	12,617	0.17	6	5.12
62	provinces	10,599	0.15	5	5.11
63	Colony	12,990	0.18	6	5.08
64	amounts	15,199	0.21	7	5.08
65	conveyed	13,087	0.18	6	5.07
66	returning	24,043	0.33	11	5.07
67	Russia	27,015	0.37	12	5.03
68	distribution	11,645	0.16	5	4.98
69	Malta	21,481	0.29	9	4.94
70	Greek	20,190	0.28	8	4.86
71	wounded	17,758	0.24	7	4.85
72	Christian	26,304	0.36	10	4.80
73	soldiers	13,375	0.18	5	4.78
74	arrived	142,448	1.94	52	4.74
75	filled	20,505	0.28	7	4.65
76	among	88,385	1.21	30	4.64
77	Gibraltar	14,824	0.20	5	4.63
78	arrive	23,878	0.33	8	4.62
79	churches	21,195	0.29	7	4.60
80	here	142,116	1.94	45	4.54
81	amounted	31,644	0.43	10	4.53
82	despatch	19,524	0.27	6	4.49
83	native	23,094	0.32	7	4.47
84	thousands	23,434	0.32	7	4.45

85	hitherto	23,709	0.32	7	4.44
86	3000	17,874	0.24	5	4.36
87	Women	47,836	0.65	13	4.32
88	return	125,781	1.72	34	4.31
89	continue	37,410	0.51	10	4.29
90	districts	38,206	0.52	10	4.26
91	Spanish	53,738	0.73	14	4.26
92	families	19,314	0.26	5	4.25
93	chiefly	19,431	0.27	5	4.24
94	number	220,025	3.00	54	4.17
95	assistance	29,805	0.41	7	4.11
96	behalf	53,520	0.73	12	4.04
97	numerous	35,689	0.49	8	4.04
98	troops	37,000	0.51	8	3.99
99	MAYOR	70,223	0.96	14	3.87
100	granted	40,141	0.55	8	3.87
101	arrival	30,555	0.42	6	3.85
102	Italian	36,351	0.50	7	3.82
103	2000	31,273	0.43	6	3.81
104	Rand	42,192	0.58	8	3.80
105	poor	67,906	0.93	12	3.70
106	British	164,902	2.25	27	3.59
107	France	49,510	0.68	8	3.57
108	whom	97,297	1.33	14	3.40
109	500	64,768	0.88	9	3.35
110	serious	51,205	0.70	7	3.33
111	who	1,043,700	14.24	140	3.30
112	states	137,034	1.87	18	3.27
113	returned	72,007	0.98	9	3.20
114	many	242,919	3.31	30	3.18
115	aid	146,136	1.99	18	3.18
116	reported	102,141	1.39	12	3.11
117	board	307,859	4.20	34	3.02
118	French	195,767	2.67	21	2.98
119	including	101,479	1.38	10	2.85
120	brought	123,147	1.68	12	2.84
121	have	1,500,142	20.47	140	2.77
122	from	3,432,235	46.82	305	2.70
123	left	227,743	3.11	19	2.61
124	report	195,256	2.66	16	2.59
125	are	1,636,951	22.33	133	2.57
126	Lord	360,503	4.92	27	2.46
127	country	236,147	3.22	14	2.12
128	these	360,569	4.92	21	2.09
129	their	1,126,082	15.36	65	2.08

130	now	599,052	8.17	33	2.01
131	yesterday	360,718	4.92	19	1.95
132	were	1,543,073	21.05	79	1.91
133	some	480,705	6.56	24	1.87
134	into	411,545	5.62	20	1.83
135	being	642,615	8.77	28	1.68
136	the	34,717,670	473.64	1424	1.59
137	been	1,537,327	20.97	62	1.56
138	there	891,812	12.17	34	1.48
139	that	3,920,298	53.48	142	1.41
140	has	1,195,975	16.32	42	1.36
141	of	21,177,906	288.92	717	1.31
142	had	1,642,777	22.41	55	1.30
143	in	11,253,269	153.52	310	1.01
144	to	17,991,568	245.45	475	0.95
145	is	4,098,718	55.92	103	0.88
146	on	4,809,355	65.61	113	0.78
147	by	4,163,388	56.80	95	0.74
148	for	7,399,047	100.94	148	0.55

Ipswich Journal

No.	Word	Total no. in whole corpus	Expected collocate frequency	Observed collocate frequency	Log Ratio (filtered)
1	extradition	265	0.00	7	10.79
2	Polish	1,495	0.02	30	10.38
3	Hungarian	1,428	0.02	24	10.12
4	expulsion	630	0.01	8	9.71
5	refugees	540	0.01	6	9.52
6	Switzerland	1,330	0.02	5	7.94
7	Portuguese	1,428	0.02	5	7.84
8	Alexandria	1,726	0.03	5	7.57
9	Belgium	1,895	0.03	5	7.43
10	Austrian	3,859	0.06	8	7.08
11	Italian	8,306	0.13	16	6.98
12	Spanish	8,721	0.13	16	6.90
13	Political	28,068	0.43	37	6.43
14	asylum	11,568	0.18	13	6.20
15	Turkish	6,184	0.10	5	5.72
16	Egypt	6,736	0.10	5	5.60
17	FRENCH	63,217	0.97	32	5.04
18	crowded	10,289	0.16	5	4.99
19	respecting	11,188	0.17	5	4.87
20	women	19,068	0.29	8	4.77
21	foreign	64,519	0.99	21	4.41
22	thousand	16,100	0.25	5	4.34
23	hundred	29,058	0.45	9	4.34
24	protection	16,574	0.25	5	4.30
25	France	24,992	0.38	7	4.19
26	arrived	40,566	0.62	10	4.01
27	among	42,814	0.66	8	3.61
28	says	33,591	0.52	6	3.54
29	number	112,030	1.72	17	3.31
30	certain	63,438	0.97	9	3.21
31	who	607,741	9.33	80	3.10
32	England	86,505	1.33	9	2.76
33	country	137,973	2.12	14	2.73
34	left	116,669	1.79	10	2.48
35	from	1,159,539	17.80	78	2.13
36	Some	345,048	5.30	21	1.99
37	have	890,420	13.67	53	1.96
38	into	289,903	4.45	16	1.85
39	are	806,050	12.37	43	1.80

40	that	2,652,560	40.71	81	0.99
41	the	19,803,620	303.92	578	0.93
42	of	11,811,414	181.27	297	0.71

Hampshire Telegraph

No.	Word	Total no. in whole corpus	Expected collocate frequency	Observed collocate frequency	Log Ratio (filtered)
1	Hungarian	1,115	0.02	26	10.36
2	Polish	2,575	0.05	46	9.96
3	expulsion	600	0.01	7	9.34
4	Bulgarian	571	0.01	6	9.19
5	Armenian	504	0.01	5	9.10
6	Portuguese	2,717	0.05	14	8.15
7	Italian	10,041	0.18	26	7.15
8	Spanish	12,288	0.22	31	7.12
9	political	23,294	0.43	58	7.10
10	Jersey	6,447	0.12	7	5.90
11	asylum	8,097	0.15	8	5.76
12	Alexandria	5,452	0.10	5	5.65
13	Turkish	7,785	0.14	6	5.40
14	Turkey	6,884	0.13	5	5.32
15	arriving	9,782	0.18	7	5.30
16	afforded	8,964	0.16	6	5.20
17	landed	13,310	0.24	7	4.85
18	residing	10,195	0.19	5	4.75
19	Christian	13,535	0.25	6	4.60
20	crowded	11,934	0.22	5	4.52
21	among	54,101	0.99	20	4.34
22	France	32,520	0.59	12	4.34
23	foreign	52,260	0.95	19	4.32
24	Russian	17,061	0.31	6	4.27
25	returning	16,671	0.30	5	4.04
26	thousand	21,062	0.38	6	3.97
27	British	59,166	1.08	15	3.80
28	reached	24,544	0.45	6	3.75
29	Fund	25,009	0.46	6	3.72
30	number	115,636	2.11	25	3.57
31	French	83,088	1.52	17	3.49
32	arrived	92,165	1.68	17	3.34
33	states	43,973	0.80	8	3.32
34	Paris	42,499	0.78	7	3.18
35	here	91,690	1.67	15	3.17
36	country	114,725	2.09	17	3.02
37	whom	68,066	1.24	10	3.01
38	who	624,915	11.40	84	2.88
39	England	86,720	1.58	11	2.80

40	board	185,494	3.38	20	2.56
41	Many	151,038	2.75	14	2.35
42	from	1,300,380	23.71	101	2.09
43	these	219,812	4.01	16	2.00
44	have	969,780	17.69	57	1.69
45	are	924,853	16.87	52	1.63
46	were	933,310	17.02	43	1.34
47	the	21,429,161	390.77	678	0.80
48	that	2,731,029	49.80	83	0.74
49	in	5,594,579	102.02	169	0.73
50	of	12,970,548	236.53	383	0.70
51	A	7,611,425	138.80	201	0.53

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