

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-70752-7 - Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality

Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Drawing the Global Colour Line

In 1900 W. E. B. DuBois prophesied that the colour line would be the key problem of the twentieth-century and he later identified one of its major dynamics: the new religion of whiteness that was sweeping the world. Whereas most historians have confined their studies of race-relations to a national framework, this book offers a pioneering study of the transnational circulation of people and ideas, racial knowledge and technologies that underpinned the construction of self-styled white men's countries from South Africa to North America and Australasia. Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds show how in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century these countries worked in solidarity to exclude those they defined as not-white, actions that provoked a long international struggle for racial equality. Their findings make clear the centrality of struggles around mobility and sovereignty to modern formulations of both race and human rights.

MARILYN LAKE holds a Personal Chair in the School of Historical and European Studies, LaTrobe University, Melbourne. Her publications include *Getting Equal: The History of Australian Feminism* (1999), *Faith: Faith Bandler, Gentle Activist* (2002) and, as co-editor, *Connected Worlds: History in Transnational Perspective* (2006).

HENRY REYNOLDS holds a Personal Chair in History and Aboriginal Studies at the University of Tasmania. His previous publications include *The Other Side of the Frontier* (1981), *Why Weren't We Told?* (2000) and *The Law of the Land* (2003).

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-70752-7 - Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality

Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Critical Perspectives on Empire

Editors

Professor Catherine Hall
University College London

Professor Mrinalini Sinha
Pennsylvania State University

Professor Kathleen Wilson
State University of New York, Stony Brook

Critical Perspectives on Empire is a major new series of ambitious, cross-disciplinary works in the emerging field of critical imperial studies. Books in the series will explore the connections, exchanges and mediations at the heart of national and global histories, the contributions of local as well as metropolitan knowledge, and the flows of people, ideas and identities facilitated by colonial contact. To that end, the series will not only offer a space for outstanding scholars working at the intersection of several disciplines to bring to wider attention the impact of their work; it will also take a leading role in reconfiguring contemporary historical and critical knowledge, of the past and of ourselves.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-70752-7 - Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality

Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Drawing the Global Colour Line

*White Men's Countries and the International
Challenge of Racial Equality*

Marilyn Lake

LaTrobe University, Melbourne

and

Henry Reynolds

University of Tasmania



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-70752-7 - Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality

Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

Cambridge University Press

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

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

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521707527

© Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds 2008

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

First published 2008

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

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

ISBN 978-0-521-88118-0 hardback

ISBN 978-0-521-70752-7 paperback

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

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-70752-7 - Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality

Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

For our children:

Katherine and Jessica

and

John, Anna and Rebecca

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-70752-7 - Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality

Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	<i>page ix</i>
Introduction	1
Part 1 Modern mobilities	
1 The coming man: Chinese migration to the goldfields	15
Part 2 Discursive frameworks	
2 <i>The American Commonwealth</i> and the 'negro problem'	49
3 'The day will come': Charles Pearson's disturbing prophecy	75
4 Theodore Roosevelt's re-assertion of racial vigour	95
5 Imperial brotherhood or white? Gandhi in South Africa	114
Part 3 Transnational solidarities	
6 White Australia points the way	137
7 Defending the Pacific Slope	166
8 White ties across the ocean: the Pacific tour of the US fleet	190
9 The Union of South Africa: white men reconcile	210
Part 4 Challenge and consolidation	
10 International conferences: cosmopolitan amity or racial enmity?	241
11 Japanese alienation and imperial ambition	263
12 Racial equality? The Paris Peace Conference, 1919	284

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-70752-7 - Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality

Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

viii	Contents	
13	Immigration restriction in the 1920s: 'segregation on a large scale'	310
	Part 5 Towards universal human rights	
14	Individual rights without distinction	335
	<i>Index</i>	357

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-70752-7 - Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality

Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Acknowledgments

This book has built on the scholarship of many historians, over many years, in many countries, whose published work we have acknowledged, as much as practicable, in the text and endnotes. We are grateful, too, for the helpful reports from the readers and editors at Cambridge University Press and Melbourne University Press and for the painstaking work of our literary agent, Lyn Tranter.

This book has been many years in the making and we thank each other for commitment, forbearance, good humour and dedication to what turned out to be a very much larger project than first imagined. We also wish to thank more particularly research assistants, colleagues, family and friends, funding authorities, and the staff of archives and libraries.

Marilyn Lake

I would like to give special acknowledgment to the work of my research assistants – Natasha Campo, Nikki Henningham, Tim Jones, Jemima Mowbray and Amanda Rasmussen – whose imagination and conscientiousness have made such an important contribution to the extensive research on which this book is based. I would also like to thank La Trobe University and the Australian Research Council, whose generous funding made possible the employment of research assistance and my own research trips throughout Australia and to Singapore, the United States and the United Kingdom. Just as important was the opportunity to write full-time provided by the award of a five-year Australian Professorial Fellowship.

Archivists and librarians have been invariably helpful and often in advance of my visits: I wish to note in particular the assistance of the staff at the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley; the US National Archives at College Park; Harvard University Archives; the Houghton and Law Libraries at Harvard University; the New York Public Library; the Bodleian Library at Oxford University; the UK National Archives; the National Archives at Singapore; the National

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-70752-7 - Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality

Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

x Acknowledgments

Library of Australia; the University of Tasmania Archives; and the State Libraries of New South Wales and Victoria.

I am also deeply grateful for the responsiveness and suggestions of audiences of early drafts of particular chapters presented at the Australian National University, Columbia University, Harvard University, the University of Maryland, the Institute for Historical Research at the University of London, La Trobe University, the University of Queensland and the University of Sydney, and at conferences of the American Historical Association, the Australian Historical Association, the International Congress of Historical Sciences, the European Social Sciences History Association and the World History Association. For conversation, comment and advice, about different chapters and related themes, and in many cases for their generous hospitality, I thank David Armitage, Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, Nancy Cott, Ann Curthoys, Graeme Davison, Desley Deacon, John Fitzgerald, Laura Frader, David Goodman, Catherine Hall, Stuart Hall, John Hirst, Jon Hyslop, Akira Iriye, Alice Kessler-Harris, Stuart Macintyre, Adam McKeown, Sonya Michel, Amanda Rasmussen, Bill Schwarz, Mrinalini Sinha and Henry Yu.

Finally, but foremost, I thank my husband Sam, whose company at Harvard, in New York and in San Francisco, added so much to the enjoyment of the research and whose early gift of a first edition copy of Charles Pearson's *National Life and Character: A Forecast* was foundational in many ways to the conception of the project. His work as an engaged intellectual has made possible my own. Our girls, Kath and Jess, have, as always, been my inspiration.

Henry Reynolds

While writing and researching this book I was supported by an Australian Research Council Professorial Research Fellowship and a Senior Writer's Fellowship granted by the Literature Board of The Australia Council. I also received the support of the Faculty of Arts and the School of History and Classics at the University of Tasmania. Elizabeth Foxcroft provided valuable help in preparing my contribution to the final manuscript.

With such wide-ranging research I owe thanks to the staff of many institutions including the National Library of Australia; the Public Library of New South Wales; the Tasmanian Parliamentary Library; the British Library and the UK National Archives; the Bodleian Library and Rhodes House in Oxford; the libraries of the United Nations, the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization in Geneva; and the New York Public Library.

As ever, I give my thanks to Margaret and our family for being great supporters of my intellectual and political projects.