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# The Red-Paint of British Aggression, the Gospel of Ten-per-Cent, and the Cost of Maintaining Our Ascendancy: A. C. Haddon on the Need for an Imperial Bureau of Ethnology, 1891

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## CLIO'S FANCY: DOCUMENTS TO PIQUE THE HISTORICAL IMAGINATION

### **The Red-paint of British Aggression, the Gospel of Ten-per-Cent, and the Cost of Maintaining our Ascendancy: A. C. Haddon on the Need for an Imperial Bureau of Ethnology, 1891**

Late in 1891, Alfred Cort Haddon, still Professor of Zoology at Dublin, sent a twenty page manuscript to Thomas Henry Huxley, his long-time scientific sponsor. During Haddon's recent expedition to the Torres Straits, his interests had shifted from zoology to anthropology, and in the years after his return, he devoted the bulk of his professional energies to establishing a position in (and for) his new field--which at this time was only marginally institutionalized in Britain. Although anthropologists had for several decades been little involved in colonial matters, the imperialist movement of the 1890s inspired a new sense of the discipline's utilitarian potential--and of imperialism's potential utility for the advancement of anthropology. Haddon--who later called his secretary "Comrade"--was a socialist of sorts; but this was a period when socialists like the Webbs and "critics of empire" like Mary Kingsley were advocates of British imperial expansion (Semmel 1959; Porter 1968). What is surprising is not that Haddon (like Boas a decade later) should have used imperial interest as an argument for disciplinary advancement, but that, in making a case for anthropology's imperial relevance he should have characterized British expansion as "aggression," or suggested that the "extermination" of native peoples was "legalized murder." Such language was used by the founders of the Aborigines Protection Society (precursor of the Anthropological Institute) a half century before, but these were not the terms likely to win public support for the discipline at the peak of the imperialist movement.

At the time of consultation (1969), the original document was in folder number 5061 of the Alfred Cort Haddon Papers, and is reproduced now with the kind permission of the Syndics of the Cambridge University Library. I have included Haddon's strikeouts only where they seemed to illuminate his thought, and have made no note of number of minor changes which did not affect the meaning. In one instance where a xeroxing error obscured a line, I have reconstructed the meaning in brackets.

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A million and a half of people, three years ago, had the rare opportunity of forming some slight conception of our colonies & dependencies at the Colonial & Indian Exhibition. There in the flesh, in effigy, or in picture, were brought together Brahmin & Veddah, French Canadian & Flathead, Dutch Boer & Bushman, Papuan & Australian--all fellow-subjects with nominally equal rights. There were heaped products from every quarter of the globe except North Asia, which has an almost unique position in having its map free from the red-paint of British

aggression. The pyramids of canned fruits, the mountains of wool, the golden archways & other monuments of patient industry & commercial enterprise were sufficiently conspicuous to attract the attention of the most careless. Samples of new produce, specimens of plant & timber were suggestive of unemployed material and of undeveloped resources. Photographs gave presentments of physical features & opened up vistas for emigration & settlement.

The grand show has long been closed and what remains? ~~Undoubtedly an extension of commerce—more buying & selling; but the real lesson of the Exhibition has not yet been learned~~ The success of such an Exhibition is not to be reckoned merely from a commercial point of view. The purely financial test is often the worst which can be applied, and a scheme which succeeds fiscally may be in all other respects a failure. Doubtless the fillip to Commerce and a profit of £ were not the only results of the Colonial & Indian Exhibition, but no others are yet apparent. A splendid chance of dealing with our Empire in a manner worthy of its importance ~~was thrown away~~ has been lost. One more opportunity now presents itself.

Between the Albert Hall & the Natural History Department of the British Museum at S. Kensington is arising the building known as the Imperial Institute. The circumstances of its inception & erection are of such recent occurrence that they need not be narrated. There lies the inanimate body. What are to be its functions? What manner of spirit is to animate it?

It is not difficult to discover what is the avowed scope of the "Imperial Institute of ~~Great Britain~~ the United Kingdom, the Colonies & India." The programmes and leaflets which are issued at the new building give the following as the objects of the Corporation:

The formation and exhibition of collections, in London and other parts of the Empire, representing the important raw materials and manufactured products of the Empire and of other countries, in order to illustrate the progress of agriculture, commerce, and industry in all parts of the world.

The collection and dissemination of information relating to trades and industries and to emigration.

The promotion of technical and commercial education and of the industrial arts and sciences.

The furtherance of systematic colonization.

The promotion of conferences and lectures in connection with the general work of the Institute and the facilitating of commercial and friendly intercourse among the inhabitants of the British Empire.

The Corporation allows itself considerable liberty for affiliation with any body formed

for analogous purposes. Buildings may be erected to comprise museums, exhibition rooms, libraries, conference rooms, map rooms, lecture rooms, laboratories, rooms for meeting and for other accomodation as may be deemed fitting for the purposes of the Imperial Institute or of affiliated Societies; and may furnish the same with such books, maps, instruments, apparatus and other appliances as may be necessary. Local branches or provincial Institutes may be established and ~~power is given for the endowment and encouragement of research and enterprise~~ scholarships and prizes founded.

Finally the Corporation may receive and administer funds and accept gifts of property land or buildings.

The Organizing Committee recommended "that a new body, entirely independent of any existing organization, should be created for the government of the Institute. The body should be thoroughly representative of the great commercial and industrial interests of the Empire. The Colonies and India should have a fair share in the government of the Institute, and each Colony should have special charge of its own particular department, subject of course to the general management of the entire Institution."

A "Commercial Intelligence Department" is projected, the information obtained to be published in a Journal and in special Circulars and distributed, under certain arrangements, to public bodies connected with commerce, trade, industries, technical education, emigration and colonization.

We are told that the collection of intelligence is already proceeding by correspondence which will provide, in a great measure, for the continuous collection of all published and hitherto unpublished information, of an authoritative character, respecting the developed or the undeveloped resources, industries and commerce of all our dependencies. This Department takes cognizance of and distributes information regarding everything which affects or may affect all actual and possible trade, commerce and industry; it also collects information on the current condition and prospects of further development of technical and commercial education in Foreign States as well as information in relation to requirements of the Colonies as regards immigrants and colonization, new explorations, public works in progress and contemplation, condition of the labour market, etc., and of information bearing upon the existence or creation of openings for the investment of capital in the Colonial sections of the Empire.

It is abundantly evident that the promoters of the Imperial Institute had for their object in founding it the interest and advancement of commerce and industry. Regard was also had to the development of natural resources, the expansion of the Empire by Colonization and to everything which, on the face of it, promised to add to the material wealth of the Empire. In brief, the highest expression of the magnificence of the British Empire and of Imperial loyalty is to be a Commercial Museum, and the architectural monument of the close of the Victorian age is a temple to the gospel of ten-per-cent!

The first collateral development of the Imperial Institute scheme has been the inauguration of a School of Modern Oriental Studies in imitation of the very efficient establishments of this kind carried on with Government resources in France, Germany and Austria.

A special Committee was appointed to negotiate with the authorities of University College and King's College, London, and to organise a system of work. It was arranged that classes for instruction in the Oriental languages required by students qualifying for examinations for the Indian Civil Service, should be held at University College, while Modern Oriental languages, other than Indian languages, should be taught at King's College, and that the Imperial Institute should undertake the general administrative and financial work. The school was officially opened in January 1890, when an inaugural address was delivered by Professor Max Müller at the Royal Institution.

Unfortunately this scheme has, so far, by no means proved a success, since in the published Programme we read [:]

"Steps have been taken, by means of comprehensive advertisements, by the distribution of Professor Max Müller's Inaugural Address, and the delivery of public lectures by several Professors of the School, at the commencement of the different sessions, to direct general attention to the advantages afforded by the School of Modern Oriental Studies; repeated efforts have also been made by the Committee of Management to obtain for it such public and official recognition as is liberally afforded to similar establishment on the Continent. The suggestion that Oriental languages be made optional subjects at all preliminary examinations for Oriental appointments under Government, has been submitted to the several Government Departments which should be directly interested in the operations and success of the School, but it has not been favourably received by any one of them; hence no special inducements exist, additional to those presented by the excellent nature of the tuition, for students to join the classes, and the numbers attending have consequently hitherto been very small."

The first high note which has yet been officially sounded in connection with the Imperial Institute was struck by Professor Max Müller in the Inaugural address already alluded to. After admitting the enormous value of an intimate knowledge of the vernaculars, both for diplomatic, administrative & commercial purposes he appealed to the National Conscience in these remarkable words[:]

"For ruling India in harmony with the wishes & the highest interests of its inhabitants & at the same time with a due regard for the tremendous responsibility incurred by England in becoming the guardian of that enormous empire, we want young men who are able to do more than merely chatter Hindustani or Tamil. If we look to the Lectures provided in the Oriental Seminary at Berlin, we shall find that they are not confined to

teaching Oriental languages, or how to write a commercial letter, how to draw up an official document and how to draft a political treaty. In every department the professors have to lecture on the history, the geography, the literature, the manners, customs, laws & religions of the principal nations of the East. This is the kind of knowledge which is absolutely necessary for those who are destined to rule over a population nearly ten times as large as the population of England; a population not only speaking different languages, but thinking different thoughts, believing in different religions, nourished by different historical traditions & divided by different aspirations for the future. It is sometimes supposed to be not altogether easy to govern England, Scotland & Ireland, because on certain points their interests seem divergent. It is said that English statesmen do not understand Ireland, Irish statesmen do not understand England & Scotch statesmen do not understand either. And yet these three countries speak a common language, have a common religion, and in spite of occasional jars and bickerings, would resist with a common indignation any insult offered to their common honour, any invasion of their commonwealth. Think then, what a task is imposed on that handful of young Englishmen, Scotchmen, & Irishmen who are sent out every year to govern India & how much depends on their being well equipped for that task.

"The history of England's taking possession of India is more marvellous than any story of the Arabian Nights, and what is the most marvellous in it is the absence of any plan or plot from beginning to end. It is generally said that India has been conquered by England. But the true conquest of India, it seems to me is still to come. The true conquerors of India, of the heart of India, will be those very men our new School of Oriental Languages means to fit for their work. No doubt they have to acquire the spoken vernaculars but--in order to understand the people, in order to sympathise with, nay, to love the people, with whom they are brought into daily contact, they must do more. There must be a real plan & plot in this new conquest. Our new conquerors will have to study the ancient literature of India, which is still the leaven of Indian thought. They must gain an insight into the ancient religious convictions & superstitions of the present day. They must enter into the spirit of the ancient law of the country before attempting to reconcile native customs with the principles of modern legislation. They must learn to appreciate the beauty of Indian literature before measuring it with the standard of our own poetry, or condemning it unheard. If our young statesmen go out to India, half acclimatised already to the intellectual atmosphere in which they are to spend the best part of their lives, they will not look upon the country as an exile, and on its inhabitants as mere strangers. They are not strangers, they are brothers."

The empire owes a deep debt of gratitude to Professor Max Müller for these noble words, & for his attempt to raise the aims of the Institute above the purely commercial policy into which it was in danger of drifting. The original official programme regarded only the commercial aspects of Imperialism: its emoluments to the exclusion of its responsibilities. Of course no one would propose to contract the scope of the Imperial Institute as at present

projected. The scheme as far as it goes is admirably adapted for the end in view. But this end can scarcely be considered as adequate, or as sufficiently worthy of an Institute bearing the name of Imperial. It is undoubtedly well to know accurately the minutest details concerning the products of our dependencies, but it is still more important to understand the condition of the producers. It is irrational to consider the one without taking the other into account. The more we know about a people, the easier it will be to trade with them, while a wider & deeper knowledge of subject races would considerably reduce the friction which is always incidental to government. Between ourselves and our dependent races there is a great gulf of tradition, language & religion. It has not yet entered into the mind of the nation, that it is desirable--much less that it is necessary--to have a sympathetic knowledge of any of the races or peoples who collectively make up our Empire. The Anglo-Indian & the Colonial have too frequently a (~~insolent?~~) contempt for 'niggers,' a term of reproach which implies ~~the same~~ a hatred & superciliousness similar to that with which the Jews regard Gentiles, the Greeks the Barbarians, & which the Chinese still hold for 'foreign devils.' It is hardly possible for those who have not visited the Colonies to realize how very deep, bitter & undisguised this contempt is. The Anglo Saxon ruthlessly forces every native into his own ~~narrow?~~ Procrustean bed of usage & belief, & in this is supported by the resources of the Imperial army & navy. The result of this policy is that we exterminate slowly or rapidly, unintentionally or by force, the inhabitants of the countries we annex. The story ~~history~~ of our Colonial administration is sad & humiliating. If an impartial foreigner were to write the true history of our dependencies, he would be branded as inaccurate & prejudiced. The blame lies alike with the general public, the legislators & the executive. Ignorance engenders callousness, which is the fertile mother of injustice, cruelty, & legalised murder. Max Müller's noble appeal on behalf of India must be extended to all the dependencies of our Empire. The Imperial Institute would form an admirable basis to work from & might thus become Imperial in spirit as well as in name.

A classification of the objects of an institution which had imperial aims might be as follows:--

I. The Collection of Information & Specimens.

The knowledge respecting any colony or limited section of the Empire may conveniently be classified thus:

- A. Geographical position, physical features & meteorology
- B. Geology & mineral resources
- C. Natural history, including Botany (actual & possible cultivation) & Zoology (useful & injurious animals)
- D. Anthropology, in the widest sense of the term, including Linguistics
- E. The Arts of Life, Chase, Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce, Aesthetics
- F. Sociology, analysis of the Social Condition

## II. The systematisation of all such information for the use of

1. local officials & administrators
2. of the Colonial & foreign Offices & of Parliament
3. Of Agriculturalists, Merchants, Emigrants & others
4. Of Scientific men & travellers

## III. The dissemination of information & instruction

The existing scheme of the Imperial Institute may be assumed to provide adequately for the collection & dissemination of information respecting those industries & natural resources which are connected with actual or possible trade. But there is no indication in the Official Programme that the Imperial Institute proposes to concern itself with the scientific basis of administration ~~& -? -commerce~~ or with the refinements of life. No place is found for the stimulation of the mental, artistic or musical activities of the Empire. Even when the study of Oriental languages was projected such official countenance as it received was based mainly on its tendency "to stimulate, promote & assist the commerce & the industries of the different parts of the British Empire."

At the present time if any enlightened candidate for the Indian or Colonial Civil Service or any intending emigrant or missionary should be desirous of obtaining precise and recent information about the character, customs, religion and prejudices of the people he is destined to deal with it would be practically impossible for him to procure it. Something he might learn from the Ethnological Galleries of the British Museum, and more by research in its Reading Room. But the most earnest and resolute student could acquire only a very inadequate amount of information and that with great difficulty, while students of inferior calibre could learn little or nothing.

There is an no institution to which any Government Official or any Member of Parliament can apply for authoritative information concerning the domestic, religious, or social life of the innumerable peoples of our Empire. The action of the local executive is unchecked by the knowledge that its deeds can be intelligently criticised and should any question be raised the only available information is that which is supplied by the very department whose actions are called in question. In Paris and Berlin lectures are give on the manners, customs, religions, ~~languages and so forth~~ arts and crafts of the principal nations of the East, but not in London.

The only teaching appointment in Anthropology in the British Empire is the Readership in Anthropology at Oxford which is held by Dr. E. B. Tylor. Anthropology is an additional optional subject in the final examination of the Honour School of Natural Science, a comprehensive syllabus is drawn up in "The Examination Statutes" of the University of Oxford, but no student has ever entered for the course or presented himself for examination. The chief reason for this state of affairs is that there is no state recognition of Anthropology. It has no place in the Civil Service Examinations, nor is there any inducement in our Services for an



official to have a general knowledge of Anthropology or a special acquaintance with one of its branches. It would be grotesque if it were not so lamentable that a candidate for a government appointment can obtain credit for a knowledge of almost any conceivable subject except that of human beings. That which may be fundamentally important to him, he is not expected to know, nor does the official mind think it necessary that he should equip himself for dealing with other races than his own.

The present writer, in a review of a memoir on Indian Ornaments, at the beginning of this year drew attention in "Nature" [XLIII, Jany. 1891, p. 270] to the need of a Bureau of Indian ~~Ethnology~~ Ethnography analogous to [the] Bureau of Ethnology in Washington. The value of this latter institution may be gathered from some remarks which Professor Max Müller made at the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science which was held at Cardiff last August. He is reported to have said [Nature XLIV, Sept. 24, 1891, p. 511:]

"the publications of that Bureau count among the most valuable contributions to anthropological science and they reflect the highest credit not only on Major Powell and his fellow workers, but also on the American Government which has sanctioned a very large outlay for the prosecution of these studies. . . Our American friends have perceived that it is a national duty to preserve as much as can still be preserved of the languages and thoughts of the indigenous races who were the earliest dwellers on American soil. They know that the study of what might be called intellectual geology is quite as important as that of terrestrial geology, and that the study of the lower strata contains the key to a right understanding of the higher strata in the growth of the human mind. Coming generations will call us to account for having allowed the old world to vanish without trying to preserve its records . . . Some years ago I had succeeded in persuading a Secretary of State for the Colonies that it was the duty of the English Government to publish a Series of Colonial Records, containing trustworthy information on the languages, customs, laws, religions and monuments of the races inhabiting the English Colonies. Lord Granville saw that such an undertaking was a national duty and that the necessary funds should be contributed by the various colonies. Think what a magnificent work this would have been! But while the American Government has pushed forward its work, Lord Granville's scheme expired in the pigeon-holes of the Colonial Office. America may well be proud of Major Powell who would not allow the treasures collected by various scholars and Government Officials to moulder and perish."

The splendid series of Reports and the collections of Ethnological specimens in the [U.S.] National Museum attest to the ability with which this Department is conducted. The appropriation by Congress for the fiscal year 1888-89 "for the purpose of continuing ethnological researches among the American Indians" was \$40,000. During the same year five ethnologists were on the staff and two additional ones were engaged for a total of ten months, besides seven assistant ethnologists and four who were temporarily engaged for a total of eighteen, [partially illegible:] while the British Empire has not a single person employed in such work [?].

Mr. C. H. Read, F.S.A., of the Ethnographical Department of the British Museum says in his Prefatory Note to "Part II Ethnography" of the "Notes and Queries on Anthropology," a small work which is now in press and which is published under the auspices of the British Association:

"What is needed in this country, with its vast colonial possessions, is a Bureau of Ethnology, such as has now existed for some time in the United States. The value of such an institution for our empire can scarcely be estimated. That its tabulated researches would be of the greatest importance to our science will not be doubted, but its strongest reason for existence as a national institution is the immense service it would render, first to the officers governing our distant possessions, and second, to the central government at home, who would thus have, in the compass of a modest library, a synopsis of the history, manners, customs, and religious beliefs of the innumerable races composing the British Empire. In a word, we should then have at hand the means of understanding the motives which influence the peoples with whom we are constantly dealing, and thus be able to avoid the disagreements arising from ignorance of their cherished prejudices and beliefs."

Prof. Max Müller and Mr. Read are authorities who have a right to be heard on this subject, nor are they alone in their aspirations. Many distinguished men of science are in favour of the establishment of a Bureau of Ethnology. It is the lack of opportunity rather a lack of interest which has restrained them from expressing their views. It may be assumed that in the opinion of competent authorities a Bureau of Ethnology is really needed and it would not be difficult to indicate its scope and aims.

The first obvious requirement is the collection of information respecting all the peoples who are comprised within the Empire. Owing to the vast amount of accumulated information, this task is difficult but practicable. Voyages, the ~~researches~~ narratives of geographers and travellers of all descriptions, British and foreign scientific journals, blue-books, ~~commercial reports~~ popular magazines, living and extinct, newspapers and all other records will have to be ransacked. The titles of the books, memoirs, articles and so forth will have to be arranged geographically and racially in a classified slip catalogue the value of which it would be difficult to overestimate, and this would every day be growing more complete. At a moment's notice it would be possible to show an inquirer the titles of all the books or papers that had been written on any tribe, however obscure, belonging to the Empire. In process of time cross references and a more analytical system of classification would render the slip catalogue of yet greater value. ~~The task is undoubtedly colossal but it can be accomplished.~~ Special marks on the slips would indicate whether the work referred to was in the library of the Institute or in which public library it would be found.

A library would have to be formed of books, pamphlets and manuscripts. There would be no need to duplicate any book which might be in the general library of the Imperial Institute

or even to have a separate library of any magnitude. The manuscript department would be for the storage of the manuscripts of travellers, traders, Civil Servants and others. An author usually writes a great deal more than can be printed and much valuable information is often lost as the manuscript notes are ultimately destroyed. There is often also matter of a political or of a social nature which it is not expedient to print, but which be available for reference.

As the present writer has elsewhere remarked [:]

"such a Bureau would serve as a great stimulus to those who are interested in native races, but who require encouragement and direction. There can be little doubt that an immense number of isolated observations are lost for the lack of a suitable depository, the observers being fully aware that these are too casual to be of much value; when accumulated, however, the case is very different. Were it known that a record of any obscure or rarely observed custom would be duly filed and so classified as to be readily available to anyone who was studying native folk-lore, the probability is that many memoranda which otherwise would be lost would find their way to the Bureau. It cannot be too often or too strongly insisted upon that now is the time for the collection of all anthropological data in every department of that far-reaching science. To many, results alone are interesting, and there is too frequently a danger to generalize from imperfect data. Posterity will have plenty of time in which to generalize and theorize, but it will have scarcely any opportunity for recording new facts. This century has been one of most rapid transition. The apathy of our predecessors has lost to us an immense amount of information; let not this reproach be applied to us by our descendants."

The collection of objects of ethnological interest would also form part of the work of the Bureau, the ultimate destination of the specimens would be a matter for further consideration.

The second main object function of the Bureau would be to systematise all the information collected and to render it available (1) to the executive governments of the several colonies and to local officials and administrators; (2) to the India, Colonial and Foreign Offices, to Parliament, or to the Home Government; (3) to all those who, as agriculturalists, merchants or emigrants are engaged in opening up a country and in developing its resources, may require information concerning the natives and how they may best deal with them; (4) to those, whether students of Anthropology or travellers, who desire to obtain precise and minute information on any subject with which the Bureau deals.

The systematizing of the information collected by the Bureau should be carried out by especially trained assistants. The task is colossal, but it can be accomplished by dint of patience and method. Sub-division of labour would be necessary, and it would be most desirable that the organising head of each department should have lived, at least some months, in the district for which he was responsible. Were this the case, any enquirer could be put in communication with all the information accumulated and be guided in the manipulation of the unwieldy mass of material by trained regional experts.

The third task of the Bureau would be educational. This work falls naturally into two classes[:] (1) the publication of memoirs, pamphlets and other documents for the furtherance of the objects of the Bureau; and (2) Instruction. The Bureau should institute or arrange for courses of lectures and classes on General Anthropology (including Linguistics) as well as on such special branches as occasion may suggest and by this means information can be imparted to any who require it. It is also most important to remember that the evidence of the untrained observer is relatively worthless. Hence it will be necessary to have laboratories for practical instruction in anthropological methods. Here the student would learn how to observe and how to use his hands. He would be trained in a thoroughly equipped anthropometrical laboratory to discriminate between shades of colour, to make measurements on the living, ~~the methods of the~~ ~~craniologist~~ to measure and describe skulls, to test the physical efficiency of a person, much in the way that Mr. Francis Galton has rendered familiar. Photography as applied to Anthropology, as well as methods of making casts, and the art of collecting facts and objects would also form part of the technical instruction in Anthropology. ~~Methods~~ Modes of study and of handling statistics would form an important feature in the class work.

The scope and duration of a course of laboratory instruction would naturally depend upon the requirements of the student and whether he had previously undergone a training in Physical or Natural Science.

A careful perusal of the official publications of the Imperial Institute shows that it is only necessary to broaden the aims of the promoters, and the proposed Bureau of Ethnology falls naturally within the organization of the Institute.

But it is not sufficient, as the experience of the Anthropological School at Oxford has proved, to provide for instruction in Anthropology; the subject must receive the support of the Government and of the Services generally. Special credit should be given to those Government Officials who take up and prosecute these Studies. Given the opportunity, it is not perhaps too sanguine to anticipate that some at least of our army of civil, military and naval officials may have their interest awakened in the subject.

Such a systematic training in anthropological study with its inevitable tendency to develop a more sympathetic and cordial attitude towards our dependencies and to modify our precipitate attempts to uproot institutions which are due to profound ethnic differences would unquestionably reduce the cost of maintaining our ascendancy. Half the little wars on which our treasure of blood and money is squandered are due to the collision between official ignorance and native conviction. This is the most practical answer to those who fear that a Bureau on the lines sketched would be too great a tax on the National Income.

Do ignorance and apathy pay? Incidents are costly. Commerce is disorganised by disturbances on the frontier and by anything that tends to foster mistrust and instability. That this is the case is proved by the delicate barometer of the Stock Exchange. Yet how rarely it

occurs even to the most thoughtful observer that the expenditure of human life is a loss to the Empire, whether it be that of our soldiers or of the natives of a country which we have annexed or are in the process of annexing. Capital, interest, and credit are recklessly squandered. That a knowledge of the language, customs and beliefs of alien peoples would prevent much of this waste admits of no doubt. It is not less clear that a well-appointed, energetic and liberal minded Bureau of Ethnology would more than pay for itself. The gain would be incommensurate with the cost.

With the nearly completed building of the Imperial Institute prominently before us it is necessary to have a clear conception of the aims which are worthy of an imperial institution. Shall we be content with the apotheosis of Mammon, or shall we recognize that man does not live by bread alone, and that there are such things as social responsibilities and social duties? If we do not, we endanger our very national existence.

Alfred C. Haddon

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There are many comments that might be offered on this text. One notes, for instance, that Haddon, who was to be a leading advocate of "field-work," seems at this point to have conceived his Bureau of Ethnology (at one point, Ethnography) rather more as a kind of Human Relations Area File, than as an organizer of field research--this, despite the emphasis on fieldwork in the U.S. Bureau he appealed to as model. Although he referred at one point to "the art of collecting facts," insofar as he proposed to offer training for anthropological research, it was primarily anthropometric.

In the space available, however, it is perhaps more to the point to consider his mentor's response, which Huxley described as "a bucket of cold water." He felt that "a project for the 'conversion of the heathen'" was more likely than converting the Imperial Institute to anthropological purposes. And even if it were possible, Huxley doubted that it would do much good, since the "too frequent brutality" of Englishmen overseas had "a moral rather than intellectual source," and was not likely to be affected by increased knowledge. In this context, he advised Haddon against publishing his paper (Haddon papers: THH/ACH 1/1/1892).

Although Haddon did not publish his manuscript, neither did he abandon the scheme. Along with other British anthropologists, he pursued the proposal for an Imperial Bureau of Ethnology on a number of occasions in the pre-World War I period (Feuchtwang 1973; cf. Kuklick 1992)--on one occasion using phrases taken directly from his 1891 draft (1897). He did not, however, again refer to "legalized murder" or "the red-paint of British aggression". In the future, appeals for the practical utility of anthropology were to be cast in language that an audience of imperialists might regard as less charged. [G.W.S.]

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## RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

Fred Dagenais (Center for Chinese Studies, University of California, Berkeley) is collecting material on Dr. Davidson Black (1884-1934), the anatomist who in 1928 first identified Peking Man, and who in 1920 had founded the first society in China for both Western and Chinese academicians, the Anatomical and Anthropological Association of China. He would be interested in information about relevant materials.

John Fierst (Winnipeg, Manitoba) recently received a grant from the Canadian National Historical and Publications and Records Commission to prepare a documentary edition of The Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner, first published in 1830 and originally edited by Edwin James. He is particularly interested in James's ethnological and linguistics studies and in his relationships with Henry Rowe Schoolcraft and other scholars of the period. Working with Fierst on the project are Mary Black-Rogers (Royal Ontario Museum), D. Wayne Moodie (University of Manitoba), Bruce White (University of Minnesota), and John Nichols (University of Manitoba). The project is based in Winnipeg, at St. Paul's College, University of Manitoba.

Geoffrey Gray (7/38 Wynnstay Rd., East Prahran, Victoria 3181, Australia) is currently researching a doctoral dissertation to be entitled "'Controlling and developing native people': Anthropology and its application to the administration and management of indigenous peoples in (colonial) Australia (NT) and Papua (and) New Guinea and Nauru, c. 1900-c. 1965."

Kenneth Maddock (Macquarie University, Sydney) is working on aspects of the career of A. R. Radcliffe-Brown.