

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-38958-7 - Race and Empire in British Politics, Second Edition

Paul B. Rich

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Comparative Ethnic and Race Relations

Race and empire in British politics

This book discusses British thought on race and racial differences in the latter phases of empire from the 1890s to the early 1960s. It focuses on the role of racial ideas in British society and politics and looks at the decline in Victorian ideas of white Anglo-Saxon racial solidarity.

The impact of anthropology is shown to have had a major role in shifting the focus on race in British ruling-class circles from a classical and humanistic imperialism towards a more objective study of ethnic and cultural groups by the 1930s and 1940s. As the empire turned into a Commonwealth, liberal ideas on race relations helped shape the post-war rise of 'race relations' sociology that grew up around the Edinburgh School of Anthropology and the Institute of Race Relations.

Drawing on extensive government documents, private papers, newspapers, magazines and interviews, this book breaks new ground in the analysis both of racial discourse in twentieth-century British politics and of the changing conception of race amongst anthropologists, sociologists and the professional intelligentsia. The book will be of interest to those interested in the evolution of racial ideas as well as specialists in contemporary race relations.

PAUL RICH lives in Warwick and is Associate Fellow in the Department of Politics at the University of Warwick. He has written extensively on British and South African politics and literature and is the author of *White Power and the Liberal Conscience: Racial Segregation and South-African liberalism, 1921–1960* (1984) and joint editor of *Race, Government and Politics in Britain* (1986). His study of English nationalism *Ruined Eden: Landscape, Nation and People in English Culture* is due to be published next year. He is currently working on British and American relations with South Africa between 1939 and 1976.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-38958-7 - Race and Empire in British Politics, Second Edition

Paul B. Rich

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Comparative ethnic and race relations

Published for the Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations at the University of Warwick

Senior Editor

Professor John Rex *Associate Director & Research Professor of Ethnic Relations, University of Warwick*

Editors

Muhammed Anwar, *University of Warwick*

Mr Malcolm Cross *Principal Research Fellow, University of Warwick*

This series has been formed to publish works of original theory, empirical research, and texts on the problems of racially mixed societies. It is based on the work of the Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, a Designated Research Centre of the Economic and Social Research Council, and the main centre for the study of race relations in Britain.

The series will continue to draw on the work produced at the Centre, though the editors encourage manuscripts from scholars whose work has been associated with the Centre, or whose research lies in similar fields. Future titles will concentrate on anti-racist issues in education, on the organisation and political demands of ethnic minorities, on migration patterns, changes in immigration policies in relation to migrants and refugees, and on questions relating to employment, welfare and urban restructuring as these affect minority communities.

The books will appeal to an international readership of scholars, students and professionals concerned with racial issues, across a wide range of disciplines (such as sociology, anthropology, social policy, politics, economics, education and law), as well as among professional social administrators, teachers, government officials, health service workers and others.

Other books in this series:

Michael Banton: *Racial and ethnic competition*

Tomas Hammar (ed.): *European immigration policy*

Roger Hewitt: *White talk black talk: inter-racial friendships and communication amongst adolescents*

Richard Jenkins: *Racism and recruitment: managers, organisations and equal opportunity in the labour market*

Richard Jenkins and John Solomos (eds.): *Racism and equal opportunity policies in the 1980s*

Frank Reeves: *British racial discourse*

John Rex and David Mason (eds.): *Theories of race and ethnic relations*

Paul Rich: *Race and empire in British politics*

Robin Ward and Richard Jenkins (eds.): *Ethnic communities in business*

John Solomos: *Black youth, racism and the state: the politics of ideology and policy*

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-38958-7 - Race and Empire in British Politics, Second Edition

Paul B. Rich

Frontmatter

[More information](#)



Imperial Welcome. Cartoon by Low; reproduced by kind permission of London Express Newspapers

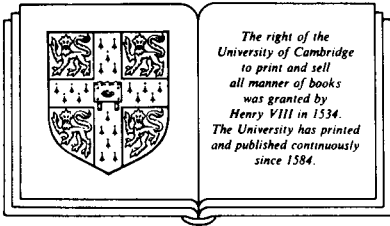
Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-38958-7 - Race and Empire in British Politics, Second Edition
Paul B. Rich
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Race and Empire in British Politics

PAUL B. RICH

Department of Politics, University of Bristol

Second edition



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge
New York Port Chester
Melbourne Sydney

Cambridge University Press
 978-0-521-38958-7 - Race and Empire in British Politics, Second Edition
 Paul B. Rich
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
 Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore,
 São Paulo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo

Cambridge University Press
 The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
 Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521389587

© Cambridge University Press 1986, 1990

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1986
 Second edition published 1990
 Re-issued in this digitally printed version 2009

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Rich, Paul B. 1950–
 Race and empire in British politics.
 (Comparative ethnic and race relations series)
 Bibliography: p.
 Includes index.
 1. Racism – Great Britain – History. 2. Great Britain – Colonies – Race relations. 3. Great Britain – Colonies – Emigration and immigration. 4. Great Britain – Race relations. 5. Commonwealth of Nations – History.
 I. Title. II. Series.
 DA125.A1R52 1986 305.8'00941 86-2588

ISBN 978-0-521-32017-7 Hardback
 ISBN 978-0-521-38958-7 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-38958-7 - Race and Empire in British Politics, Second Edition

Paul B. Rich

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

To Jacqueline

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-38958-7 - Race and Empire in British Politics, Second Edition

Paul B. Rich

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Contents

<i>Preface</i>	<i>page</i> xi
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xiii
Introduction	1
1 Empire and Anglo-Saxonism	12
2 Mary Kingsley and the emergence of cultural relativism	27
3 The Commonwealth ideal and the problem of racial segregation	50
4 The widening critique of empire	70
5 Sociology, anthropology and race	92
6 The 'half-caste' pathology	120
7 Colonial development, war and black immigration	145
8 End of empire and the rise of 'race relations'	169
Conclusion	205
<i>Notes</i>	214
<i>Bibliography</i>	267
<i>Index</i>	269

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-38958-7 - Race and Empire in British Politics, Second Edition

Paul B. Rich

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Preface

The research for this work was completed while I was a Research Associate at the Research Unit on Ethnic Relations at the University of Aston in Birmingham between May 1980 and early 1984. Since the field of race relations and ethnicity is a predominantly sociological and anthropological one, it was my keen wish to give the area an increasing historical focus. From previous work on South African liberalism, published in my book, *White Power and the Liberal Conscience: Racial Segregation and South African Liberalism, 1921–1960* (Manchester University Press, 1984), I have realised the significance and potentiality of intellectual history as a means of unravelling modes of intellectual inquiry and situating the seemingly fixed and proven patterns of thought that come to define an area of academic research and analysis. Perhaps for this very reason it is often a method treated with suspicion by many British social scientists and historians, both on the right and the left of the political spectrum. However, if this book clarifies and illuminates both a certain tradition of thinking on race and race relations in British intellectual life and the linkage between imperial race thinking and more recent phases of inquiry on the subject, then the work will have achieved its intended objective.

Until recently, the British field of race and ethnic research has been both limited and parochial in its scope. Though there was a promising pattern of research developing in the 1960s centred around the journal *Race*, events in the late 1960s and early 1970s around the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination and the Institute of Race Relations have left the area highly politicised, and contentious. This work has been written with the intention of avoiding these disputes except where they affect directly the problem of historical interpretation. The main task that confronts researchers in this field is less one of intellectual pyrotechnics and endless debates over sociological theorising and nomenclature, but hard and detailed empirical research into an area that is rich in sources.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-38958-7 - Race and Empire in British Politics, Second Edition

Paul B. Rich

Frontmatter

[More information](#)xii *Preface*

In the process of working on this study I have inevitably a large number of people to thank both for putting me on to certain historical sources, but also for helping in the clarification of terms of meaning. In particular, I would like to thank Michael Banton, Michael Biddiss, John Halliday, Colin Holmes, Jeffrey Green, Zig Layton-Henry, David Dabydeen, Robin Cohen, Malcolm Cross, Michael Lee, Chris Saunders and John Stone for various helpful comments and suggestions while this book was being written. Heather Lynn, librarian at the Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, has been of great assistance in obtaining large numbers of old and rare books on inter-library loan as too have the staff of the University of Warwick library. Finally I would like to thank Rose Goodwin for patiently and excellently typing the manuscript.

March 1989

PAUL B. RICH

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-38958-7 - Race and Empire in British Politics, Second Edition

Paul B. Rich

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Abbreviations

CARD	Campaign Against Racial Discrimination
CBMS	Central Board of Missionary Societies
CRA	Congo Reform Association
CSSRC	Colonial Social Science Research Council
ILP	Independent Labour Party
ITUC-NW	International Trade Union Congress of Negro Workers
IRR	Institute of Race Relations
JRAI	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute
JUMPR	Joint Unit for Minority Policy Research
LAI	League Against Imperialism
LCP	League of Coloured Peoples
LCSS	London Council of Social Service
MRC	Medical Research Council
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People
NCCL	National Council for Civil Liberties
NCSS	National Council of Social Service
NUS	National Union of Seamen
PEP	Political and Economic Planning
RAI	Royal Anthropological Institute
RIIA	Royal Institute of International Affairs
SAIRR	South African Institute of Race Relations
SAS	Scottish Anthropological Society
WASU	West African Students' Union
WISC	West Indian Standing Conference