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*Mansfield College,
University of Oxford*

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UNWIN HYMAN

arrest, and by various restrictions on industrial activity. For Hobson, these were features he identified with the 'Prussian' state Britain was fighting against, and they were imbued with what he and Hobhouse regarded as the pernicious heritage of German Idealism. Hobson's alarm at similar reactionary manifestations within the British state prompted his 'rediscovery' of the importance of liberty, his reformulation of a liberal organicism and his renewed insistence on the democratization of the modern state.

In 1926 Hobson participated as senior advisor in the drafting of a report commissioned by the Independent Labour Party that appeared in popular form under the name *The Living Wage*. Its policies were much publicized and discussed over the next few years, although its demand for an immediate minimum wage was considered to be too radical for the Labour party leadership, including Hobson's erstwhile Rainbow Circle colleague, Ramsay MacDonald. Hobson's intellectual influence was unmistakable: underconsumption and the surplus took their pride of place as justifications for Labour's claim on the national income.

The year 1929 saw a partial revival of the fortunes of liberalism. The concerted activities of the Liberal summer schools since the early years of the decade had combined with the re-radicalized Lloyd George to produce the Yellow Book of 1928. That document incorporated a large measure of state regulation of industry together with the safeguarding of individual liberty and private enterprise. For Hobson this was a 'new era of Liberalism'; it also reinforced the views of many former new liberals that a combined platform of the Liberal and Labour parties was the only feasible way forward for progressives. Hobson, by then a member of the Labour Party, endorsed this position in a series of articles published by the *Manchester Guardian* in 1929 shortly before the general election, when he envisaged the possibility of a 'practicable socialism'. The political parties in question had other considerations, however, but Hobson did not desist. The 'British socialism' he wrote about in 1936 in the *New Statesman*, with the depression still in mind, had all the characteristics of the fused liberal progressivism he had always promoted, even if by now the Labour Party seemed its only vehicle.

5.1 The Psychology of Jingoism (1901) [pp. 1-4, 8-9, 29-31]

That inverted patriotism whereby the love of one's own nation is transformed into the hatred of another nation, and the fierce craving to destroy the individual members of that other nation, is no new thing. Wars have not always, or perhaps commonly, demanded for their origin and support the pervasion of such a frenzy among the body of the people. The will of a king, of a statesman, or of a small caste of nobles, soldiers, priests, has often sufficed to breed and to maintain bloody conflicts between nations, without any full or fierce participation in the war-spirit by the lay multitude. Only in recent times, and even now over but a small part of the world, has the great mass of the individuals of any nation been placed in such quick touch with great political events that their opinions, their passion, and their will, have played an appreciable part in originating strife, or in determining by sanction or by criticism any important turn in the political conduct of a war. In a long-continued war, the passion of a whole people has, even in old times, been gradually inflamed against another people's, with whom, for reasons usually known to few, a state of war existed, and such martial animus, once roused, has lasted far beyond the limits of the strife, sometimes smouldering for decades or for centuries.

The quick ebullition of national hate termed jingoism is a particular form of this primitive passion, modified and intensified by certain conditions of modern civilization. One who is curious of etymological origins will find true significance in the mode by which the word jingo first came into vogue as an expression of popular pugnacity.

The oft-quoted saying of Fletcher of Saltoun, 'Let me make the ballads of a people, and let who will make the laws', ever finds fresh illustration. A gradual debasement of popular art attending the new industrial era of congested, ugly, manufacturing towns has raised up the music-hall to be the most powerful instrument of such musical and literary culture as the people are open to receive.

Among large sections of the middle and the labouring classes, the music-hall, and the recreative public-house into which it shades off by imperceptible degrees, are a more potent educator than the church, the school, the political meeting, or even than the press.

Into this 'lighter self' of the city populace the artiste conveys by song or recitation crude notions upon morals and politics, appealing by coarse humour or exaggerated pathos to the animal lusts of an audience stimulated by alcohol into appreciative hilarity.

In ordinary times politics plays no important part in these feasts of sensationalism, but the glorification of brute force and an ignorant contempt for foreigners are ever-present factors which at great political crises make the music-hall a very serviceable engine for generating military passion. The art of the music-hall is the only 'popular' art of the present day: its words and melodies pass by quick magic from the Empire or the Alhambra over the length and breadth of the land, re-echoed in a thousand provincial halls, clubs and drinking saloons, until the remotest village is familiar with air and sentiment. By such process of artistic suggestion the fervour of jingoism has been widely fed, and it is worthy of note that the present meaning of the word was fastened upon it by the popularity of a single verse . . . 'We don't want to fight, / But by Jingo, if we do, / We've got the men, / We've got the ships, / We've got the money too' . . .

The neurotic temperament generated by town life seeks natural relief in stormy sensational appeals, and the crowded life of the streets, or other public gatherings, gives the best medium for communicating them. This is the very atmosphere of jingoism. A coarse patriotism, fed by the wildest rumours and the most violent appeals to hate and the animal lust of blood, passes by quick contagion through the crowded life of cities, and recommends itself everywhere by the satisfaction it affords to sensational cravings. It is less the savage yearning for personal participation in the fray than the feeding of a neurotic imagination that marks jingoism. The actual rage of the combat is of a different and a more individual order. Jingoism is the passion of the spectator, the inciter, the backer, not of the fighter; it is a collective or mob passion which, in as far as it prevails, makes the individual mind subject to a control that joins him irresistibly to his fellows.

The modern newspaper is a Roman arena, a Spanish bull-ring, and an English prize-fight rolled into one. The popularization of the power to read has made the press the chief instrument of brutality. For a halfpenny every man, woman, or child can stimulate and feed those lusts of blood and physical cruelty which it is the chief aim

of civilization and of government to repress, and which, in their literal modes of realization, have been assigned by modern specialization to soldiers, butchers, sportsmen, and a few other trained professions. The business man, the weaver, the clerk, the clergyman, the shop assistant, can no longer satisfy these savage cravings, either in personal activity or in direct spectacular display; but the art of reading print enables them to indulge *ad libitum* in ghoulish gloating over scenes of human suffering, outrage, and destruction. Blended with the root-passion of sheer brutality are certain other feelings, more complex in origin and composition – admiration of courage and adroitness, the zest of sport, curiosity, the interest in swift change and the unusual: all these serve to conceal and decorate the dominant force of brutality, that Yahoo passion which revels in material disorder and destruction, with carnage for its centre-piece. That this passion, like other phases of the war fever, is of social origin, and grows by swift, unseen contagion and communication, is made evident by the character and behaviour of its victims. Mild and aged clergymen; gently bred, refined English ladies; quiet, sober, unimaginative business men, long to point a rifle at the Boers, and to dabble their fingers in the carnage. The basic character of the passion is disclosed by the fact that death and destruction by fire-arms do not satisfy; it is the cold steel and the twist of the British bayonet in the body of the now defenceless foe that brings the keenest thrill of exultation. Many will deny this subjection to sheer animalism – in some cases a revulsion of pity, or some better human feeling, hides it; but, wherever the dissecting-knife is honestly applied, the essential brutality which underlies the glow of patriotic triumph in 'another British victory' is discernible.

5.2 'The Significance of the Budget' (1909) [*English Review*, pp. 794–805]

The audacity of the Budget has put a new spirit into English politics. The nature and magnitude of its financial proposals have come upon our people as a surprise. This ought not to have been the case. For when this Government was entrusted with the policy of reconciling social reconstruction with the maintenance of Free Trade, it was evident that this task would impose the necessity of a radical finance, providing a large increase of revenue by taxing the incomes