

Settler colonialism, George Grey and the politics of ethnography

Article (Accepted Version)

Lester, Alan (2016) Settler colonialism, George Grey and the politics of ethnography. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 34 (3). pp. 492-507. ISSN 0263-7758

This version is available from Sussex Research Online: <http://sro.sussex.ac.uk/57226/>

This document is made available in accordance with publisher policies and may differ from the published version or from the version of record. If you wish to cite this item you are advised to consult the publisher's version. Please see the URL above for details on accessing the published version.

Copyright and reuse:

Sussex Research Online is a digital repository of the research output of the University.

Copyright and all moral rights to the version of the paper presented here belong to the individual author(s) and/or other copyright owners. To the extent reasonable and practicable, the material made available in SRO has been checked for eligibility before being made available.

Copies of full text items generally can be reproduced, displayed or performed and given to third parties in any format or medium for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes without prior permission or charge, provided that the authors, title and full bibliographic details are credited, a hyperlink and/or URL is given for the original metadata page and the content is not changed in any way.



**Settler Colonialism, George Grey and the Politics of
Ethnography**

Journal:	<i>Environment and Planning D: Society and Space</i>
Manuscript ID	EPD-2015-0093.R3
Manuscript Type:	Article
Keywords:	ethnography, colonization, humanitarian governance, empire, George Grey

SCHOLARONE™
Manuscripts

Preview Only

Settler Colonialism, George Grey and the Politics of Ethnography

Introduction

This article suggests that ethnography and colonial governance were constitutive of each other, and co-constitutive with the construction of an unprecedentedly extensive empire. I argue that the combination of ethnographic expertise and governmental power was embodied particularly clearly in the figure of George Grey, who helped consolidate the British settler colonies, and who also provided the British empire as a whole with a powerful legitimization as a *humane* form of rule. The humane-ness of this rule lay in a form of cultural genocide, posited as the sole alternative to the eradication of entire races. Grey achieved these outcomes through extensive, and previously unexplored, networks of communication and influence connecting South Australian, New Zealand, South African and British places, among others distributed across an imperial terrain. The texts that he formulated and circulated and the uses to which they were put at these different sites, comprised an extraordinarily potent and geographically extensive ethnographic-governmental assemblage.

George Grey's particular articulation between ethnographic research in settler colonies and the art of governmentality produced a discourse and a policy of assimilation (or what he called amalgamation). While the relationship between early anthropology and colonial governmentality, specifically form of indirect rule, has been identified in late nineteenth century Indian and African contexts, and in more recent American military ventures abroad (Asad 1973; Scholte 1975; Pels and Salemink, 1999; Lugard 1930; Meek, 1937; Ludden, 1992; Dirks, 1992; Cohn 1996), Grey's ethnographic-governmentality was developed even as British colonization

1
2
3 was being effected, and at the highest level of both colonial and imperial
4
5 governments. Moreover, Grey's ethnography sustained the notion that initial, violent
6
7 colonisation, mass invasion and dispossession, was liberal. As Patrick Wolfe has
8
9 argued, there has been a close relationship between ethnographic and governmental
10
11 practice in the settler colonies of North America, southern Africa and Australasia.
12
13 The genesis of anthropology is critical to Wolfe's assertion, underpinning the recent
14
15 emergence of "settler colonial studies" as a distinct field of scholarship, that settler
16
17 "invasion is a structure not an event" (Wolfe 1999, 2, Veracini 2010). But the effect of
18
19 Grey's ethnographic and governmental activities, directed at reconfiguring the lives
20
21 of individual Indigenous peoples around the projects of the settler state, has as yet
22
23 been under-appreciated even in this body of work. "Amalgamation" entailed both the
24
25 elimination of Indigenous society and the transfer of its territory on the one hand, and
26
27 the duty of care to Indigenous *individuals* newly assimilated into settler societies on
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

35 It was this duty of care which rendered colonial *humanitarian* governance a relatively
36
37 novel enterprise during the early nineteenth century (Lester and Dussart, 2014). In a
38
39 colonial context, ever since the beginnings of slave amelioration policies in the 1810s,
40
41 humanitarian reason has existed not solely in the extra-governmental realm of the
42
43 NGO or the political lobby; it has also "serve[d] both to define and to justify
44
45 discourses and practices of the government of human beings" (Fassin 2012, 2).
46
47 Humanitarianism enables specifically a mode of governing the "moral economy of
48
49 suffering" within a society by dealing with the precariousness of subjects (Fassin
50
51 2012, 2; Reid Henry 2014). While the consequences of natural disasters within
52
53 Europe, for instance, could not be left to go untended without the imposition of state
54
55 order (Foucault 1979), the same could be said of the violent destruction of
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 indigenous societies in the settler colonies. The annihilation of such societies could
4
5 not (generally) be allowed because of a modern state's imperative to control,
6
7 regulate and as far as possible monopolise the violence of colonization.
8

9
10 Humanitarian regulation as a function of government – a way of *being* governmental
11
12 – was thus as intrinsic to the project of Britain's colonization of other lands as it was
13
14 to the coeval emergence of a modern state system in Europe.
15

16
17 The prevailing practice of humanitarian governance in settler colonies, which Grey
18
19 directly inherited in South Australia and New Zealand, was that of Protection. Whilst
20
21 it emphasised their ultimate "civilization" and integration with settler communities,
22
23 Protection also entailed preserving Indigenous communities' access to land and
24
25 treating with them, to a certain extent as if they were still sovereign peoples within
26
27 specific locales (Lester and Dussart 2014). It was in effecting an end to this particular
28
29 form of humanitarian governance in settler societies, and providing both the
30
31 legitimation for, and experiments with, the practice of "amalgamation" or assimilation,
32
33 that Grey's intersecting ethnographic and governmental expertise proved so potent
34
35 and its effects so enduring.
36
37
38

39 40 **George Grey**

41
42
43 Grey was "among the builders of Empire in the Southern Hemisphere" (Henderson,
44
45 1907, xiii). His "reputation – and debates about it – span the English-speaking world"
46
47 (Dale, 2006, 147). Grey's personal contacts certainly numbered among the most
48
49 famous people of his lifetime, including Charles Darwin, Charles Lyell, Thomas
50
51 Carlyle, Florence Nightingale and Queen Victoria (Milne, 1899; Grant, 2005).¹ And
52
53

54
55 _____
56 ¹ It was in his correspondence with Grey that Darwin used the phrase "origin of species" on perhaps
57
58 the first occasion (Grant 2005, 66).
59
60

1
2
3 yet, partly because of the loss of his personal papers in a fire, and largely because of
4
5 his performative dexterity, Grey remains also one of the most enigmatic of imperial
6
7 figures. His biographer noted that “he has been denounced as an autocrat and a
8
9 Conservative and hailed as a great Liberal and a radical reformer”; portrayed as “an
10
11 ambitious self-seeker who humbugged the authorities by professions of philanthropy”
12
13 and “a genuine humanitarian pursuing high ideals by dubious methods which
14
15 exposed him to misinterpretation” (Rutherford, 1961, v; Berg, 1999).
16
17

18
19 We can understand ambivalent figures like Grey and other colonial governors only if
20
21 we conceive of them as individual subjects attempting to gain capacity within an
22
23 assemblage of governmentality that was both territorialised and discursive (see
24
25 DeLanda 2006 in general and Lester 2012 for colonial governmentality). If Grey’s
26
27 own identity was a complex, dynamic, embodied assemblage at one scale, the
28
29 discourse of colonial governance in which he played a key role constituted an
30
31 assembled identity of a different kind and scale - one that was dispersed and
32
33 embodied differentially in different people. This discourse causally affected the
34
35 people that were its component parts, limiting them and enabling them. As a
36
37 definable assemblage, colonial governmentality had both material and expressive
38
39 components. It was expressed above all by language that took material form in the
40
41 words of texts and the images that travelled to sustain governmental networks. Grey
42
43 would prove particularly adept at mobilizing such language and disseminating it,
44
45 acquiring capacity within, and ability to shape, governmentality.
46
47
48
49
50

51 In 1830, commissioned as an ensign, Grey had been posted to Ireland, where he
52
53 served for three or four years. In most biographical narratives, Grey’s uncomfortable
54
55 experiences there persuaded him of the necessity for a liberal empire. Although
56
57 instructed to counter an organised boycott of tithes he could not help himself being
58
59
60

1
2
3 inspired by Daniel O’Connell’s nationalist oratory. Rather than being the cause of the
4
5 conflict between his loyalty and his sympathy, however, the British Empire offered
6
7 Grey a resolution to it. As Keith Sinclair put it, “appalled by the poverty of the Irish
8
9 people ... He reached the conclusion that emigration was the solution to Ireland’s ills:
10
11 new nations should be established, in lands of opportunity for the poor” (Sinclair,
12
13 2012, np).

14
15
16
17 Dale (2006) has revisited this Irish period in Grey’s formative years, questioning the
18
19 notion that the lesson he learned was that of emigration and liberal imperial reform.
20
21 Rather, Ireland served as the arena in which Grey learned how to narrativise his
22
23 ambivalent behaviours for multiple audiences. Thus, although Grey left Ireland after
24
25 three or four years to return to Sandhurst for further military training, he made it
26
27 seem in later accounts, reproduced by subsequent biographers, as though the
28
29 experience of service there had so radicalised him that he chose to leave the army
30
31 and pursue a career as a colonial explorer, in order to help realise his vision of
32
33 benevolent imperial expansion in new lands. The account of his experiences that the
34
35 older Grey narrated to his first biographer was certainly inflected with the trope of
36
37 individual transformation characteristic of the evangelical narratives that were
38
39 popular during the 1830s (Milne, 1899).

40
41
42
43
44 After exploring in Western Australia Grey acted briefly as magistrate in Albany. He
45
46 used his few months in office there to very good effect in the promotion of his career
47
48 in Britain. Not only did he publish his exploratory journal and a vocabulary of
49
50 Aboriginal languages, to which I will return below; he also appended to his journal a
51
52 pamphlet entitled *Report on the Best Means of Promoting the Civilization of the*
53
54 *Aboriginal Inhabitants of Australia*, which outlined a scheme for the humane
55
56 governance of Aboriginal people undergoing settler colonization (Grey, 1840).
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 The *Report* acquired tremendous significance for Grey's later career, as both
4
5 governor and ethnographer. It enabled Grey to acquire considerably enhanced
6
7 capacity within those networks through which the art of colonial government was
8
9 inscribed. Grey promoted it assiduously, via James Stephen, Permanent Under-
10
11 Secretary at the Colonial Office in London, who enclosed it with the instructions sent
12
13 to James Hobson for his first Lieutenant Governorship of New Zealand, as a
14
15 potential model for humane governance of the Māori. It was published in
16
17 Parliamentary Papers and republished in periodicals in Britain and the Australian
18
19 colonies. As Damon Salesa notes, the report actually "contained little that was
20
21 original. Its strength was that it tied together many diverse approaches to which the
22
23 Colonial Office was already sympathetic, with a few detailed touches that were
24
25 Grey's own". Nevertheless its effect was, in the words of Colonial Secretary Lord
26
27 John Russell, to render Grey "a man destined to reclaim an aboriginal race and
28
29 amalgamate them with civilization" (Salesa, 2011, 108).
30
31
32
33
34

35 Not only did his *Report* secure a reputation for Grey at a young age, it also provided
36
37 him with a template for governmentality that he would seek to effect throughout his
38
39 own gubernatorial career. The contact that he had made with James Stephen
40
41 enabled Grey to embark upon the governorship of South Australia, aged only twenty-
42
43 eight, after his return to England, and it was there that he acquired particular favour
44
45 with the Colonial Office for reversing the colony's slide into insolvency and complete
46
47 dependence on the British exchequer (Dale, 2008).
48
49
50

51 **Understandings of Race**

52

53
54 In much of the historical and geographical literature on racial thought, the mid-
55
56 nineteenth century features as a key disjuncture. Beforehand, evangelical ideas of
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 human universality – the same ideas that had fostered the antislavery movement in
4
5 Britain and across the Atlantic – had accompanied a monogenetic and stadial
6
7 understanding of human progress (see Livingstone 2008). Afterwards, historians of
8
9 science and race have suggested, a biologically determinist understanding of race,
10
11 associated in part with polygenetic explanations of human origins and encouraged
12
13 by social Darwinism, became dominant (Lorimer, 1978, Stepan 1982, Anderson
14
15 2007). Yet, scientific racism, founded upon a notion of innate and irreparable human
16
17 difference, was not a consensual nor a hegemonic understanding, let alone a key
18
19 legitimation for empire, in most of the later nineteenth century. Rather, a liberal and
20
21 Christian, monogenetic interpretation of race continued to dominate in both scientific
22
23 and popular discourse (Lorimer, 2013, 8; Livingstone, 2008). While such ideas
24
25 remained hegemonic, however, they proved flexible enough to accommodate
26
27 notions of immutability derived from the politicized arguments of planters, settlers
28
29 and their metropolitan supporters. In particular, these ideas could be accommodated
30
31 with an evolution - inflected understanding that colonized races' progress towards
32
33 civilization would take thousands of years, rather than a generation or two. And that
34
35 was if certain races were going to persist at all.

36
37 While there had long been expectations of the rise and fall of particular civilizations,
38
39 it was the relatively new notion of dying *races* that was most significant for Grey's
40
41 career as both a persuasive ethnographer and a humanitarian governor. During the
42
43 early part of the century, it was well known that species of flora and fauna, such as
44
45 the dodo, rendered extinct in the seventeenth century, had disappeared as the result
46
47 of human action. But endemic extinction, as a result of "nature" itself was, as yet,
48
49 inconceivable. As Sadiya Qureshi explains, "accepting extinction as a feature of the
50
51 natural world posed several difficulties ... For many theists and deists alike, the
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 possibility of extinction appeared to undermine the perfection one might expect of a
4
5 natural world designed by a Supreme Being. Moreover, it contradicted the notion of
6
7 natural plenitude: the widely accepted proposition that all possible forms of existence,
8
9 whether living or not, had existed and would continue to do so” (Qureshi, 2013a, 3).
10
11 Following especially Cuvier’s analysis of fossil elephants as a distinct species,
12
13 however, European scientists began to accept that extinction could be a “natural”
14
15 process, even outside of human agency (Qureshi, 2013b, 270). It was not, therefore
16
17 something for which human culpability was necessary.
18
19

20
21 Such an understanding raised the possibility of a revised rather than abandoned,
22
23 stadial theory, pertaining to the natural divisions within humanity itself. It was not
24
25 necessarily the same peoples who progressively moved from hunter-gathering
26
27 through pastoralism and agriculture to commerce, but rather, groups more advanced
28
29 along this scale may have rendered extinct more backward human populations. They
30
31 would have done so with no more premeditated malice than the environmental
32
33 changes and inter-species competition that had caused the disappearance of the
34
35 fossil elephants. Those who professed humanity found it regrettable nonetheless,
36
37 and these revised understandings of the fate of races encountering more advanced
38
39 peoples would have implications for colonial governance.
40
41
42
43

44
45 As we have seen, at the time that Grey first started to gain influence as a young
46
47 explorer, the dominant governmental discourse of humane colonization in the
48
49 expanding British settler colonies centred upon the idea of Protection. This meant, in
50
51 effect, the preservation of Indigenous life and resources in the midst of settler
52
53 invasion. It was a project entrusted to a handful of officials given the title of Protector
54
55 of Aborigines in Australia and New Zealand. These men were organised within
56
57 official Protectorate governmental departments that were modelled on the offices
58
59
60

1
2
3 established for the protection of slaves in the Caribbean during the era of the
4 amelioration. Given magisterial powers, the Protectors' role was to shield their
5 Indigenous charges from settler violence and dispossession. They had also had a
6 remit of introducing British civilization and Christianity to their Indigenous 'recipients',
7 on reserved landholdings, although most lacked the resources and support to
8 attempt such a civilizing mission (Lester and Dussart, 2014). Their task seemed
9 particularly futile in the face of the rapid and violently destructive colonization of the
10 Port Philip District (now Victoria). There, rates of Aboriginal population decline were
11 around 90 per cent, with direct massacres rather than introduced diseases
12 "responsible for the deaths of more than 11 per cent of the known Aboriginal
13 population", between 1836 and 1851 (Ryan 2010, 257).
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27

28 Within the British Empire, it was the contemporaneous fate of Van Diemen's Land's
29 Aboriginal population, however, which seemed most persuasive of the new
30 understanding that human extinction could itself be a 'natural', if unfortunate, process.
31 Aboriginal "eradication" in Tasmania came, widely and quickly, to be understood in
32 Britain as an inevitable consequence of the spread of a more advanced people and
33 civilization (for accounts of the guerrilla war which underlay this discourse of
34 eradication see Reynolds 1995, Ryan 1996, Boyce, 2009). As the first empirical
35 example of a supposedly dying race, Tasmania's Aboriginal people loomed large in
36 mid- to late- nineteenth century British discourse (Lawson 2014). Through
37 newspapers, travel writing, art exhibitions, museum displays and the scientific
38 appropriation of bodily remains, metropolitan audiences learned the lesson from
39 Tasmania that, much as it might be regretted, such was Europeans', and especially
40 Britons' power, other races would simply fade away before them as they spread their
41 influence around the world (Lawson 2014; McGregor, 1997).
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 It was this understanding, based upon practical experience in Australasia, which
4 gave rise to the origins of ethnography as a project of salvage (Sera-Shriar, 2013).
5
6 Just as the collection of disappearing species of flora and fauna, and their
7
8 preservation in zoological or botanical gardens became central to the developing
9
10 biological sciences, the “sudden and traumatic” awareness “of the destructive impact
11
12 of European civilization on native peoples and their cultures” gave rise to the
13
14 collection of information on dying races as the basis for the new science of
15
16 ethnography. “In the face of the inevitable and necessary changes, in the face of an
17
18 almost infinite variety of man whose details were essential to a definition of man, the
19
20 obligation of both scientist and humanist was clear: he must collect and preserve the
21
22 information and the products of human activity and genius so rapidly being destroyed”
23
24 (Gruber 1970, 1290).
25
26
27
28
29

30 Before the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS) in 1839,
31
32 James Cowles Prichard outlined the tone for an emergent anthropology: ,
33
34

35
36 Wherever Europeans have settled, their arrival has been the harbinger of
37
38 extermination to the native tribes ... Now, as the progress of colonization is so
39
40 much extended of late years, and the obstacle of distance and physical
41
42 difficulties are so much overcome, it may be calculated that these
43
44 calamities ... are to be accelerated in their progress; and it may happen that,
45
46 in the course of another century, the aboriginal nations of most parts of the
47
48 world will have ceased entirely to exist. In the meantime, if Christian nations
49
50 think it not their duty to interpose and save the numerous tribes of their own
51
52 species from utter extermination, it is of the greatest importance ... to obtain
53
54 much more extensive information than we now possess of their physical and
55
56 moral characters. A great number of curious problems in physiology ... remain
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 as yet imperfectly solved. The psychology of these races has been but little
4 studied in an enlightened manner; and yet this is wanting in order to complete
5 the history of human nature, and the philosophy of the human mind. How can
6 this be obtained when so many tribes shall have become extinct, and their
7 thoughts shall have perished with them? (Prichard, 1839, 1).
8
9
10
11
12
13

14 The BAAS responded to Prichard's appeal by printing and circulating a series of
15 questions and suggestions for the use of travellers and others, "with a view to
16 procure information respecting the different races of men, and more especially those
17 which are in an uncivilized state" (BAAS, 1839, xxvi; Sera-Shriar, 2013). A
18 committee was appointed to draw up the questions, including Charles Darwin as
19 member and Prichard as chairman. In its report two years later, the committee dwelt
20 upon the "absolute necessity for pursuing the work if anything valuable and
21 satisfactory is to be accomplished; seeing that the races in question are not only
22 changing character, but rapidly disappearing" (BAAS, 1841, 332-3391).
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38

39 **Grey's Report**

40
41 If the Indigenous peoples of Britain's settler colonies (and of the USA's proliferating
42 western territories) were dying out, then it was clear that the project of official
43 Protection had failed. One of the key questions for colonial governors during the later
44 1840s and 1850s, then, was how to perpetuate the legacy of humanitarian colonial
45 governance, inherited from the emancipationist, evangelical 1830s and early 1840s.
46 The problem was especially acute given that settler communities were pressing for
47 political responsibility to be transferred from the restraining hand of the British
48 metropolitan government to the very colonisers whose acts of violent dispossession
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 had compelled humanitarian intervention in the first place. George Grey, I suggest,
4 provided perhaps the most persuasive and explicit rationalisation of the dilemma and
5 answer to this problem – an answer that proved satisfactory to the Colonial Office
6 and, it would seem, to most Britons. But he was able to do so only by virtue of the
7 fact that he was admired as both governor and an ethnographer and because he
8 wrote from and governed particular sites of settler colonization. These were the
9 characteristics that credited him with particular capacity within the mutually
10 imbricated discursive assemblages of governmentality and the emergent field of
11 ethnography. The Colonial office had Grey's *Report* from Western Australia
12 published and circulated the year before Prichard's explicit call for a salvage
13 ethnography. Grey himself would soon become one of the most influential
14 contributors to that project and at the same time, one of the most powerful figures in
15 the governance of empire. Both trajectories were furthered by the *Report* itself.

16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32 Grey began his *Report* by noting that all previous attempts to civilise Aboriginal
33 people in the Australian colonies had failed. This, he argued, was because colonial
34 policies were founded on the protective principle that, until such time as Aboriginal
35 people proved amenable to British laws, they should be allowed to exercise "their
36 own customs upon themselves". Whilst originating in the "Philanthropic motives" that
37 were manifested in the Protectorates, such a position betrayed an ignorance of the
38 real nature of these customs and of their effects upon the individuals subjected to
39 them. Australia's Aboriginal people, as all good humanitarians knew, were "as apt
40 and intelligent as any other race of men", but as long as their code of laws prevailed,
41 it would be impossible for them ever to "emerge from a Savage state". Even a highly
42 endowed, civilised race, Grey asserted, would quickly be reduced once more to
43 savagery if such laws were ever to be imposed upon them (Grey, 1840, np).

1
2
3 The only solution was to insist, “from the moment the Aborigines of this Country are
4 declared British subjects”, that ‘they are taught that the British laws are to supersede
5 their own”. Far from being an aggressive assertion of sovereignty by right of
6 conquest, this was “the course of true humanity”. Such an act would give recourse to
7 individual Aborigines who suffered “under their own customs”, whilst enjoining “all
8 authorised persons” to “protect a native from the violence of his fellows, even though
9 they be in the execution of their own laws”. Individual indigenous people persuaded
10 of the benefits of British civilisation might thus have an escape route from
11 imprisoning and retarding customs (Grey, 1840, np).
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23

24 In order to exemplify, Grey invoked the kind of figure upon which antislavery and
25 evangelical humanitarian narratives had centred in their attempts to garner
26 compassion at a distance, writing of “almost or quite civilized ... girls who have been
27 betrothed in their infancy, and who, on approaching years of puberty, have been
28 compelled by their husbands to join them” in the bush. Such “barbarous laws” would
29 “destroy and overturn” any strides made by Aboriginal individuals (Grey, 1840, np).
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37

38 From the law, the *Report* moved next to the question of labour. Noting that
39 Aborigines were employed by settlers too sporadically, infrequently and for too low a
40 rate of return to provide an alternative to their “fondness for the bush”, Grey
41 suggested that the most natural remedy in the longer term might be a system of
42 proper schooling for Aboriginal children in order to inculcate the habits of skilled
43 labour. Grey’s more immediate solution was that the current system by which settlers
44 could be rewarded for introducing British labourers to the colonies be diverted, so as
45 to reward settlers who brought Aboriginal people into paid employment, largely
46 through remission in the purchase of land. Not only would such settlers still be
47 helping to relieve the colony’s labour shortages, they would also confer benefit on
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 their fellow settlers “by rendering one who was before a useless and dangerous
4 being, a serviceable member of the community” (Grey, 1840, np).

5
6
7
8 Rather than shielding their charges from settlers, Protectors of Aborigines should
9 take on the duty of certifying that settlers were engaged in providing productive
10 employment of them. Aboriginal people should be employed not only on private
11 settler farms but also in public projects such as “opening New Roads, or in repairing
12 old lines of communication”. Finally, Grey proposed that individual Aborigines who
13 had demonstrated their capacity and perseverance by working in this manner for
14 three years, be allocated land and capital with which to establish themselves as self-
15 reliant members of colonial society (Grey, 1840).

16
17
18
19 In his *Report*, then, even before he contributed to an incipient international discourse
20 of dying races, Grey had begun subtly to recast the role of Aboriginal protectors. The
21 protection of Indigenous peoples was a project doomed to failure once they were
22 confronted by British immigration. Their duty should consist instead in promoting the
23 most effectual amalgamation of those peoples.

24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 **Grey’s Ethnography**

40
41 There was an obvious instrumentality to Grey’s ethnography. His ethnographic study
42 could simply be interpreted as a strategy of knowing your enemy. As he himself put
43 it in the preface to a later Māori ethnography, “I soon perceived that I could neither
44 successfully govern, nor hope to conciliate, a numerous and turbulent people, with
45 whose language, manners, customs, religion, and modes of thought I was quite
46 unacquainted” (Grey, 1855, iii). But I want to develop a more subtle argument about
47 the effects of Grey’s ethnographic work and its relation to imperial governmentality.
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 By contributing significantly to the emerging science of ethnography from the late
4
5 1830s, Grey helped to establish that any policies which aimed to do more than just
6
7 smooth the pillow of inevitably dying Indigenous races could be considered a worthy
8
9 humanitarian intervention. It was Grey's ethnographic endeavours, following on from
10
11 the reputation gained by his *Report*, which persuaded both him and a large trans-
12
13 imperial constituency, that amalgamation was not simply an expedient governmental
14
15 exercise; it was the only humane alternative to extermination, and thus the only
16
17 means of exercising practical rather than merely sentimental humanitarianism.
18
19

20
21 Grey's ethnographic knowledge acquired a status among men of science because of
22
23 his prolific correspondence with those securing the establishment of ethnography in
24
25 Britain (see Sera-Shriar, 2013). The incipient discipline was, from the very beginning,
26
27 bound up with the development of humanitarian governance. The convergence
28
29 between these twin projects was embodied especially in Thomas Hodgkin, the
30
31 Quaker, Demonstrator in Anatomy, and, in the wake of the 1836-7 Select Committee
32
33 on Aborigines, founder of the Aborigines Protection Society (APS). It was Hodgkin
34
35 who had prompted Prichard's intervention at the 1839 BAAS. As a result of the
36
37 evidence presented to the Aborigines Committee, and from his own extensive
38
39 networks of Quaker and other correspondents in the colonies, Hodgkin had become
40
41 concerned by the late 1830s that British colonization was threatening to exterminate
42
43 Indigenous cultures entirely (Rainger, 1980; see Laidlaw, 2007 for Hodgkin's own
44
45 vast international correspondent networks). He had first proposed that the
46
47 Philological Society should draw up a set of queries which could be circulated to
48
49 interested parties on colonial frontiers in 1835. They would be designed to elicit vital
50
51 information about the physiology, customs and languages of indigenous peoples
52
53 before they became extinct. But despite the appointment of a committee and
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 Hodgkin's circulation of a paper to its members, that scheme petered out. Once he
4
5 had helped formed the APS, Hodgkin tried again, with more success.
6
7

8 Rainger describes this convergence of scientific and philanthropic motive:
9

10
11 What later would be defined as essentially a scientific enterprise was
12
13 employed for the purpose of "correcting" false assumptions about aboriginal
14
15 peoples – especially the belief that they were naturally inferior or devoid of
16
17 physical or intellectual capabilities –in the hope that more humane treatment
18
19 of them and the eventual improvement of their condition would follow (Rainger,
20
21 1980, 706).
22
23

24
25 In 1839, Hodgkin was able to utilize the heightened concern for indigenous peoples
26
27 that the Aborigines Committee had aroused, persuading Prichard, himself raised a
28
29 Quaker and an honorary member of the APS, to read his paper at the Birmingham
30
31 meeting of the BAAS (on Prichard's significance as Britain's leading ethnographer,
32
33 and his own networks of correspondents, see Urry, 1972; Augstein, 1999;
34
35 Livingstone, 2008; Qureshi, 2011; on the APS see Rainger, 1980, Swaisland, 2000,
36
37 Heartfield 2011). Hodgkin's intention was to help publicize the APS among Britain's
38
39 leading men of science. Prichard duly praised the work of the APS at the same time
40
41 that he helped to outline what has come to be known as the project of salvage
42
43 ethnography in his BAAS paper (Prichard, 1839; Anon. 1840). It was Hodgkin who
44
45 produced the BAAS's "extensive, well-organised set of queries relative to foreign
46
47 people and cultures" for travelers and colonists, which was published in 1841
48
49
50 (Rainger, 1980, 713).
51
52
53

54
55 George Grey's linguistic and ethnographic researches in Western Australia were of
56
57 particular interest to the sub-committee, and he was in regular communication with
58
59
60

1
2
3 its members about the project. An honorary member of the APS himself, his scientific
4
5 correspondence with members of the sub-committee was entirely complementary to
6
7 his reputation as a humanitarian governor. As Grant notes, “As individuals and as a
8
9 body, the [APS] ... eulogized Grey’s benevolence and ‘sound policy towards the
10
11 natives” (Grant, 2005, 36). Stocking describes Grey as “one of the more perceptive
12
13 ethnographers of his day and author of some of the most influential ethnographic
14
15 work of the century” (Stocking, 1987, 81). But throughout, Grey’s ethnography and
16
17 his governmentality were inseparable projects, empowered through his overlapping
18
19 networks of correspondents in governmental, scientific and humanitarian arenas,
20
21 including not just Hodgkin, Prichard and the APS and BAAS, but also Thomas
22
23 Huxley, Joseph Hooker, and Charles Lyell (Grant, 2005, and on the importance of
24
25 scientific correspondence networks more generally, Endersby 2008).
26
27
28
29

30 In the *Vocabulary* to which his *Western Australia Report* was originally attached,
31
32 Grey was scathing about “deistical writers” who dreamed that “savage man”, “urged
33
34 on by his necessities, and aided by his senses”, might “step by step” climb to the
35
36 “pinnacle of civilization” without some outside governmental intervention to change
37
38 the basis of their social interaction, their laws and their customs (Quoted Stocking,
39
40 1987, 83). On the one hand, Grey recognised that God had granted Australian
41
42 Aboriginal people a set of rules which enabled their survival in a harsh environment –
43
44 one in which his own exploratory party would have perished without their help.
45
46
47 Indeed, Grey’s identification of north-western Aboriginal Australians’ ability not only
48
49 to survive in harsh environments, but to secure an abundance of resources, was a
50
51 key inspiration for Marshall Sahlins’ famous characterisation of poverty as not “just a
52
53 relation between means and ends”, but rather “a relation between people” (Sahlins
54
55 1974, 37-8).
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 However, Grey himself moved on from the observation of self-sufficiency to the
4
5 advocacy of “civilization”. While they may enable a state of being beyond mere
6
7 survival in harsh environments, Grey continued, aboriginal institutions, “allowed ‘no
8
9 scope whatever’ for the development of intellect or benevolence, ‘were surely not
10
11 beneficial to human beings as rational creatures’, and were especially punitive of
12
13 young women effectively enslaved to the desires of older men” (Stocking, 1987, 84).
14
15 If God had intended Aboriginal society to persist in its current state for the last few
16
17 millennia, it was also clear to Grey that the “wizard wand” of British colonial
18
19 governance, brought more recently to bear upon that society, was part of the same
20
21 Divine providence. God had now “set in motion a ‘progress of civilization’ governed
22
23 by laws as ‘certain and definite’ as those of planetary movement” (Stocking, 1987,
24
25 84). The imperative for those, like himself, charged with governmentality was to
26
27 ensure that, “if they survived extinction” at the hands of settlers, who represented the
28
29 first, destructive harbingers of civilization, Aboriginal people would not do so as “a
30
31 despised and inferior race” (Grey, quoted Stocking, 1987, 84, my emphasis).
32
33
34
35

36
37 Grey’s early Aboriginal vocabularies were just the beginning of a prolific publishing
38
39 career in and on Aboriginal Australians, Native Americans and Māori, upon which
40
41 there is no space to elaborate here (see Grey, 1841; Stocking, 1987; Grant, 2005).
42
43 In the Cape Colony (1854-61), Grey’s collecting and his hiring of William Bleek as an
44
45 assistant were more influential than his own writing. He took advantage of his
46
47 privileged position as governor to solicit manuscripts and publications from across
48
49 and beyond the British empire. Regular shipments not only of texts but also of plant
50
51 and animal specimens and curiosities, enabled him to amass an enormous collection
52
53 from most of sub-Saharan Africa, Indonesia, Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific
54
55 Islands, which not only provided the basis for the South African National Library and
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 Museum in Cape Town, but also stimulated “a tremendous surge of writing on
4 African linguistics and ethnology” (Thornton 1983a, 503). Employed as Grey’s
5 librarian, Bleek became the most influential ethnographer of southern African
6 peoples. Drawing upon his familiarity with Grey’s collections, Bleek coined the term
7 “Bantu”, with its far-reaching historical effects (Bleek, 1858-9; Thornton, 1983b;
8 Dubow, 1995, 78-9; Bank, 2000, 163-7). As Vansina points out, the term “came to
9 designate, ambiguously, an imagined ‘race’, a conjectured common history, a family
10 of languages, a zeitgeist or worldview, a ‘stage’ or civilisation”, or a culture (Vansina
11 1979, 80). In the same way as “Aryan” in Europe, “the word entered the everyday
12 vocabulary of the European languages, especially as these were spoken in Africa,
13 with similar political consequences” (Thornton 1983, 511-2).

14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28 As southern African historians know all too well, Grey pursued his amalgamationist
29 vision most ruthlessly in the Cape Colony. There, his governorship coincided with
30 (and helped to exacerbate) an existential crisis among those Xhosa polities
31 bordering the colony. Following sequential losses of grazing land, successive
32 attempts to regain it militarily (each of which had been punished with the confiscation
33 of more land), and the spread of lung sickness further raising mortality among their
34 cattle, from 1856 tens of thousands of Xhosa placed desperate faith in the
35 prophecies of the prophet Nongqawuse. She predicted that the sacrificial slaughter
36 of remaining cattle would prompt the ancestors to arise and sweep the British away
37 from the land once and for all. Grey capitalized on the ensuing catastrophe, known
38 as the Great Xhosa Cattle Killing, in 1857, in which some 30,000 people starved to
39 death. He reduced surviving Xhosa to a dependence on work for welfare
40 programmes, employing them in building roads which would enable more effective
41 crushing of future resistance to colonial expansion (Peires 1989, Lester 2001). Yet
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 his humanitarianism was unquestioned. In 1863 after his 'successes' in the Cape,
4 David Livingstone told him that "a word from you" on the need to act against the
5 African slave trade, "is ever valuable and exhilarating" (Grant, 2005, 36, 46). As Dale
6 observes, "In his position as administrator and ethnographer, Grey [was] both the
7 scribe of a 'vanishing' culture and ... the instrument of deliverance from that culture"
8 (Dale, 2006, 30). It was precisely during the crisis of the Cattle Killing movement that
9 Grey most avidly collected Xhosa publications to compile an ethnography of this
10 particular, apparently, dying race.
11
12

13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21 If Grey had established a reputation as a great and influential ethnographer, in the
22 early 1860s, by which time he had governed South Australia, New Zealand (twice)
23 and the Cape Colony, he was also being promoted in Britain and its empire as a
24 model governor. It was this which gave his academic work what would now be called
25 impact. Among his promoters was Herman Merivale, Professor of Political Economy
26 at Oxford from 1837 to 1842 and then, by virtue of his published *Lectures on*
27 *Colonization and Colonies* (Merivale 1841, reprinted with additions, 1861), Assistant
28 and then Permanent Under-Secretary for the colonies at the Colonial Office from
29 1847. From 1860, Merivale provided a significant connection between the
30 governance of the two major spheres of the British Empire as he moved from the
31 administration of the Crown Colonies to that of British India as Permanent Under-
32 Secretary at the India Office (Stephen 2004). Merivale's *Lectures* were cited by Marx
33 in *Capital* as well as being a great influence on Trollope and, of course, in the
34 exercise of imperial administration on a daily basis (Marx 1887, 439, 539; Hall, 2002,
35 212-3). Lorimer asserts that his liberal "form of reasoning has a more central place in
36 Victorian racial discourse than that of his eccentric contemporaries [and biological
37 determinists] Robert Knox and James Hunt" (2013, 175).
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 Merivale made use of Grey as his informant on indigenous peoples and the best
4
5 ways of administering them within an empire which took pride in its anti-slavery
6
7 tradition. For him, Grey was “an observer who has studied with no common diligence
8
9 and success the characteristics of the natives” (Merivale 1861, 499). From Grey
10
11 Merivale drew the lesson as an academic, and then applied it as an official, that “the
12
13 colonial authorities should act upon the assumption that they have the right, in virtue
14
15 of the relative position of civilised and Christian men to savages ... to enforce
16
17 outwards conformity to the law of what we would regard as better instructed reason”
18
19 (Merivale 1861, 503). Merivale became the key means by which Grey’s writings
20
21 circulated not just among other governors and the Colonial Office, but within a
22
23 broader British public. His relationship with Grey exposes the *processes* (rather than
24
25 just rhetoric) that transformed colonised peoples into endangered subjects which, in
26
27 turn, rationalised a very particular kind of liberal intervention and governance.²
28
29
30
31

32
33 In particular, it was Grey’s posited alternative futures for Indigenous peoples that
34
35 Merivale helped to disseminate and implement. “What is the ultimate destiny of those
36
37 races whose interests we are now discovering?”, he asked. The answer was that
38
39 “There are only three alternatives which imagination can itself suggest”. The first was
40
41 a process by now becoming widely accepted as probably inevitable: “The
42
43 extermination of native races”. The second was the outcome towards which existing
44
45 policies of Protection were aimed: “Their civilization, complete or partial by retaining
46
47 them, as insulated bodies of men, carefully removed, during the civilizing process,
48
49 from the injury of European contact”. The third was Grey’s particular innovation:
50
51 “Their amalgamation with the colonists”. Merivale rationalised Grey’s choice:
52
53
54
55
56
57

58 ² My thanks to Sadiya Qureshi for this important point.
59
60

1
2
3 Those who hold the opinion that the first is inevitable, are happily relieved
4 from the trouble of all these considerations. Their only object must be to
5 ensure that the inevitable end be not precipitated by cruelty or injustice. The
6 second alternative I cannot but believe to be impossible. Instruction in
7 segregated communities is only to be carried on under the defence of laws
8 hedging them in from all foreign intercourse with a strictness impracticable in
9 the present state of the world... long before the seeds of civilization have
10 made any effectual shoot, the little nursery is surrounded by the advance of
11 the European population; the demand for the land of the natives become
12 urgent and irresistible, and pupils and instructors are driven out into the
13 wilderness to commence their work again. There remains only the third
14 alternative; that of amalgamation. And this I am most anxious to impress upon
15 your minds, because I firmly believe it to be the very keystone, the leading
16 principle of all sound theory on the subject – that native races must in every
17 instance either perish, or be amalgamated with the general [settler] population
18 of their country (Merivale, 1861, 510-11).

19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39 “By amalgamation”, Merivale continued, “I mean the union of natives with settlers in
40 the same community, as master and servant, as fellow labourers, as fellow citizens
41 and if possible as connected by inter-marriage” (Merivale, 1861, 511). Here, in the
42 1861 edition of his *Lectures*, Merivale added a footnote: ‘This last kind of connection
43 (of master and servant), has been carried out with more success in South Africa than
44 in any other British possession ... on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony
45 (especially since the strange collapse of the Caffre [Xhosa] power, under the
46 influence of scarcity and superstition in 1857-8), great numbers of natives appear to
47 have taken voluntary service under the settlers, and to have performed it with
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 reasonable steadiness ... the experiment was superintended by one of those men
4
5 who seem to possess the rare faculty of entering into the savage mind, and
6
7 becoming themselves intelligible to it, the governor, Sir George Grey' (Merivale,
8
9 1861, fn. 511).

12 **Conclusion**

13
14
15 Grey utilised the expectation that indigenous peoples were inexorably dying out
16
17 when confronted by a superior civilization – an expectation engendered through the
18
19 networks of both scientific and humanitarian men such as Hodgkin and Prichard - to
20
21 bolster his own credentials as one of their most valuable ethnographic chroniclers.
22
23 But his more striking innovation was to establish the supposition that any
24
25 government which did more than simply making their extinction as painless as
26
27 possible was perpetuating *humanitarian* governance beyond the initial, now failed,
28
29 period of Protection. Grey's programme of governmentality was founded not only
30
31 upon the survival, but also the redemptive development of indigenous individuals
32
33 through their amalgamation with settlers. In setting out this agenda, in disseminating
34
35 it so effectively through both scientific and governmental networks, and in helping to
36
37 effect its implementation as policy both in those colonies that he governed himself
38
39 and in others subject to Colonial Office oversight, Grey can be seen as one of the
40
41 true progenitors of those practices that have come to be seen within settler colonial
42
43 studies as eliminationist.
44
45
46
47
48

49 Thanks to his benign, assimilationist interventions, Grey and others could claim,
50
51 individuals of indigenous descent, released from the failed "nurseries" of their own,
52
53 the Protectors' and the missionaries' land holdings, and thus from territory, would
54
55 survive the death of the cultures that had circumscribed previous generations. As
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 Merivale concluded, "amalgamation, by some means or other, is the only possible
4 Euthanasia of savage communities" (1841/61, 512). Later anthropologists with some
5 governmental influence such as those analysed by Wolfe (1999) were following very
6 much in Grey's footsteps when they advocated policies of Aboriginal family-break up.
7
8

9
10
11
12 The only alternative to such amalgamationist measures, after all, was eradication.
13 Dating from the very accomplishment of settler invasion, Grey's own, and others'
14 ethnography established a very low threshold for what qualified as humane
15 intervention in settler colonial societies: the maintenance of 'bare life' at an atomised
16 individual, rather than a social scale (Agamben, 1998). In offering a programme for
17 Indigenous peoples' future welfare as assimilated subjects Grey seemed to offer
18 more than this. He offered emigrant and metropolitan Britons a liberal empire
19 founded on violent dispossession and cultural genocide without culpability for the
20 physical eradication of races.
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31

32
33 It mattered greatly that ethnography was pursued not just by state functionaries and
34 officials and not just in support of governmental projects that were independently
35 conceived and articulated, but that it was also engendered by governing men
36 themselves, and by one in particular. The enigmatic George Grey was a critical
37 figure in this articulation between ethnography and colonial governance. He was an
38 embodied focal point of particular capacity in much larger assemblages of both
39 colonial governmentality and ethnographic understanding. Grey was able to achieve
40 this status partly by virtue of his extraordinary individual mobility, and partly through
41 his spatially extensive textual and material networking *in situ*. The combination of his
42 geographical and his expressive adroitness, facilitated by the enhanced
43 communications and transport networks of a growing empire, enabled him especially
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 to provide Britons with a narrative through which they could legitimate empire without
4
5 biological determinism or the extremes of scientific racism.
6
7

8 **References**

9
10
11 Agamben G 1998 *Homo Sacer: Sovereignty and Bare Life*, Trans. D. Heller-Roazen.
12
13 (Stanford University Press, Stanford)
14

15
16
17 Anderson K 2007 *Race and the Crisis of Humanism* (Routledge, London)

18
19
20 Anon. 1840 *Report of the Ninth Meeting of the British Association for the*
21
22 *Advancement of Science Held at Birmingham in August 1839* (John Murray, London)
23

24
25 Asad T, Ed 1973, *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* (Humanity Books, New
26
27 York).
28

29
30 Augstein HF 1999 *James Cowles Prichard's Anthropology: Remaking the Science of*
31
32 *Man in Early Nineteenth-century Britain* (Brill, Rodopi).
33

34
35 Bank A, 2000, "Evolution and racial theory: the hidden side of Wilhelm Bleek" *South*
36
37 *African Historical Journal* **43** 1 163-217
38

39
40 Berg L D, 1999, "A (white) man of his times? Sir George Grey and the narration of
41
42 hegemonic masculinity in Victorian New Zealand", in *Masculinities in New Zealand*
43
44 Eds R Law, H Campbell, J Dolan (The Dunmore Press, Palmerston North) pp 67 –
45
46 83
47

48
49
50 Bleek, W H I, 1858-59 *The Library of Sir George Grey; Catalogue vol. I* (Trubner,
51
52 London)
53

54
55
56 Boyce, J 2009 *Van Diemen's Land* (Black Inc., Melbourne)
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 Cohn B S, 1986 *An Anthropologist Among the Historians and Other Essays* (Oxford
4 University Press, Delhi)

5
6
7
8 Cohn B S, 1996 *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*
9 (Princeton University Press, Princeton)

10
11
12
13 Dale L, 2006, "George Grey in Ireland: narrative and network" in *Colonial Lives*
14 *Across the British Empire: Imperial careering in the Long Nineteenth Century* Eds D
15 Lambert and A Lester (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge) pp145-75

16
17
18
19 Dale L, 2008, "George Grey in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa", in *Writing,*
20 *Travel and Empire* Eds P. Hulme, R. McDougall (I. B. Tauris, London) pp 19-42.

21
22
23
24
25
26 Dirks N B, 1992, "From little king to landlord: colonial discourse and colonial rule", in
27 *Colonialism and Culture* Ed. N B Dirks (University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor) pp
28 175-208.

29
30
31
32
33 DeLanda M 2006 *A New Philosophy of Society: Assemblage Theory and Social*
34 *Complexity* (Bloomsbury, London).

35
36
37
38
39 Dubow S, 1995 *Scientific Racism in Modern South Africa* (Cambridge University
40 Press, Cambridge)

41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49 Ellen R, 1976, "The development of Anthropology and colonial policy in the
50 Netherlands, 1800-1960" *Journal of the History of the Behavioural Sciences* **12** 303-
51 24.

52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60 Endersby J 2008 *Imperial Nature: Joseph Hooker and the Prctices of Victorian*
Science (University of Chicago Press, Chicago)

1
2
3 Fassin D 2012, *Humanitarian Reason: A Moral History of the Present* (University of
4 California Press, Berkeley)

5
6
7
8 Foucault M 1979 *Omnes et Singulatim: Towards a Criticism of Political Reason*, The
9 Tanner Lectures on Human Values, delivered at Stanford University, October 10 and
10 16, 1979, available online at [http://foucault.info/documents/](http://foucault.info/documents/foucault.omnesEtSingulatim.en.html)
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

18 Grant S, 2005 *God's Governor: George Grey and Racial Amalgamation in New
19 Zealand, 1845-1853* PhD thesis, Department of History, University of Otago

23 Grey G, 1840 *Report on the Best Means of Promoting the Civilization of the
24 Aboriginal Inhabitants of Australia*, reproduced in Russell to Gipps, 25 Aug. 1840,
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

33 Grey G, 1841, *Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery in North-west and Western
34 Australia during the Years 1837, 38, and 39, vols. 1 and 2* (T. and W. Boone, London)

38 Grey G, 1855, *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the New
39 Zealand Race As Furnished by Their Priests and Chiefs* (John Murray, London)

43 Gruber J W, 1970, "Ethnographic salvage and the shaping of Anthropology"
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

49 Hall C, 2002 *Civilizing Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination
50 1830-1867* (Polity, Cambridge)

1
2
3 Heartfield J 2011 *The Aborigines' Protection Society: Humanitarian Imperialism in*
4
5 *Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Canada, South Africa, and the Congo, 1836-1909*
6
7 (Columbia University Press, New York).
8

9
10 Henderson G C, 1907 *Sir George Grey: Pioneer of Empire in Southern Lands* (J. M.
11
12 Dent and Co, London)
13

14
15 Kuklick H, 1991 *The Savage Within: The Social History of British Anthropology,*
16
17 *1885-1945* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge)
18

19
20 Lackner H, 1973, "Social Anthropology and indirect rule: the colonial administration
21
22 and Anthropology in Eastern Nigeria: 1920-1940", in *Anthropology and the Colonial*
23
24 *Encounter* Ed T Asad (Humanity Books, New York) pp 123-52
25
26

27
28 Laidlaw Z 2007, "Heathens, slaves and Aborigines: Thomas Hodgkin's critique of
29
30 missions and anti-slavery" *History Workshop Journal* **64** 1 133-61
31
32

33
34 Laidlaw Z and Lester A eds 2015, *Indigenous Communities and Settler Colonialism:*
35
36 *Land Holding, Loss and Survival in an Interconnected World* (Palgrave Macmillan,
37
38 London).
39

40
41 Lambert D and Lester A (2006) *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire: Imperial*
42
43 *Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge).
44
45

46
47 Lawson T 2014, *The Last Man: a British Genocide in Tasmania* (I. B. Tauris, London)
48

49
50 Lester A 2012 "Personifying Colonial Governance: George Arthur and the Transition
51
52 from Humanitarian to Development Discourse", *Annals of the Association of*
53
54 *American Geographers*, **102** 6 1468-1488.
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 Lester A and Dussart F 2014 *Colonization and the Origins of Humanitarian*
4
5 *Governance: Protecting Aborigines Across the Nineteenth-Century British Empire*,
6
7 (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge).
8

9
10 Livingstone D 2008 *Adam's Ancestors: Race, Religion, and the Politics of Human*
11
12 *Origins* (Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore)
13

14
15 Lorimer D, 1978 *Colour, Class and the Victorians: English Attitudes to the Negro in*
16
17 *the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (University of Leicester Press, Leicester)
18

19
20 Lorimer D A, 2013, *Science, Race Relations and Resistance: Britain, 1870-1914*
21
22 (Manchester University Press, Manchester)
23

24
25 Ludden D, 1992, "India's development regime", in *Colonialism and Culture* Ed. N B
26
27 Dirks (University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor) pp 247-88
28

29
30 Lugard F, 1930, "Address at the reception to Dominion premiers and delegates to
31
32 the Imperial Conference: 10th October, 1930", *Man* **30** 213-215
33

34
35 Marx K, 1887 *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, Volume I, Book One: The*
36
37 *Process of Production of Capital* (Progress, Moscow)
38

39
40 McGregor R, 1997 *Imagined Destinies: Aboriginal Australians and the Doomed Race*
41
42 *Theory, 1880-1939* (Melbourne University Press, Melbourne)
43

44
45 Meek C K, 1937 *Law and Authority in a Nigerian Tribe* (AMS Press, London)
46

47
48 Mehta U, 1999 *Liberalism and Empire: A Study in Nineteenth Century British Liberal*
49
50 *Thought* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago)
51

52
53 Merivale H, 1841 (reprinted 1861) *Lectures on Colonisation and the Colonies at the*
54
55 *University of Oxford, vol. I* (Longman, London)
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 Milne J, 1899 *The Romance of a Pro-Consul: Being the Personal Life of the Right*
4
5 *Hon. Sir George Grey, KCB* (Chatto and Windus, London)
6
7

8 Peires J B 1989 *The Dead Will Arise: Nongqawuse and the Great Xhosa Cattle*
9
10 *Killing Movement of 1856-7* (Ravan Press, Johannesburg)
11
12

13 Pels P and Salemink O 1999, "Introduction: locating the colonial subjects of
14
15 Anthropology" in *Colonial Subjects: Essays on the Practical History of Anthropology*
16
17 Eds P. Pels and O. Salemink (University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor) pp 1-35
18
19

20 Prichard J C 1839, "On the extinction of human races" *Edinburgh New Philosophical*
21
22 *Journal* **28** 166
23
24

25 Reynolds H 1995 *Fate of a Free People* (Penguin, London)
26
27

28 Quereshi S 2011, "Robert Gordon Latham, displayed peoples and the natural history
29
30 of race, 1854–1866" *Historical Journal* **54** 143–166.
31
32

33 Qureshi S 2013a, "Exterminate all the brutes", unpublished seminar paper,
34
35 Reconfiguring the British seminar, Institute of Historical Research London, 3; copy
36
37 from S. Quershi, Department of History, University of Birmingham
38
39

40 Qureshi S 2013b, "Dying Americans: race, extinction, and conservation in the New
41
42 World", in *From Plunder to Preservation: Britain and the Heritage of Empire, 1800–*
43
44 *1950* Eds A Swenson, P Mandler (Oxford University Press, Oxford) pp 269–288
45
46
47

48 Rainger R 1980, "Philanthropy and science in the 1830's: the British and Foreign
49
50 Aborigines' Protection Society" *Man* **15** 4 702-17.
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 Reid-Henry S 2014 "Humanitarianism as liberal diagnostic: humanitarian reason and
4 the political rationalities of the liberal will-to-care", *Transactions of the Institute of*
5
6
7 *British Geographers*, **39** 3 418-31

8
9
10 Rutherford J 1961 *Sir George Grey K.C.B.: A Study in Colonial Government* (Cassell,
11
12 London)

13
14
15 Ryan L 1996 *The Aboriginal Tasmanians* 2nd edition (Allen and Unwin, Crow's
16
17 Nest))

18
19
20 Ryan L 2010 "Settler massacres on the Port Phillip Frontier, 1836-1851", *Journal of*
21
22 *Australian Studies* **34** 3 257-73.

23
24
25 Sahlins M, 1974 *Stone Age Economics* (Tavistock Publications, London)

26
27
28 Salemink O 1999, 'Ethnography as Martial Art: Ethnicizing Vietnam's Montagnards,
29
30 1930-1954", in *Colonial Subjects: Essays on the Practical History of Anthropology*
31
32 Eds P. Pels and O. Salemink (University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor) pp 282-325

33
34
35 Salesa D I, 2011 *Racial Crossings: Race, Intermarriage, and the Victorian British*
36
37 *Empire* (Oxford University Press, Oxford)

38
39
40 Sera-Shriar E 2013 *The Making of British Anthropology, 1813-1871* (Pickering and
41
42 Chatto, London).

43
44
45 Sinclair K 2012, "Grey, George", *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the*
46
47 *Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, [http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1g21/grey-](http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1g21/grey-george)
48
49 [george](http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1g21/grey-george)
50
51

52
53
54 Stepan N 1982 *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain, 1800-1960* (Archon,
55
56 London)

1
2
3 Stephen L, 2004 "Merivale, Herman (1806–1874)", rev. Donovan Williams, *Oxford*
4 *Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press),
5
6 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18593>
7
8
9

10 Stocking G W Jnr, 1982 *Race, Culture and Evolution: Essays in the History of*
11 *Anthropology* (The Free Press, New York)
12
13

14 Stocking G W Jnr, 1987 *Victorian Anthropology* (Free Press, New York)
15
16

17
18 Stocking G W Jnr, 1995 *After Tylor: British Social Anthropology 1888-1951*
19 (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison)
20
21
22

23
24 Stokes E 1959, *The English Utilitarians and India* Oxford University Press, Delhi)
25
26

27 Swaisland C 2000 "The Aborigines Protection Society, 1837–1909", *Slavery &*
28 *Abolition: A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies* **21** 2 265-280
29
30
31

32 Thornton R J 1983a, "Narrative ethnography in Africa, 1850-1920: the creation and
33 capture of an appropriate domain for Anthropology" *Man New Series* **18** 3 502-520
34
35
36

37 Thornton R J 1983b, "'This Dying Out Race': W.H.I. Bleek's approach to the
38 languages of Southern Africa" *Social Dynamics: A Journal of African Studies* **9** 2 1-
39 10
40
41
42
43

44 Urry J 1972, "'Notes and Queries on Anthropology' and the development of field
45 methods in British Anthropology, 1870-1920" *Proceedings of the Royal*
46 *Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 45-57.
47
48
49
50

51
52 Wilder G 2003, "Colonial ethnology and political rationality in French West Africa"
53 *History and Anthropology* **14** 3 219-252.
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 Wolfe P 1999, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The*
4
5 *Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (Cassell, London and New York)
6
7

8 Veracini L (2010) *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Palgrave Macmillan,
9
10 London).
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

For Review Only