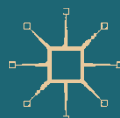


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Mixed Race Britain in The Twentieth Century



Chamion Caballero and Peter J. Aspinall



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—Miri Song, *University of Kent, UK*

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Mixed Race Britain in The Twentieth Century

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1

Introduction

In the decennial 2011 Census, 1.2 million people—2.2 per cent of the population—were enumerated in the ‘Mixed’ group in England and Wales. One year later, the heptathlete Jessica Ennis-Hill, a gold medallist winner in the 2012 Olympic Games and the daughter of a Jamaican father and an English mother, was heralded in the media as not only ‘the face of the census’ but ‘the face of the Olympics’.¹ That same media carried advertisements for everyday goods and services depicting ‘mixed race’ couples, people and families, indicating that racial ‘mixing’ and ‘mixedness’ had become both quotidian and an integral part of popular culture. Indeed, commentators spoke of the contemporary mixed race cohort as a new phenomenon or special generation—for example, ‘Brown Britain’, ‘Beige Britain’, the ‘Melting Pot’ or ‘Ethnically Ambiguous’ generation²—that, as in America, was putting the country on a path to a post-racial future in which race itself was becoming increasingly irrelevant. Yet a century earlier, people in racially mixed unions and their children were generally denigrated by the wider society as degenerate, feckless outsiders, and frequently cast as unworthy of social citizenship. How did this radical transformation come about? What were the moments, events and movements in the history of the nation that brought about such massive

change? In this book, we set out to illuminate the longstanding but often hidden or ignored history of racial mixing and mixedness in twentieth century Britain, drawing on both more familiar episodes of Britain's racial past as well as events and experiences which are less recounted or known.

The history is, in fact, an entanglement of many stories, of different and often competing discourses not only over the course of the twentieth century but of many preceding centuries. From the outset of Britain's imperial expansion, racial mixing was rife. Often horrendously forced, at other times freely entered into, interracial contact, liaisons and unions were at the heart of the colonial and colonised experience. In Britain too, with a minority ethnic presence dating back to Roman times, interracial relationships were not unfamiliar: in 1578, Captain George Best commented that he had 'seen an Ethiopian as black as coal brought to England, who taking a fair English woman to wife, begat a son in all respects as black as the father',³ while such relationships featured prominently in Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* (1594) and *Othello* (1604). Indeed, as Kaufmann's (2012, 2017) work on black Tudors illustrates, there is substantial evidence of black people marrying and raising families with white English men and women across the country's cities, towns and hamlets throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as Gylman Ivie, an 'Ethiop' whose daughter with Anna Spencer of Dyrham, Gloucestershire, was baptised in 1578, and 'Joane Marya a Black Moore' who became 'the wyffe of Thomas Smythe Byllysmaker' in Bristol in 1600. By the eighteenth century, a diverse black presence was clearly settled in the country, with intermarriage between the predominantly black male population and white British women a common occurrence: in 1778, Captain Philip Thicknesse (1778: 108) commented of Britain that 'in every country town, nay, in almost every village are to be seen a little race of mulattoes, mischievous as monkeys, and infinitely more dangerous.' Similarly, the nineteenth century saw the emergence of relationships between newly settled Chinese and Lascar⁴ men—often sailors, who had settled in areas of London, Liverpool, Cardiff, Glasgow and other port cities—and white women, who were sometimes dubbed with monikers such as 'Calcutta Louise', 'Lascar Sally' or 'China-Faced Nell' due to their interracial relationships (Stadtler and Visram, n.p.).⁵ In addition to the presence of children produced by such relationships, Britain

also frequently became home to the racially mixed sons and daughters of wealthy colonists—such as Dido Belle, Jane Harry and James Tailyour—who, as revealed in Daniel Livesay’s (2018) fascinating research, were regularly sent to the metropole to be educated or integrated into British society, an occurrence also depicted by contemporary novelists including Austen (*Sanditon*, 1817) and Thackeray (*Vanity Fair*, 1848). Certainly, interraciality was not the preserve of the working classes: in 1794, for example, *The Times* reported that the wife of a gentleman in Sheerness had eloped with a black servant and refused to return to her husband,⁶ while David Ochterlony Dyce Sombre, a wealthy, racially mixed Indian man and the first person of Asian descent to be elected to the British Parliament, married the Honourable Mary Anne Jervis, the daughter of a Viscount in 1840 (Fisher 2010).

While such relationships were certainly viewed unfavourably in certain quarters—at the turn of the nineteenth century the journalist William Cobbett raged at the ‘shocking’ number of English women who were prepared to accept not only black lovers, but much worse, black husbands (Fryer 1984: 234–235)—they did not provoke universal condemnation. Unlike in America, for example, at no point were laws banning interracial marriage ever legislated,⁷ and clearly many white Britons, particularly women, were not adverse to setting up home with those of a different race nor cared if others did: Cobbett remarked that the ‘disregard of decency’ amongst white women was ‘with sorrow and with shame, *peculiar to the English*’, while contemporary sources noted that a black man could walk down London’s Oxford Street ‘arm in arm with a well-dressed white woman, unmolested and largely unremarked’ (Fryer 1984: 235). Similarly, the ideas of ‘hybrid vigour’ and ‘hybrid degeneration’ continued to jostle against each other in scientific and popular thought as a means of explaining not only the characteristics but also the advantages or undesirability of racially mixed people. Originating from experiments in plant and animal husbandry examining whether cross mixing was considered to improve on or destroy existing biological qualities, ideas about the benefits or disadvantages of ‘human hybrids’ were also fiercely argued over by European and North American scientists, as well as being reflected in public debate and literary circles: in his escapist fantasy, the protagonist of Tennyson’s *Locksley Hall* (1842), for example, lauds the physical

prohesis of his imaginary mixed race offspring before subsequently reviling the cultural degeneracy he envisions race crossing to bring. Thus, debate around both the visibility and acceptability of interraciality ebbed and flowed, depending on the social, political and scientific climate. Indeed, as white British attitudes towards other races—bolstered by science—became more openly and unashamedly aggressive during the imperial expansion of the nineteenth century, earlier somewhat nonchalant attitudes towards racial mixing hardened and there were increasing attempts by authorities to clamp down on those aspects of interraciality which threatened the social and racial order, particularly overseas where in India, for example, white traders and colonists had frequently ‘gone native’, essentially becoming ‘white Mughals’ through marrying into Indian families and adopting many facets of Indian life (Dalrymple 2002).

While back at home the end of the nineteenth century saw less visible racial mixing due to the gradual decline in the minority ethnic population, the issue of interraciality did not disappear from the public view. In fact, discussion of the demerits of ‘Eurasians’⁸ and ‘half-castes’ around the Empire were familiar topics in British newspapers while the longstanding literary interest in what was popularly labelled ‘miscegenation’—interracial marriage or procreation—exploded even further in popular literature, particularly romance novels aimed at a metropolitan female target audience with messages that sought both to warn and titillate readers about the crossing of racial boundaries (Teo 2004). As our own presentation of this history shows, such globalised understandings would come to heavily influence perceptions of the occurrence of racial mixing and mixedness that would increasingly ebb and flow in Britain from 1900 onwards.

The twentieth century history of racial mixing and mixedness in Britain is thus founded on a long history of conceptualising and representing interracial people, couples and families in shifting but particular ways. Yet the twentieth century also not only built on but crystallised many of these concepts and representations in ways that continue to shape the perceptions and experiences of those mixing and of mixed race today. Early assumptions about the dynamics and patterns of mixed race families—such as those by Edward Long, the British colonial administrator and historian, who complained in 1772 about the ‘venomous and dangerous ulcer’ England was facing due to the fondness of the ‘lower

class' women in England for having relationships and children with black men (in Fryer 1984: 157–158)—were given scientific 'credibility' in the 1920s and 1930s when the Eugenics movement was most active: mixed racial families, studied, peered at and prodded by researchers, officials and the media, were described in pejorative terms and morally condemned in government and press reports. Such understandings were heavily influenced by emergent influential US theories, such as Everett Stonequist's *The Marginal Man* (1937), which extended Robert Park's (1928) theory of the in-between 'marginal man' racial outsider specifically to 'racially hybridized people'. Legitimising the stereotype of the 'tragic mulatto'—a product of nineteenth century American fiction that portrayed mixed black/white individuals as social and psychological misfits doomed to a tragic end⁹—these works and approaches reverberated through twentieth century Britain with often detrimental outcomes. For example, in addition to the official widespread castigation of interracial families in the interwar period, the Second World War saw relationships between black American GIs and white British women monitored and intentionally thwarted, and their 'half-caste' children—like others of mixed racial backgrounds throughout the century—deemed as confused misfits, with many ending up in care. Meanwhile, in the aftermath of the war, many families of Chinese seamen and white British women were broken up due to the fathers being forcibly repatriated, whilst for decades after the first large-scale immigration in the late 1940s, those who formed interracial unions were routinely subjected to racism in the neighbourhoods where they lived. Such experiences were shared by interracial people, couples and families throughout the twentieth century with their mere presence provoking or exacerbating the violence of white people in Britain, as evidenced during the numerous 'race riots', disturbances and attacks that occurred throughout the period.

Against this background of societal denigration, sometimes indifference and neglect, wider social movements, shifts and changes of the twentieth century also left their mark on this population in various ways: the changing tensions between race as biologically defined and its position as socially constructed; shifting definitions of who was deemed fit for citizenship; the displacement of the role of physical anthropology in explaining racial mixing and mixedness and the explosion of scholarly

sociological studies, many written by people of mixed race background; the rise in the concepts of multiculturalism, the diversity agenda and the politics of recognition; the rise of popular culture, its dissemination through digital media and the wider interpretative representations of this 'new' group; and the developing statistical governmentality of the nation culminating in the official inclusion of mixed race identities in the addition of the 'Mixed' category in the 2001 census headings.

The course of the twentieth century has thus seen racial mixing and mixedness enter the mainstream in unprecedented ways. As we discuss in our postscript (Chap. 14), mixed race couples, people and families are now clearly regarded as part of the British collectivity in terms of identities, practices and representation, and, as we highlighted in the beginning of this introduction, in the eyes of popular culture frequently as its leading edge. Yet, as we also highlight, old traditions die hard. Twenty-first century scholarship indicates that racism, including that directed towards mixed race people and their families, consistently raises its head, while longstanding pathologisations are still at play: the notion of what Laura Tabili (1996) noted were known as 'women of a very low type' partnering hypersexual black men persists in popular thought—as notoriously exemplified in the BBC comedy show *Little Britain's* (2004) white underclass character Vicky Pollard and her new black boyfriend ('me got me man Jermaine now and we just been round the back of the waterslides making baby')—as does the confused, marginalised mixed race child 'marooned between communities' as invoked by Trevor Phillips, then Chairman for the Commission for Racial Equality, in 2007¹⁰ (see McKenzie 2010; Caballero 2014). Similarly, the casting of interracial relationships and mixed race people as forms of exotica—whether tragic, thrilling, dangerous or inappropriate—also endures, as seen in the fictionalised and documentary depictions of subservient or grasping Thai bride-headed families (see Sims 2007). Such perceptions support what Reddy (1994: 10) calls 'the automatic presumption of underlying pathology in interracial relationships', with its longstanding warning that attempts to cross the barrier of racial and cultural differences lead to emotionally difficult relationships and lifestyles. Indeed, as we go to press, we do so in the middle of a media furore over Prince Harry's engagement to Meghan Markle, an American actress born to a black mother and white father. In the asking of what this

high-profile interracial relationship means for monarchy, race and society—as well as what Markle’s background signifies—there has been considerable postulating and surmising all along the sliding scale of political and conceptual positions on race. Echoing longstanding conceptualisations of interraciality, the couple have been situated as representative of everything from a ‘post-racial utopia’ to the ‘tainting’ of monarchy via black ‘seed’. Meanwhile discussions of Markle herself have opened the box of mixed race tropes: public discussion has seen her beauty claimed as ‘exotic’, her background ‘trouble’ and ‘mistress’ material, and her identity proclaimed both authentically and not authentically ‘black’, ‘white’ or ‘mixed’ enough. Across such positions, there is an underlying presumption—echoing Reddy’s observation—that such relationships, and people like Markle, are out of the ordinary and, frequently, problematic.¹¹

Certainly, throughout the twentieth century, such presumptions were solidly in place and official accounts and mainstream representations paint a grim picture of interraciality throughout most of twentieth century Britain. Yet, the frequency of what appear to be such clear social transgressions cannot help but raise a question mark about the actual everyday experience of racial mixing during this time. With the history of racial mixing and mixedness having long been presented to us largely through, as Balachandran (2014: 546) notes, the ‘prurient gaze of middle-class observers peering through lens clouded by class, racial, gender, sexual and political anxieties’, it is now timely to develop ‘new narratives through which everyday experience is being reordered and new meanings emerge’ (Weeks et al. 2001: 6). Such is the aim of this book. Drawing on our British Academy-funded research conducted in 2007 to explore the extent and diversity of racial mixing between 1920 and 1950 as well as the intersection of the maintenance of the racial line by official forces with the experiences of mixed race couples and people themselves (which also formed the foundations of the 2011 BBC2 *Mixed Britannia* television series and our online project The Mix-d Museum—www.mix-d.org/museum/timeline),¹² we look in the following chapters to trace the ebb and flow of the debates around racial mixing and mixedness in twentieth century Britain. Indeed, it is our position that contemporary ‘Brown Britain’ is not simply a ‘new’ social phenomenon brought about solely by the demographic growth of minority ethnic populations; rather, we contend that it is the

discourse—rather than the people—in which lies the change. To be precise, we hold that it is not that interracial couples, people and families have emerged where there were none before, but that they are emerging in a discursive racial framework in which ‘interraciality’ is recognised and debated in different ways than in earlier periods. As such we draw on Omi and Winant’s (1994) idea of ‘racial formation theory’, which uses the idea of ‘racial projects’ to explain how racial concepts are ‘created, inhabited, transformed and destroyed’ depending on the particular socio-political needs of the ruling order and the corresponding forms of resistance, negotiation and acceptance to this (Omi and Winant 1994: 55). Throughout the twentieth century, a number of what we might call ‘mixed race projects’ can clearly be seen to emerge and evolve—that is, shifts in the ways in which the dynamics of how interracial relationships, people and families are structured and represented, routinised and standardised, and accepted or rejected. In this book, we separate these into four overlapping but yet distinct periods: (1) The ‘march to moral condemnation’ in 1900–1939 in which initial often nonchalant attitudes to racial mixing and mixedness in Britain hardened into a wide-ranging condemnatory discourse where earlier obsession with Chinese and white mixing was replaced by concerns about black and white interraciality; (2) 1939–1949, the period of the Second World War and the immediate post-war years which saw a community with a very different ethnoracial history—African American servicemen—become the target of miscegenation fears, as well as government intervention that directly led to the separation of interracial families; (3) the change in the national landscape in 1950–1979 with the arrival of mass migration and a newly visible level of interracial mixing occurring in a social landscape in which scientific racism was on the decline while everyday expressions of racism and prejudice were manifest; and (4) the period from 1980 to 2000 which was transformational with respect to the demography and social position of mixed race people, couples and families, with issues of structured racism and deep-seated prejudice seen as increasingly second fiddle to a national story of a more tolerant multiracial Britain in which racial mixing and mixedness was viewed not only as commonplace and acceptable but also celebratory.

Guided by the ebb and flow of such debates, our focus has thus predominantly been limited to tracing understandings of racial mixing and

mixedness between different groups in terms of how it has primarily been framed in mainstream debates of race in twentieth century Britain, which has led to some limitations in our scope. This, firstly, is evident in our concentration on a particular set of *racialised* identities. For the most part in Britain, mainstream debates on ‘racial’ mixing have labelled these as taking place between ‘disparate races’ of colour—for example, black and white or Asian and white—rather than ‘disparate ethnicities’ or ‘nationalities’—such as French and English or Scottish and German, in which there is often no ‘visible’ difference. Moreover, we also have not included debates that focus predominantly on mixing in terms of religious differences, such as interfaith marriages between Protestants and Catholics or Jewish and non-Jewish people. Though, of course, such religious mixing has provoked great debate in itself—and in the case of Jewish identity has overlapped with issues of race and ethnicity—it has tended not to be included in the types of mainstream twentieth century British establishment debates on mixed *race* relationships and identities that we cover in this book. The religious exception here is in relation to the frequent fearful establishment references to white Britons intermixing with, for example, groups such as Hindus and Muslims, but for the most part such reference has usually been code for Indian or Asian groups who have been very much included in debates on interraciality. Similarly, due to casting of ‘the colour line’ during the twentieth century being perceived as between white and non-white, there has been little mainstream discussion of mixing between non-white groups, such as black and Asian, which again is reflected in our general omission of the topic, though with ‘poly-ethnic mixing’ being increasingly recognised in the twenty-first century (see Chap. 14), emerging pockets of interest on the topic (see Datta 2006; Kazi 2017 and Zara Afzal’s forthcoming film documentary *Hidden Heart*) may be built on further in the future.

Secondly, given that social anxiety about racial mixing in Britain has been heavily dominated by fears about the ‘pollution’ of the white race, especially anxieties about white women giving birth to the racially mixed children of men of colour, the debate in the twentieth century and earlier has overwhelmingly revolved around both the mainstream views of white British society as well as heterosexual couples and families, which is itself reflected in our own focus on these areas and general omission of the

experiences of LGBT interraciality and minority ethnic attitudes towards this. This is not to say that there are not such accounts, for certainly they do exist—indeed, we touch upon some during the course of the book—but as they tend to be marginalised in both the archives, debates and history of racial mixing and mixedness as a whole in the twentieth century, disappointingly we have not been able to give these accounts the attention they deserve within our wider primary focus. Similarly, with the establishment's tendency to be preoccupied with issues affecting England, much of the discussion in our book concentrates here; while we have been able to include some notable material relating to Wales, much more work needs to be done in uncovering the wider British history of racial mixing and mixedness outside of England, particularly that of Scotland, where, as incidents covered in this book suggest, a fascinating history exists. It is encouraging however to see that these histories and perspectives are beginning to attract increasing attention (e.g. Miller et al. 2014; Ellis 2015; Hu 2016) and we hope that going forward this body of work will continue to be explored and expanded on by scholars.

In regards to the contentious issue of terminology, though we have aimed for consistency, care and clarity, we recognise that the language of race—and certainly that used to refer to people from racially mixed backgrounds—is subject to much heated ideological and political debate and can frequently cause offence, even when used with good intentions (see, for example, Ali 2003; Aspinall 2003; Barn and Harman 2005; Caballero 2005; Ifekwunigwe 1998; Tikly et al. 2004). For the most part, we use 'mixed race' to reflect not only the dynamic and relational racialised processes that have led particular groups to be categorised with this label but also as the term that has, over the last several decades, been indicated as the most popularly used and accepted in Britain by those so labelled (see, for example, Tikly et al. 2004; Caballero et al. 2008; Aspinall 2009; Aspinall and Song 2013). Other popular uses—such as 'mixed' and 'interracial'—are similarly employed and we also draw on the terms 'mixedness' and 'interraciality' to refer to the processes and states of racial mixing more widely. The language of race has evolved considerably over the twentieth and twenty-first centuries and the use of certain terms that were once popular but now generally considered offensive or old-fashioned—such as 'half-caste', 'coloured', 'Oriental' and 'Negro'—are

used within their historical contexts. We hope that any inconsistencies or omissions will not detract from or overshadow the history we seek to highlight.

This brings us to our second key aim of this book: the documentation of the intersection of understandings of racial mixing and mixedness by outside forces and institutions (e.g. the government, media, academia and the arts) with the lived experiences of mixed race couples, people and families themselves. Indeed, underneath the better-known fraught history of racial mixing and mixedness in twentieth century Britain, there is also another, lesser known story: that of commentators and researchers who sought to see the lives of such couples and their offspring in seaport towns not through the lens of prevailing ideologies but in experiential terms; of inspiring public figures and local leaders who sought to challenge pervasive stereotypes, fight injustice and provide practical care and support to racially mixed families and their children; and that of the actual couples and their children who, despite the warnings and experiences of violence, ostracism, hostility and isolation, still actively and habitually crossed racial boundaries to form relationships and families and live their lives.

The last issue is of particular interest to our work. While recent scholarship has greatly challenged modern perceptions of the pathology of racial mixing (see Chaps. 12 and 14), particularly by foregrounding the voices of those from and in interracial families, less attention has traditionally been paid to the voices of such families and people in earlier times. As Bressey (2007: 237) has noted, the historical experiences of those from minority ethnic backgrounds—as opposed to the official accounts produced by them—are often routinely ignored, and until they are placed more firmly at the forefront of accounts we will have little idea of how such groups ‘lived their everyday lives, or the real extent to which race and racism played a part in the governing of Britons, whatever the colour of their skin.’ As Bland (2005: 52) rightly notes, what is still missing in the story of those mixing and of mixed race ‘in the face of a barrage of both official and cultural hostility’ are the accounts of the people themselves.

Certainly, the voices and images of the everyday lives of mixed race families are sparse and their survival piecemeal and accidental right up to

the era of the large-scale digital recording and archiving of reminiscences and photographs in the late twentieth century. Where they do survive, however, they regularly show such people going about their lives in unspectacular, ordinary ways: going to work, visiting shops, attending to their children, going to dances, and dealing with everyday social interaction on their streets, in their communities, and with friends and relatives. Indeed, despite the various forms of moral and social condemnation that mixed race couples, people and families have faced in Britain over the years, the truth is that their story is not inherently or inevitably steeped in tragedy but—as with those of monoracial backgrounds—consists of complex, multilayered patterns and histories, both on a group and on an individual level. As such, we can find accounts of some mixed race children being placed in care, whilst others grew up accepted by and integrated into their families and local communities; of some interracial couples suffering horrific racial abuse and condemnation while others were the toast of society; of some interracial couples and people facing initial hostility from family members or neighbours but over time becoming accepted and integrated; and of some couples and their children experiencing family discord and breakdown, including as a result of racial assumptions and prejudice within their relationships with each other, whilst others report long-lasting, close and empowering relationships. Such accounts show that the diversity and complexity of interracial relationships and people in Britain is so much deeper than can be explained by the casual generalisations and assumptions that have defined their history so far.

Alongside the more familiar tales of social bigotry and prejudice facing mixed race couples, families and people can thus also be glimpsed threads of tolerance, acceptance and inclusion and, most importantly, a sense of everyday 'ordinariness' largely ignored in the history of this group to date (Caballero 2012). The 'ordinary' stories of 'everyday' people mixing and of mixed race—both now and then—are seldom told, but they are critical in presenting a more balanced picture of the experiences of racial mixing and mixedness—one that is not all about cultural harmony and acceptance but equally one that is not all about tragedy, prejudice and difficulty. For when we slowly begin to uncover such accounts, which include the good, the bad and the quite simply mundane, we can start to see this

generally hidden history of racial mixing in Britain as simply another part of the longstanding diversity and difference that is—and always has been—an ordinary feature of British life.

Notes

1. See, for example, *Daily Mail*, 9 December 2012; *Daily Express*, 10 December 2012; *Daily Mirror*, 11 December 2012. The comments appeared as part of media coverage of a report produced by the think tank British Future (see Ford et al. 2012) in which the initial statement appeared.
2. See *The Guardian*, 22 May 1997; *The Mail on Sunday*, 8 December 2002; *The Observer*, 4 January 2004; Ford et al. (2012).
3. Cited in Newman (1987: 146).
4. A catch-all term used to refer to sailors from South Asia, Southeast Asia and the Middle East.
5. See also *Sheffield Independent*, 22 January 1919.
6. See Edwards and Walvin (1983: 33).
7. A marriage bar did operate in the mid-eighteenth century; however, this was not against blacks and whites, but against Irish Catholics and English Protestants (Lorimer 1978: 27).
8. The nineteenth-century term ‘Eurasian’ was commonly used to describe those of mixed European (often British) and Asian (often Indian) ancestry; however, by the twentieth century the ‘old style’ meaning of ‘Anglo-Indian’—a white British person resident in India—was increasingly adopted by Indians of mixed racial descent, the ‘new style’ meaning appearing in the Indian Census of 1911 and later codified into the Government of India Act (1935). See Blunt (2003).
9. For a detailed analysis of the tragic mulatto in American literature, see Sollors (1997, 2000).
10. *The Sunday Times*, 21 January 2007.
11. For an overview of the discussion, including public commentary, see Buggs (2017) and Musiwa (2017). See also the comments of Melanie McDonagh in *The Spectator*, 27 November 2017; Jo Marney as reported by *The Mail on Sunday*, 13 January 2018; and Ann Widdecombe in *The Huffington Post*, 7 February 2018.

12. Caballero and Aspinall, 'The era of moral condemnation: Mixed race people in Britain, 1920–1950', British Academy Small Grants Scheme 2006–2007, award number SG-47233; *Mixed Britannia*, broadcast October 2011, BBC2.

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Part I

1900–1939: The March to Moral Condemnation

The persistent interest in racial mixing and mixedness in the early decades of the twentieth century must be understood against the backdrop of the British Empire, with its ever-present simmering issues of race, class, gender, sex and nation. While during this period eugenics and its related movements sought to influence reproductive practice through the application of theories of heredity, it was the presence of the Empire that leveraged race into eugenic ideas, especially anxieties about racial mixing and interracial marriage. Class issues were also at the forefront of eugenic thinking, with class inseparable from race in the writings of British eugenic advocates.

As Chap. 2 discusses, at the turn of the century, geneticists and eugenicists across the globe continued the tradition of reporting the deleterious biological consequences of racial mixing, including a variety of physiological and associated medical problems. However, compared with the intensity of the debates on ‘race crossing’ in the USA, only a small number of zoologists and geneticists in Britain vociferously joined them. In Britain, anthropologists working on race crossing in the 1920s and 30s did so within a particular genre of the discipline—the field of anthropometry—and drew few if any conclusions from their work about the adverse or beneficial biological consequences of race mixing. Attrition through death or retirement depleted many in the group and the genre of

anthropometry had largely petered out by the outbreak of war, though the influence of their ideas in the public consciousness continued to have an influential hold.

Commensurate in timescale with the work of Britain's anthropometricists on race mixing was that of an ill-defined and disparate group of commentators and investigators responsible for a number of 'seaport studies' that focused mainly on the social consequences of interraciality, including the threat to economic and social stability posed by the growing communities (Chap. 3). Following the 'race riots' in some nine British ports in 1919, where the hostility and violence sometimes manifested itself specifically in the fear of miscegenation and black male sexuality, many of these studies set a 'social hygiene' or 'moral welfare' perspective to morally condemn interracial unions and their offspring (most notably those by Muriel E Fletcher and Captain FA Richardson). In contrast, report authors who remained close to the 'coloured' communities focused much more strongly on the disadvantaging socio-economic context in which these communities lived their lives, though these studies nevertheless tended to blame the white women in these interracial relationships for the families' difficulties and lack of success.

As Chap. 4 highlights, during these decades class played a key role in how the media viewed mixed marriages, as the subject of race mixing and mixedness steadily entered the realm of 'wider British opinion'. The arts, particularly literature and the theatre, increasingly reflected a wider tension between the fear, fantasy and actuality of interracial mixing across Empire, including the social consequences of crossing racial boundaries and the plight of the 'tragic half-caste'. Early representations of mixing in Britain placed less emphasis on the threats of racial unions than on their perceived unusualness; however, with the onset of the First World War, exotic accounts and representations in the arts and media were overshadowed by concern about and the increasing censure of the working-class interraciality between seamen, soldiers and other wartime workers of all races and local white women that was clearly taking place in numerous locales across the country. These concerns turned feverish in the following peace time with the explosion of violence in the 1919 riots, with mixing and intermarriage between black men and white women being one of the main targets of blame. By the 1920s, press opinion on inter-

racial relationships in Britain—now visibly occurring in the very centre of the metropole—had moved to a tone much more aggressive and condemnatory in nature, while novelists, too, underscored that mixed relationships ended in disaster for one or both parties. By the 1930s, mainstream public opinion now thoroughly morally condemned racial mixing, with the ‘menace’ of the ‘half-caste’ of black and white parentage in particular becoming a steady focus of attention and opprobrium.

Yet, accounts from those who were themselves mixing and of mixed race during this time period, as discussed in Chap. 5, directly challenge the accounts put forward by the media and the arts, revealing a picture of visibility and acceptance in intimate, everyday lives, albeit against a backdrop of racism. Boarding houses and nightclubs were key meeting sites, while exposure to ‘ordinary cosmopolitanism’ offered opportunities for racial mixing, particularly between white women and men of colour. Insider accounts and contemporary photographs of interracial domestic settlement reveal substantial commitment and domestic contentment between the partners, often ending in respectable, officially sanctioned unions of marriage. Nevertheless, some relationships failed or were miserable with racial/cultural difference playing a part in their undoing. Issues within the domestic sphere could also be caused by relationships with extended family, with some parents (and in some cases both sets) expressing objections and others supportive and welcoming, in what were sometimes complex and evolving family dynamics. Institutional racism was one facet of the prejudice that mixed race people, couples and families had to face but there were others, including the hardening of public attitudes to racial mixing over the decades. Records of these effects, the emotional and psychological toll of dealing with racism, are plain to see in the testimonies we have located and drawn together. Insider accounts also reveal the ways in which such prejudiced practices and portrayals were refuted and challenged by the individuals and families. They also provide evidence of an integrated existence between multiracial populations in some areas or enclaves, and others where attitudes towards mixedness fluctuated between acceptance and antipathy, underlying the important role of geography as well as class.



2

'Disharmony of Physical, Mental and Temperamental Qualities': Race Crossing, Miscegenation and the Eugenics Movement

Introduction

The subject of 'race mixture' was of great interest to the influential body of nineteenth century scholars whose opinions, theories and doctrines began to emerge under the banner of science. Indeed, as Young (1995: 7) notes, from the 1840s onwards the question of whether there were different racial 'species'—and therefore the question of racial mixing—'was always placed at the centre of [scientific] discussions and was consistently and comprehensively treated.' Within the burgeoning nineteenth century disciplines of anthropology and biology, discussions raged over the question of race mixture—or 'hybridity' (Lorimer 1978; Stepan 1982). In some quarters, it was argued that the races were separate species and unable to mix at all; rather, like *mules*—the offspring of horses and donkeys—racially mixed people (*mulattoes*) were inherently infertile. Others argued that though hybridity was possible, it was not sustainable—both biologically and socially—in the long term unless the mixing occurred between 'eugenic' races (highly similar ones) rather than 'dysgenic' ones (extremely disparate populations). For the most part, it was held that racially mixed people displayed 'hybrid degeneration' (that is, were

physically weaker than their minority parent group and less intelligent than their white parent group) rather than 'hybrid vigour' (i.e. where they combined the best physical and mental features of both parent groups). As such, race mixing between white and black populations was generally held to end in 'degeneration' with extremely disastrous results (the turbulent social and political situation of Latin America was frequently cited as 'proof' of this), though eugenic race mixing between, for example, 'Teutonic' and 'Saxon' stock was claimed to result in 'vigour' and be highly desirable for the 'advancement' of human civilisation (Stepan 1982).

As Lorimer (1978) points out, the findings of these scientific scholars were not, as was insisted, the impartial and objective truths of empirical observation but rather the expression of the social and political undercurrents of the time; as such, nineteenth century science 'followed rather than led opinion on the racial question' (Lorimer 1978: 148). Such scholars also laid the foundations for the creation of mixed race people as what might be called a 'category of concern', that is a racialised group seen as having worrying physical, social and psychological features and issues. Indeed, as imperial expansion continued and brought Britain into closer and closer contact with the 'Other', concerns around the 'uncertain crossing and invasion of identities'—racial, classed and gendered (Young 1995: 2)—continued to feed into and shape scientific approaches and thinking about race and racial mixing. Those of mixed racial backgrounds were thus increasingly conceptualised by scholars as a distinct group of people whose very presence raised key social apprehensions. Though by the end of the nineteenth century the scientific argument of distinct 'racial species' was essentially outmoded, this was not the same for the arguments made regarding the undesirability of racial mixing. Indeed, as the twentieth century unfolded, the question of 'race crossing' and 'miscegenation' was also steadily but progressively of interest, particularly to adherents of 'eugenics' and its related movements which sought to influence reproductive practice through the application of theories of heredity. Eugenic practice might encompass actions to prevent life (sterilisation, contraception, segregation and sometimes abortion), enhance life (public health, training and rearing of children), generate more life (treatment of infertility) and, in its most abhorrent form, end life. Efforts to improve

the fertility of some were termed 'positive eugenics' and those that aimed to curb the fertility of others as 'negative eugenics'.

While Francis Galton is widely regarded as the originator in 1883 of 'eugenics', naming and consolidating these ideas, eugenic claims preceded him. There is a longer history in the nineteenth century of concern with hereditary disease and the desire to affect marriage for the greater good of the state and the nation. Moreover, new developments in the biological sciences—notably, Darwin's *Origins of Species* (1859) and Galton's *Hereditary Genius* (1869)—provided fertile ground for the solidification of eugenic ideas. Galton saw eugenics as a set of practices to manipulate natural selection by planning for and intervening in human breeding.

In Britain most eugenic interventions were focused on so-called degenerates, notably, the feeble-minded, the insane, the disabled and the urban poor, though there was probably a stronger focus on positive eugenics—encouraging 'genetically superior' people to have children—than in the USA. However, racial outsiders were also a target, Bashford and Levine (2010: 6) noting that 'eugenics and racism have become almost interchangeable terms'. The presence of the empire leveraged race into eugenic ideas, especially anxieties about racial mixing and interracial marriage. In his account of his expedition into Africa in 1850–1852, for example, Galton spoke of 'inferior races', eugenics being used to provide a scientific rationale for such views. Race crossing was on the agenda of the Eugenics Educational Society (founded in London in 1907) from an early stage, though eugenic principles had a lesser impact on public policy than in the USA. While many leading practitioners and thinkers in the biological sciences were members of the British Eugenics Society, others in the establishment kept their distance. With respect to local jurisdictions, eugenics was often not a policy driver: for example, during the period 1900–1972 Public Health Reports for London boroughs made reference to 'eugenics' in only 27 reports, often in innocuous ways such as the notification of upcoming meetings.

Moreover, class issues were at the forefront of eugenic thinking, reflecting the dominance of class in British domestic discourse. Bashford and Levine (2010: 7) have argued that British eugenics was predominantly driven by class prejudices and 'race and class were inseparable in the writings of British eugenic advocates'. Further, as one of eugenics' central

concerns was with reproductive sex, it was also about gender, including maintenance of traditional gender roles and the increase in the number of fitter families.

The practices of eugenics and the way these ideas were taken up had different chronologies across different national contexts. From the 1880s they developed rapidly, peaking in the 1920s.¹ During the 1930s they came under sustained scientific criticism and were dealt a major setback by the Nazis' requisition of these ideas for nationalist purposes during World War II. By the 1960s the eugenics movement had lost its position as a serious scientific field and, instead, was the focus of criticism and critique.

Racial science and eugenics in the USA developed closely in step with European eugenics (Gilroy 1993) and, in particular, had a significant influence on German racial science. In the USA the eugenics movement was always much more dominated by race than in Britain, African Americans, immigrants from Southern Europe, and poor rural whites being seen as problem populations. Undesirable marriage had been expressed in racial terms since the first anti-miscegenation laws of the late eighteenth century and these dominated US social customs until well into the twentieth century. From the 1840s the 'mulatto' was portrayed as feeble, probably infertile, more susceptible to disease, and with shortened lifespan, stereotypes that were to have an enduring impact on popular attitudes and the representation of hybrid populations in Britain and mainland Europe, culminating in Park and Stonequist's trope of the 'marginal man' in the 1920s and 1930s. Moreover, the work of prominent American eugenicists such as Charles Davenport was widely known amongst British geneticists and anthropometricists and cited by scientists such as Jack Trevor.

Further, the work of American eugenicists had a more draconian impact on public policy than was the case in Britain. Harry Laughlin, 'arguably the most influential of the era's exponents of "scientific racism"' (Watson and Berry 2003: 29) who oversaw the operations of the United States' Eugenics Record Office (founded by Charles Davenport at the Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory in 1910), promoted forced sterilisation methods, restrictions on the immigration of non-North Europeans, and served as an expert witness at congressional hearings on immigration. Such

activities culminated in the passage of the Johnson-Reed Immigration Act in 1924, restricting immigration from Southern Europe and elsewhere, and earned Laughlin an honorary degree from Heidelberg University.

These various strands coalesced in a policy of 'negative eugenics', that is, a policy of preventing 'genetically inferior' people from having children. While restricted immigration would limit the presence of what Laughlin termed 'socially inadequate' national groups in the country, arguing against what was termed 'race crossing' would minimise harm to the native-born genetic stock. There followed the foundation by Davenport of the International Federation of Eugenics Organizations (IFEO) in 1925 and the appointment of Eugen Fischer as chairman of the Commission on Bastardization and Miscegenation in 1927. Davenport is reported to have aspired to establish a World Institute for Miscegenations, and introduced his idea of a 'world map' of the 'mixed-race areas' at a meeting of the IFEO in Munich in 1928. His racist tracts on miscegenation are many, including *Race Crossing in Jamaica* (1929) which sought to provide quantitative data for biological and cultural degradation in the offspring of interracial unions.

While most of the eugenic literature of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries portrayed the children of interracial couples as degenerate and physically disharmonious, some scientists wrote about the other side of the coin, 'hybrid vigour' or 'heterosis', which like 'hybrid degeneration' also sprung from the idea of inherent racial differences. This was the idea that outmarriage (exogamy) yields enhancement in the offspring or 'heterozygote advantage', with Dickinson (1949) in an article in the *Eugenics Review* on 'race mixture' summarising evidence for and against. The concept drew some of its credentials from the gains shown from hybridisation in horticulture and animal husbandry, going back to George Shull's work at the Station for Experimental Evolution, Cold Spring Harbour, who in 1908 crossed different corn strains to produce a more vigorous hybrid.

Evidence supporting the idea of hybrid vigour included that provided by Boas (1894) who found mixed race Plains Indians to be taller and more fertile than the parent races. Fischer (1913) reported that the Hottentot-Boer crosses, the so-called Rehobother Bastards, were highly

fertile and physically and mentally virile. Writing about the Norfolk Islanders (descendants of the Bounty mutineers), Shapiro (1929) stated that their general health, longevity, fertility and social structure all compared favourably with their parent races. Jennings (1930) argued that miscegenation decreased the likelihood of a union of corresponding defective genes present in both parents. Finally, East and Jones (1919: 260) conceded that the offspring of closely allied races could result in beneficial effects, noting that crosses in the variable populations of the English and Scots ‘produce genius and they produce wretchedness as the natural result of the recombination of these variations’. However, they claimed that the mixing of individuals from ‘distant’ groups—those physically and mentally far apart—presented dangers for the offspring.

The Putative Mechanisms for Biological and Social Effects

The putative genetic mechanisms then believed to be responsible for the adverse biological consequences of race mixing focused on the role of ‘adaptive gene complexes’, drawing insights from the plant and animal sciences. It was argued that adaptive gene complexes were highly specialised in relation to their characteristic ecological niches and favoured by selection in the context of the genetic background of the deme. Within ‘races’ these complexes in the genome could be broken up (disrupted or disintegrated), a process involving the separating and re-sorting or recombination of the genes, by race crossing. Thus, gene complexes which had been selected over many generations as providing a balanced, harmonious integrated genotype would be lost, resulting in the formation of new combinations that produced disharmony in the hybrids and a decline in fitness. Davenport (1917: 366–7) categorically referred to disharmony in ‘physical, mental, and temperamental qualities and...also disharmony with environment’.

It was essentially a theoretical objection, the empirical data to support it being fragmentary, flimsy or non-existent. It took no account of processes of co-adaptation evident in the evolutionary ideas of Theodosius Dobzhansky, an eminent geneticist who spent most of his professional

career in the USA and was a signatory to the UNESCO 1950 statement on race. Dobzhansky argued that population mixing had been going on throughout the history of mankind and there was no evidence of deleterious consequences. He argued that scientists had no empirical evidence of adaptive differences among human races and described fear of disharmonies over these earlier decades as 'far fetched' (Dobzhansky 1956: 144). Farber (2011) reaffirms this view.

Those who opposed race mixing translated these putative mechanisms into a theory of 'mosaic inheritance', as opposed to one of 'blending inheritance' or 'intermediate inheritance'. According to Mjöen, the theory of mosaic inheritance claimed that, in the offspring of interracial unions, 'every cell, every organ becomes a mosaic composed of heterogeneous hereditary qualities'. By contrast 'blending inheritance' claimed that when parents differed in a trait, the offspring received a homogeneous 'blend' of the parents' traits or qualities (Mjöen 1931: 33). By the 1930s, Halfdan Bryn, Eugen Fischer, Charles Davenport, Jon Alfred Mjöen and Reginald Ruggles Gates were amongst those who aligned themselves with the 'mosaic' camp. William Ernest Castle, on the other hand, claimed that 'most inherited characteristics are blending' (Castle 1926: 152).

The deleterious biological consequences of racial mixing reported by these geneticists and eugenicists fall into two categories. Firstly, a variety of physiological and associated medical problems were attributed to greater variability in the offspring than in the parental stocks, ostensibly arising from Mendelian inheritance: this it was argued produced 'dysgenic' crossings and 'disharmonious' physical and mental characteristics in the offspring. The medical consequences included Hirschsprung's disease (a blockage of the large intestine due to improper muscle movement in the bowel), congenital dislocation of the hip ('luxatio coxae congenitae'), obstetric difficulties (large head of the baby and small pelvic breadth), defects in the endocrine balance of the body, and a greater range of variation in lung volume and muscular strength. Other more minor manifestations of disharmonic growth that were reported included relatively large or small ears, disproportionate extremities, unusual length of body, and long arms and short legs. Accounts were also given of anomalies in facial appearance, including cases in Anglo-Chinese boys of hetero-

chromia (differences in colour of the irises: one eye the characteristic 'opaque' brown of the Chinese and one being a light grey-brown English eye) and eyes with epicanthal fold and orbit of Chinese shape on one side only; and, in black/white children, one lip wide and everted and one English in type or with 'negro' skin and flaxen hair, or 'negroid' colouring and white scalp.

Secondly, by virtue of a weakened constitution and the break-up of adaptive gene complexes, it was claimed that hybrids had greater susceptibility to disease or to more serious or advanced disease, including conditions like tuberculosis (TB), diabetes, syphilis, sickle cell anaemia and cancer. Indeed, it was the thesis of the US physician Josiah Nott that mixed race children were also less fertile and lived a shorter life, securing the introduction of the category 'mulatto' in the 1850 census to provide him with the necessary population statistics (Nobles 2000). Tuberculosis was one of the most frequently mentioned diseases where risks were said to be elevated for hybrids. A TB epidemic had ravaged the African American community in the first half of the twentieth century and by 1930 was the second most important cause of death in this group. Davenport (1931: 161) wrote the following at this time: 'Since the War tuberculosis has become the great scourge of "the race", especially among hybrids'. The myth that 'mixed race' people were more susceptible to TB persisted till the outbreak of the Second World War.

Frederick L Hoffman, Arnold Klebs and Jean Baptiste de Lacerda were amongst the first to claim—in the decades around the turn of the nineteenth century—that TB was common, more frequent or more serious/fatal in the mixed race population. Hoffman (statistician to the Prudential Insurance Company of America) cited the testimony of the examining surgeons of the army (from the report of the Provost-Marshal General) (Hoffman 1896): 'There are few if any pure Africans [in Vermont], but a mixed race only. They probably lose in vitality what they gain in symmetry of form by admixture; they die early of scrofula or tuberculosis' (BF Morgan: 92); 'the mulatto or yellow negro...are with few exceptions, scrofulous or consumptive' (CG McKnight: 225); 'the mulatto...is comparatively worthless, subject to scrofula and tuberculosis' (CL Hubbell: 261); 'the mulattoes have more intelligence...but they were scrofulous and consumptive' (Thomas F Murdock: 353); and 'the mulatto and all

varieties of mixture of black and white blood have degenerated physically, being very often found with tuberculosis and other manifestations of imperfect organism' (LM Whiting: 418).

Klebs (1909: 123) claimed that 'tuberculosis among the mulattoes... seems to be more fatal than in the full-blood negroes'. Reuter (1918: 34) wrote that mulattoes in the United States 'are not muscular, and have little power to resist disease. Tuberculosis is common among them', though this simply parroted the exact words of de Lacerda at a 1911 race conference (de Lacerda 1911: 377).² Gates (1923: 31) reported that an 'unbalanced type frequently arises from crosses between American Indians and French or English', noting that 'the incidence of tuberculosis is the lowest (1.1 to 1.5) where the Nordic race is comparatively pure, and highest (3.6–4) in the region where there is the largest race mixture'. Love and Davenport (who cited Klebs) also suggested the possibility that the high susceptibility of TB in African Americans may be due to race mixture rather than to a factor inherent in the group itself: 'The high rate (of incidence of tuberculosis) in certain southern states may be due to the presence in them of susceptible negroes; as this race, and particularly the mulatto, is especially susceptible' (Love and Davenport 1919: 32). Carter (1926) found exactly the opposite, noting that, 'We began our work believing that there must be something approximating the truth in the widespread belief throughout the South that the mulatto has no resistance against disease and especially against tuberculosis. To our surprise our first annual report showed better results with the mulatto...our second annual tabulation...showed the same result; and not only did it show better results for the mulatto than for the black, but we divided our cases into black mulatto, dark mulatto, and light mulatto, and found that the light mulatto shows best where the black shows worst, the dark mulatto occupying a middle group'.

However, views linking TB susceptibility to the offspring of race mixed unions continued to be voiced. Mjöen (1926, 1931) reported a diminished resistance to TB and higher rates of disease (as revealed by TB mortality) in Nordic and Mongol Lapp 'crosses' (and also a greater prevalence of diabetes, claimed also to be due to 'a glandular anomaly'). In Britain, Fletcher (1930: 15)—who had a social sciences training—reported several cases of 'a bad family history for tuberculosis' during visits to 'half-

caste' families in Liverpool (but lacked the medical records to substantiate a higher prevalence), noting too that 'in Cardiff it is said that the half-caste children are more tubercular than the white'. However, in her survey of teachers, three-quarters of the 80 respondents stated that half-caste children were not more prone to infectious diseases.

A definitive study published in 1939 (Williams and Applewhite 1939: 86) finally concluded that 'no one miscegenetic type of American Negro, as here determined by phenotypic diagnosis, differs from any other type in incidence of pulmonary tuberculosis, nor, very probably, in resistance against the disease'. Though Castle (1926: 153) had claimed 'that the problem of white-Negro miscegenation is not a biological but a social one', negligible consideration was accorded to socio-economic position, poverty and living conditions.

Before the Second World War, another disease reported to occur at a higher prevalence or with more severity in mixed race people than native populations was syphilis, claimed as the seventh main cause of death amongst African Americans in 1930. A Mississippi doctor told fellow members of the American Medical Association in 1910 that 'danger, especially from syphilis and gonorrhoea, was actually greater from mulattoes, octoroons and quadroons' (Reverby 2009: 28). Similarly, a French military surgeon early in the century concluded from his observations that

with regard to the Negroes south of the Senegal...the black race is more resistant to the syphilitic virus, but that half-castes are more prone to the disease. The more European blood the worse the disease. A negress who has escaped infection from a syphilitic European may contact syphilis from a mulatto. Conversely, a negro who has been affected by a half-caste woman may be troubled with little more than a hard sore and adenitis, and get well without treatment. The European, however, infected from the same source will run through the whole gamut of symptoms.³

Davenport (1931: 161) claimed that 'Syphilis is commoner than among whites and is responsible for much heart disease', the racialisation of this disease culminating in the US Public Health Service (USPHS) Syphilis Study at Tuskegee from 1972.

Similar evidence was reported for sickle cell disease. Diggs et al. (1933: 774) had reported that sickling 'occurred more frequently in "light" Negroes than in "dark" or "pure Negroid" types'. Some further attempt to

explore the admixture hypothesis ('its projection into the white race' from 'African Negroes') was made by Hodges (1950): he selected cases of black persons presenting in hospital wards and outpatient settings in the USA and measured physical racial characteristics and genealogical history (fractioning the proportion white into eighths including none at all, redolent of earlier census and other official practices that had used terms like 'quadroon' and 'octoroon'). He found that 'the per cent incidence of persons with sickling is lower in the "pure" Negro and seven-eighths Negro fractions but higher in the six-eighths and five-eighths fractions... increased incidence is limited to those mixtures which contain approximately six-eighths or five-eighths Negro. There is no evidence of an increasing incidence with further dilution by white or Indian blood' (Hodges 1950: 809). Studies of the prevalence of sickle cell trait undertaken in the last few decades have shown that Africans of sub-Saharan origins have a significantly higher trait prevalence than those who are of mixed 'White and African' ethnic origins (Davies et al. 2000).

Finally, Hoffman (McBride 1991: 17, quoting his 1921 address to the Columbia Medical Society suggested that cancer incidence was higher amongst 'mixed bloods' than 'those who are still relative pure-bloods', claiming that racial constitution or 'anatomy' was a factor affecting the incidence of cancer. Indeed, David McBride (1991: 16) has commented that 'no demographic or sociological researcher enunciated the idea that black Americans were an inferior, even "dying", race so authoritatively as the health statistician, Frederick L Hoffman'.

McBride (1991) located such views in the medical paradigm of 'socio-medical racialism', based on the notion that disease, disharmonious characteristics and abnormalities were best explained in terms of inherited racial features. Language commensurate with this racialisation was frequently used at the time to describe mixed race people: Aikman (1933: 161) referred to 'the crosses between primary races...as hybrids, and the offspring of the more closely related varieties and of the half-breeds, as mongrels'; Mjöen (1931) spoke of 'racial elements of alien origin', 'foreign racial elements', 'unbalanced hybrids' and 'half-breeds'.

The social consequences of race mixing were generally little commented on by the biological scientists but more so by social scientists. Those that did comment focused on black/white mixes that were charac-

terised in terms of disharmonious families, absent parent(s), family fragmentation, household unemployment and poverty, the poor life chances of the offspring, and low moral standards that pervaded the family (see Chap. 3 for the social consequences of mixing).

The Biological Scientists: Proponents and Agnostics

Compared with the intensity of the debates on ‘race crossing’ in the USA, only a small number of zoologists and geneticists in Britain joined them. The main contributor was Reginald Ruggles Gates (1882–1962), a Canada-born anthropologist, botanist and geneticist, who undertook much of his work in England (as Professor of Botany at King’s College, London from 1921 to 1942, when he returned to the USA). He argued against ‘race crossing’ throughout his life, taking this position early in his career in England. In *Heredity and Eugenics* (1923: 231–2), for example, he stated, ‘As regards world eugenics, then, it would appear that intermixture of unrelated races is from every point of view undesirable, at least as regards race combinations involving one primitive and one advanced race’. In a letter to *Nature* 30 years later, in 1952, he countermanded ‘... the incautious affirmation that “there is no evidence that race mixture produces disadvantageous results from a biological point of view” made in UNESCO’s 1951 modified statement on the nature of race with his opinion that ‘sickle cell anaemia, a fatal disease, occurs with much higher frequency in American Negroes having some white ancestry than in African Negroes of pure descent, although the latter show a much higher frequency of the sicklaemia trait, which is without symptoms’ (Gates 1952).⁴

In the early decades of the twentieth century, Marie Charlotte Carmichael Stopes (1880–1958), who was Gates’ wife during the years 1911–1916, entered into these debates with her controversial declaration that ‘utopia could be reached in my life had I the power to issue inviolable edicts...I would legislate compulsory sterilization of the insane, feebleminded...revolutionaries...half-castes’.⁵ Initially working as a

paleobotanist, her interests shifted to birth control and parenthood and Gates helped her found the Society for Constructive Birth Control and Racial Progress. 'Often characterised as a rabid eugenicist' (Bashford and Levine 2010: 217), she was concerned with promoting awareness of hereditary qualities and encouraging social responsibility to improve the human race by these ends (Mazumdar 1991). As such, she remained a fierce opponent of interracial relationships. According to Muriel Segal who interviewed her in the early 1930s, 'She believes that all half-castes should be sterilised at birth. Thus painlessly and in no way interfering with the individual's life, the unhappy fate of he who is neither black nor white is prevented from being passed on to yet more unborn babes.'⁶

Two British-born scientists, JBS Haldane (1892–1964), geneticist and evolutionary biologist, who spent most of his academic career in Britain, and Julian Huxley (1887–1975), an evolutionary biologist who also pursued his career in this country, remained detached from these debates. Both attempted to distance themselves from the emerging consequences of the implementation of eugenicist policies in Nazi Germany in the later 1930s by writing political texts that criticised the concept of race: Huxley's *We Europeans*, co-authored with AC Haddon, and published in 1936; and Haldane's *Heredity and Politics* in 1938. Roy Powell, the reviewer of the latter, commented that the doctrines examined by Haldane (including the congenital superiority of some races and that crossing between different races is harmful) 'we see almost daily being used by the fascist powers to justify the most frightful political and military aggressions ever perpetrated by man against man' (Powell 1938: 23). Huxley and Haldane fell into the camp of neutralists on 'race crossing'.

An insight into Haldane's views is obtained from his book and from correspondence with Tom Driberg (1905–1976) early in the latter's service as an MP. He states in *Heredity and Politics* that 'I would urge the extraordinary importance of a study of the effects of race crossing for the future of the British Commonwealth. Until such a study has been accomplished, and it is a study that will take generations to complete, we are not, I think, justified in any dogmatism as to the effect of race crossing... I am sure that the fact of our ignorance is a deplorable one which we ought to remedy'. However, he added, 'It may not be desirable to forbid it, but there can be very little reason, I think, to encourage it as between

the widely different races of mankind' (Haldane 1938: 172). A few years later Haldane reiterated these views, speaking of 'the density of our ignorance' on race crossing and considered it was 'useless even to ask the opinion of the geneticist' (Haldane 1941: 40–1).

Tom Driberg sought from Haldane in December 1942 'one or two authentic and unchallengeable facts' on the grounds that he was 'being attacked so intensively on certain anti-colour-bar endeavours' that he had made in parliament.⁷ His questions to Haldane were, 'Are marriages between white people and Negroes in any way "undesirable" biologically? Do they lead to any kind of physical or mental degeneration in the descendants?' Haldane replied, 'It is amazing how little statistical evidence there is as to the good or harm resulting from unions between whites and negroes. The coloured population of the United States is, however, almost entirely of mixed origin, and it certainly demonstrates that the results are not necessarily unfavourable. Undoubtedly coloured people in the United States are more liable to phthisis'⁸ (however, he attributed this to the fact that 'pure negroes are also more liable to tuberculosis' rather than to their hybrid character). He concluded his reply with, 'the lack of information on the subject is absolutely staggering'.

However, some of Haldane's work was cited by others as evidence of the deleterious consequences of race mixture. Haldane and AS Wiener had proposed that erythroblastosis fetalis (haemolytic disease of the newborn) was a consequence of the mixture of Rh positive and Rh negative populations. Such blood groups, Richard Ashman (a physiologist) argued, defined distinct populations which, when mixed, produced abnormalities. However, Huxley's and Haldane's own writings showed them to be non-committal on the biological consequences of race mixing, both arguing that the genetic evidence was non-existent. Huxley (in a letter to the *Eugenics Review*) contended that 'The question whether certain race crosses produce "disharmonious" results needs more adequate exploration' (Huxley 1938). Several decades later, William B Provine (1973: 794), somewhat less charitably, noted that 'they stopped short of denying hereditary mental differences or condoning all racial inter-mingling'.

An account of the contribution of biological scientists to the issue of race crossing would not be complete without a mention of Conrad Hal Waddington (1905–1975). Waddington was educated at the University of Cambridge where he took the natural sciences tripos. His early post-

graduate years included studies in geology, palaeontology, philosophy and embryology, and between 1933 and 1945 he was Embryologist and Lecturer in Zoology at Strangeways Research Laboratory, Cambridge. He showed in 1933 that chemical messengers from certain tissues encourage others to grow, with such studies of embryonic development leading him to research the regulatory effects of genes on tissue and organ development. From 1947 Waddington occupied the post of chief geneticist at the new National Animal Breeding and Genetics Research Organisation (NABGRO), combining it with the position of chair of animal genetics at the University of Edinburgh.

Like other British geneticists, Waddington took an equivocal position. In his *Introduction to Modern Genetics*, published on the eve of the Second World War, he wrote, 'It is often claimed that the crossing of widely different races of man inevitably leads to undesirable biological results. On the other hand, there is no doubt that most national groups have arisen through a fusion between at least fairly different peoples, and in some cases the hybridization may have been fairly wide' (Waddington 1939: 346). He further concluded that 'It is extremely difficult to determine whether disharmonious mentalities are produced by crossing, as is often alleged', pointing to occurrences of 'equality or even superiority' in the offspring, especially when the social climate was favourable: 'In only too many parts of the world the social disadvantage of being a half-caste is probably the greatest influence on half-caste mentality, and from such cases no genetical conclusions can be drawn'. As with other British geneticists, Waddington argued that more adequate analysis was needed, especially in countries where strict race equality in social matters is preserved. His scepticism is further indicated by his observation that wide crosses do not often produce segregates more extreme than either of their parents.

The British Physical Anthropologists: Disinterested Scientists

In the field of anthropology, antagonism towards 'race crossing' on biological grounds can be traced back to the work of Pearson and Galton. Again, the strand of debate in the USA was more vociferous, its chief

proponent being Charles B Davenport (and Morris Steggerda with whom he collaborated). Davenport and Steggerda focused their research on race crossing and drew consequences for wider populations. In Britain, anthropologists working on race crossing in the 1920s and 1930s did so within a particular genre of the discipline—the field of anthropometry—which had been pioneered by Galton in his Anthropometric Laboratory in London in the 1880s. However, these anthropologists drew few if any conclusions from their work about the adverse or beneficial biological consequences of race mixing, and they did not contribute to debates about ‘foreign-born’ immigration as did their counterparts in the USA. Their concern with the measurement of the ‘metrical characters’ of their hybrids was largely an end in itself.

The group of scholars who undertook anthropometry studies during the 1920s and 1930s (some of which extended into the 1940s and early 1950s), represented a contemporary ‘respectable’ face of ‘race crossing’ studies that commanded regard from their peers. Though neutralists by default in that they did not offer judgements, as their careers developed there was some seepage of more personal views: these were antagonistic to those who opposed race crossing on the grounds of adverse biological consequences.

These anthropologists focused narrowly on Mendelian hypotheses about variability in hybrids compared with their parental population stocks. According to the rules of Mendelian inheritance, human traits segregate leading to high variability in these traits in the mixed race population. Wissler (1924: 137, 138) articulates this as, ‘race crossing will also increase variability’ and ‘that relatively high variabilities indicate the presence of two or more racial stocks’. Davenport and Steggerda (1929: 60) are more specific: ‘high variation in any trait in a mixed population is usually associated with genic differences in that trait in respect to which the races are mixed’ (that is, the need to consider *relative* variabilities only in ‘those traits in which the parent-species are probably genetically distinct’). By the 1930s, however, many of the empirical studies of ‘race crossing’ had shown that there was not generally increased variability in mixed populations. In defence, supporters of the hypothesis argued that its interpretation had been incorrect, that samples had been too small, or measurements inaccurate. Evidence was selectively cited from studies

that did support the theory. HJ Müller even attempted to develop ingenious Mendelian interpretations of unincreased hybrid variability.

The main figures in this work were Rachel Fleming, Jack Carrick Trevor and (for a short period) Kenneth Little, all anthropologists by training. Clearly, by today's standards, such work would be considered as racist, given the underlying assumptions relating the person's biology—their physical body—to their race, the personal, intrusive nature of the measurements, and the questionable science that underpinned such work. In the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s, however, it was regarded as an acceptable research methodology, though some practitioners did acknowledge the ethical side of such work. It is easy to label these investigators as racist simply because they were members of the Eugenics Society (Fleure and Trevor were members while Fleming and Little were not) or wrote in its review (as did all). However, an examination of their work reveals a more complex picture with respect to their reported findings and beliefs.

Rachel Mary Fleming (1882–1968) was a protégé of Professor HJ Fleure in the Department of Geography and Anthropology, University of Wales, Aberystwyth. Though Fleure is generally regarded as anti-racist and occupying a liberal position, Barkan (1992: 63) has written that 'he certainly accepted a strict racial taxonomy, as well as sharing the stereotypical attitude of his time that the mere presence of racial minorities implied social trouble'. However, at times, he demonstrated a lack of preparedness to distance himself from other establishment figures who proffered racist views. In his review of 'racial and social problems in the light of heredity' by Ruggles Gates (a figure who then commanded substantial respect), for example, Fleure indicates his 'agreeing with him in the main'—and thus declining to make any substantive criticism of it publicly—even though the paper comprised (according to Fleure's own synthesis) the statements that 'the differences between races of man are greater than many between species of animals'; 'he advocates discouragement of miscegenation between black and white, a bad practice, he thinks, whether its evil results are due to biological or to social factors or to both'; and 'he dissents from any notion of their ['black races'] equality with whites' (Fleure 1934: 73).

Fleming, however, can be firmly placed within the neutralist camp. Her research interests lay in race type in women and how racial type

affected the development of children, much of the latter being based on physical measurements (notably, the cephalic index). Following contributions to *Man*, *Social Review*, *Times Education Supplement*, and *Geographic Teacher* (as well as three well-regarded books on folklore), she published her key study of 'children of mixed parentage' (which she also describes as 'of English and foreign parentage', 'coloured and white', 'Anglo-Chinese' and 'Anglo-Negroid') in seaport towns around ten years into her career at Aberystwyth, at the behest of the Eugenics Society (Fleming 1927). This anthropometric work lacked the sophistication in statistical presentation of other practitioners: for example, information on 'physical characters' (skin colour, eye colour, hair, lips, nose, limbs, head shape and general appearance) was primarily descriptive. Moreover, the number of cases was not given in these early findings, rendering the reported proportions with different 'physical characters' difficult to interpret.

This approach may have resulted from Fleming's background: described as a linguist by training, she was recruited as assistant secretary and subsequently librarian at the offices of the Geographical Association at Aberystwyth, following completion of a summer school in geography there in 1917. Yet she established herself as an anthropologist of some repute, having an MSc conferred on her in 1934 for 'her services to geography and anthropology'. One of her biographers fails to make any mention of her scholarly contributions, yet her work on the growth of children was funded by the Medical Research Council and used by Government. Her research took her to South Africa, evoking a strong condemnation of Dorothea Fairbridge's glib comment in her work on that country that 'Only a pure race is a strong race' (Fairbridge 1928: 29).

Through her contact with the racially mixed children of the seaport towns, visits to their homes and discussions with teachers and social workers, she became aware of their social situation and did not demur from making comments on the children's behavioural characteristics such as mental and moral deficiencies, 'anti-social' tendencies, special aptitudes, consciousness of social stigma and employability. However, these were observations rather than distillations from a body of measured evidence. At a meeting of the (Liverpool) University Settlement on 1 December 1927, she is reported as saying that 'there is no doubt that

the presence of increasing numbers of half-caste children inheriting disharmonious mental and physical traits, depresses very considerably the life of the Dockland population of Liverpool' (King and King 1938: 129).

This early work betrays some familiarity with contemporary biological theories on 'race crossing' in highlighting from her small mixed race sample examples of 'striking anomalies' in appearance and 'disharmonic appearance' ('skin, eye and hair colour...vary most curiously and unexpectedly'), 'observations of disharmony...most marked in the case of the jaws', and the relevance of her observations to 'present discussions as to the disappearance of the Nordic type'. It was perhaps such observations that caused her work to be cited by the propagandists (notably, Anthony Ludovici) as evidence of physical disharmony in 'racial crosses'. With regard to the biological and social effects of 'race crossing', however, she regarded the debate as pointless, stating that, 'It seems useless to argue the pros and cons of the "advisability" of an interracial cross, since our Imperial Commercial system is linking all possible races in our seaport towns, and has been doing so for some generations' (Fleming 1927: 300–1); indeed, she noted that of her 'Anglo-Negro crosses', '25% admitted half-caste blood on the mother's side'.

However, her views had crystallised when—three years later—she reviewed several key studies on 'race crosses' for the *Eugenics Review* (Fleming 1930), the tenor of her comments being antithetical to much of the racist biological writing on this topic. Indeed, her critique reveals a robust humanitarianism (her use of biblical references to the 'Sons of God' and 'daughters of men' may have owed something to her upbringing as the daughter of a congregational minister and his wife) and a confidence in assailing the work of key figures like Herskovits and Davenport and Steggerda, while highlighting scholarly studies that provided a more positive perspective. She returns to her earlier theme of 'long racial crossing', exposes the meaninglessness of the idea of 'pure races' and attacks methods of statistical analysis that reduce research subjects to aggregates of metrical measurements arranged by 'characters' rather than the individuals measured (taking her cue from her mentor who had stressed 'the importance of study of individual heads rather than of averages of numbers of measurements'). Her final contribution in this field (Fleming

1939) provides a descriptive statistical analysis of well over 200 mixed race children from seaport towns, primarily 'Chinese and White' and 'Negro and White', reporting 'disharmonic appearance' resulting from eye diversity in the former and 'marked disharmony of the jaws' in the latter. For example, Fleming (1939: 69) reported that 10% of the offspring of 'Negro'-White unions showed a disharmonic pre- or post-normal occlusion of teeth and jaws (occurring when a badly arched jaw was inherited from the white side), though Montagu (1942: 120) used the fact that only one of 119 Chinese-White children in the same study showed any evidence of asymmetric or disharmonious physical characteristics as evidence of an 'obviously extremely rare' occurrence (Montagu 1942: 127).⁹ Without any commentary or conclusion by Fleming, this paper adds nothing further on her views about race crossing.

Yet her most direct attack on those opposed to racial mixing came in a paper presented at a British Commonwealth League conference in London in June 1932. According to the *Daily Express*, this 'speech by a white woman, warmly defending marriages between negroes and whites, was loudly applauded yesterday'.¹⁰ Fleming asserted, 'There was nothing in anthropology or in biology to indicate that racial mixture was bad. Each race brought something of value, and the sorting out of the hereditary genes in new combinations brought possibilities of effecting new capacities'. Her speech was published in full in *Liberal Women's News* and reported in the *West Africa*, *The Crisis* (the US), and in *The Argus* (Melbourne). Her position revealed in this public venue was one of certitude that there were no adverse consequences for race mixing.

Jack Carrick Trevor (1908–1967) came relatively late to anthropometry when this genre of studies was in decline. He did so through the Eugenics Society's second Leonard Darwin scholarship (financed by a bequest from Henry Twichin) to be devoted to the investigation of race crossing, being appointed first holder in 1936 to undertake a survey of the literature on the biological effects of race crossing. A graduate in anthropology from the University of Oxford and then working in the Galton Laboratory, Trevor had previously spent the two years 1934–1936 studying the 'new world negro' and 'mixtures of negro and white stocks in the United States' as Commonwealth Fellow in Anthropology at Northwestern University, USA. His credentials for this work included a

study with LH Dudley Buxton of craniology in England in medieval times, his 'collection of biometric material on West African and American negro crania', and also of ethnological material acquired in the Virgin Islands and East Africa (Anon. 1936).

His work on the biological effects of mixing was narrowly focused on variability based on such characteristics as head length and breadth, bizygomatic and bigonial breadth, and nasal breadth, an intellectual approach developed by Melville J Herskovits (1895–1963). In a series of papers published between 1924 and 1927, Herskovits had reported low variability in the mixed 'coloured' population of the USA, his contributions to anthropometry culminating in the publication of *The Anthropometry of the American Negro* (Herskovits 1930). Herskovits was a key figure in UNESCO debates (to which Trevor also contributed) and went on to become one of the leading scholars and promoters of African studies in the USA. He was not associated with the American Eugenics Society.

Trevor, on the other hand, was part of the Eugenics Society's membership from the later 1930s and also held office in the organisation, while remaining disengaged from its 1930s official stated position on 'race crossing'. Assuming the title of 'Leonard Darwin Research Fellow' (Anon. 1936), he held the two-year scholarship in 1936–1937, publishing a key paper in the *Eugenics Review* (Trevor 1938), which he had read at a Eugenics Society meeting at the Royal Society's Burlington House, chaired by Lord Horder (later a Eugenics Society President and Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians) and publicised in the *British Medical Journal* (1937).¹¹ Indeed, this paper—based entirely on secondary data analysis—was his main contribution to 'race mixture'. In 1938 he also published with LH Dudley Buxton and Alvarez H Julien a paper in the journal *Man* on 'Skeletal Remains from the Virgin Islands'. Trevor became a member of the Eugenics Society in 1937, a Fellow in 1938 (and in 1957), and is recorded as a member of the Council in 1948 (if not earlier). However, such affiliation did not harm his career: having returned from the Second World War with the rank of major, he took up the post of Lecturer in Physical Anthropology at the University of Cambridge, became Director of its Duckworth Laboratory of Physical Anthropology in the University Museum of Ethnology, and, on his death at the relatively young age of 59 in 1967, merited an obituary in *Nature*.

Although physical anthropometry (a tradition of physical anthropology concerned with the measurement of the human individual) was seen by some as a somewhat unproductive pursuit by the 1940s, it was nevertheless respectable, with a long scholarly pedigree. Trevor's work was, above all, neutral on the biological and social consequences of 'race crossing', no view being expressed in his published work about the rightness or wrongness of interracial unions. This was acknowledged by the Eugenics Society in its review of 1938: 'Mr Trevor wisely refrains from passing judgements on the desirability or risks of race crossings. Such judgements, to have scientific value, must be based on something more than a study of metrical characters' (Eugenics Society 1938). One of his few pronouncements on the topic is his entry on 'race' in *Chambers Encyclopedia*, in which he states that whether race crossing is biologically or socially desirable is still 'a hotly debated question'. That entry, Michael Banton has commented, would have been better titled 'Comparative Morphology'.¹²

Building on his earlier studies of English medieval skulls and Anglo-Negro mixtures, Trevor was primarily concerned with the variability and forms of statistical distributions. For empirical data he drew on nine published 'hybrid series', all involving mixes of Europeans with others (Norfolk Islanders, Sioux, Ojibwa, Yucatecans, Jamaicans [Davenport and Steggerda 1929], 'American Negroes' [Herskovits 1930], Hottentots, Kisar and Indians). His key findings were that the mean values of quantitative characters are intermediate in the hybrid population where there is a clear distinction between the parental groups; the variabilities of the hybrid population do not tend to be peculiarly high or low; and that the distributions of quantitative characters in the hybrid population are approximately normal and unimodal. Though undertaken in the late 1930s, this secondary analysis was republished in 1953 with little additional elaboration as a monograph on *Race Crossing* in the 'Eugenics Laboratory Memoirs' series (Trevor 1953).

Thus, Trevor's main contribution to the debates on race crossing was as a provider of statistical evidence on the 'physical characters' of interracial offspring, which went some way towards refuting the hypothesis that 'race crossing' produced disharmonic physical characteristics in the offspring, though Trevor did not explicitly draw that conclusion but

remained neutral. Like Hutton and Huxley, he also took a political stand against Nazi racist policies in the late 30s by contributing a paper on 'Anthropology and racialism' to an edition of *Science and Society* devoted to a discussion of progress towards internationalism. In directing attention to some inherent difficulties in the consideration of race in this contribution, Trevor pointed out 'the danger to world peace which the accentuation of racial disparities may offer if identified with nationalistic aspirations' (Anon 1938).

Kenneth Lindsay Little (1908–1991) was a key pivotal figure that epitomised the transition from physical to cultural anthropology that was taking place at this time. Following his appointment as an assistant in the Duckworth Laboratory, Cambridge, his early work, undertaken in 1940–1941 and funded by a Royal Society Government Grant, was in the tradition of anthropometry and cited studies by Fleming and Herskovits though not the secondary analysis of Trevor. Little's decision to enter this field may have been influenced by Trevor, who was his teacher in physical anthropology and whose teaching he took over when Trevor left the university for war service. As with Trevor, he did not resort to any judgement about the biological or social consequences of interracial unions. His study on the 'Anglo-Negroid cross' did not go beyond the reporting of some 25 metrics (which had been standardised as early as 1908), though he did include hair, eye and skin colour, the condition of the teeth, and observations on the ears (Little 1942). This study of 90 'Anglo-Negroid' and 40 'White' children in Cardiff was conceived as part of a wider study, Little making reference to a further sample of 80 subjects mainly of Anglo-Arab and Anglo-Mediterranean parentage and an 'Anglo-Negroid' adult sample of 8 people. However, this material did not enter the published record, the 1942 paper appearing to have marked the end of his work in anthropometry and a switch to social anthropology. He did not have any formal association with the Eugenics Society through membership and, indeed, subsequently became an outspoken critic of some of its publications.

In an earlier paper, Little (1941: 117) firmly identifies with the neutralist point of view on the biological consequences of 'race mixing' but with the qualification that any thinking on this matter is premature from the viewpoint of our understanding of race differences. He writes, 'Over

questions relating to the ‘quality’ of racial characteristics, as well as to the genetical result of their mixture, many notable spears have been broken in the past by such scientists as Davenport, Mjöen, Fischer, Castle, etc. The not inconsiderable amount of controversy which arose over such theories and explanations as “blended inheritance”, “harmonic and unharmonic features”, “instability”, etc., relating to hybrid populations, has but lately subsided and little would be gained in seeking to revive it’. Little’s reason for his sudden departure from this field of anthropometry may simply have been the realisation that the trajectory marked out by people like Herskovits, Fleure, Fleming and Trevor was taking a downward path and that it yielded nothing by way of equity gain or an improved life for the communities researched. His biographer in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Michael Banton, comments without elaboration that ‘It was the kind of research that led into a dead end’ (Banton 2004a), a view redolent of Hogben’s comment on physical anthropology as a whole, that ‘it was a blind alley in the landscape of biological science’ (Hogben 1961: 48). According to Bashford and Levine (2010: 220), by 1939 ‘the anthropometric methodology had been finally discredited’. Bland (2007: 77) concludes that ‘the narrative of his (Little’s) journey is illustrative of the direction taken by work, including eugenical work, on race’. In shifting his focus from biological differences in relation to race to cultural differences and racial discrimination, he was ‘like many other anthropologists’.

The Propagandists

Beyond these established scholars and novice researchers, one group of people, who may appropriately be termed ‘propagandists’, resorted to rhetoric, the bible and folklore, to justify their opposition to ‘race mixing’ rather than what might pass at that time as genetic and social evidence. Mainly qualified in medicine, their diatribes and denunciations were published in the pages of the *Eugenics Review*. Indeed, this is their only claim to consideration since this journal also published papers by serious scientists, many of whom (such as Huxley and Haldane) felt obliged to write damning rejoinders.

Given that the contributions of these writers were deeply offensive and lacked any scientific merit, it is surprising that they found their way into print (and it seems highly improbable that they would have gone through a process of peer review). Their alignment with the racist ideologies of the Eugenics Society on the issue of race crossing¹³ seems to be the only rationale for their publication. An example of this genre is Kenneth B Aikman's 'Race Mixture', published in the *Eugenics Review* in 1933. Little is known about Aikman, beyond his qualifications of MRCP, LRCP, BCh (University College Hospital) and an MD awarded in 1922 (suggesting he was a practising physician). He wrote of differences between the three 'Primary Races' (Negro, Mongolian, and Caucasian) 'so great...that they are comparable to the differences between the species of the zoologist rather than to those between the varieties' (Aikman 1933: 161). As examples of 'new constitutions' resulting from race mixing, he cites various skeletal maladaptions: 'hybrids with skulls too large to permit of their birth; others with teeth too large for their jaws; and others with either the upper or the lower jaw a misfit with its neighbour', adding that there are 'many more complicated disabilities, such as altered resistance to disease and disharmonies of the internal secretions'. He offers no scientific evidence for his statements, a number of unreferenced quotes from 'authorities of the day', and a handful of biblical references. Anthony M Ludovici, an English philosopher, social critic and a scholar of Nietzsche, wrote similar propagandist tracts.

Both contributions to the *Eugenics Review* were savagely criticised by Norman E Himes (1899–1949), Professor of Sociology at Colgate University, New York, during 1932–1942, as a mix of the 'unscientific', 'pseudo-scientific', 'illogical lines of reasoning', 'unfounded inferences from history', 'irrelevant quotations from so-called authorities', 'hand-picked evidence' and 'biological determinism the most overtly-simplified possible' (Himes 1934). Indeed, by the mid-1930s so much had been written about 'race crossing' by such a wide spectrum of investigators and commentators (pointing to its benefits, such as hybrid vigour; disadvantages such as dysgenic effects; or indicating that there was no substantive evidence to establish any consequences) that any case could be argued by selectively using the evidence available, a methodological approach which the historian JH Hexter described in the 1970s as the 'no wage loser'

(Hexter 1975), that is, the tailoring of evidence to fit a pre-conceived model by failing to acknowledge contradictory evidence. Indeed, there is substantial evidence in the USA that the Hexter-critiqued practice of filtering or sifting of the evidence was common practice amongst the advocates of the adverse biological consequences conceptualisation.

The Demise of Anthropometry

In Britain, attrition through death or retirement depleted many in the group who had undertaken anthropometric studies of ‘race crossing’ and the children of such unions, albeit mainly neutralists on the consequences of ‘race mixing’. Professor HJ Fleure, Rachel Fleming’s mentor—who had helped her taking measurements—left the University of Aberystwyth in 1930 to take up a post at the (then) Victoria University, Manchester, while Fleming moved to London to become the librarian at the Royal Anthropological Institute (she was Secretary and librarian in the office of the Geographical Association at Aberystwyth). Her health declined later in the 1930s and she disappears from the published record after 1939, being reported as being in receipt of a Civil List pension of £100 (‘for services to anthropology and geography’) by early 1938. Professor HJ Fleure retired from his professorship at the Victoria University, Manchester, in 1944: he does not appear to have contributed further to work on the offspring of interracial unions. Professor Percy M Roxby (acknowledged by Fleming and advisor to Fletcher) died in 1947. As we will see in Chap. 9, the post-war climate in the 1950s was radically changed by the events of the Second World War and by the UNESCO statements on race which redefined race and exposed the myths around the biological consequences of racial mixing. Interest in anthropometry virtually disappeared to be replaced by a much more dynamic sociological focus on mixing and mixed communities.

Notes

1. During this time the eugenics movement also had an influence on popular thought. In Alice Eustace's novel *Flame of the Forest* (1927), for example, her hero, attempting to explain his reluctance to explore his growing attraction to Princess Flame, an Indian aristocrat, sighs that miscegenation 'leads to no good.... Haven't you read any eugenics?' (Teo 2004: 12).
2. He wrote that 'As a rule they (mulattoes) are not muscular, and they seem to have little power of resisting disease. Tuberculosis, especially, claims many victims among them'.
3. 'Syphilis in Africa and Asia'. *The British Medical Journal*, 19 April 1902: 977.
4. The Sickle Cell and Thalassaemia Screening Programme has published quantified risks for haemoglobinopathies (the chance that the couple are both carriers) pre-screening by family (ethnic) origins of mother and baby's father. The chance that a couple are both carriers of haemoglobin variant genes has been put at 1 in 14 when both are Black African but at 1 in 1811 when one is Black African and the other North European. If a couple are both carriers of a haemoglobin variant, there is a one-in-four chance with each pregnancy that the baby will have a sickle cell disorder. See Aspinall (2013).
5. Widely attributed to but unidentified in her contribution in *The Control of Parenthood* (1920).
6. Hall 1977: 182, quoting Muriel Segal in *Australian Women's Weekly*, 19 April 1934.
7. UCL Special Collections and Archives. HALDANE/5/2/1/185. December 1942.
8. An archaic term for tuberculosis or a similar progressive wasting disease.
9. In a 14-year-old boy, 'One orbit was Chinese in shape, the eye dark opaque brown and the Mongoloid fold marked. The other orbit was English in type, eye colour the grey with a brown net so common in English people, and there was no Mongolian fold'. Fleming (1939: 59).
10. The article, entitled 'Woman defends mixed marriages', also contained the subheadings 'Cruel social taboo. Bitter cry of a half-caste girl. Race mixture inevitable'. *Daily Express*, 9 June 1932.
11. *British Medical Journal. Medical News*, 20 November 1937: 1053.

12. Personal communication, Michael Banton, 23 August 2013.
13. The 'Aims and Objectives of the Eugenics Society' (Eugenics Society 1934) include a statement on 'Race Mixture': 'In certain circumstances, race mixture is known to be bad. Further knowledge of its biological effects is needed in order to make it possible to frame a practical eugenic policy. Meanwhile, since the process of race mixture cannot be reversed, great caution is advocated'.

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3

Mixed Race Communities and Social Stability

Introduction

During the period 1900–1939 the issue of mixed race couples and their children attracted commentary from a range of observers and representatives of officialdom. In the years leading up to the 1919 race riots, concern was expressed about the mixing of white and diverse population groups in port communities and the wider society in a miscellaneous collection of surveys and reports, all of which had an underlying concern with issues of class and gender.

Commensurate in timescale with the work of Britain's anthropometricists on the physical consequences of race mixing—the period of the 1930s—was that of an ill-defined and disparate group of commentators and investigators responsible for a number of 'seaport studies' that focused mainly on mixing's social consequences, including the threat to economic and social stability posed by the growing communities. Such figures cannot easily be allocated to any particular genre or disciplinary line of writing, and the position they took on the benefits or disadvantages of race mixing varied substantially. Such variation can largely be attributed to their ethnic/racial background, their countries of origin, and the

discourses of the organisations supporting their work. However, common to all their contributions was the focus on mixed race communities in the seaport towns and cities of Britain. By the end of the First World War these emergent communities or ‘colonies’ (as they were then termed) of the mixed race population were all to be found in port locations, most notably, Cardiff, Liverpool and London, a situation that had arisen through the large-scale employment of foreign seamen in the shipping and other war-related industries. Their numbers had increased very significantly during the war years, culminating in the ‘race riots’ of 1919 that first brought the existence of these communities to the wider attention of the British population.

Official Attitudes and Policy/Social Impact, 1900–1918

In the first two decades of the century, official and wider societal attitudes amongst church officials, politicians, bureaucrats, social workers, trade unionists, the press and other local commentators towards racial mixing and mixedness were revealed in a number of enquiry reports and publications. At the heart of these narratives lay concerns about the mixing between the minority ethnic (mainly migrant) men and the country’s women. As Chaps. 4 and 5 discuss, the marked gender imbalance in this migrant population meant that interracial mixing in Britain—unlike the colonies—tended to be between white women and men of colour. The greater willingness of white women in Britain to enter into interracial relationships than their peers in the colonies was explained by officialdom primarily in terms of deviant sexual behaviour and provoked fears and anxieties amongst the establishment both with respect to social stability and its impact on the population stock. Moreover, though the issue of class was much discussed in relation to early twentieth century experiences of racial mixing, it was, almost entirely, in terms of working-class communities whose interraciality was increasingly visible—and vilified—in the public eye. Indeed, the rising moral panic over interraciality in port communities tended to obscure the small but diverse mixing that was occurring across the cities, suburbs and rural middle class home-

steads of Britain. Itoh (2001) notes that amongst the admittedly small but nevertheless sustained Japanese community in early twentieth century Britain, the vast majority of the men across the classes—from seamen to bankers to barons—appear to have married white British women with little mainstream opposition from either the Japanese community or the British themselves. Similarly, while marriage to or partnerships with black Africans and Caribbeans may have been viewed unfavourably by many, it did not hinder many middle-class women ‘marrying out’ into this group: as well as its widespread working-class black population, early twentieth century Britain was home to a distinct bourgeoisie black middle class, mostly male and many of whom had white wives, such as the lawyers WES Callender, Edward Nelson, Henry Sylvester Williams and Francis Dove; the physicians and Pan-African activists Dr John Alcindor and Dr Harold Moody; the journalist and Pan-African activist George Padmore; the missionary Joseph Jackson Fuller; and the politician John Archer and the composer Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, themselves British men of mixed white and black descent. Connections were often formed amongst the men, many of whom were involved in the Pan-African movement, and their families who grew up in similar periods and with similar interests—such as between the Aldridges, Coleridge-Taylors and Alcindors. Meanwhile, a number of couples went on to have children who would become known in their own right: Amanda Ira Aldridge and Avril Coleridge-Taylor found success as composers,¹ while Frank Dove, the son of Francis, was a boxer and soldier who won a Military Medal for bravery, and his sister Evelyn a talented vocalist and pianist who replaced the international African American artiste Josephine Baker as star attraction at the Casino de Paris.²

Mixing also occurred amongst the upper classes, particularly between well-to-do Indian and white British families. Indian royal sisters, Princess Pretiva and Princess Sudhira of Couch Behar married white British men—brothers Lionel and Alan Mander—respectively in 1912 and 1914, while in 1915 Princess Bamba, the racially mixed daughter of the deposed Maharajah Duleep Singh, married Dr David Walters Sutherland, and in 1938 Brinda Dutt, the niece of the first Indian peer, Lord Sinha, married a Lieutenant Gordon. Such relationships between white men and aristocratic Indian females were not unknown as, though interracial mixing in India was increasingly frowned on, early British

colonialists had often married into royal Indian families as a means of cementing trade and other ties (Dalrymple 2002). What was once unfamiliar, however, but increasingly occurring in England, was the marriage of white British women to Indian and Southeast Asian princes, as had sensationally been the case in 1898 when Prince Victor Duleep Singh, Bamba's brother, had married an English noblewoman, Lady Anne Coventry, a daughter of the 9th Earl of Coventry.³ However, even more daringly, many of these twentieth century relationships were occurring between nobles and commoners, such as the actress Maidie Sinclair⁴ who married a cousin of the Maharajah of Cooch Behar, Kabla Sunanda Sen, in 1911; the actress Dolly Parnell who married Prince Nasir Ali Khan in 1914; the Scottish divorcee Helen Wilson who married the Sultan of Johore in 1930 and the actress Cissie Hill who was engaged to the Sultan after his divorce in 1938; and the shopgirl Gwendoline Reed who married Nawab Syed Saadat Ali Khan in 1934.⁵

Upper class interracial relationships were not confined to those of Indian heritage. Countess Oei Hui Lan, the ethnic Chinese daughter of an Indonesian sugar magnate was the toast of high society where she was known as the Countess Hoey Stoker after her marriage to Beauchamp Caulfeild-Stoker, a well-to-do Englishman with whom she had a son, Lionel, in the mid-1910s, while Baron Ichijo Sanetomo married a British woman, Tess Snare, in 1928 (Itoh 2001), again to little public commentary. Such approval was absent however from society when, in the late nineteenth century, a 'coloured' South African woman, Martha Solomons, became the Countess of Stamford through her marriage to Harry Grey, a dissolute clergyman banished to the Cape Colony by his family who went on to inherit the title of 8th Earl of Stamford on the death of his third cousin. Though neither Martha nor Harry ever set foot in England after the inheritance, their daughter Mary—who became Lady Mary Grey—resided in Britain, marrying the occultist and poet Roland Meredith Starr in London in 1917 with whom she had two sons. A few decades later, upper class society dealt once more with racial mixing between white and black as the jazz age saw such liaisons flourish, including a number of high profile relationships such as that between the white British heiress Nancy Cunard and Henry Crowder, a black American musician. As Chaps. 4 and 5 also discuss, while such relationships certainly raised establishment eyebrows and were not immune from racism and preju-

dice, they were nevertheless often cushioned by wealth and social networks and did not generally attract the level of opprobrium that was levelled at those in white and minority ethnic working class communities.

Several events illustrate this set of attitudes and attacks on working-class mixing, a growing crescendo of which invoked Chinese men's liaisons with white girls. In 1906, Claude Blake wrote in the *Sunday Chronicle* of 'Chinese Vice in England',⁶ warning that the presence of the Chinese was turning Liverpool into a 'yellow town'. In response to such stories in the Liverpool press, Liverpool City Council set up a commission on Chinese settlement in the city.⁷ The report found the resident Chinese 'quiet, inoffensive and industrious people',⁸ but noted 'that they appear to much prefer having intercourse with young girls, more especially those of undue precocity' and that within Liverpool there was 'a strong feeling of objection to the idea of a half-caste population which is resulting from the marriage of English women to Chinamen'. In spite of a lack of evidence, the Commission recommended that the attention of the Watch Committee be directed 'to the portion of the report dealing with the relations of Chinamen with white women in order to decide whether it would be advisable to make some representation to the Home Office as to the amendment of the Criminal Law Amendment Act for the further protection of girls between the ages of 13 and 16'.⁹

In 1911, a critical report filed by a Miss Robinson, headmistress of a London County Council school, into relationships between Chinese men and young girls is redolent of such events in Liverpool. She claimed Chinese men were using their wealth and opium to corrupt her former students (Auerbach 2009: 68–69). An investigation found that, while undesirable, there was nothing criminal about such behaviour. The report from an inspector of the Public Control Department contradicted Miss Robinson's allegations and reported that these intimate relations generally led to marriage rather than prostitution. Indeed, according to Home Office records, Sir John Pedder, the senior Home Office official who reviewed both reports, concluded that, 'undesirable as it is that British women should marry or consort with Chinamen, it is generally admitted that the Chinamen treat women well, usually marry them and make good husbands of their class' (Forman 2013: 206).

With respect to other communities, notably Indian and black men, the establishment's concerns about female sexuality and fear of liaisons

with white English women are exemplified by a number of events. Curzon, the Viceroy of India, alongside the Tory MP Lord Hamilton and other establishment figures showed horror at the desire white women—‘from the smartest peeresses [to] lower in the social order’—displayed towards visiting Indian aristocrats and soldiers at the turn of the century (Ballhatchet 1980: 120). The ‘great difficulty’ reported by Hamilton in keeping white British women away from the visiting colonial troops present for the coronation of Edward VII in 1902 was also noted by the *Sheffield Evening Telegraph* which strongly disapproved of the conduct of women attending the celebrations at Alexandra Place, some of whom were ‘said to have made advances’ to the men,¹⁰ a similar response to the ‘amorous’ interest shown by white women to the black men featured in the ‘Savage South Africa’ exhibition that opened at Earls Court in 1899—where ‘nearly-naked’ Africans were publicly displayed in a ‘Kaffir Kraal’—which sent the press into a horrified frenzy: the *Daily Mail* relentlessly campaigned to ‘close the kraal’ and women were eventually banned from the replica village area (Shepherd 1986: 98–103). Establishment anxiety could also be clearly seen in the following decade when Indian soldiers were sent to British hospitals during the First World War, notably the Lord Kitchener Hospital in Brighton, where robust measures were taken to prevent the men from leaving the hospitals unsupervised and access for white women to the hospital precincts was controlled (Basu 2015). There was also an Indian camp and hospital at Marseilles and the War Office expressed concern in the Censor of Indian mail’s report in April 1915 ‘that the Indian soldiers in camp at Marseilles have been able in some cases to obtain access to the women of the neighbourhood and that a certain amount of illicit intercourse with them is going on’.¹¹ The Salvation Army was so concerned about mixed race relationships between black men and white girls that in 1917 it commissioned an investigation ‘into the danger attendant upon this coloured invasion’ in Manchester, waging war on ‘sin’ that encompassed black men, alcohol, dancing and the ‘selling of bodies’.¹² A female Army social officer complained that in a named ‘public-house...a number of young girls, from 16 upwards, are night after night consorting with and listening to the persuasions of coloured men. No notice is taken by anyone. Can no one save them? It is heartbreaking.’

The establishment's desire to maintain the racial hierarchy and to discourage interracial relationships is clearly seen in the various attempts to keep Indian, black and Chinese soldiers stationed in Britain in World War 1, as well as the growing number of Indian university students residing in Britain, away from white women. In 1913, the India Office issued a circular for registry offices in Britain to explain the risks—including loss of nationality—to British women considering marriage with 'Hindus, Mohamedans and other subjects or citizens of countries where polygamy is legal' (Mukherjee 2010). However, the suggestion by the India Office that Indian laws encouraged polygamy—and thus that Indian men were frequently polygamous—was inaccurate. This was combined with the perception that the Indian students tended to have relationships with British women from the lower classes. The 1914 British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act formalised these concerns about interracial marriage. It meant that not only did 'aliens'—that is, foreign-born residents—have to carry an alien registration card, but British women across the Empire who married such men automatically lost their British nationality (Baldwin 2001). There were no such restrictions for British men, any foreign woman marrying a British subject automatically becoming British. Government documents from 1923 state that the loss of nationality was 'the only argument which the Foreign Office found to prevail with British women in deterring them from entering into such relationships, particularly with "Orientals"' and any change of the laws would 'encourage mixed marriages of this particular kind, which are in the women's case nearly always most undesirable'.¹³ The Act would not be reformed until 1948.

The 1919 Race Riots and the 'Coloured' Population in British Ports, 1919–1939

If there had been growing apprehensions about the presence of 'coloured' men in the country during the war, this was nothing, however, to the feverish concerns that would appear in peace time (Panayi 1996) when the tinderbox of aggressive post-war tension eventually exploded through the violence of the 1919 riots. The race riots that comprised nine major

outbreaks in British seaport cities—notably the notorious violence in Liverpool, Cardiff, Newport and Barry, but also the lesser known incidents in Glasgow, Hull, London, Salford and South Shields—between January and August 1919 were a defining moment for Britain's growing ethnic minority population.¹⁴

Following demobilisation at the end of the First World War, British seamen and other workers expressed increasing dissatisfaction with their conditions at a time of labour surplus. These circumstances led directly to rioting between white workers and those mainly colonised people in seafaring occupations, notably, Africans, Caribbeans, Arabs, Chinese and South Asians, including their families and communities. The factors causing this violence have been substantially debated and took place against a background of dislocation and perceived betrayal by the government. At a time of a highly competitive job market in the merchant shipping industry and growing unemployment, white workers saw these communities or 'aliens' as pre-empting their employment opportunities and such matters were sufficiently troublesome to be discussed in the House of Commons. With the men typically hired at very low rates of pay they were therefore blamed by unions for undercutting the pay of their white counterparts. This situation was further exacerbated by the post-war housing shortage. Some of the riots were also accompanied by a hysterical racism directed at black men for their socialisation with white women and the prevalent fear of miscegenation, though such rhetoric tended to be an accompaniment rather than widespread catalyst for violence.

These riots were part of a wider global wave of political violence that took place in Europe, the USA, the Caribbean and South Africa following the end of the First World War, some of which were also characterised by strikes, labour conflicts and collective violence. 'In this light', Tabili has written, 'the British riots appear less an isolated eruption 'proving' British racism, as they have often been portrayed, than part of a broader political movement of resistance against postwar betrayals'.¹⁵ Nevertheless, in Britain this collective violence was directed specifically against minority ethnic workers and their communities rather than the state.

During the months of racially motivated violence in 1919 there were violent attacks on black workers, resulting in five fatalities, as well as van-

dalisation of their homes and properties. In Cardiff, in particular, white ex-servicemen, including Australians stationed in the area, headed lynch mobs that terrorised the city's black community during a week of violence that left three men dead and dozens more injured. In the aftermath the government repatriated hundreds of black people (600 by mid-September 1919). South Asians suffered somewhat less than black or Chinese workers as they were not regarded as such direct competition for jobs and housing; most remained within the navy and within their subsidised accommodation rather than seeking alternative employment and accommodation. However, a number of incidents involving South Asians have been traced. In May 1919, the Strangers' Home for Asiatic Seamen in West India Dock Road was surrounded by a hostile crowd and 'any coloured man who appeared was greeted with abuse and had to be escorted by the police. It was necessary at times to bar the doors of the Home'.¹⁶ Newspapers of the time also report the devastation of a Malay boarding house and the shop of one Abdul Satar in Cardiff (Visram 2002: 199).

While the economic climate has been acknowledged as a key factor in inciting the disturbances in Britain, officials and police on the ground pinpointed interracial relationships as the key cause. These opinions were, naturally, picked up on by the press who quickly dismissed job competition between sailors as a cause of the violence and instead portrayed the rioting as a consequence of sexual jealousy and abhorrence of racial mixing (Bland 2005; Jenkinson 2009: 96). As Ray (2009: 631) notes, 'the "sex problem" ... became a primary explanatory framework for understanding, and in many cases rationalising, the impetus behind the riots' and the constant press references to the subject of racial mixing—including headlines such as 'Black Men—White Girls' and 'Arabs and English Girls: Lotharios of Colour'—reinforced the idea that the wilful crossing of racial boundaries was partly, if not fully, to blame.¹⁷

There were a number of incidents in different parts of the country where the hostility and violence manifested itself specifically in the fear of miscegenation and black male sexuality. In the *Nottingham Evening Post*, it was noted that, in most cases, the cause of the outbreaks of rioting in the East End of London had 'arisen through friction between coloured men and other residents owing to the former being seen in the company

of white women and girls'.¹⁸ The *East End News* reported more specifically: 'There has been some friction between the Arabs and some English girls visiting an Arab eating house in Cable Street. On Wednesday a number of ex-soldiers entered the eating-house and soon afterwards revolver shots were fired. A general fight followed in which revolvers, knives and bottles were used. A large and hostile crowd gathered outside the restaurant and were very menacing in their attitude towards the coloured men inside. A large number of policemen arrived, but were unable for some time to gain admission. After the fight had been in progress for some time however, they managed to get the wounded men and their prisoners away'.¹⁹

In Liverpool, where there had been a long history of prejudice against racialised communities, Jenkinson has written (1987: 163), 'the remarkable unanimity of white local, press, and police opinion on this issue strongly suggests that any Black man seen in the company of a white woman even before rioting broke out, would have potentially been the subject of racial abuse and physical violence'. Not surprisingly, the introduction to the police report to the local corporation watch committee blamed the sexual relations between black men and white women for the race riot: 'The Head Constable begs to report to the Watch Committee that for some time there has existed a feeling of animosity between the white and coloured population in this city. This feeling has probably been engendered by the arrogant and overbearing conduct of the negro population towards the white, and by the white women who live or cohabit with the Black men, boasting to the other women of the superior qualities of the negroes as compared with those of the white men. Since the Armistice the demobilisation of so many negroes into Liverpool has caused this feeling to develop more rapidly'. Commenting on the situation in Liverpool, *The Times* stated that 'the intermarriage of black men and white women, not to mention other relationships, has excited much feeling'.²⁰

Concerns about the fear of miscegenation were voiced in other ports (Jenkinson 1987, 2009). In Cardiff, riots were triggered when a white crowd saw a group of black men returning from a day out with their white wives and girlfriends in a number of carriages, while in Newport rioting began after an alleged insult of a white woman by a black man. In

South Shields the Chief Constable of South Shields' report to the Director of Intelligence in November 1919 remarked that 'A serious disturbance took place...—cause—apparently that coloured men enticed white girls to their houses. This was much resented by white persons and in addition, complaint was made that Adenese had opened shops and cafes which was unfair, while the whites had to perform their Military and Naval obligations. The complaint is also that young girls are sought to act as assistants and waitresses in the shops and cafes and succumb to the advances of these men; naturally this arouses antipathy with the relatives and neighbours' (Jenkinson 1987: 89).

In its summarising of the 'causes of the trouble' in Cardiff, The *Taunton Courier* echoed many reports around the country on the riots generally when it pointed the finger squarely at the 'coloured' presence:

The coloured men in Cardiff are mostly seamen who have for years been voyaging to and from this country. They seem to have grown more arrogant of late. They have earned good wages and have been able to give free rein to their love of display and ostentation and to make themselves attractive in the eyes of a class of women who infest seaports.

Some of the negroes in Cardiff own their houses, and demobilised Cardiff men who are lucky if they get a back room feel aggrieved at the black man's flourishing state. The fact that the negroes are nearly all armed and fires on the slightest provocation intensifies the swiftness with which isolated encounters swell into street battles.²¹

Thus, even though men of colour were the targets of the violence, the overriding message was that, in the face of such provocation, the white perpetrators of the violence could not be overly blamed—or, at least, not the white male perpetrators. Writing to *The Times* in 1919, the former British colonial administrator, Sir Ralph Williams, expressed most clearly the view that the 'deplorable scenes' had been caused by white British men being pushed to their limits by the extent of interracial mixing surrounding them. It was not, however, the 'coloured' men he held responsible for this situation:

It is an instinctive certainty that sexual relations between white women and coloured men revolt our very nature. But fairness to colour demands that we should realize the position to-day. Large numbers of black and coloured men have been gathered together in the Mother Country. They are here without their women, and it is not wonderful that their passions should run high after a long period of abstinence. These men now find white women of a certain temperament encouraging their attentions, and allowing themselves to be taken as paramours, or sometimes as wives. What blame to the coloured men if they take advantage of it? And what blame, too, to those white men who, seeing the conditions and loathing them, resort to violence?

As Williams' pronouncements make clear, white British women—or rather, 'white women of a certain temperament'—were also to shoulder the blame for the troubles, as much if not more so than the 'coloured' men who had the audacity to date them. Black men were assumed to lack sexual control, particularly when tempted by the forbidden fruit of white womanhood, but it was white women's flouting of social and sexual propriety that was truly inexcusable for many parties. Certainly, much of the press widely acknowledged that, far from being at the mercy of the 'Black Peril' as the *Daily Dispatch* had claimed, white British women were entering into these relationships freely, either due to wanton, primitive lust or monetary gain. Reporting on the violence in London, the *Eastern Post and City Chronicle* stated that the black and Chinese men had 'overflowed' from their natural quarter 'forming alliances with white women [who] are not in all cases of the most desirable character, and this added to the basic grievance of scarcity of houses, provides a popular excuse for disturbances.' (in Jenkinson 2009: 97). Such behaviour, it was held, was both reprehensible and dangerous. As Bland (2005: 36) discusses, the establishment's position was that even though it was understood that only 'the lowest of white women' would consort with men of colour, such relationships were still demeaning to whites, being, as the *Sunday Express* put it, 'naturally offensive'; in the face of such overtly transgressive behaviour, it was inevitable that an instinctive anger and resentment should be felt by all right-minded people. Thus, as Rowe notes, 'racialised discourse connected with gendered accounts to criticize black men and white

women at one and the same time, thus leaving white men, who appear to have instigated the riots, relatively blameless' (Rowe 2000, 57). In the course of the Cardiff riots, local police and press reports were firmly of the opinion that in displaying a 'fondness for white women', black men were asking for trouble.

The finger of blame, however, was not levelled at men of colour and white women across the entirety of the establishment. Jenkinson illustrates that though black men were disproportionately arrested, the majority were found not guilty in court, thus suggesting a difference in approach between the police and the judiciary.²² The freeing of black prisoners due to lack of evidence and acceptance of self-defence arguments, Jenkinson argues convincingly, suggests that 'court proceedings may have been influenced by fears of an imperial backlash against perceptions of unjust treatment of colonial British subjects (Jenkinson 2008: 21). Indeed, Evans (1994) notes that while the press attitude to the early spate of riots was virtually to cheer on the white crowds, the tone quickly changed as the violence spread aggressively throughout the country and the implications for Empire were increasingly realised. In June 1919, the height of the riots, the Liverpool-based *Daily Post and Mercury* warned its readers that it was critical that what was 'little more than a local disorder' did not develop into 'a serious Imperial problem' as there would be 'infinite possibilities of mischief if any idea gained ground in India and Africa that the isolated conduct of riotous mobs represented the prevailing British attitude towards the black members of the Empire who are in our midst' (cited in Jenkinson 2008: 22).²³ However, though the press and authorities began to highlight the war service, British subject status, and 'inoffensive' nature that it stated many men of colour in the country possessed, there was no change in tone regarding the condemnation of the interracial relationships between them and white women. The *Hull Daily Mail* reported that at a well-attended lecture on 'The Colour Problem' in Hull in October 1919, the Rev RT Morrison's plea for 'fair and unprejudiced thinking in regard to the whole subject of colour', was accompanied by the belief that it was 'more than doubtful whether inter-marriage can ever be justified—the essential difference in outlook goes too deep for permanent harmony'.²⁴

In the following decades, the 1919 race riots shaped debates about the social position of those in interracial unions and their children and ‘inclusive citizenship’ in a number of ways. Firstly, the state’s lack of success in its efforts to deport or repatriate ‘coloured’ workers who were unemployed reduced port conflicts to ‘a numbers game’ (Jenkinson 2009: 82), leaving largely unaddressed matters of unemployment and poverty that became a focus in parliamentary debates in the 1930s. Secondly, there were substantial biases in how the press and police reported these riots, shown in the racial statistics of arrests, which were only partially remedied in acquittals in the courts. Such biases were to plague British race relations in the interwar years and were evident in a number of ‘seaport reports’ that drew some of their findings from these sources. Thirdly, the 1919 riots blurred the boundaries between those who were regarded as ‘aliens’ and those colonised people who were British subjects. While the press and police labelled those black people who were arrested as ‘aliens’, the overwhelming majority of the black defendants were shown to be British subjects, a labelling that was to have significant implications for their nationality and rights of citizenship once legislation on ‘alien’ seamen was enacted.

This legislation came just six years after the riots, when the Special Restriction (Coloured Alien Seamen) Order (1925) was passed.²⁵ Described by Laura Tabili as ‘the first instance of state-sanctioned race discrimination inside Britain to come to widespread notice’ (Tabili 1994a: 56), the Order stated that ‘coloured’ seamen who did not possess documentary proof of their status as British must register as ‘aliens’ in Britain ‘whether or not they have been in the United Kingdom for more than two months’. The language of the Act was undisguisedly racist:

I am directed by the Secretary of State to inform you that he has recently had under consideration measures to facilitate the control of coloured alien seamen at present in this country and to prevent more effectively the entry of others into the United Kingdom without proper authority; and he has come to the conclusion that in order to deal with the problem presented by these aliens—particularly those of them who are ‘Arabs’—it is necessary that they should be required to register in all cases, including those where the alien has hitherto been exempt under Article 6(5) of the Aliens Order,

1920, by reason of the fact that less than two months has elapsed since his last arrival in the United Kingdom or that he is not resident in the United Kingdom... The difficulties (of the present situation) arise mainly from the fact that the racial resemblance between many coloured seamen is such that there is no satisfactory means of identifying individuals; and the primary object which the Secretary of State has in view is to remedy this deficiency by requiring every coloured seamen... unless he is able to show that he is a British subject, to provide himself immediately with a document by which he can be readily identified and on which his entry into the United Kingdom (if duly authorised by grant of leave to land) can be recorded.

The Order had a significant impact on *all* 'coloured' seamen, as in interpreting and enforcing the rules, government officials frequently failed to differentiate between British subjects and other 'coloured' seamen. Many Indian seamen protested to the India Office and Colonial Office that police had targeted them even though they were British subjects. Government officials also mistakenly applied the regulations to non-seamen, registering 63 Glasgow-based Indians—mainly peddlers and labourers—as 'aliens'. In Liverpool, Indians set up the Indian Seamen's Union to fight their case. These concerns, including an outcry in India, led to altercations between the India Office and Home Office, it being finally agreed that Indian seamen registered as 'aliens' could apply to the Home Office to have their British nationality verified, whereupon they would be issued with a Special Certificate of Identity and Nationality which would annul their registration. The Order was not finally revoked till 1942. Since a white woman who married an 'alien' would also be subject to 'alien' status, the order effectively deprived many couples of the rights of citizenship, even in some cases where the 'coloured' seaman was a British subject. Indeed, issues of nationality and citizenship lay at the heart of these discourses. There were, in reality, several 'classes' of seamen in British ports: British nationals ('coloured' and White British seamen); those defined as 'aliens' under the 1925 Coloured Alien Seamen's Order; and seamen with ill-defined or contested nationality who competed for British national status. These classes conferred social status and determined working conditions. While many seamen, particularly those from

West African countries, held British passports and fell into the first class, they frequently found themselves grouped as 'aliens'.

The size of these various groups was disputed throughout the interwar years. In 1928 there were said to be over 8000 registered aliens in UK ports: 58.1% in South Wales ($n = 4827$), 21.7% in the Northeast ($n = 1799$), 8.6% in Liverpool ($n = 713$), 7.6% in London ($n = 635$) and 3.0% in Scotland ($n = 247$).²⁶ The estimates provided by Captain FA Richardson in 1934 are broadly commensurate with these proportions. These included around 220 'coloured' men and their families resident in Liverpool receiving relief from Public Assistance (35 West Africans, 22 Indians, 19 British West Indians, and 11 East Africans, Odenese, Malays and South Africans) or payment from the Labour Exchange (97 West Africans, 24 Arabs, 10 British West Indians and a couple of Indians). This compared with a total of 216 'coloured' seamen registered in Liverpool on 1 July 1934, under Special Restrictions (Coloured Alien Seamen) Order, 1925, comprising 83 West Africans, 44 Malays, 30 British West Indians, 25 Odenese and 25 of other nationalities. The numbers in Cardiff amounted, according to Captain Richardson, to 'a social problem that cannot as yet be solved. Hundreds of Arabs and other coloured seamen have settled in the city—partly by choice and partly through stagnation in the tramp class of ships that more commonly employed them'. He estimated that there were registered in the city 978 Arabs, 231 Somalis, 328 British West Indians, 371 West Africans, 99 Malays, 30 Indians and 153 'doubtful coloured', a total of over 2000 men.

The number of 'coloured' seamen in marital and cohabiting unions with local white women and their children during these decades was also contested. Though the presence of such intermixed 'colonies' was reported by commentators, the lack of accurate enumerations of these populations left such estimates in the hands of those reporting on social conditions. With respect to Cardiff, Captain Richardson cited Muriel Fletcher (1930)'s survey estimate that there was a total of 370 mixed race children in the city, one of the largest such communities in Britain. He also cites Fletcher's estimate that there were a total of 450 'Anglo-Negroid' families in Liverpool, with an average of 3.3 children per family, or an approximate total of 1350 'half-caste' children.

Contemporary Accounts of the 'Coloured' Population in British Ports

During the 1920s, 1930s and early 1940s, a number of commentators produced reports and pamphlets on the position of the 'coloured' population in British ports and, while all commented on population mixing, only one—Muriel Fletcher—focused exclusively on mixed unions and their 'half-caste' children. While such work was clearly in tune with eugenicist thinking, it did not directly materialise from the eugenics movement, nor did it cite that movement's literatures. In terms of provenance, the Fletcher Report can best be located in the 'social hygiene' and 'moral welfare' perspective, especially in the morally condemnatory tone it set. In contrast, report authors who remained close to the 'coloured' communities and to such bodies as the League of Coloured Peoples focused much more strongly on the socio-economic context in which these communities lived their lives.

The Morally Condemnatory Reports

In Britain social commentators were little involved in these debates until the late 1920s. However, when they did join, largely through an opening provided by the physical anthropologist Rachel Fleming, the contribution of one commentator in particular proved disproportionate. The leading—and to some extent lone—voice with a social science background was Muriel E Fletcher, a 1926–1927 graduate of the University of Liverpool's School of Social Science, probably unknown outside the Liverpool School, and a social worker at the time. This work was commissioned by an executive committee including Professor PM Roxby (1880–1947), the University's Professor of Geography, and Ellinor I Black (1891–1956), from the School of Social Science (Fletcher 1930; Christian 2008), amongst others.

Fletcher did not concern herself with the biological effects of race mixing but was outspoken on its social consequences, particularly for what she termed the 'Anglo-Negroid Cross'. Indeed, her study (published by The Liverpool Association for the Welfare of Half-Caste Children in May

1930) probably provided the strongest moral condemnation of interracial unions in twentieth century Britain. Fletcher's work may be best regarded as aberrant: she never held an academic position at the Liverpool School and was not representative of its scholarship and distinguished record in the 1930s (such as Professor D Caradog Jones' work on *The Social Survey of Merseyside* beginning in 1931–1934, though this did cite Fletcher's report and was also racially inflammatory, commenting that 'The settlement of negro sailors in Liverpool is a third blot of some importance on account of the serious results attendant upon their intermarriage with white women'). Her report was entirely empirical and, unlike the scientific studies of the bioscientists and anthropologists, did not build on a base of theoretical constructs or published literature (the only citation being to Fleming's 'Anthropological Studies of Children'). It was the inflammatory and racist tone of Fletcher's language—with respect to both those in interracial unions and also their children—that accounted for the hostile response to the study's publication and, perhaps for this reason, was largely eschewed by other scholars working on the consequences of interracial union formation.

Fletcher uses 'coloured' no less than 223 times in her report, including 31 where the term is used to refer specifically to the offspring of Black/White unions. She refers to interracial families with 'mixed race' children as 'coloured families', 'Anglo-Negroid families', 'negro families', 'half-caste families' and 'families having negro blood in them'. Although 'coloured' was a salient term for the black population in Britain at this time (Fletcher also uses 'Negro' and 'Negroid'), her use of it to encompass 'mixed' Black/White children invokes the US 'one drop' rule (or rule of hypodescent) whereby any 'black' ancestry rendered a person black. Similarly, the use of 'coloured' to describe mixed families privileges patrilineal race. She also uses 'half-caste' 88 times to describe the children of these interracial unions (and also the terms 'Anglo-Negroid' and 'negro origin').

A measure of Fletcher's derogatory language can be discerned from the words she used, including multiple references to 'aliens', 'brothels', 'consorting', 'disorderly' behaviour, 'handicap', 'illegitimacy', 'infectious diseases', 'prostitutes', 'skin colour', 'syphilis', 'unemployment' and 'venereal disease' and the descriptors for those in interracial unions as 'conceited',



Image 3.1 Tag cloud and word frequency count of pejorative terminology used by Muriel Fletcher in her 1930 report

‘disharmonious’, ‘immoral’, ‘lazy’, ‘presumptuous’ and ‘promiscuous’, amongst others. Fletcher’s liberality in the use of the term ‘half-caste’ probably brought the term into wider use as it started to appear in the records of parliament in the 1930s. Her legacy was the racialisation of the term ‘half-caste’ as a synonym for an excluded and outcast group associated with immoral behaviour and of low socio-economic worth (Image 3.1).

Fletcher had fled the city of Liverpool in the early 1930s following the outcry that attended the publication of her report (see Chap. 5) and no evidence has been found that she returned to the publication of such investigative socially focused research. However, according to the scientific papers for the Third International Congress of Eugenics, held in New York in 21–23 August 1932, material on ‘half caste’ families in Liverpool was exhibited by ‘Miss Muriel E Fletcher, 29 Bank Street, Dundee, Scotland’.²⁷ As she had not been part of any particular genre or school of social scientific scholarship, her work remained substantially uncited at the time, except by people in the Liverpool School and a few others (such as Cedric Dover’s *Half-Caste*, 1937, Raymond Firth’s *Human Types*, 1938, and Kenneth Little’s *Negroes in Britain*, 1948), and attracted few reviews in

academic journals. Though reported in *The Times*, the lack of any comment on the report was conspicuous. It was not until the late twentieth century that the report was disinterred and acquired its notoriety amongst the social science community.

However, just a few years after publication of the Fletcher report, plans were afoot for a new report that would compete with Fletcher's in terms of its offensive language and some of whose statistical evidence it cited. This study was commissioned by the Joint Committee of the British Social Hygiene Council (BSHC) (founded in 1914 as the National Council for Combating Venereal Diseases) and the British Council for the Welfare of the Mercantile Marine.²⁸ The report was ordered by the joint committee in September 1934 and Captain FA Richardson²⁹ was appointed as 'Port Survey Officer' to undertake the work. This involved conducting a survey of the conditions met with by seamen on shore in the ports of London, Liverpool and Cardiff. Questionnaires were circulated to the Foreign Consulates representing maritime countries in these cities to elicit the number of nationals visiting the ports, accommodation on shore, and 'the social dangers incurred by their nationals whilst in port'. While the object of the survey was to ascertain seamen's conditions on shore, it also had the practical purpose of informing decisions about the establishment of port welfare committees in these ports and how to improve conditions for the seamen.

Richardson's findings—perhaps not unexpectedly given its sponsorship by the BSHC—focused on moral issues, and used similar pejorative language as the Fletcher report: 'Morality and cleanliness are as much matters of geography as they are dependent on circumstances. The coloured men who have come to dwell in our cities are being made to adopt a standard of civilisation they cannot be expected to understand. They are not imbued with moral codes similar to our own, and they have not assimilated our conventions of life. They come into intimate contact with white women, principally those who unfortunately are of loose moral character, with the result that a half-caste population is brought into the world. The fault does not lie entirely with the men who have, in a great many cases, merely accepted the opportunity offered to them to serve in our ships'. In addition, the children of these interracial unions, especially the girls, were portrayed as tragic.

The report additionally focused on venereal disease as the problem of 'prostitution'. In the dock neighbourhoods of Cardiff, 88% of cases of venereal disease were said to come from abroad and 50% of cases in the mining villages and surrounding towns. The real purpose of the 'so-called cafés' was reported to be 'never in doubt' and the many public houses 'more flagrantly the rendezvous of vice'. Between 300 and 400 'prostitutes' were said to associate with the seamen in the dock areas and 'probably double the estimate' if 'a large number of girls who work in various capacities by day and who occasionally solicit by night' are included. Moreover, 'the Indian and Negro seamen are more attractive to the prostitutes than are the aliens and British seamen'.

The impact of the report on officialdom was substantial, in contrast to the somewhat muted response to the Fletcher report. It was widely circulated, copies being sent to the Prime Minister who referred the matter to the Ministry of Health, and to the municipal authorities in Liverpool, Cardiff and London, and the Port Welfare Committees in the latter two. The response was initiated in the House of Commons by port MPs. Immediately after publication, Captain Arthur Evans (Conservative MP for Cardiff, South) asked the Minister of Health if he would 'consider the Report...and if, in view of the health, employment, and social conditions found to be prevailing, will take suitable action to remedy the matter',³⁰ adding 'will my Right Hon. Friend bear in mind the desirability of appointing a small Royal Commission, say, of 3 persons, with wide terms of reference, to investigate all aspects of the difficult and complex problem of coloured people domiciled in Great Britain, especially in dock areas'. This question had initially been put down to the Prime Minister but subsequently transferred to the Minister of Health. David Logan (MP for Liverpool, Scotland) coat-tailed the additional request to the Minister: 'Will [he] consider the question of alien seamen who come to this country for three years, who have children, and who, on going back to their native country, leave them here?'

The following year several MPs asked the Minister of Labour questions about the 'half-caste' population, including whether his attention had been drawn to 'the increasing number of half-caste children in Cardiff, Liverpool, Glasgow, and other ports' and what steps were being taken to meet 'the difficulty which occurs in finding employment for boys and

girls who are the result of miscegenation in these ports': the worry of MPs was that 'in such employment the standard of living of the community is not lowered owing to the unfortunate position of these people'. Logan tellingly interjected: 'Are the words "half-caste" a misprint? Should it not be "half-fed"?' North Camberwell's MP asked the Minister whether 'he proposes to confer with the Colonial Office as to the possibility of bringing about a reduction in the number of coloured and half-caste population in the ports of Cardiff, Liverpool, Glasgow and Hull'. Another MP asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department 'whether he is prepared to confer with the Colonial Office and the Board of Trade as to what steps can be taken to mitigate these evils' ('the increasing difficulty which arises from the growing numbers of coloured and half-caste people in the ports of this country'). These questions in parliament led directly to the involvement of the Ministry of Health, the Home Office Aliens Department, and the Board of Trade.

As had happened in Liverpool after the publication of the Fletcher report, there was a predictable, if less vociferous, backlash from the black community. The press and representatives of the black community in these ports joined the debate, as did scholars of the time, the report being cited by contemporary and early post-war scholars, notably, Banton (1955: 36), Little (1948: 103–105) and Gibberd (1937: 68). Banton (1953) considered Richardson's views on contacts between 'coloured' men and White women '...very similar to Fletcher's', noting that Richardson had relied upon the police for most of his information about the population.

Although less publicised than Richardson's findings, further reports on social conditions in the port towns continued to be issued in the second half of the 1930s. A conference was held at the Home Office on 2 December 1936 'to consider matters relating to the welfare of coloured persons in the UK'.³¹ A 1937 London metropolitan police note on the 'welfare of coloured persons', prepared at the insistence of the Home Office, reflected the 1934 BSHC report findings.³² Details of a 1939 report into seamen's welfare at ports are also provided by Balachandran (2011).

Favourable Seaport Studies

In sharp contrast to these reports that focused on disease, miscegenation and immorality, and drew their evidence primarily from the police and other officialdom, there were other voices that cast these 'coloured' communities in a more favourable light. Amongst the most enigmatic was Nancie Hare (*née* Sharpe) who had close associations with the League of Coloured People. Her lengthy report (155 pages) on the 'The negro population in London and Cardiff',³³ published by the Methodist Church in 1933, is virtually unknown and uncited, and her other publications are found in *The Keys*, the quarterly journal published by the League of Coloured Peoples in London.³⁴ While she helped Kenneth Little with his research on the 'coloured' population of Cardiff, little is known of her background and life. Sharpe focuses on the 'low' 'economic position' of most of the 'coloured' families, including lower rates of Public Assistance Committee transitional payments. Although her publications eschew the pejorative language of Fletcher and her successors, she is not uncritical of the white women (in contradistinction to the 'coloured' seamen they partnered): 'The difficulty arising here is that coloured men have not the judgement of Englishmen concerning the white women they meet, so that a coloured man may marry a woman with whom he has associated, whom he afterwards finds to have lower standards of cleanliness, general attainments and ambitions for the children than he himself has. It is noticeable in this connection that the second marriages of coloured men are usually more satisfactory than the first'. With regard to the children, she remarks that 'half-coloured children, especially girls, find work more difficult to obtain than do white children'. Moreover, for the girls, 'when the time for "walking-out" comes, the boys of the neighbourhood will not marry them. Very few of the coloured girls marry white boys. The boys have not the same difficulty, as there does not seem to be such an objection to them on the part of the white girls, and there is a bigger choice of occupations for them'.

In contrast to the studies by Fletcher and Richardson, Banton (1953) characterises Hare's work as 'more reliable' as 'she was far better acquainted with the people about whom she wrote' but less salient: 'Her

work makes a contrast with the opinions of the other writers but it was their views which were the more typical of the time. Mrs Hare's work was published in a relatively obscure fashion whereas the other reports were reviewed at length in the press and lent authority to the unfavourable stereotypes'.

In 1944 a further report was commissioned by a committee of 'concerned residents' in the Stepney area. The committee was chaired by the Reverend St John B Groser, Rector of St George-in-the-East, London E1, and comprised five priests, four women (including Mrs EA Ejesa-Osora), and two South Asians (SD Khan and Jamiab-ul-Muslimin). The report on conditions of the 'coloured' population in Stepney by Mrs Phyllis KH Young was privately published in 1944 and marked 'confidential'.³⁵ The report was submitted to the Board of Trade in May 1944³⁶ and had significant impact at the time, being cited by Kenneth Little, Michael Banton (1955: 79) and others. Like Hare's study, Young's report showed much sympathy with the local West Indian community and blamed the white women who entered unions with them.

It is noteworthy that a further report that focused on Stepney in London's dockland, authored by Derek Bamuta and published in 1949, came to very similar conclusions.³⁷ Derek Bamuta,³⁸ a British-educated East African (Ugandan) student reading social science at Bristol University, was working at the Family Welfare Association in Bethnal Green in 1949 in connection with his studies and 'took the opportunity of his stay in East London to observe local groups of immigrants'. According to some informers, it was Basil Henriques (Sir Basil Lucas Quixano Henriques, 1890–1961), a prominent philanthropist, Justice of the Peace in East London, and prominent Jewish club leader—and then warden of the Bernhard Baron St George's Jewish Settlement in Berner Street that focused on youth welfare—who persuaded Bamuta to spend a period in Stepney. The work encompassed a part-time six week investigation into the 'coloured' people in Stepney and paid particular attention to the low class of white women who sought liaisons with the West African men (Panayi 1999: 78–79), quoted at length here for Batuma's detailed perspective on this theme:

The women have a great influence in shaping the coloured man's future in this country. It should, however, be noted that the larger number of women that go in for promiscuous living are not necessarily natives of Stepney, but a floating lot of women who spend their time between towns like Cardiff, Liverpool, Newcastle, Manchester, etc. Their whole intention is to live on the coloured man. They are usually of very little education, and indeed, some are illiterate, but by no means unintelligent.

They will push them on to do the most amazing things for the sake of gain. They will arrange black-marketing for them, and will instruct them in how to make money in all sorts of shady ways, and as to how they can actually steal from docks, etc.

I know of one woman who had no scruples at all, and had the cheek to relate to a friend of hers, whilst I was standing near them, how she managed to 'pinch' some money from a Dutch seaman who had come on shore for a day. With this money she had furnished a basement and started a gambling den. She had also got bottles of drink and cigarettes which she made money on because she could serve them at an extra cost after pub closing times. At closing [time] she went around asking men if they would go down to the basement for some fun as they would get drinks and so forth. She charged an initial entrance fee or gate money of 5s. She went on to explain as to how on pay nights when there was plenty of money about she got the men to deposit money with her for a full week's gambling, so that if at any time in the week a man was 'broke' he could still try his luck...

Women make their contacts with the men in cafes, and then invite themselves to drinks in the evening, and if the man has a room of his own and takes the woman back with him he is as good as married, because once the woman is sure of a place to live she will stick to him like a limpet. One of my friends was very concerned that I did not have a woman, and suggested that when I got a room of my own I only had to pick any woman up and take her home. She would then be my wife, but be careful to pick one that you are likely to like for some time, because if not you will soon be very sorry, because once you get them they will not leave until they have taken all you have, and no amount of beating will get rid of them.

I must remark here that I know of one very sensible girl. She seemed a decent girl too—she lived with a West African and kept house for him, but she was also employed and contributed to the family budget. I asked why

she did not get married to the man, and she said that he did not trust white women. I suggested that as she was working, why not leave him and look after herself? She said she could not leave him as he was one of the kindest men she had ever met, and looked after her far better than any white person ever could. It was apparent here that this girl was happy with her choice. And in actual fact she had such a standard amongst the others that if she came into a place, the others seemed to look up to her as the lady of society.

Elsewhere in the report, Bamuta wrote of the problems of racial discrimination against the black community in the area and the problems they experienced in finding somewhere to live. He recommended the establishment of 'some organisation that will help these people to become full members of the country with a sense of responsibility towards the country as a whole'.

Bamuta's report was sent to Henriques who sent copies to the Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, who 'responded personally to express thanks for the report, stating that "the subject is, as you know, of very close interest to me"' (Mills 2012: 64). The report then found its way to the Colonial Office's Welfare Department (later Students Department) but, according to Rich (1986), with a lukewarm reception: 'The response of the Labour Colonial Secretary, Arthur Creech Jones, in January 1950 (shortly before he was to lose his seat in the March general election) was, however, half-hearted to this suggestion [of an organisation to help the West African immigrants]. Reflecting the general reluctance of the Colonial Office to get involved in any direct welfare effort, Creech's secretary, ND Watson, wrote in response to an enquiry from Downing Street that such efforts should be made on a local basis for "experience shows that many of these people are virtually unemployable in this country and are a source of a good deal of racial friction"'. Besides Banton (1955: 84–85 and 89), the report appears to have been little known about or cited by contemporary scholars.

Conclusions

These several decades, encompassing the two world wars and the intervening 20 years, reveal a number of competing discourses on the social position of immigrant black seamen and the unions they established with local white women. Such discourses were first clearly articulated to the wider public as a result of the 1919 'race riots'. Though the strong opposition to these interracial relationships was generally an accompaniment to the riots rather than their cause, the violence revealed a pervasive racism amongst the police and newspapers as well as white seamen that consolidated views in these port cities. It is, perhaps, of no surprise that the first of the 'seaport studies' to report on the mixed population should have originated in Liverpool, where the police were known for their entrenched racist views. While such reports, including the wider investigation by Captain Richardson, focused on issues of immorality and 'social hygiene' and used intemperate language, a counterbalance was provided by a number of more considered studies whose authors were much closer to these mixed race communities and who consequently were able to draw upon first-hand experience. These studies, however, tended to blame the low moral standards of the white women in these interracial relationships for their difficulties and lack of success, a theme that, as our next chapter shows, would recur repeatedly in wider public representation.

Notes

1. Lurannah Aldridge also had a short and successful career as a vocalist. For more on the black middle-classes in early twentieth century Britain, see Green (1986) and (1998) and Rossum (1997) while for individual life histories see Green (1998) and <http://www.jeffreygreen.co.uk/> [date accessed 05.07.2017].
2. See Bourne (2016).
3. Another Duleep Singh sibling, Irene, also had a white spouse, marrying the Frenchman Pierre Marie Alexandre Villemant in 1910.

4. It should be noted, however, that though Maidie Sinclair was generally discussed in the press as a commoner, Sinclair was her stage name. She was in fact the granddaughter of Sir Edward Barnes, the commander-in-chief of India from 1832 to 1833.
5. For further details on the lives of Dolly Parnell and Nasir Khan, as well as similar marriages between white women and members of the Indian aristocracy, see Younger (2003).
6. Blake C. 'Special commissioner for the Sunday Chronicle'. Chinese Vice in England. *Sunday Chronicle*, 2 and 9 December 1906.
7. Liverpool City Council. Report of Committee investigating Chinese Settlement in Liverpool. Liverpool: Liverpool City Council Proceedings, 1907 (June) (ref. 352CLE/405). See also: The Chinese in Liverpool. The Commission. *The Times* (London, England), Tuesday, 2 July 1907. 10; Issue 38374.
8. Home Office File HO45 11843/139147.
9. *The Times*, 2007. *Op cit.*
10. *Sheffield Evening Telegraph*, 22 July 1902.
11. Basu (2015) citing Report of Indian Mail Censor of 24 April 1915, Howell Collection, Mss. Eur D 681/17.
12. *Daily Despatch*, 8 August 1917 cited by Smith (2004). Also see Dabydeen et al. (2007).
13. *The Report of the Select Committee on the Nationality of Married Women*, 1923.
14. Important secondary sources on the 1919 race riots are: Jenkinson (1987, 2008 and 2009); Evans (1980, 1983); May and Cohen (1974); Rowe (2000); and Visram (2002). Primary sources include the following: National Archives, Racial Riots in South Wales: Report of the Chief Constable, Cardiff City Police, October 1919, CO 323/816/40; Treatment of 'coloured' men in the UK: notification of incidents of racial rioting in Cardiff, June 1919, CO 323/819/71.
15. Laura Tabili, review of *Black 1919: Riots, Racism and Resistance in Imperial Britain* (review no. 840). URL: <http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/840>
16. *The Times*, 30 May 1919.
17. *Hull Daily Mail*, 12 June 1919; *Taunton Courier*, 23 April 1919.
18. 'Colour Riots Sequel', *Nottingham Evening Post*, 17 June 1919.
19. *East End News*, 22 April 1919.

20. 'Black And White At Liverpool', *The Times*, 10 June 1919.
21. *Taunton Courier and Western Advertiser*, 18 June 1919.
22. Cairns, *Nottingham Evening Post*, 1920.
23. In fact, violence in Caribbean correlated to the riots—see Evans (1994). Lahiri (2000: 89) also notes that opposition to Indian rule among Indian students studying in Britain was exacerbated by the prejudiced articles against Indians they saw in the British Press, including those suggesting that Indian men were devious sexual predators of white women.
24. 'The Colour Problem', *Hull Daily Mail*, 24 October 1919.
25. See: Tabili 1994a; Lane 1994; Little 1948; Rich 1990, pp. 122–130; Sherwood 1991; Tabili, Laura, 'We Ask for British Justice': *Workers and Racial Difference in Late Imperial Britain* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1994b); and Visram 2002.
26. HO (Home Office) 45/13392, 1928.
27. *A Decade of Progress in Eugenics. Scientific Papers of the Third International Congress of Eugenics, American Museum of Natural History, New York, August 21–23, 1932*. Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Company, 1934, p. 503. She is further identified as 'Muriel Eileen Fletcher' amongst members of the congress (p. 515). According to *The Dundee Directory, 1931–1932* (Dundee: Burns and Harris, Ltd., 1931), 29 Bank Street was occupied by David F Young, inspector, Department of Health for Scotland, A Cree, district inspector, and Dr TD Kennedy, regional medical officer.
28. A copy of the report can be found in: National Archives HO 213/308. Seamen. Welfare in Ports. HO (Home Office) 213/308. Reports on black seamen in British ports and the 'social problems' associated with them. 1935. National Archives. This file contains a copy of Richardson's report, 'Social Conditions in Ports: London, Liverpool, and Cardiff'. Also: PRO, MH96/876, RJ Matthews, 'Social Conditions in the Port of Cardiff, Observations on the Survey Report of Captain F. A. Richardson', 17 September.
29. Captain FA Richardson, DSC, AINA, RN (ret.), a former commander of the *Conway*, an officer's training ship, 1927–1934, retiring on grounds of ill health in 1934. For a brief biography, see: 'The Conway'. *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, 19 September 1934: 12.
30. 11 July 1935. House of Commons. No. 752/1934-5. Public Health—Cardiff. Coloured Population.

31. HO (Home Office) 213/352. Minutes of a conference held at the Home Office on 2 December 1936, to consider matters relating to the welfare of coloured persons in the UK.
32. BNA, MEPO 2/7451, Commercial street police station's note, 4 June 1937.
33. Nancie Sharpe. *Report on the Negro Population in London and Cardiff*. [GB]: Methodist Church, 1933 [also listed as London: League of Coloured Peoples, 1933].
34. Nancie Sharpe. Cardiff's Coloured Population. *The Keys* 1934 (January); Vol. 1, No. 3: 44–45, 61. Accessed at: <http://www.movinghere.org.uk/deliveryfiles/BL/025KEYS193401/0/2.pdf>; Nancie Hare. The Prospects for Coloured Children in England. *The Keys* 1937 (July–September); Vol. 5, No. 1: 11–12, 25–27.
35. Phyllis KH Young. *Report on investigation into conditions of the coloured population in a Stepney area*. 1944. ['Confidential', privately published]. 31p.
36. National Archives, BT, MT9/3952, 6457/1944.
37. Derek Bamuta. 'Report on an investigation into conditions of the coloured people in Stepney'. National Archives, CO 876/247, 1949–1950. It was later published anonymously in *Social Work: The British Quarterly Journal*, Vol. 7, No. 1, January 1950, pp. 387–395.
38. A 1944 Imperial War Museum photograph shows Sergeant Derek Bamuta, a Muganda in the King's African Rifles, explaining the war news to an audience of young Africans: 'Educated at a British Public School, his English is perfect. He is a Driver, Signaller, Clerk and Instructor'. See: <http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205058027>. Records in the National Archives indicate that Derek Bamuta was the son of Yusufu Bamuta, former Secretary to the Buganda parliament.

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4

'Unnatural Alliances' and 'Poor Half-Castes': Representations of Racial Mixing and Mixedness and the Entrenching of Stereotypes

On a winter morning in early December 1904, a small congregation of family and friends gathered at Holy Trinity Church in Marylebone, London, to witness the marriage of Mina Alberta Tomalin-Potts from Norwood, London and Yung Hsi Hsiao, of Souchong, China.¹ The *Daily Mirror*, like many British newspapers, was somewhat mesmerised by this 'interesting wedding' of a 'pretty English girl with the son of a great Chinese mandarin', devoting two days to coverage of the story. The bride was 'charming', the groom 'a fascinating celestial...one of the ablest of the brilliant band of students who represent young China in London', and the wedding itself 'the happy culmination of a brief but fascinating love story'.²

As we discussed in Chap. 3, however, such temperate interest and curiosity was not however extended to all Anglo-Chinese couples in early Edwardian England. In addition to Claude Blake's article in the *Sunday Chronicle*, other papers reported local views denouncing the Chinese for bringing gaming, opium smoking and general immorality to the area, not to mention that the 'decoying of young girls was rife'³ while the Tory MP J Havelock Wilson stated that 'slips of white womanhood' were being seized as 'the body slaves of laundry lords' (in Winder 2004: 260–261).

Such curiosity and concerns about racial mixing—and the gender and class issues involved as glimpsed in these accounts—began to take hold, root and intensify in popular British thought over the early decades of the twentieth century. If the subject was not being expounded on by the press, then it was being repeatedly explored in the arts with literature, theatre and film all demonstrating an—often prurient—interest in white women in particular entering into relationships with ‘coloured’ men and the children produced from such unions. As discussed in Chap. 1, similar interest in racial mixing in Britain had of course occurred previously, particularly during the eighteenth century, but for the most part it was neither a continuous nor widespread focus. Indeed, as Rich (1990: 6) has highlighted, prior to the twentieth century, debate on interracial mixing was mostly confined to ‘small circles of informed specialists’, where scientific ‘race-thinkers’ argued over the minutiae of physical and psychological racial difference. The Edwardian era, however, would see the subject of race mixing and mixedness steadily enter the realm of wider British opinion. The attention paid to the topic in the first decades of the twentieth century—not only by academics, intellectuals and politicians but also by the media and the arts—meant that racial mixing in the early twentieth century Britain found itself a ‘hot topic’.

The heady mix of race, sex and class against the backdrop of imperial expansion overseas and industrial growth and conflict at home (Rich 1990) which propelled this topic into mainstream discussion are often overlooked in contemporary understandings of racial mixing and mixedness in Britain. Yet the ways in which British ‘middle opinion’ of the early twentieth century conceptualised the subject resulted in a series of pervasive interracial tropes—for example, hypersexualised and dangerous ‘coloured’ men, loose and feckless white women, and confused and marginalised mixed race children—that shored up the foundations for perceptions of racially mixed people, couples and families for many decades to come.

Fear, Fantasy and Nonchalance

At the turn of the century, fears around the dissipation of Britain’s power throughout its colonies saw much of the discussion in the public sphere on racial mixing concerned less with racial mixing in Britain itself and

more with the question of 'the race problem' (or 'the native' or 'colour problem') in the colonies of Empire and its dominions, that is, to what extent the legal and social status of 'coloured' colonised peoples should be equalised and what the consequences of doing so—or not doing so—should be. The subject of interraciality was often invoked as part of this discussion, with even supporters of racial equality often admitting the potential of its threat to the imperial order—how could this be safeguarded if the subjugated races developed intimate relationships and they and their children came to be accepted as equal? (Ansari 2009). Articles discussing 'the sad and truly pathetic question of the half-caste' or the dangers presented to white women by black men in South Africa, India and other colonised locales were familiar items in the pages of the press (little, however, was mentioned about the longstanding and persistent dangers to women of colour by white men).⁴ Whether arguing for equality or not, the language of interraciality tended overwhelmingly to suggest difference, whether exotic and titillating, bizarre and ridiculous or unfamiliar and threatening.

The arts, particularly literature, increasingly reflected this wider tension between the fear, fantasy and actuality of interracial mixing across Empire, including the social consequences of crossing racial boundaries. Of course, interracial affairs—and people—in colonial literature were nothing new: such themes had long featured in British fiction and were often at the heart of both potboiler 'Mutiny novels' as well as canonical imperial and colonial fiction of the nineteenth century as exemplified by Conrad, Kipling and Stevenson (Kuehn 2014). Twentieth century literature also continued this outward purview as few novels, short stories or plays touched on the subject of the racial mixing that was occurring in Britain itself; rather, a wide and receptive audience was exposed to the popular theme of interraciality in colonial settings across the globe, used primarily to highlight the predicaments, moral quandaries and consequences faced by white characters which in turn reinforced the hierarchies and boundaries of Empire. These hierarchies and boundaries, however, were neither static nor impermeable. As Phillips (2002: 341) adroitly notes, 'the complex and multi-layered historical geography of imperial state formation meant that British imperial and colonial states did different things—with respect to the regulation of sexualities for example—in different times and places'. Attitudes to interraciality were

therefore not unitary across the Empire but tempered by the multifaceted interweaving of imperial attitudes to race, class, gender, time and place.

Such attitudes were also reflected in the subtly varied representations of interraciality in early twentieth century popular literature. In daring African adventures, for example, the physical and moral downfall of otherwise 'decent' English men was shockingly shown through what Ida Vera Simonton's hit novel *Hell's Playground* (1912) called 'mammy-palavering', that is, an inability amongst many white male characters to resist what they saw as the repulsive yet alluring sexuality of black and mixed race women. In an entirely different vein, however, were the heady 'Raj Romances', mostly penned by white women with some experience of India,⁵ which flirted with notions of love and romance as well as desire in interracial relationships through their typical storylines featuring respectable English people falling in love with seductive Indians, usually from high-caste backgrounds. Meanwhile, in the body of exotic 'South Seas fiction', interracial relationships were unashamedly portrayed as an everyday part of Pacific Island life, depicting buccaneering British men falling for beautiful, uninhibited and sexually available 'South Sea maidens', while 'treaty port fiction' highlighted the transactional and commercial nature of interracial relationships between white men and Chinese women in Hong Kong.⁶

Across all locales, however, the love affair was typically cut short by the well-worn interracial trope of 'killing, eliminating or putting aside the native partner' (Prakash 1994: 121; see also Singh 1975), an outcome fuelled by colonial perceptions of physical interracial intimacy as 'abnormal and absurd'; thus when such relationships were described, 'they were intended to substantiate the native's inferiority and the inherent incompatibility between the two people' (Prakash 1994: 121) whose relationship, as Kuehn (2014) notes, tended to be conceptualised as emerging from 'bad' desire (i.e. lust or misplaced duty) as opposed to 'good' desire (i.e. true love). Certainly, while Indians, for example, tended to be given more voice, diversity and status in colonial period literature—and life—than black Africans, it was clear that theirs was still an inferior state of being, one ultimately unworthy of 'good desire' and its rewards of marriage and family.

Across every locale was also the lived embodiment of interraciality: the figure of 'the half-caste', often the central narrative pivot around which the predicaments, moral quandaries and consequences of racial crossing were

hung. The 'half-caste', if able to survive into adulthood, appeared in the familiar literary guises of what Sollors (1997) calls 'the tragic mulatto complex', a narrow set of representations that portrayed people from mixed racial background as regretted by their parents from birth and bound by a physical and mental inheritance which inevitably triggers a series of predictable events and behaviours that tends to bring about their tragic end.⁷ Literature and theatre at the turn of the century churned out these endless repetitive tropes that became the staple representations of mixed race people, employing stock language that hammered home the 'facts' of the mixed race psyche: beautiful women who were 'silly', 'foolish', 'fiery', 'wanton', 'jealous', 'lustful' 'temptresses'; handsome men who were 'untrustworthy', 'delusional', 'temperamental' and 'weak'; and villains of both genders who were 'diabolical', 'cunning', 'incurably treacherous', 'vengeful', 'rascally', 'scheming'. Overwhelmingly on the margins of the action and frequently lurking in various stages of unrequited, unhealthy love, their stories—like that of the racially mixed white and black African Akolé in Paul Trent's *A Wife By Purchase* (1909) who dies of pneumonia after making her well-to-do white British half-sister promise to forgive their mutual white British lover—mostly ended in tragedy, or—as in the case of the wealthy half-caste (a 'nasty, sticky, black toad') who plots to marry a beautiful white girl in Fergus Hume's short story 'The Parrot's Egg' (1909)—in righteous failure.⁸

Although the vast majority of these depictions tended to follow the traditional literary narratives of interraciality - where crossing racial boundaries ended in separation, ostracism, tragedy or death - amongst the endless repetitive tropes, variations could nevertheless be found. As Forman (2013) reveals, the writer James Dalziel, for example, not only treats his Eurasian characters with complexity and sympathy, but also locates the failure of the mixed relationships in his Hong Kong treaty port fiction in external circumstances (e.g. disease, social ostracism, loss of a child) instead of the idea of inherent racial or cultural conflict; there is no, for example, regression to the savage self or fantastical invocations of mysticism as in the romances of Africa and India. Similarly, the work of the then wildly popular Louis Becke depicts a vast range of romantic, sexual and domestic interracial relationships between Western men and Polynesian women from the expedient, unhappy or violent to the loving,

respectful and permanent, thus updating the tradition of romanticising and exoticising these relationships, showing them instead as ‘pragmatic and often un sentimental choices made by European men and island women striving to make a life often in the face of natural and human violence’ (Bhattacharya 2013: 92). Moreover, while Glaser’s (2010: 213) assertion that interracial relationships for female characters were ‘unthinkable’ may be the case within canonical colonial literature, it should be noted that outside of canon, a fair amount of thinking about such relationships took place.⁹ Often featuring a ‘New Woman’¹⁰ protagonist—that emerging late Victorian female figure of social, economic and sexual independence whose rejection of the norms of marriage and domesticity was considered by many to be a threat to the perpetuation of the British race, nation and, consequently, Empire itself—‘Raj Romance’ fiction was littered with white women having romantic and even passionate sexual relationships with Indian men and bearing mixed race offspring (e.g. *Voices in the Night* (1900), *Anna Lombard* (1901), *A Marriage in Burmah* (1905), *Life of My Heart* (1905), *Babes in the Wood* (1910), *The Englishwoman* (1912), *The Daughter-in-Law* (1913), *Tony Bellew* (1914)), while a number of Africa-based novels even dared to show white women engaged to black African men and, in the case of working-class female characters, entering into sexual and marital unions (e.g. *The Treatment of Brierly* (1900), *The Arm of the Leopard* (1904), *A Wife By Purchase* (1909), *The Hyena of Kallu* (1910)). Even within the more formulaic works, intriguing glimpses of multilayered understandings and conceptualisations can be observed. While, as we discuss in a following section, the journalist and writer George Sims castigated black and white mixing, Forman (2013) highlights how in his 1905 anthology, *Li Ting of London and Other Stories*, Sims appears to condone the creation of Anglo-Chinese families in Britain, with a favourable portrait of his Chinese protagonist, his white East End wife and their refreshingly ordinary and integrated mixed race daughter who speaks ‘Cockney, not Chinese or pidgin’ (Forman 2013: 209). Even more extraordinary is Edith Duff-Fyfe’s *The Nine Points* (1908), a prime exemplar of the complex representational avenues of interraciality in early twentieth century fiction. With echoes of the real life Stamford case (see Chap. 3 and below), the story starts with the newly appointed Sir Alec Farraday, who lives in an Indian village with his adored but lowly native wife, passing his

aristocratic identity and inheritance over to his friend, Carvill, to prevent their falling into the eventual hands of his half-caste children whose mixed ancestry, he believes, renders them unworthy and incapable of running the English estate. When Farraday's son Bulbul grows up to learn of his true identity and arrives in England to claim his birthright, Carvill and his lawyer conspire against him—with the author's complete blessing—to cheat him out of his inheritance as much as for the 'good' of the estate as for upholding Carvill's promise to Farraday. Bulbul's eventual capitulation to the Englishmen's machinations shifts their views of him from a 'weak, timid half-caste' (236) to a 'thorough little gentleman' (295), while his attentions to Aggie, a white lady's maid in Carvill's employ, find a receptive home ('his dark skin did not repel her in the least' (248)). After marrying in England, Bulbul and Aggie move to India where, echoing the happy interracial marriage between his parents, they live very harmoniously with their two children—unlike Bulbul's sister, Nettie, whose husband—a brutish white man—subjects her to constant racial abuse and violence, eventually murdering her and their unborn child. Apart from the governess's comment on Aggie's 'race suicide' (317), neither the villagers nor the 'fake' Farradays—the lord and lady of the manor—protest the union; in fact, the aristocrats give their blessing, attend the wedding and keep in contact with Aggie in India. Thus alongside the novel's strong message of the perils and consequences of racial mixing, two happy and successful interracial relationships are also portrayed.

These types of representative turns frequently perplexed and confounded reviewers, who were often torn between enjoying the 'fascinating' stories, 'exotic' settings and 'insights' of the novels, and being unsettled by the racial boundaries being so openly crossed, particularly if conducted by white female characters. Where writers had their female characters blindly enter such relationships or remain chaste, eyebrows were scarcely raised: the *Leeds Mercury* notes that the story of Fanny Penny's genteel *A Mixed Marriage* (1903), which depicts a relationship—born of unromantic pragmatism—between a white English gentlewoman and an Indian prince that fails before consummation can take place, 'which might easily have been a disagreeable one, is actually a pleasant and wholesome chronicle'. Less tolerance was displayed, however, when such relationships were

knowingly and willingly entered into. Margaret Peterson's *Tony Bellew* (1914), in which the eponymous Tony takes to drink and shoots himself on learning that he is actually of mixed Indian and white parentage, provoked *The Spectator* to finally 'speak [its] mind' after finding the novelist's third book focusing yet again on white women crossing racial boundaries—Tony has a white lover—'a matter of grave regret'. 'Now does Miss Peterson', the magazine scolded, 'honestly consider that the physical aspect of interracial marriage, and the problems of Eurasians in India, are suitable subjects for light fiction? In each of her books she would seem to rejoice in the use of innuendo, in the emphasizing of that vulgar, second-rate treatment of sexual problems which should be kept in the background--in fine, in an almost deliberate misuse of her exceptional talents'.¹¹

The importance and reach of these representations of interraciality should not be underestimated.¹² In addition to the audiences who themselves consumed these novels, short stories, plays and even films featuring interracial relationships and people, national and regional newspapers endlessly serialised stories and contained reviews of this fictional and dramatic portrayals. As Kapila (2010: foreword) notes, for all their 'imaginative failures', these representations allowed glimpses of an 'interracial domesticity' that, though a central facet of colonial life and sociality, was often scrubbed out of official accounts. Given that these representations were the first encounter for most white British people in their conceptualisations of those of a different race, such works were instrumental in acting as virtual 'contact zones' which shaped attitudes and perceptions of colonial subjects, as well as colonists and citizens of the metropole (see Chap. 5). The overriding fictional and dramatic impression given was that though interraciality could come to no good, its thrill and threat was contained by the suggestion that it was a fantastical, exotic practice. In reality, however, British domestic culture contained a commonplace mixed race reality in its very own streets (Malchow 1996).

Early Representations of Mixing in Britain

Even with the overseas focus and the relative small size of the minority ethnic population, Britain's 'coloured' inhabitants did attract public attention nonetheless, with a small but steady stream of commentary trickling

forward from the press. Despite the small size of the Chinese population, for instance (see Chap. 3), much interest was paid at the turn of the century to this community, not least 'the Chinaman's' often remarked on propensity to seek relationships with white women and the women's inclination to accept: in 1904, *The Evening Telegraph* noted that 'There is nothing very rare nowadays in an English girl marrying an Oriental.'¹³ Though reporting on Anglo-Chinese interracial relationships tended to contain a bemused and facetious undercurrent, it was for the most part relatively mild in tone, particularly when discussing 'respectable' middle-class unions such as the Tomalin-Potts/Hsiao wedding.¹⁴ Even the somewhat smirking attitudes towards the interracial Anglo-Chinese relationships of Limehouse and other portside areas belied a level of nonchalance about the racial mixing occurring there. George Wade's 1900 article 'Cockney John Chinaman' for the *English Illustrated Magazine*—greatly cited by the national and local press—contains no open hostility to such liaisons.¹⁵ Indeed, while 'John Chinaman' was perceived as a curious oddity, and the 'ladies' who married him were considered of dubious morality, Wade and other commentators often conceded that he was nevertheless renowned as making a good husband and father. The London newspaper, *The Star*, noted how the gender imbalance between Chinese men and women in Britain was only part of the explanation for Anglo-Chinese marriages, stating that 'Chinese females are practically unknown in this country; but the ladies of [Limehouse] find the yellow man a most exceptional husband and father, being quite an example to the white men of the neighbourhood; he seldom drinks to excess, he works hard, never objects to bear a hand in the domestic economy of his household, and never strikes the woman of his choice'.¹⁶ The celebrated author and playwright George Sims echoed such sentiments in his 1905 feature on 'Oriental London', noting also the high quality of parenting and family life: 'their children look healthy and are very comfortably dressed, and most of them are very nice looking. These dark-haired, black-eyed boys and girls, with the rosy cheeks and happy looks, are real little pictures'.¹⁷

Much less favourably noted, however, were the relationships between white women and black men in dockside communities. A lengthy article in the *Leeds Mercury* on poverty around Britain in 1901 was aghast at 'miserable homes, where half-caste piccaninnies wallowed in rags on

filthy floors, and if slatternly white women hiccoughed curses from the inner darkness, it was because their Kaffir mates—this is the Kaffir quarter—at the neighbouring public-houses swilled porter as dusky as their skins.’¹⁸ A similar ‘expose’ in the *Weekly Mail* in 1907 vilified the interracial families found in ‘Nigger Town’—the insulting local epithet for the black neighbourhood of Cardiff. Written as part of a series of articles on life in Wales by George Sims, who reported on the local relationships between white women and black men in a very different light to the interracial Anglo-Chinese unions he had praised in his writing a few years earlier, the article rails against the familiarity of these relationships in the neighbourhood which ‘makes not only for socially and morally, but physically for evil.’ The area, he fumes, is ‘one of the most repellent places in which a Briton, blest with pride of race can spend a morning, an afternoon or an evening’.¹⁹

The root cause of such unpleasantness, such objectors frequently held, was not the intense poverty blighting such communities but the moral laxity of certain types of white women found there. An article in *The Cambrian* minced no words in 1908 when it came to where the finger should be pointed regarding the interraciality occurring across portside communities:

White women of the lower classes in this part of the world seem as prepared to marry or otherwise intimately associate with a black man as readily as with whites. A laxity of opinion prevails which no Colonial or American could understand in the slightest.... In England and Wales, as we see in so many cases in our midst, no such opinion prevails, even amongst women of the working class, ordinarily respectable and well-behaved. The results are seen in the occasional Mulatto children to be met with in the streets. Unnatural alliances, which would excite the strongest disgust and abhorrence in the Colonies, are not infrequent; it is earnestly to be desired that a healthier opinion upon the subject should be inculcated amongst the class concerned.²⁰

A year earlier, the *Leeds Mercury* had also despaired over ‘white women fascinated by negroes’, though it pointed out that their ‘irresistible attraction’ to white women was not particular to the working classes: ‘almost every hour of the day in a walk through the West End,’ it spluttered, ‘one meets pretty English women walking with coal-black negroes.’²¹ Though

the wantonness or foolishness of white women was deeply scolded, this is not to say that the 'coloured men' were considered blameless. A newspaper article of 1909 entitled 'White Women and Coloured Men' (in Lahiri 2000: 141) was in no doubt that white women needed to be protected from Indian men, specifically the many Indian students who at this time were resident in the country and were often entering into relationships with white women.²² Claiming to have lived among Indian students, the writer was horrified at the willingness of English women to associate with these 'crafty heathens'; 'it is,' he raged, 'positively nauseating to see them on the tops of buses, in the streets, at the theatres and almost everywhere one goes... These women have not the slightest idea of what grave risks they are running.' Indian men's 'plausible tales of eastern life' eventually 'accomplish the ruining of these white women'. Police intervention was required, failing that 'at the very least the ostracism of such couples....' Action was required: 'now,' he urged 'before the evil reaches any larger proportions is the time to insist on these Asiatics being placed in their proper positions.' Similarly, despite the tolerance generally extended to the Chinese men, pockets of intense hostility—as in Liverpool in 1907—were apparent. In many intellectual quarters the Chinese were seen as part of a sinister 'Yellow Peril'—a looming threat of swarming East Asian hordes gearing up to engulf and destroy the constitution and order of the 'civilized' West, militarily, economically, morally and socially (Forman 2013), a perception exacerbated by the Boxer Rebellion²³ at the turn of the century which greatly fuelled an anti-Chinese sentiment in Britain (and internationally). Their touted propensity for and appeal to white British women was occasionally viewed in these terms. Newspapers warned that while the Chinese of the metropolis 'is not at all a troublesome member of society', his brother was a 'blood-thirsty miscreant running riot in the Orient'; as such, 'the white civilisation cannot live beside the yellow. The Chinaman is too economical and too hardworking.... He can learn anything, and the white worker cannot compete with him.... Will he ever come along and make us open up our door to him? If he does our women will marry him. Incomprehensible as it appears to the white man, the Chinaman can get the women—the best of them—to mate with him.'²⁴ This discourse, as later sections in this chapter discuss, would increasingly be tapped into regarding Anglo-Chinese mixing as, similarly to other racial and ethnic populations, a focus on such groups tended to arise when economic and

political tensions—local, national or imperial—aggressively reared their head. In such cases, outrage at these relationships was often as much the expression of wider concerns about ‘ownership’ of labour and national identity as it was ‘ownership’ of women. The disparaging of the Chinese and their white partners in the press and more widely in Liverpool in 1907, Glen (2012) argues, flared up for precisely such reasons, namely local concerns about the economic effect of Chinese-run laundries on neighbourhood businesses, as well as an attempt to incite interest in the 1906 General Election which was affected by the Chinese labour dispute in South Africa.

Yet for all their outrage and disgust, these objections were not part of a constant and high profile discourse in the press denigrating interracial relationships in Britain as was to appear in the following decades; rather, they ebbed and flowed as isolated rants, often found tucked away in short, miscellaneous news sections.²⁵ Indeed, the mood in the early Edwardian press towards interraciality in Britain appears to contain a significant degree of flexibility. The racial mixing and mixedness that was occurring at the heart of Empire might raise the eyebrows of middle opinion and sometimes stir it to comment, but it did not automatically and inevitably provoke the venomous outrage that later spewed forth. Indeed, the press often took great pride in proclaiming that, unlike the USA, South Africa or even within certain British colonies where racial mixing caused apoplexy among the white settler populations, Britain was much more forgiving. The *Yorkshire Telegraph and Star*'s statement that ‘it is fair to say that we have no race problem of our own, and cannot understand the situation of those who have’ was a sentiment regularly expressed in quarters of the press.²⁶ In light of clear evidence of institutional and social racism—including an unofficial ‘colour bar’ which led to people of colour frequently struggling with access to housing, employment and entertainment spaces—such claims were, of course, paper thin. Yet they do illustrate that hostility towards racial difference formed only a part of attitudes towards interraciality, rather than a whole.

Certainly, in many newspaper articles before the First World War, particularly those in the regional press which reference actual mixed relationships or people in Britain rather than speculate on the implications of racial mixing, much of the reporting is not on the threat presented by interraciality. Instead, there is often a somewhat casual, descriptive tone in the

reporting on the mixed race people or interracial couples featured and, in numerous articles, the racial mixing or mixedness is presented as almost incidental to the story. For instance, in the *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser's* 1902 article 'An infant's death' detailing the death of a child from malnutrition, the fact that the child was the 'half-caste' daughter of a white woman is only mentioned in passing.²⁷ Similarly, the *Sunderland Daily Echo* reports that a 15-year-old who survived a fall down a coal chute at the Liberal Club in 1901 unharmed was a 'half-caste', born to a Jamaican father and an English mother, an 'ingenious and intelligent' boy.²⁸ Plenty of examples also abound in the regular reporting of divorce or criminal cases, where 'half-caste' and 'coloured' men and women are cited as plaintiffs and the accused in brief reports, such as 'John Ford, a half-caste [who] was charged with begging at Cleethorpes' or Charles Hirst, a 'half-caste fisherman' who 'brought a claim for £8 1s. 5d. against Mrs Julie Charlton, his former sweetheart's aunt'.²⁹ At times, even, sympathetic reporting and attitudes can be found. The murder of Pauline Lacey by her black husband William in Pontypridd in 1900, though concluded to be a case 'not without its lesson and warning' was covered for the most part by the press as a 'Negro Othello and his Desdemona' crime of passion with considerable empathy for the accused; Lacey was described as having 'a kind, nay gentle face', 'even handsome as negroes go',³⁰ and his passionate plea to the bench as 'deeply moving those in the crowded court' (Image 4.1).³¹

More unashamed antipathy to direct prejudice can also be seen: a 1904 article in the *Evening Telegraph* discusses a 'curious case of the survival of racial hatred' in a school in Dundee attended by 'a little half-caste boy' and berates both the 'little white savages' who make the child's life miserable through their maltreatment of him 'in a shocking manner' as well as the School Board who failed to protect him.³² Meanwhile, the interracial relationships of the upper classes tended not only to be reported free from opprobrium but were keenly feted. The marriages of Princess Pretiva and Princess Sudhira to the well-to-do Manders brothers, for example, attracted much—respectful—attention, while members of the Indian aristocratic Duleep Singh family and their white partners were gushed over to the point of embarrassment: newspapers and magazines repeatedly fawned over 'popular' Prince Victor and his 'beautiful' wife Lady Anne Blanche Alice, the youngest daughter of the Earl of Coventry, with her 'splendid jewels', and lauded his sister, Princess Sophie, who 'notwithstanding her great Oriental

A BLACK MAN AND A WHITE WIFE.

A NEGRO OTHELLO AND HIS DESDEMONA.

SENTENCE OF DEATH AT SWANSEA.

CONDEMNED MAN THANKS JUDGE AND JURY.

AND BIDS TRAGIC GOOD-BYE TO THE WORLD.

Besides the history of a Welsh woman his murderer with his own hand drawn the death-rope more tightly than did the negro who at Swansea on Thursday heard the dread sentence of the law for a crime without the shadow of extenuation. When the proceedings opened the Crown Court was only tolerably filled, and it was difficult to believe that a human life trembled in the balance. There sat a distant inmate, and then entered Mr. Justice Grantham. He looked very pale, stern and stern as he laid on the desk beside him the copy which was to do duty almost daily later in the day. From his forbidding eye wandered to the desk, and as it roved within the spotted area a tall, slight figure steps gently forward, with a certain easy grace that at once betrays the farthinger. How self-possessed he is, this man who today will listen to the words of doom. As we study him, we admit a certain interest. True, William Lacey is a murderer, but if we did not know this we might easily mistake him for a cultured evangelist. He has so much about him of "God's image in clay." He has a large, gay, gentle face, and he is even handsome as negroes go. He calls himself "wee" and betrays but little self-consciousness as yet. It is not given to every wife-murderer to wear with such consummate success the mask of innocence.

Before the tragedy the comedy—all the nation's comedy of swearing in the face and what not, performed by a former Billie Hutchinson who has more dignity than his betters himself. And as the comedy goes on, and the feeble good man and true is enthroned in our meekest colored gentleman looks round with flashing eyes and gleaming teeth and that occasional smile which is so winning on a daily basis. It is a strange

Thank you all." Then turning to the audience he added, "God bless you," and then he disappeared below. There was no murmur of approval; the verdict of the jury was that of the whole court, of everyone outside, and of all who have studied a melancholy scene which is not without its lessons and its warning.

(The report of the proceedings will be found on another page.)



PAULINE LACEY, the Victim.



The Condemned Man | ARTHUR O'CONNOR.

Image 4.1 Coverage of the murder of Pauline Lacey, a white Welsh woman, by her Jamaican husband, William, in the *Western Mail*, 3 February 1900. © The British Library Board. All rights reserved. With thanks to The British Newspaper Archive (www.BritishNewspaperArchive.co.uk)

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INDIAN PRINCESS MARRIES ENGLISHMAN: NURSING HOME ROMANCE



The Indragiri in a rickshaw. Mr. Lionel Mander.

Princess Sudhira, sister of the Maharajah of Cooh Behar, and Mr. Alan J. Mander, who met and fell in love with each other in a London nursing home, have been married in Calcutta. Princess Pretiva, sister of the bride, is the wife of Mr. Lionel H. Mander, the bride-



Princess Pretiva. Princess Sudhira.

groom's brother. Mr. Lionel Mander was the last man. He and the bridegroom were present in a balcony no other, which occurred while they were crossing the English Channel, and both of them were nearly drowned.

Image 4.2 Coverage of the wedding of Princess Sudhira, sister of the Maharajah of Cooh Behar, to Alan Manders, an Englishman from a prominent Wolverhampton family, in the *Daily Mirror*, 27 February 1914. Sudhira's sister, Pretiva, had previously married Lionel Manders, the brother of Alan, in 1912. © The British Library Board. All rights reserved. With thanks to The British Newspaper Archive (www.BritishNewspaperArchive.co.uk)

name...is to all intents and purposes a thoroughly English girl.³³ Such coverage of the Duleep Singhs in particular was perhaps unsurprising when acceptance of the family had reached the very top of the social chain: the pair had Queen Victoria as a godparent (Image 4.2).³⁴

We should be clear, however, that these accounts are not meant to counter the existence of very real and distinct prejudiced and racist attitudes. The very highlighting of some stories of interraciality was at times to draw attention to their perceived unusualness, underscored often with snarky comments to emphasise that message, such as the

barbed comments regarding the fortuity that the 8th Earl of Stamford—who had married Martha Solomons, a low born South African woman of colour before inheriting his title—had had no male heir, otherwise a ‘woolly-headed’ ‘half-caste representative’ of the earldom would [have been] in the House of Peers’.³⁵ Other accounts meanwhile attracted particularly intense venomous coverage, such as the turn of the century turbulent relationship between ‘Prince’ Peter Lobengula, a black performer with the Savage South Africa show, and Kitty Jewel, the daughter of an Englishman who had emigrated to South Africa, which ‘veered between facetious amusement and righteous indignation’ (see Shepherd 1986: 100). Similarly, alongside the genre of myths pedalled by the propagandists (see Chap. 2), there was also circulating during the early decades of the century some odd folklore about the consequences of interracial intimacy and mixing: in a letter to *The Times* in 1907, a doctor stated that ‘if a white woman have a child by a black man, her subsequent children, even if the father be a white man, will be more or less black.’³⁶ While a current of racism in these accounts is almost always running, when read as a whole they nevertheless do show that interraciality in the early twentieth century was represented, discussed and portrayed in multifaceted and complex ways, and consequently, as we discuss further in Chap. 5, experienced so. With the onset of the First World War however, such complexity of representation would increasingly become more constrained.

Concern and Censure: The First World War

In the lead up to the First World War, the visibly multiracial mixing of dockside communities began to garner attention beyond the odd, ranting journalist here and there. With economic strife and politics on the continent issues rising, working class interraciality threatened the idea of a strong, homogenous nation (Witchard 2004) and the press joined politicians, local commentators and trade unionists in vilifying those minorities who became the recipients of both projected fears about moral and racial degeneration and the requisitioning of white British men’s jobs and

women. The 1911 seamen's strike and related violence, for example, focused attention once again on the Chinese population who, as in Liverpool in 1907, were blamed for the economic woes of white working-class men (Auerbach 2009). The earlier nonchalant tolerance of the press towards 'John Chinaman' was replaced by a growing vilification and 'Yellow Peril' imagery was furiously invoked in the increasing warnings to the public of the dangers of the Oriental, particularly in relation to white women. The *London Magazine* published an excoriating 'exposé' in 1911 entitled 'The Chinese in Britain: A Growing National Problem' in which it was claimed that Oriental dominion of the West was being plotted in the Chinese 'lair's of London, Liverpool and Cardiff, where young white women were tempted into unsavoury unions, the 'exotic charm' of the Chinese overcoming 'their instinctive repugnance to a race of alien blood and colour', and thus threatening 'the purity of the Anglo-Saxon blood.' (see Auerbach, 65–66).

In tandem, there began to emerge a feverish fascination in the arts with the Chinese population residing in London's Limehouse, not least with its 'sexual integration' into the imperial metropolis (Forman 2013: 198). Of this literature, Sax Rohmer's Fu Manchu series, first introduced by the previously serialised novel *The Mystery of Fu Manchu* (1913), and Thomas Burke's collection of short stories *Limehouse Nights* (1916)—one of which ('The Chink and The Child') inspired D.W. Griffith's acclaimed silent film *Broken Blossoms* (1919) about the platonic and ultimately tragic love of a Chinese man for a white girl—remain the best-known examples, primarily due to their international success and subsequent influence.³⁷ However, as Witchard (2004) and others have noted, despite the tendency to bracket their work together as illustrative of the 'Yellow Peril' fiction of the time, their attitudes to their Chinese protagonists are in fact quite different. Rohmer's work positioned the Chinese as 'active agents of evil and criminality', using the shelter of the vice-ridden, multiracial neighbourhood of Limehouse to incite the downfall of British society (Forman 2013: 217). Burke's writings, meanwhile, had 'no evil oriental geniuses, international conspiracies or clumsy pastiches of Sherlock Holmes' (Seed 2006: 58). Instead, his Chinese characters were the immigrant neighbours, friends, lovers and enemies of the white working classes of Limehouse. As such,

Burke depicts the Chinese men of his stories and the white women that they had relationships with in ways that are both matter-of-fact and morally ambiguous. This blunt yet layered exploration of the mixing and miscegenation willingly occurring amongst a multiracial working class at the centre of Empire led to instant notoriety on publication—in addition to the shocked reviews on both sides of the Atlantic, the work was banned for immorality by British circulating libraries and there was talk that Burke might be prosecuted under the Obscene Publications Act (Witchard 2004). Yet, by focusing on the private lives of the multi-racial Limehouse residents—in contrast to Rohmer's focus on the public effect of the Chinese presence there—Burke encourages his readers to empathise across colour boundaries with his protagonists, whose experiences are portrayed as being indelibly shaped by the structure, demands and consequences of Empire (Forman 2013). Griffith's film also worked to elicit sympathy for the interracial relationship at the heart of its story, though it overplayed the tropes of Orient fantasy and pantomime and downplayed the explicit grittiness of Burke's Limehouse to do so (Burrows 2009).

For all the encouragement of empathy however, Griffith's film and Burke's writing did little to dispel longstanding stereotypes about Chinese men that consistently bubbled over in times of economic strife. The old tropes of opium usage and peddling, attraction to young girls, effeminacy and threat of white slavery that appeared in their and other literary and dramatic portrayals of the Chinese, whether bluntly invoked or subtly examined, contributed to previous narratives of the Chinese as loving husbands and good fathers being overshadowed.

Moreover, 'Yellow Peril' fiction not only pointed to the threat presented by racialised others, but also to that presented by the working classes, who were also complicit in undermining the social structure and order through their perceived alcoholism, violence, drug abuse and willingness to mix racially. This body of literature reinforced the message 'that the East could only creep into the West with the latter's collusion' (Forman 2013: 201), with some more guilty than others. Indeed, while Western men in this literature are often the naïve or unwitting dupes of the Chinese, Western women are actively and willingly engaging in 'destabilising' Englishness. In the East End of

Limehouse Nights, not only do 'teenaged Cockney girls eat Chow Mein and Chop Suey with chopsticks in the local caffs, blithely gamble their house-keeping money at Puck-a-pu and Fan Tan, burn joss-sticks in their bedrooms, and ritualistically prepare opium pipes in the corner pub' (Witchard 2004: np), but they also sleep with, marry and bear the children of Chinese men. As throughout 'Yellow Peril' fiction generally, Burke's relentless focus on the lurid brutality and moral degeneracy of the white working classes of London bolstered prevailing stereotypes about the types of white women who crossed racial boundaries as well as suggesting certain inadequacies inherent in those white men who were failing to keep these women in order. All in all, the fiction portrayed a violent, sinister underworld in the capital in which the increasing interactions between the Chinese and white British working classes were unravelling the social and cultural foundations of British life.

The widespread concerns—about sexual propriety, about racial degeneration and, above all, about the undermining of Empire—in the face of war were not confined to the Chinese. Though black colonial troops were frequently greeted warmly by local populations—at a parade of the troops at the Lord Mayor's Show in 1915, a West Indian company 'which included many coloured men, got a specially hearty cheer'³⁸—as the war progressed and the novelty of seeing black men parading off to war faded, press reaction to their presence in the country became increasingly hostile and a disproportionate and highly sensationalist amount of coverage began to focus on their social and economic threat. 'Where we formerly saw one white woman married to a black, or living with him, we now see scores,' protested the *Empire News* in 1917 (in Smith 2004: 114). The *Empire News*, the purveyor of casual racism at the best of times, was increasingly vehement in its opinion that black male workers presented a menace to the social fabric of British society, especially to white women who were 'easily tempted by free-handed Negroes earning good money' (Smith 2004: 114). Meanwhile, the Manchester-based newspaper, *The Daily Dispatch*, carried a series of articles decrying 'The Black Peril', particularly the 'pronounced weakness' of black men 'for associating with white women' (Smith 2004: 114).

The term ‘Black Peril’ had itself been widely in circulation since the turn of the century with regards to panic about the rape or assault of white women by black men throughout Empire (as well as the USA), and its use in the domestic context tapped into longstanding white fears of the sexual and political danger presented by a black masculine presence. As with the Chinese, there was a constant to-ing and fro-ing of blame: for every accusation that black men were taking advantage of or preying on young white women was another elsewhere reproaching the women for being naïve and shameless or pestering and even pursuing black men. The *Hull Daily Mail* reported that in an address to the YWCA in 1918, the Hon. Emily Kinnaird stated that ‘young men from other countries now in London complained that they had learnt evil ways from English girls’.³⁹ The ‘Black Peril’ was thus also innately bound up with a process of infantilisation, with both black men and white women continually portrayed as being childlike or naïve in their perceived inability to control their emotions and prevent themselves from engaging in ‘undesirable’ behaviour (Image 4.3).

While the arts continued to reflect deep-rooted social concerns about the dangers of racial mixing outside Britain, such as depicted in the popular doomed interracial romance and revenge play *Mr Wu* (1913)—whose scenes of a Chinese man sexually blackmailing a white Englishwoman, one reviewer noted, ‘makes your gorge rise’ (Auerbach 2009: 74)—these were increasingly joined by a focus on the crossing of racial boundaries at home. The 1914 novel *A “Water-Fly’s” Wooing: A Drama in Black and White Marriages* by a former *Daily Mail* correspondent, Annesley Kenealy, warns of the dangers of racial mixing between black and white, particularly when transposed from the colonies to metropole. The return to England from West Africa by a colonial official with his ‘Water-Fly’ son (‘a half-caste, a man of no country, who belongs to no race’ (18)) unleashes a spiralling chain of tragedy for all parties, including a white woman who finds herself drawn to the man the novel describes as ‘the unnatural’. As Graff (2009: 278) notes, though long out of print, the novel’s ‘importance as a text stems from its engagement with Kenealy’s dramatisation of contemporary threats: the New Woman, racial hybridity and the sexual legacy/moral legitimacy of the Empire’.



Image 4.3 'The 'Ally' and the English Miss', *Jugend* magazine, Vol. 1, 1915. The caption for this illustration by Walter Schnackenberg in the German arts magazine translates as 'poor German miss! These pleasures are not for you', likely a sardonic comment both on Britain's use of colonial troops during the First World War as well as the willingness of British women to engage in interracial relationships. © Mary Evans Picture Library

Those in different social strata managed to find more harmony as they continued to benefit from the humanising lens of class. Auerbach (2009), for example, notes that in the popular and critically acclaimed 1918 play *The Chinese Puzzle: An Original Play in Four Acts*, which focuses around a diplomatic scandal between a Chinese ambassador and his white wife, the Chinese protagonist and interracial relationship are treated respectfully; the *Aberdeen Journal* reports that on learning the authors were to

write a play featuring a prominent Chinese character, Sir Robert Hart, the Inspector-General of Customs in China, counselled, ‘take care you draw a Chinaman and not a heathen Chinese’, advice that was, the newspaper noted, ‘duly followed’.⁴⁰ In real life social circles, the Chinese Countess Oei Hui-Lin and her son Lionel were feted by high society, with pictures of both littering the society pages of newspaper and magazines—including high profile features in *Tatler*—with the manners, beauty and fashion sense of the exceedingly wealthy ‘chic and charming’ Countess gushed over at length.⁴¹

While it may have been important to maintain the goodwill of the powerful Chinese elite, the masses were thrown under the bus of fear mongering. As Auerbach notes, there had been a ‘rapid evolution, in British public discourse, of Chinese residents and London’s “Chinatown” from an exotic curiosity at the turn of the century to a dire threat to society’ (Auerbach 2009: 2). With an increasingly ingrained link between race, gender and class featuring in public discourse, the picture of those who were willing to cross the line was becoming both more visible and more entrenched.

Moral Panic and Condemnation: The Entrenching of Interracial Tropes

By the 1920s, press opinion on interracial relationships in Britain had moved from its patronising, occasionally disapproving and somewhat disinterested tone at the turn of the century to one much more aggressive and condemnatory in nature. The 1919 riots (see Chap. 3) had shone a spotlight on Britain’s multiracial communities unknown to many outside of ‘Yellow Peril’ fiction—the *Hull Daily Mail* stated that ‘the recent East-end street battle has focused public attention on what is admitted to be a growing evil in the cosmopolitan quarters of London’⁴²—and in doing so they began the process of crystallising and articulating attitudes to racially mixed couples in ways that would have pervasive and longstanding repercussions (Tabili 1994: 136). As Belcham (2008: 7) notes, ‘what was formerly exotic multicultural space now acquired more problematic meanings’ as interracial port town communities came to pose awkward

questions about citizenship and belonging for the other within the heart of Empire.

Perceptions of interraciality in Britain were now dominated by increasingly essentialised conceptualisations of interracial port communities; moreover, press coverage increasingly combined 'the three elements necessary to create a 'moral panic'—exaggeration of events, prediction of similar events and symbolisation' (Lahiri 2000: 141). The press began to step up a gear in its derisive portrayal of the men of colour and white women in these communities, as well as its message that relationships between the two warranted serious social concern. Articles detailing broken or violent marriages were common and little sympathy or credence was given to the woeful economic plight of black, Arab and Chinese men who had been made virtually unemployable in the post-war years by the relentless pursuit of the trade unions, shipping owners and local authorities to sideline them and the legislation enacted by government to support this; rather, they were seen as a threat to white men's security and a burden on the state (Belcham 2008). The flaring up of racially motivated violence in seaports in 1920s,⁴³ where competition for seagoing employment once again saw white seamen and crowds attack black and Arab sailors and their lodging houses, was reported on in familiar terms, with local and national newspapers ignoring or underplaying the issue of unemployment and economic decline of the merchant shipping industry and instead focusing on interracial relationships as the cause of the problem; according to *The Times*, the outbreak in Hull was 'a recrudescence of trouble which has been simmering for some time, and is due to local resentment at the relations between coloured men and women of the town', while the *Western Mail* reported that it appeared the Newport troubles 'began over a dispute between black men and sailors with reference to a white woman' (Jenkinson 2009: 207–209).

The labour movement further savaged black men through its full embrace of Germany's vitriolic racist 'Black Shame' propaganda, which railed against France's decision to station black West African troops in the occupied Rhineland. In the spring of 1920, the leading left-wing daily newspaper, the *Daily Herald*, published a rancorous article by ED Morel—a journalist and later a Labour MP—entitled 'Black Scourge in Europe: Sexual Horror Let Loose by France on the Rhine'. As in his pam-

phlet 'The Horror on the Rhine', which was distributed and enthusiastically received at the Trade Union Congress of 1920, Morel invoked longstanding ideas of the 'Black Peril', railing against the presence of 'sexually...unrestrained and unrestrainable' Africans in Europe 'raping women and girls'. Appealing to the British working class, Morel warned that workers would be 'ill-advised if they allow it to pass in silence because to-day the victims happen to be German' (Reinders 1968; James 2003).

Given the climate post the 1919 riots, the arguments of Morel and the *Daily Herald*—which also published a damning editorial on the issue—fell on ripe ground. The continued presence of black, Arab and Chinese men after the war, despite the fact that many were British-born citizens or subjects, was seen as part of the ongoing 'colour problem' across the country's cities, one that was both economic as well as social. 'Many of these coloured men [in Glasgow]', declared *The Sunday Post* in 1922, 'have married white women, are drawing the unemployment dole, and are receiving relief from the parish'.⁴⁴ As before, women of colour continued to be almost completely erased from the public picture of these communities, despite their growing presence within them (see Chap. 5), and all focus was on the ever more vilified 'coloured' men and white women couples found there.

The contempt and despair of local officials across the country regarding the 'scandal of black men and white girls' was frequently reported on by the press: at a meeting of Cardiff's Public Morals Committee in 1920, a clergyman had stated that 'hundreds of couples of coloured men and white girls had come to his church to be married, but so strong were his feelings in regard to this danger that he had refused to officiate'.⁴⁵ In Poplar, East London, a fellow clergyman explained to the *Lancashire Evening Post* that, despite there being no civil or ecclesiastical law against them, he opposed mixed marriages as, in many cases, it was 'fatal to happiness': 'sometimes a woman can live on very good terms with a Chinaman or a Hindu but I have never met a woman who was really happy with a nigger'.⁴⁶ Meanwhile, the press widely covered the views of officials such as the Metropolitan Magistrate at the Thames Police Court, Mr JAR Cairns, who habitually condemned the 'greatest problem' he had to face at the court: 'girls of 17, 18, and 19, who, for some extraordinary reason, are infatuated with Limehouse, and the Chinese,

Arabs, and other coloured men who inhabit the district'.⁴⁷ Indeed, though it was understood that the sheer presence of 'coloured' men in these communities was to be deplored in itself, the behaviour of white women was greatly as execrable, if not more so. The Chairman of Hull Police Court was quoted as stating that though 'coloured men were responsible for a great deal of vice in the city...the Bench were convinced that white women were responsible for encouraging it'.⁴⁸ Young women were thus complicit in their own degradation, inexplicably willing to 'commit moral and physical suicide' as Cairns so saw it.⁴⁹ Qualifying his remarks, Cairns made it even more clear that (as if he had not already) it was white women whom he truly held responsible for the 'lamentable state of things' in East London: 'I want to say frankly that my remarks had less reference to the coloured men than to the white women. The women can hardly expect coloured men to show more respect for them than they show themselves'.⁵⁰ As Tabili notes, the outpourings from this focus portrayed 'both partners as unfit, in class-based and gendered terms as well as racial ones: idle, unproductive, unmanly men, and women of mean estate, easy virtue, and dubious maternal qualities' (Tabili 1994: 156).

As the aftermath of the riots sank in and it became clear that the idea of mass repatriation was a dead end and Britain's interracial communities were here to stay, the headlines and stories in the press on racial mixing became ever more lurid and incendiary. As Auerbach (2009: 152) notes, the commercial activities of Chinese (and black men) in London in particular were repeatedly linked to interracial liaisons, the alleged increase in gambling and narcotics among whites, and to the physical and moral decline of the metropolis as a whole. 'A SOCIAL CANKER' thundered the *Western Daily Press* in 1922 on Limehouse,⁵¹ the 'PREY OF BLACK MEN' screamed numerous papers in covering the bigamy case of a young woman who had been married to an Indian, a Malay and a Portuguese in 1923.⁵²

The increasingly vitriolic tone towards racial mixing in the press was further inflamed by the growing establishment concern around a perceived moral degeneracy amongst the young as a whole. Seeking to forget the hardships and pressures of wartime and the post-war period, young people were increasingly flocking to the burgeoning nightclub scene, much to the

disgust of the Home Secretary, Sir William Joynston-Hicks, who denounced the clubs in the metropolis as ‘a blot on the life of London’ (Pugh 2008: 218). To the despair of the establishment, London’s West End was host to a ‘flamboyant flaunting of convention’ (Witchard 2004: np) with a mix of bohemian revellers from chorus girls and black musicians to nouveau riche millionaires and aristocrats rubbing shoulders and brazenly indulging in the triple vices of the flapper age: gambling, drugs and jazz (Kohn 1992; Witchard 2004). These fashionable multiracial spaces facilitated interracial relationships and liaisons within the ‘society’ crowd and it was considered ‘chic’ amongst the ‘fast set’—men as well as women—to have a black lover or engage in illicit sex, as satirised in Waugh’s *Decline and Fall* (1928) and Holtby’s *Mandoa, Mandoa* (1933). As Bush (1999) notes, amongst the frivolity and fetishisation, authentic relationships also occurred—in her 1938 book *Nigger Lover*, Doris Garland Anderson, the wife of the African American playwright Garland Anderson, in repudiating racial prejudice as a whole, also expressed her disdain for the smart set whose behaviour she felt devalued genuine interracial relationships.

The newly independent young white women of the war age were in particular seen to be at the mercy of these hedonistic, cosmopolitan and dangerous influences that brought them into contact with the contaminating forces of ‘coloured’ men. The environs of central London’s Tottenham Court Road repeatedly attracted the attention of the press due to the dangers of its interracial night life scene. In the early 1920s, the *Daily Express* and *Nottingham Evening Post* printed particularly vitriolic articles about the ‘black peril to white girls’ in the heart of London. ‘HALF-CASTE BABIES’—‘SPREADING COLONY OF NEGROES’—‘NIGHTCLUBS-LIVING ON VICE’—spluttered the by-lines. The *Express* was incensed by this ‘black invasion’ of ‘nearly 200 coal black niggers’ who had settled in the area in the wake of ‘the craze for coloured jazz band musicians’. Now, shrieked the paper, ‘they have their own cafés... and a night club, where black men and white girls dance until the early hours of the morning.... These London negroes have too uncanny a fascination for white women.’⁵³ In its lengthy exposé of the neighbourhood, the *Nottingham Post* damned the area as ‘the worst plague spot in the whole of London’ and also bewailed the black man’s ‘irresistible fascination for a certain type of white girl. When he arrives in London to take up an

appointment in one of the many jazz bands, there is keen competition to win his favour.⁵⁴ Concerns about jazz and its supposed effect of an intoxicated state which reduced moral restraint and encouraged sexual permissiveness, including interracial mixing (Parsonage 2005; McKay 2006), were further highlighted in the controversy around John Bulloch Souter's 1926 painting *The Breakdown*, exhibited at the annual Royal Academy show. The painting, which depicts a black saxophonist sitting on a broken statue of Classical Art while a naked white woman dances in front of him, produced a wave of horror across both the art world and the press. After much outcry—and once again reflecting the ripples of unease that interracial mixing in Britain caused throughout the colonies—the Secretary for the Dominions intervened (on the basis that 'the subject was considered obnoxious to British subjects living abroad in daily contact with a coloured population') and the painting was quickly withdrawn (McKay 2006).

The home establishment also felt the need to make a stand against the interraciality now occurring so blatantly in the very centre of the metropole and the press lasciviously reported on raids on such 'black man's cafés': The *Nottingham Evening Post* commented that during one raid the police had found '30 black men dancing with white girls, in an atmosphere as vitiated as the human mind can imagine',⁵⁵ while the case against a 'coloured' proprietor, Uriah Erskine, in 1925 was covered widely in the press, most of whom seemed not so much concerned with Erskine's charge of running unlicensed premises than with the threat, as the *Hull Daily Mail* stated, that the club presented to 'public order', the police having observed that 'black men and white girls, most of them under the influence of drink' were engaged in dances together 'with objectionable and suggestive movements' and that 'coloured men and white women [were] sitting around caressing each other'.⁵⁶

The picture painted by the establishment was that jazz was a corrupting, dangerous and un-British influence, one that could create a 'Niggers' Paradise'—as the *Nottingham Evening Post* dubbed Tottenham Court Road—to which 'scores of white girls owe[d] their ruin', their descent into prostitution and drugs the result of being seduced by jazz and dope, both proffered by black men. However, in relation to the traffic in drugs, thundered the *Post*, 'the black men are closely associated with the Chinese, many of whom are their near neighbours'.⁵⁷

The *Post's* reference to the Chinese and their association with drug trafficking was not an isolated accusation. On the one hand, the war years had deflected a great deal of negative coverage regarding racial mixing from Chinese to black men. However, the hedonism of the 1920s put this still small population back into the direct spotlight. From 1916 to the mid-1920s, a moral panic arose around London's 'drug scene' with the press reporting hysterically on the dissipation found in the capital, particularly in the nightclub scene and amongst young women (Kohn 1992). As Auerbach (2009) notes, court trials, press reports and popular fiction all helped popularise the fear that the recreational use of cocaine and opium was part of a sinister 'dope' culture that crossed from East to West London, controlled and encouraged by Chinese men who were not only corrupting but co-opting white women into their nefarious scheme to undermine the British race.

Indeed, although the use of opium had long formed part of the depiction of the Chinese in London, the interwar period saw the theme resurface 'with such a degree of prominence that it overshadowed earlier representations of the Chinese in which the substance was absent or... formed a subordinate element to larger themes of social injustice and transgressive affection' (Forman 2013: 198). Moreover, such portrayals took on a new sense of threat as the Chinese were now seen as posing a threat to those outside their debauched Limehouse community, what the *Western Daily Mail* dubbed 'an ulcerous plague-spot in the very heart of the Empire'.⁵⁸ Sensationalist and prolonged coverage was given to the 'dope'-related deaths of young women—most notably the actress Billie Carlton in 1918 and the nightclub dancer Frieda Kempton in 1922—in particular the role of Chinese men and their white wives or female associates in the supply chain of opium and cocaine to the deceased. 'The Evil Trade in Opium: English Girls as the Chinaman's West End Agents' declared the press⁵⁹ in the wake of the Carleton case as Ada Ping You, a Scottish woman living in Limehouse, was charged alongside her Chinese spouse and a white English man in connection with supplying drugs to Carleton. As has been noted, (Kohn 1992; Auerbach 2009), Ping You was heavily disparaged by the court for the transgression of racial and moral boundaries through her marriage to a Chinese man, with both defence and prosecution drawing on her interracial marriage to paint her as both victim and active agent of her opium-addict husband.⁶⁰ Fear of the corrupting influence of the Chinese

on white women and the transmission of Chinese vice from the East End to the West End also underscored the Kempton case. The implication of the Chinese restaurateur and West End nightlife figure Billy 'Brilliant' Chang in supplying the drugs that led to Kempton's overdose led to yet another media frenzy about the sinister influence of Chinese men on British society.⁶¹ Despite insufficient evidence to charge Chang in relation to Kempton's death, the press yet sought to imply his guilt through tales of an unidentified 'Chinese dope king' in the vein of Fu Manchu controlling London's drug traffic through an extensive network of mostly female workers 'from manicurists in reputable parlours to attendants in clock rooms'.⁶² In relation to Chang himself, much was made of the hypnotic fascination he exerted over white women; when he was finally arrested in his new abode in Limehouse (having been driven out of the West End by the police) on the charge of possessing a single packet of cocaine, the press pruriently reported and expanded on the salacious details of police reports: sex in exchange for drugs, women seduced into becoming drug dealers, wild group orgies with 'drug-frenzied women' in his 'intoxicatingly beautiful den of iniquity above the restaurant'.⁶³

The establishment endlessly pulled its hair out about these relationships and who was to blame. 'What is the "Yellow Lure?"' shrieked the *Western Daily Press* in a feverish article excoriating the moral decay caused by the Chinese quarters of Liverpool, Glasgow and Cardiff but most of all the 'canker' of Limehouse. The *Press* saw opium and gambling as only part of the explanation why young white girls were drawn to this East End neighbourhood; citing a female official, the article levelled accusations at both the Chinaman's fascination for depraved natures and the vulnerability and foolishness of young white girls—'devoid of shame'—who, having tasted financial independence and social freedom during the war, now ventured to Chinatown to seek excitement and money. Shuddering at the depravity into which these girls then fell, the *Press* feared that 'the cheapening of white women amongst the Asiatics' would have inevitable consequences for Empire, particularly for the wives and mothers of imperial outposts 'whose honour and lives are being horribly threatened by the undermining of the respect that the Asiatic has hitherto had for the white woman'.⁶⁴ As Seed (2006: 71) notes, 'dozens of newspaper and magazine articles in 1919, 1920 and 1921 reinforced these supposed connections between

Chinese seamen, Limehouse shopkeepers, suborned white girls and the West End demi-monde.’ The drastic remedies urged by the paper to prevent Anglo-Chinese mixing in Britain—deportation, fines and imprisonment—could not be implemented directly due to British reluctance to introduce anti-miscegenation laws: interracial relationships and marriage between white women and coloured men were perfectly legal. Nevertheless, the police and magistrates increasingly managed to use the law to attempt to reinstate what they saw as the proper racial and gender order in the East End. Undercover investigations, clandestine observations, sudden raids and mass arrests provided evidence for the police to find charges to close down cafés and gambling houses by drawing on a range of laws, including the Disorderly Houses Act and the increasingly stringent anti-narcotics and gambling legislation (Auerbach 2009), and in numerous cases the Chinese men charged were deported.

With the press eagerly and persistently reporting on both the ‘vice’ of Limehouse and the police and court crackdown, the coverage constantly hammered home the message that men of colour had a fatal effect—morally, socially and physically—on white women. The arts also imported similar ideas through representations of Limehouse that steadily emphasised the link between vice, ‘coloured’ men and the downfall of white girls. The thinly veiled cinematic accounts of Carleton and Kempton’s deaths, *The Case of a Doped Actress* (1919) and *Cocaine* (1922), gratuitously highlighted the interracial contact/Limehouse threat beloved of the press. Both films were, however, refused certificates by the British Board of Film Censors (BBFC) due to concerns about glamorising drug usage and their ‘sordid content’; when the BBFC revised its code of conduct in 1926, it added injunctions not only against opium dens but also against ‘equivocal situations between white girls and men of other races’ (Burrows 2009: 288). Of those ‘Limehouse melodramas’ that passed the censors, the influence of Griffiths’ *Broken Blossoms* template was plain to see, with filmmakers churning out formulaic productions which set sensational tales against a sordid ‘London’ backdrop;⁶⁵ even when the setting was not directly identified as Limehouse, the invocation of the now recognisable tropes of drugs, gambling, moral degradation and interraciality signified both location and moral message to the audience (Burrows 2009). The measured tone of the *Daily Telegraph*’s 1920’s ‘Children of Chinatown’ article—which dismissed

the lurid portrayals of Limehouse degeneracy and opium dens as stemming from 'vivid imagination and kinema [sic] pictures' rather than actual knowledge⁶⁶—was an isolated, ignored voice. Limehouse—and the racial mixing in Britain the area had come to represent—was becoming increasingly exoticised in the popular imagination.

The lure and dangers of racial mixing at home were further emphasised by the continuing popularity of novels, plays and films that depicted scintillatingly dangerous and lurid practices of racial mixing in the far flung reaches of Empire. The sensational and influential West End and Broadway hit *White Cargo: A Play of the Primitive* (1923), an adaptation of Simonton's *Hell's Playground* (1912), entertained audiences from Plymouth to Aberdeen by shining what critics called 'a lurid light on the responsibilities of Empire-building'.⁶⁷ Set in West Africa, the story warns how the continent 'plays entire havoc with men's mental and moral fibre' through showing the downfall of Langford, a fresh and idealistic young English colonist who is seduced into marriage by the 'sinuous, alluring, semi-savage' 'half-breed' Tondeleyo, barely surviving her attempt to murder him once she tires of the marriage.⁶⁸ Critics warned that the depiction of Langford's moral degradation, particularly his increasing sexual desire for and eventual union with Tondeleyo, was not for the fainthearted. 'It is strong fare' gulped the *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 'perhaps far too strong in places even for these "ultra-modern days" ... there were times when the lines were so strong or so suggestive in their meaning that the audience literally gasped'. Nevertheless, despite objections in some quarters that the heralded 'stark realism' of the play was 'a deliberate excursion into the undesirable'—the Lord Chamberlain, responding to public demands, banned the poster—audiences clamoured to see this 'vivid play of the primitive unvarnished life in the tropics'—as it was subtitled—rewarding the actors' performances with standing ovations.⁶⁹ 'Nothing more gripping, more thrilling, more realistic has been seen on the British or American stage for many years,' proclaimed the *Dundee Courier*. 'It promises to become one of the plays of the century'.⁷⁰

Of course, as Newell (2002) points out, the supposed 'stark realism' of *White Cargo* was only concerned with the effect of colonialism in Africa on white male European colonists (the 'white cargo' of the title) and, consequently, the implications for the imperial project as a whole. Reflecting their position as the lowest of the hierarchy, black and 'half-caste' Africans—

and women in particular—in both high and lowbrow fiction were stripped again and again of any real sympathy, individuality or humanity—‘rarely presented as if they were viable human beings.... It is required of black women not only that they be sexual, but above all that they be silent’ (Busia 1986: 365). By killing off or having their heroes resist temptation, these works ‘expunge the figure of the African or “mulatto” wife’ (Newell 2006: 54), writing out the mixed households that were a frequent colonial occurrence. Meanwhile, non-sexualised depictions of black African women that spoke to their varied and complex realities, such as West African entrepreneurs, brokers, farmers, and market traders, did not feature. It would be left to contemporary black African writers such as Mabel Dove to challenge and condemn the African-women-as-predator and white-men-as-victim stereotypes of this type of fiction and situate interracial liaisons on the West Coast from African women’s point of view.⁷¹ In Britain, however, critics revelled in the character of Tondeleyo, the ‘wicked little half-caste vamp who is the cause of all the mischief’;⁷² indeed, it was the spectacle of imperial masculinity salaciously declining in the face of her savage and sinister sexuality that both provoked and thrilled audiences. ‘You bring out everything that’s rotten in me’ (78) Langford tells Tondeleyo as he kisses her, posing the question to the audience of what did it mean for Empire and for Britain if British manhood could not uphold the necessary moral standards to maintain social and racial boundaries but instead lost control to the extent that such men were willing, as repeatedly gasped in the play, to ‘marry...[a] nigger’ (82). As in Simonton’s novel, by the end of the play, Langford—married to Tondeleyo despite horrified warnings from his fellow colonialists—is transformed from a cultured, upright Englishman into a sickly youth poisoned by his wife’s hand, bluntly making the point, Newell (2002: 122) notes, that ‘when the civiliser mingles his blood with that of the savage the moral justification for imperialism is undermined’. Despite the play’s undertones of criticism and ambiguity about the supposed inherent moral superiority of its white male characters—a wider theme that began to emerge in the 1920s and 1930s—⁷³ the narrative outcomes of such works nevertheless reinforced the general pessimism about the wisdom or success of mixed race relationships. At the same time, however, the temptations faced by British men in the colonies, though distasteful on the surface to the British mind, were nevertheless tacitly

understood. In relation to *White Cargo*, the *Western Morning News* proclaimed that 'people who judged harshly the men who went out Empire-building and succumbed to Africa's languor and temptations ought to see the play. It would awaken some of the arm-chair critics, and teach them forbearance.'⁷⁴

This fearful but reluctant acceptance of the vanquishing of white Britons to the sexual and moral pitfalls of the colonies as part of the cost of Empire-building was, however, only reserved for male colonists. Racial mixing between white women and men of colour was still strongly considered to breach imperial responsibilities and cause social shame and disgrace. Yet, though such attitudes were reflected in the arts, including in popular novels such as Alice Eustace's Mills and Boon novel *A Girl From the Jungle* (1928)—in which an English girl is forced to marry her father's native servant to whom she bears a child—and Margaret Peterson's *The Scent of the Rose* (1923)—in which it is suggested that a white woman would have been better off killing herself than entering into a relationship with a black man⁷⁵—such works did little to dampen colonial desire and fantasies of racial mixing. Increasingly, female authors featured 'New Women' protagonists finding themselves looking for love overseas and finding themselves like the heroine of Elsie Craig's *The Beloved Rajah* (1926) dazzled or imperilled by alluring but ultimately unsuitable maharajahs.

The popularity of the 'randy rajah' (Teo 2004) of earlier imaginations, however, found itself suddenly overshadowed by the figure of dangerous but irresistible Arab, launched into the popular imagination by the Britain-based writer Edith Maude Hull's bestselling 1919 novel *The Sheikh*. The decidedly unsavoury story, set in French colonial Algeria, reflected many literary themes thrown up by the subject of interraciality, including critiques of the emancipated New Woman and concerns about white—and othered—masculinities: kidnapped and repeatedly raped by a brutal Arab sheik, the aristocratic heroine gradually falls in love and finally 'goes native' with her captor who—fortunately for delicate establishment sensibilities—is finally revealed not to be an Arab but the half-English, half-Spanish son of a peer of the British realm (Teo 2010).

Though this was not the first novel to feature an Arab man attempting to ‘compromise’ a white woman (Diamond 2006), *The Sheik* brokered new terrain by depicting sex between the two, not to mention sexual desire and love. The titillating Orientalist tropes of this successor to the ‘desert novel’⁷⁶ were further fanned by a Hollywood adaptation of the novel in 1921—also entitled *The Sheik*—itself a roaring international success and one which catapulted its male star, Rudolph Valentino to phenomenal global stardom.⁷⁷ The novel and film thus saw the unleashing of ‘Sheikh fever’, spawning a stew of forgettable novels, films, short stories and plays in which Western women were seduced by Arab men, such as the British hit theatrical production of *Prince Fazil* (1926).

Not everyone, however, was gripped by sheikh fever. Concerns over Arabs and white women had, of course, been raging for some time amongst the local press, police and judiciary in South Shields where populations of Yemeni seamen had settled after the First World War, increasing the Arab presence (Lawless 1995). As in other dockland communities, there was the usual spate of condemnation of the relationships that had flourished between the unaccompanied immigrant men and local white women: the *Evening Telegraph* reported in 1923 that the Alderman hearing the case of a local girl charged with causing a disturbance in an Arab café remarked to her that ‘there are better places to get, where your British blood is. Why you go among such people as these I cannot understand; you must have lost all sense of womanhood.’⁷⁸ Concerns about the attraction of Arab men reverberated more widely in the wake of sheikh fever. During the sensational London-based trial of Marguerite Fahmy, a Frenchwoman who was charged in 1923 with the murder of her husband, the wealthy Egyptian prince Ali Kamel Fahmy Bey, the press highlighted the dangers for white women hidden beneath the glamour of the sheikh romances (Bland 2005). ‘The whole sordid story’, wrote the *Dundee Courier* ‘illustrates the danger of people brought up with European ideas and tastes, mingling with the highly coloured life of the Orient. Mystery, romance, and glamour there may be in the East, but, no matter what the novelists say, mixed marriages of the kind in question have but one ending—bitter disillusionment.’⁷⁹

In actual fact, however, most novelists also underscored that mixed relationships ended in disaster for one or both parties—the happy ending

of *The Sheikh* was something of an anomaly, brought about in the main by the reveal that the Arab character was not actually an Arab. For the most part, novelists and dramatists tended to be unwavering in their portrayal of interracial relationships and marriage as impossible and undesirable. Though some flirted with the theoretical possibility—such as Fanny Penny who, in *A Question of Colour* (1926), notes that marriages between white women and Indian men were a growing issue: ‘They were not liked twenty-five years ago, but that is a thing of the past’ (in Singh 1975: 171–172)—she, like most authors, keeps her lovers apart in the end. If death did not remove the unsuitable non-white lover, the theme of regret or disillusionment did so, as in John Eyton’s *Mr Ram* (1929) where the eponymous protagonist’s white fiancée is disenchanted by her lover’s ‘native’ character once she sees him at home in India. Domestic bliss was impossible, at least for aristocratic or middle-class girls. Working-class girls were still allowed some leeway with interracial marriages often portrayed as a means of advancement as Lahiri (2000: 102) notes of *Abdulla and his Two Strings* (1927) where ‘the author is unequivocal about the motives of the landlady’s daughter: ‘She had asked for a life of ease, a home of her own, a husband who looked a gentleman. She had got them and was content.’

Even with working-class marriages, however, the products of interracial unions—mixed race children or people—were largely overlooked. While the presence of the ‘half-caste’ offspring of white men was often an important plot device, it continued to rarely be so for women. As Mijares (2004: 304) notes, where they did feature, it was as a ‘tragic metaphor for the lamentable outcome of social intercourse between colonizer and colonized’. Indeed, even novelists who had previously depicted successful interracial love in earlier decades, such as Maud Diver in her stiffly idealistic portrayal of the relationship between an upper-class Englishman and the eponymous *Lilamani* (1911), a wealthy, high-caste Brahmin woman, recoiled more strongly from the suggestion of miscegenation in later novels, using the troubled racially or culturally hybrid offspring of her former protagonists as warnings against where interracial desire ultimately leads (Mijares 2004; Teo 2012). These envisagings of mixed race people were not only widespread but tended to be one of the main representations of the minority female

experience—while some novels, such as *Mr Ram*, featured men of colour in Britain, women of colour were generally omitted: a rarity was Esther Hyman's nuanced *Study in Bronze* (1928), the story of Lucea, a young, female mixed race Jamaican writer, who experiences love and prejudice amongst London's demi-monde. While Hyman's work draws on a number of interracial tropes, the centrality and agency—and absence of tragic death—nevertheless awarded to Lucea marks the novel out considerably. Indeed, 'half-castes' continued to be marginalised within fictional narratives as either dangerous exotics or 'tragic mulattoes', to be pitied, feared and despised but rarely seen as ordinary. Such entrenched depictions make those characters who do suggest a 'fitting in'—such as Dorothea Flatau's 1924 short story 'Chingie' about the school life of a Catholic half-Irish half-Chinese boy in her 1924 collection *Pong Ho* (Forman 209)—even more striking.

The arts thus crossed over with the media to continue to represent interraciality not as an ordinary part of British life, and instead vamped up the exotic, tragic and threatening aspects of racial crossings that were themselves indelibly shaped by class, ethnicity and gender. A scene from the 1929 British film *Piccadilly* which portrays a doomed relationship between a Chinese woman, played by Anna May Wong, and her white boss, clearly shows how the transgression of some boundaries were considered more inflammatory than others. While Wong's character and her wealthy male companion attract little attention in their visit to a local Limehouse bar, the dancing of a white female and black male couple leads to angry remonstrations by the crowd and the subsequent ejection of the white woman who—echoing so many of the defiant real life voices of white working-class women discussed in Chap. 5—is hurt but remains, ultimately, unrepentant and unabashed (Image 4.4).⁸⁰

Understanding and sympathy for the plight of many interracial families was generally in short supply: the attitude of the artist Anne Airy who explained that her moving painting 'Heartbreak Stairs' exhibited in the Royal Academy show of 1928 was inspired by homesick men of colour staring forlornly at the Thames, but, 'the Colonial Office won't send home those with white wives and half-caste children'⁸¹ were few and far between. By the end of the 1920s, there was a real sense that domestic



Image 4.4 An image from the 1929 British silent film *Piccadilly*. The footage of Anna May Wong kissing her white co-actor Jameson Thomas was removed by the American censors. © BFI

interracial families were a threat to British society and none more so than via their children.

The Plight of the Half-Caste: Social Menaces and Broken Blossoms

While the 1920s saw public attention focused on interracial couples, it was the 'plight' of the children that would occupy that of the next decade. The concern and warnings about children in port cities that, as we discussed in Chap. 3, began to emerge amongst authorities in port cities in the late 1920s, were also touted vociferously in the media who readily hammered home the most dire aspects of the reports conducted by

officials and social scientists. ‘Hundreds of half-caste children with vicious tendencies’ declared the *Daily Herald* in 1929, were ‘growing up in Cardiff as the result of black men mating with white women’ (in Rich 1990: 131), while the *Nottingham Post*, reporting on Fletcher’s work in 1930, warned of ‘the menace of intermarriage in British Ports’, particularly the ‘social danger’ presented by the increasing number of ‘half-caste’ children who ‘are below the average intelligence compared with the low white child in the schools they attend, and...are practically unemployable.’⁸² Though the *Daily Express* did cover Rachel Fleming’s conclusions that hostility to racial intermarriage was due to colour prejudice and ‘the tag that children of mixed marriages often inherit the worst of both sides of their ancestry is a biological impossibility’ (see Chap. 3), such positivity in the press was an anomaly. Indeed, the *Daily Express* was particularly vicious in its coverage of racial mixing, running repeated exposés throughout the 1930s that reinforced both the supposed degradation of and threat presented by the ‘half-castes’ of dockside communities. Though poverty and social prejudice were acknowledged in passing as external factors in the apparently squalid lives of interracial families, neither issue became the central focus; rather, as in their articles investigating the lives of those living in ‘slum cities’, it was the physical presence and psychological profile of ‘the ever growing menace of the half-caste’⁸³ that the *Express* and the rest of the press honed in on. The ‘half-caste girl’ in particular was singled out for criticism, presenting the city of Cardiff, for example, ‘with one of its big problems’, due to the girls being ‘not eager to work’ and ‘completely unreliable’.⁸⁴ As ever, though there was clearly marked resentment at the presence of their black fathers who were able to attract white women (all while, paradoxically, taking white men’s jobs and leeching off the state), the greatest opprobrium was reserved for their white mothers. ‘The majority of the coloured men make excellent husbands, but it cannot be said that as many of the white women make good wives [and while] the coloured man is a good father to his half-caste children...and is proud of them...the wife is not so frequently a good mother.’⁸⁵

While such issues had been raised in the press in earlier decades, never had the coverage been so widespread or sustained. Moreover, the focus was predominantly on black/white interraciality. By the 1930s, the

substantial fall in the size of Chinese communities meant that the Chinese migrant was no longer seen as a threat to the indigenous workforce, and with the evisceration of the Chinese man as economic threat came a commensurate reduction in racism; in tandem, the reports by the likes of Fletcher and Richardson that painted Anglo-Chinese families in a relatively mild light reignited those dormant conceptualisations as the Chinese man as an relatively harmless oddity and one who was admittedly a good husband, father and provider (though ultimately undesirable)⁸⁶ and his racially mixed children as obedient, intelligent and disciplined (though still biologically flawed). Such perceptions, as well as the latent prejudice of English society towards Anglo-Chinese marriages, were skewered by the Chinese writer Lao She in his semi-autobiographical account of middle-class Chinese life in 1920s' London, *Mr Ma & Son: A Sojourn in London*, in which he describes the failed romances of Mr Ma and his son with their landlady and landlady's daughter respectively. As cited in Seed (2006: 67), the *Evening News*, reporting on the decline of the Chinese population in Limehouse in 1931, while also highlighting the poverty and social ostracism faced by racially mixed Anglo-Chinese children there, used much gentler and sympathetic language; though still portrayed as inhabiting a bleak, tragic state, these children were not 'vicious' or an inherent 'menace' but rather 'broken blossoms' drifting through life. As Christian (2008: 217) notes, the offspring of black/white relationships, however, were unashamedly seen 'as a social problem that society had to be rid.'

Novelists also continued to reflect the 'tragedy' of these children; in Keate Weston's 1934 novel, *London Fog*, about a Tanganyikan student studying in London, his friendship with a white waitress leads a policewoman to warn her:

Black and white mustn't mix, my dear. Not in *that* way. I have seen a good deal of it down at the docks, and believe me, it always ends in tragedy for both. And then—think of the children! It's a crime against nature to bring them into a world that has no place for them. (116)

Indeed, in the arts, the familiar figure of the tragic and dangerous half-caste inhabiting exotic locales was increasingly joined by depictions of

interraciality in Britain, as in Humphrey Gilkes' *Black* (1935) in which the black protagonist's relationship with his landlady's white daughter is condemned by her mother and the police,⁸⁷ and *Limehouse Blues/East End Chant* (1934), a Hollywood film starring Anna May Wong, featuring a 'conventional cast of stereotypes', including a 'scheming half-Chinese cafe-owner and drug-smuggler' (Seed 2006: 59). Representations of mixed race people continued to draw endlessly on all the old existing tropes—as in Noel Coward's popular song 'Half Caste Woman' (1931) with its reference to 'slanting eyes', 'living a life apart' and 'wondering what the end will be' evoking stereotypes of the tragic Eurasian—but were also now infused with those aspects of social degradation, poverty and criminality that were thrust into public awareness via the social sciences and the press. Burrows (2009: 297) notes that the remake of *Broken Blossoms* (1936) departs significantly from the source texts, showing the deep and violent racism in the area, including a scene with a white nightclub waitress railing to the Chinese protagonist against 'blinkin' half-castes dressed up as Europeans. I can't abide half-castes. I'd sooner drown than marry a person with coloured blood.' Unsurprisingly, as Diamond (2006: 7) notes, even those who did not subscribe to the common view that mixed race people inherited the worst of both worlds generally accepted that such virulent social prejudice meant that mixed race children should not be brought into the world. There were some pockets of representational resistance, however. As Glen (2012: 89) notes, the author JB Priestly found Britain's interracial mixing strange but also to be celebrated; in his 1934 travelogue *English Journey*, he marvelled at those Liverpoolian neighbourhoods in which interracial families reflected the diversity of Empire, asking his readers to 'imagine an infant class of half-castes, quadroons, octaroons, with all the latitudes and longitudes confused in them...—all the races of mankind... , wonderfully mixed.'

Class, as ever, also often mitigated representation. Unlike those of the lower classes, the marriages between white Britons and members of overseas ruling families generally continued to bypass overt criticism in the press, often featuring instead lavishly photographed in society news pages, such as the marriage of Brinda Dutt to Lieutenant Gordon in 1938.⁸⁸ White woman also continued to marry into royal and well-to-do families from India to Malaysia, a pattern that, as we have seen, had long been

reflected in popular literature. Indeed, like the later relationship and marriage of Joyce Blencowe, the daughter of an English tailor, to Prince Mahmud of Terengganu, Malaysia in 1939—the Prince's family initially fiercely opposed to the match⁸⁹—the marriage of a Scottish woman Helen Wilson to the Sultan of Johore at a Surrey mosque in 1930, was extensively covered by the press in generally admiring tone as was her Coronation as Sultana, with much admiration of the Sultan's wealth and his wife's jewels and fashion.⁹⁰ As ever though, class was not an invincible barrier for interracial couples against prejudice, particularly when a black partner was involved. A number of high profile scandals involving white aristocratic women and black men rocked society in the 1930s: as well as the scorn and horror poured on Nancy Cunard and Henry Crowder—unabashed, Cunard published works arguing in favour of racial equality, including her defence of interracial relationships *Black Man and White Ladyship* (1931)—the married Lady Edwina Mountbatten drew gasps of condemnation when she was alleged by *The People* in 1932 to have been caught in 'compromising circumstances' with 'a coloured man'. After losing a highly public libel trial, the paper was forced to apologise even though its story had been correct;⁹¹ it had erroneously named the actor Paul Robeson when in fact Mountbatten's lover was the Caribbean cabaret singer Leslie Hutchinson (who had had a string of upper class lovers and had previously been caught up in a society scandal when the debutante Elizabeth Corbett had become pregnant with his child whom she gave away for adoption). Robeson himself had raised eyebrows when he was cast as Othello against Peggy Ashcroft, a white British woman, only the second time a black man had played the role on the West End stage since Ira Aldridge in 1833: one can only wonder at the escalation of the reaction if it were known that Robeson and Ashcroft, both married, had started an affair off stage.⁹²

Yet as with class, celebrity status could also go some way to providing protection for interracial couples from a generally hostile media. The wedding of the flamboyant black African racing tipster, Ras Prince Monolulu's at St Pancras register office to a white British woman, Nellie Adkins, in 1931 attracted widespread publicity; much of this appears to be without negative comment: the 'unusual' wedding scenes reported in the press appear mostly to refer to Monolulu's colourful bridegroom's outfit—in the style of his typical feathered and multicoloured headdress and clothes—

and the announcement that the couple intended ‘to give a large ball to all the darkies in London’ appears to be the words of Monolulu himself. Meanwhile, in the *Sheffield Independent*, the wedding is headlined ‘Ah’ve got a... wife!’ in a nod to Monolulu’s famous ‘I Gotta Horse, I Gotta Horse!’ cry at the racetrack.⁹³ Similarly, the wedding, marriage and children’s births of the black Canadian boxer Larry Gains and his white German wife, Lisa, who had taken up residence in Britain, were repeatedly covered in the press—often with accompanying photos—in factual and ordinary terms, and often without any reference to race.⁹⁴ Thus, even though a distinct and ingrained hostility to interraciality was the overarching narrative facing racially mixed people, couples and families, such snippets provide a glimpse through to more complex, diverse and ordinary lives and social attitudes than were typically assumed—as our next chapter discusses.

Notes

1. The Souchong region referred to is now known in the West as Wuyi and is located in the Fujian province in Southeast China. With thanks to Lin Yi for this information.
2. *Daily Mirror*, 5 and 6 December 1904.
3. *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 14 December 1906.
4. See, for example, *The Lady’s Pictorial* [cited in the *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 28 July 1900]; *Burnley Express*, 8 December 1900.
5. Bithia Mary Croker, Fanny Emily Farr Penny, Alice Perrin and Maud Diver were amongst some of the best known, bestselling authors of the genre.
6. For further discussion of fictional depictions of interraciality in Africa, see for example Busia (1986) and Bush (1999); in India, see Parry (1972); Sainsbury (1996); Paxton (1999); Kapila (2010); in the South Seas, see Edmond (1997), Sturma (2002) and Bhattacharya (2013); and for Hong Kong see Forman (2013). Also, Caballero (work-in-progress) *Interraciality in Early Twentieth Century Fiction*.
7. Emerging from mid-nineteenth century American literary portrayals of people from mixed black and white backgrounds, the features of this ‘complex’ are also common in portrayals of other mixed heritages, such

as the 'half-blood' mixed Native American (see Scheick 1979) and the colonial figure of the 'Eurasian' (see D'Cruz 2006).

8. Published in the *Walsall Advertiser*, 26 June 1909.
9. There has been speculation, however, that given the physical and character description of Heathcliff in Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* (1847) alongside the circumstances of his having been found in the slave trading port of Liverpool, he is actually of mixed race (Malchow 1996; also Young 1995): the director Andrea Arnold cast a mixed race actor as Heathcliff in her 2011 film adaptation. While this would of course see a classic literary novel feature an interracial romance with a white woman and a man of colour, the racial aspect of the relationship is only subtly hinted at, rather than openly acknowledged and discussed as with those of white male/black female characters in the canonical literature.
10. The appeal of Indian women to white male characters in the romance novels is frequently due to their presenting a feminine and domesticised counterpart to the New Woman's quest for sexual and financial independence. For an overview of the emergence and importance of the 'New Woman' phenomenon in popular international consciousness in the late nineteenth century, see Heilmann and Beetham (2004).
11. *The Spectator*, 31 October 1914. Petersen's debut novel *The Lure of the Little Drum* (1913) which depicted an English woman being lured from her husband by a sadistic but sexually intoxicating Indian prince, won the Andrew Melrose Best Novel Prize of 1913 and reached at least four editions.
12. As Bloom (1996: 51 and 71–72) has noted, by the beginning of the twentieth century, over 90% of men and women in Britain could read. Literature, as well as the press and the arts more generally, thus constituted important sites of colonial exchange where perceptions and understandings of others were formed and shaped (Lahiri 2000).
13. *The Evening Telegraph*, 15 September 1904.
14. Indeed, the British coverage of the Tomalin-Potts/Hsiao wedding differs significantly from that of the USA (where by 1910 anti-miscegenation laws prevented Asians from marrying whites in seven states (Karthikeyan and Chin 2002)). The San Francisco-based newspaper *The Argonaut* derided both the bride for wedding a 'slant-eyed youth' and her mother for the delusion in thinking she was attaining 'a unique prestige' by the union for 'when a yellow baby comes, that infant will be just a Eurasian, a mongrel, a creature with the weaknesses of two races and the strength of neither.' 2 January 1905.

15. Wade, George, A., 'The Cockney John Chinaman', *English Illustrated Magazine*, Vol. 23, No. 202, July 1900.
16. *The Star*, 20 September 1900.
17. In Forman 2013: 206.
18. *Leeds Mercury*, 12 January 1901.
19. *The Weekly Mail*, 7 September 1907.
20. *The Cambrian*, 9 October 1908.
21. *Leeds and Yorkshire Mercury*, 7 May 1906.
22. For a fuller discussion of Indian students in Britain in the early twentieth century, including accounts of and concerns around their relationships with white women, see Lahiri (2000).
23. A violent anti-foreign, anti-Christian movement that took place in China between 1898 and 1900 initiated by the Yihetuan, known in English as the 'Boxers' due to the martial arts they practiced. See Preston (2000).
24. *The Evening Post*, 16 July 1900.
25. See, for example, the previously cited Cambrian article which featured as one of dozens of short observation articles in a regular section entitled 'Notes on Men and Things'.
26. *Yorkshire Telegraph and Star*, 17 August 1908.
27. 'An Infant's Death', *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 1 February 1902.
28. A Boy's Fall Down A Lift, *Sunderland Daily Echo and Shipping Gazette*, 26 April 1901.
29. 'Grimsby County Police', *Stamford Mercury*, 7 April 1905.
30. *Western Mail*, 3 February 1900.
31. *The Wrexham Advertiser*, 14 July 1900. Lacey was, however, found guilty and hanged for the murder of his wife.
32. *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 23 September 1904.
33. On the Manders, see for example, *The Sketch*, 30 March 1910 and *Monmouthshire Beacon*, 2 February 1912. On the Duleep Singhs, see *The Sketch*, 27 November 1901.
34. This is not, however, to imply that the Duleep Singhs did not face racism and prejudice within their aristocratic circles. For an excellent biography of the six Duleep Singh children and their parents—an Indian Maharajah and his racially mixed German/Abyssinian wife—see Anand (2015).
35. *Manchester Courier and Lancaster General Advertiser*, 4 February 1905; *Portsmouth Evening News*, 2 February 1905. As in Duff Fyfe's novel *The Nine Points*, the earldom did in fact have a racially mixed heir. Contrary to the press report, Martha and Harry had a son though as he was born

- out of marriage, English law made short work of his claim and the title was passed on to Harry's cousin. As their daughter Mary, however, was born after their marriage, she was legally entitled to be known as Lady Mary Grey, just as her mother was to the title 'Countess of Stamford'.
36. *The Times*, 28 August 1907. This myth continued throughout much of the twentieth century: in her 1938 book *Nigger Lover*, Doris Garland Anderson notes its occurrence, while the sociologist Michael Banton also reports encountering it during the 1950s (see Chap. 11).
 37. In 1996, *Broken Blossoms* (1919) was selected by the United States National Film Preservation Board for the National Film Registry as a work deserving of preservation. The Fu Manchu character has featured extensively in cinema, television, radio, music and comics since its inception; in 2007, the actor Nicholas Cage appeared briefly as the character in the film *Grindhouse*.
 38. *The Times*, 10 November 1915.
 39. *Hull Daily Mail*, 22 October 1918.
 40. *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 28 November 1919.
 41. See for example, *Sunday Mirror*, 12 May 1918; *Tatler*, 28 August 1918 and 14 May 1919; *The Sketch*, 30 October 1918 and 22 October 1919; *Illustrated London News*, 26 April 1919.
 42. *Hull Daily Mail*, 22 April 1919.
 43. Disturbances took place in Hull (June 1920), Newport (June 1920 and March 1921) and Salford (August 1921).
 44. *The Sunday Post*, 18 June 1922.
 45. *The Sunday Post*, 8 February 1920.
 46. *The Lancashire Evening Post*, 13 February 1920.
 47. *The Lancashire Evening Post*, 3 July 1920.
 48. *Hull Daily Mail*, 13 January 1921.
 49. *The Sunday Post*, 3 October 1920.
 50. *Nottingham Evening Post*, 7 October 1920.
 51. *Western Daily Press*, 21 August 1922.
 52. *Derby Daily Telegraph*, 6 September 1923; *Gloucester Citizen*, 6 September 1923; *Evening Telegraph*, 6 September 1923.
 53. *Daily Express*, 18 June 1923.
 54. *Nottingham Evening Post*, 4 December 1924.
 55. *Nottingham Evening Post*, 4 December 1924.
 56. *Hull Daily Mail*, 3 and 25 January 1925 and *Evening Telegraph*, 22 January 1925. See also *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 22 January 1925; *Taunton Courier and Western Advertiser*, 14 January 1925. Erskine was

- fined and sentenced to two months hard labour, see the *Daily Mail*, 23 January 1925.
57. *Nottingham Evening Post*, 10 January 1925 and 4 December 1924.
 58. *Western Daily Mail*, 21 August 1922.
 59. *The Star*, cited in Auerbach 2009: 137. See also *The Sheffield Independent*, 22 January 1919.
 60. Ping You—‘The High Priestess of Unholy Rites’ as the court and papers dubbed her—was sentenced to the abnormally heavy punishment of five months hard labour for supplying opium to Carleton, even though the drug had not been instrumental in Carleton’s death. For more on how race, gender and geography played a vital role in the wildly differing sentences handed out to those implicated in Carleton’s death and the supply and use of cocaine and opium in the interwar years more widely, see Kohn (1992) and Auerbach (2009).
 61. As Kohn (1992) notes, Edward Manning, a Jamaican petty criminal, was also linked to the Kempton case, initially through police information that he had previously sold Kempton cocaine and later through a sensationalist article in the *News of the World* claiming he had been directly responsible for her death. No charges were ever made and, as Green (2007) notes, the press portrayal of Manning as the black ‘Dope King’, ‘white slaver’ and the ‘worst man in London’ have contributed to his misrepresentation in memoirs, biographies and histories.
 62. Cited in Kohn 1992: 131.
 63. *World’s Pictorial News*, 9 March 1924, cited in Kohn (1992: 167). As Kohn notes, the discovery of a token packet of cocaine in the raid on Chang was ‘not a very plausible discovery on the premises of a man sophisticated enough, according to the police, to have controlled forty per cent of the London drug traffic’ (Kohn 1992: 164). Nevertheless, in the wake of the Kempton scandal, anti-narcotics laws in Britain were significantly tightened and when Chang was finally convinced on cocaine charges in 1924 he felt the effects of the harsher regulations, being sentenced to 14 months, followed by deportation. For a discussion of the Chang case in full, see Kohn’s excellent coverage.
 64. *Western Daily Press*, 21 August 1922.
 65. According to Forman (2013: 261), Griffith had never set foot in Limehouse when he made *Broken Blossoms*, thereby working entirely with an American model of overseas Chinese areas.
 66. *Daily Telegraph*, 26 June 1920.
 67. *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 7 November 1925.

68. *Evening Telegraph*, 29 September 1925.
69. *Western Morning News*, 3 April 1925; *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 7 November 1925, 10 November 1925 and 27 November 1926.
70. *Dundee Courier*, 26 September 1925. The play was repeatedly revived until as late as 1950 and adapted twice for the screen: once for a lacklustre British version in 1929, followed by a much more successful Hollywood version in 1942 starring Hedy Lamarr. In all versions, white actresses played Tondeleyo in blackface, though the Hollywood production changed the ethnicity of Tondeleyo to half Egyptian and half Arab to avoid violating the Hays Code, a set of industry moral guidelines for American films between 1930 and 1968. Nevertheless, the 1942 version was placed on the Legion of Decency's condemned list and the film was banned in Singapore and Trinidad because of its racial implications (Maltin 2005a).
71. For further discussion of the work of Mabel Dove, see Newell (2002).
72. *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 10 November 1925.
73. See, for example, Somerset Maugham's 'The Force of Circumstance' (1926); and George Orwell's *Burmese Days* (1934).
74. *Western Morning News*, 3 April 1925.
75. We are indebted to Michael Diamond's work (2006) for first drawing attention to this third work of Peterson's dealing with interracial desire.
76. See Diamond (2006).
77. As Teo (2010) notes, while the film adaptation reflected more American attitudes towards gender, race and the 'Orient'—toning down the sexual violence and contact of the novel as well as both the passivity of the heroine and dominance of her captor—both formats indulged interracial sexual fears and desires while simultaneously reining them in by providing the get-out clause of the sheikh being a Western man in 'Arab-face'.
78. *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 28 May 1923.
79. *Dundee Courier*, 17 September 1923.
80. The footage of Anna May Wong kissing her white co-actor Jameson Thomas was removed by the American censors. Anna May Wong played a range of characters of mixed race or in interracial relationships. See Burrows (2009).
81. *Hull Daily Mail*, 8 May 1928.
82. *Nottingham Evening Post*, 14 June 1930.
83. *Daily Express*, 26 May 1933
84. *Daily Express*, 17 April 1936.
85. *Daily Express*, 17 April 1936.

86. This representation had constantly bubbled away, even during times of hysteria about the Chinese presence—see the *Western Daily Press*, 21 August 1922.
87. We are grateful to Michael Banton for alerting us to the existence of the novels *London Fog* and *Black*.
88. *The Sphere*, 11 June 1938.
89. See, for example, *The Times*, 17 September 1938; *Birmingham Mail*, 31 May 1939; *Daily Herald*, 21 November 1939.
90. For example, *Daily Mail*, 16 October 1930 and 19 May 1931; *The Daily Telegraph*, 16 October 1930 and 19 November 1931.
91. *Daily Mail*, 15 October 2013. By all accounts, after being found ‘innocent’, Edwina resumed her affair with Hutchinson, showering him with expensive gifts, reportedly including a diamond-encrusted penis sheath from Cartier. See Gunsock (2016).
92. See <http://www.mix-d.org/museum/timeline/paul-robeson-and-peggy-ashcroft> [date accessed 07.07.2017].
93. *Warwick and Warwickshire Advertiser*, 29 June 1931; *Portsmouth Evening News*, 22 August 1931; *Sheffield Independent*, 22 August 1931.
94. *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 19 December 1931; *Gloucester Citizen*, 7 March 1933; *Northampton Mercury*, 23 June 1933.

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5

Fitting In and Standing Out: Lived Experiences of Everyday Interraciality

In 1930, the *Daily Express* ran a series of articles profiling the degradation of Britain's portside communities. One of these, entitled 'The Street of Hopeless Children', detailed the lives of the many mixed race children who lived in Crown Street, a road in East London's Canning Town. The article portrays a particularly bleak existence:

There are about 600 children in all and in 98 per cent of cases their mother is white. Poor little half-castes, looked down and jeered at from their childhood upwards, grow up with bitterness in their hearts against the white race and all for which it stands. By nature they are children of sunshine, open air, and laughter. By lot they are cast in the murk, cold, and ignominy of an East End slum.... Born in a strange, murky, hostile land, brought up amid sneers and insults, launched while still in their teens upon a life barren of almost everything but dirt, disease and despair, without race, with no country that they can call their own, knowing no tongue but the cockney idiom of their tormentors, outcast and bereft of friends...these are the little Londoners whom human mercy and kindness seem to have passed by.¹

As previous chapters have illustrated, this bleak portrait of the character of mixed race children, their family backgrounds, day to day life and

future prospects was all too familiar in official and media narratives. Indeed, the *Express* article is something of a masterclass in firmly rooting the children's lives in what might be called the prevailing orthodoxy of the interracial experience—marginality, conflict, rejection and confusion—with an accompanying snapshot of the faces of the unhappy 'outcast' children—'of every conceivable hue'—a corroborating cherry on the top (Image 5.1).

TUESDAY. THE DAILY EXPRESS. MARCH 18, 1930.

THE STREET OF HOPELESS CHILDREN.

PLAN TO DRAIN NORTH SEA.

GERMANY'S NEED FOR NEW LAND.

COAL DEPOSITS.

SOME of the finest engineering minds in Germany have been busying themselves during the last few months with the fantastic idea of draining the North Sea.

Some objection from England and France has been anticipated apparently, and not without reason, for the scheme involves the building of two huge dams—one across the Straits of Dover, the other from Denmark to Scotland.

All rivers flowing into the North Sea, the Thames, the Tees, the Humber, the Tyne, the Weser, the Elbe, the Scheldt and the Rhine, will have to be artificially diverted. This, it is realised, involves the co-operation of the countries concerned, but it is confidently believed that when the full details of the scheme are laid before the respective Governments the advantages will be so manifest that no further objections will be raised.

FISHING INDUSTRIES.

What would happen, however, to our fishing industries? What would Colchester and Whitstable be without their no-fines, Yarmouth without its herrings and market, Dover without its fabled soles? Apparently these difficulties can be overcome, although it is by no means certain that representations from Thorne will not yet succeed in wrecking the scheme.

It is pointed out what vast economic advantages accrue to the Dutch Government by the gradual reclaiming of land from the Zuider Zee. What can be done on a small scale can likewise be done on a larger, although its difference in the size of the projects is so

CHILDREN.

NO PROSPECT OF HONEST WORK.

"Daily Express" Special Correspondent.

CROWN-STREET, London, E.

To how many is it more than a meaningless name? If any one has even heard of it, it is only to know that it is one of the myriad squalid thoroughfares that bisect and intersect that teeming and conglomerate district known vaguely to Londoners as the Docks.

To those who have more knowledge, and perhaps a little sympathetic imagination as well, it is known as the Street of the Hopeless Children. From the first moment that they come into this world they have no reasonable

HOW TO FIND STATIONS.

SIMPLE HINTS FOR SET OWNERS.

DIAL READING.

"Daily Express" Wireless Expert.

NOW that National and Regional and Midland Regional have replaced 2 T, O and Daventry Experimental, many valve-set owners are finding that the tuning-in of foreign stations, while still a fascinating pursuit, has become somewhat more difficult than it was under the old order of things.

All that is really needed, however, is a little more patience and a slightly more delicate manipulation of the condenser dial.

Taking as a basis of calculation the screened-grid three-valve sets, which are now so popular by reason of their wide range, it should be a fairly simple matter for the enthusiastic listener to frame for himself a calibration chart which will in properly chosen circumstances enable him to receive any particular station at will.

The following hints are based on a condenser dial of 100 degrees, and will necessarily demand modification where the dial extends to 185 degrees.

There is, however, another difficulty. The calculations here given apply to reception within ten miles of Brookman's Park, and the readings will differ with every additional ten miles of distance. Here again, however, the calculation may roughly be made on a percentage basis.

TUNING-IN.

Tune in London Regional on 356.3 metres. The dial reading ten miles from



The great majority . . . of the children . . . are of every conceivable hue.

Image 5.1 'The Street of Hopeless Children', 18 March 1930. Courtesy of *Daily Express* Newspapers/N&S Syndication

The cherry, however, is not all that it seems. The photograph, it turns out, had been severely cropped. The original photo along with its companion from the shoot reveal a gaggle of white children alongside their mixed race peers, all smiling, laughing and posing together. These obscured images of intimacy suggest that, if asked, the children and the parents of Crown Street—popularly known as ‘Draughtboard Alley’ due to the number of black and white residents who lived alongside each other—Bloch (1998) might have a different story to tell (Image 5.2).

Indeed, the identification of accounts from those who were themselves mixing and of mixed race in East London during this time period reveals perspectives that directly challenge the account put forward by the *Express*. For example, as also noted in Banton’s (1955: 27) conversations with black residents of Canning Town reminiscing about the neighbourhood, Stephen Bourne’s interviews with Anita Bowes and Christopher Cozier—the children of a Guyanese father and a white English mother



Image 5.2 Crown Street Children. © Mary Evans Picture Library

who grew up in East London in the 1930s—suggest a picture of a community in which mixed families and people were not only visible but accepted:

So black men married white women and quite a lot of mixed marriages turned out alright because they were good to each other. Where we lived there was no feeling that mixed marriages were wrong. The white people we lived with accepted it. I feel there is more racism here now than we ever had before the war. We never had any racism when I was young.²

This view is also echoed in accounts of white residents of Canning Town, such as Doris who also remembers growing up alongside black and mixed families in the 1930s with little racial tension:

There were lots of black kids. We used to play together, no animosity between any of us. There were white women married black, you know, West Indians, they were working on the boats. Got on ever so well together.... Everybody in the street used to speak to each other, and all the children used to play together. Sometimes when me and my sister's talking, we say, "I wonder what happened to so and so," you know. During the war a lot of them went.³

These types of familiar, unremarkable accounts illuminate a critical gap in understandings of mixed racial families in early twentieth century Britain: the sense of their intimate, everyday lives. As discussed in our previous chapters, there is no shortage of official contemporary narratives documenting or reporting on racial mixing or mixedness as it pertained to Britain. Yet, as Tabili (1996) and Bland (2005) have critically highlighted, the voices of those themselves mixing or of mixed race are, however, mostly absent. As such, understandings of racial mixing and mixedness in the early twentieth century have been informed by the observations or recounting of 'outsiders' whose generally middle-class notions of respectability and morality shaped the dominant unhappy narrative of interraciality. However, when we begin to peel back the outsider accounts and uncover wider, more multilayered and inclusive

accounts—including personal recollections—a much more complex, even contrary, picture of racial mixing and mixedness in Britain can be glimpsed. Indeed, in a similar vein to the work of Weeks et al. (2001) on sexuality in twentieth century Britain, throughout the more multilayered and personal accounts of mixed race people, families and couples runs very much a notion of the ‘ordinary’—that is, ‘ordinary people and ordinary lives made extraordinary by the circumstances in which they find themselves’ (Weeks et al. 2001: preface). Certainly, many of the mixed race people, couples and families in early twentieth century Britain faced extraordinary levels of racism directed towards them, not only that which condemned and stigmatised them socially, but that which manifested through policy and practice. Understanding racial mixing and mixedness in Britain via official accounts alone makes it hard to believe that anyone would willingly engage in the crossing of racial boundaries, so brutal did the social penalty seem. Yet, the type of familiar, quotidian accounts, reminiscences and photographs we discuss in this chapter contrast starkly with official depictions which seemed to suggest those mixing and of mixed race were so abnormal that the everyday workings and concerns of life were far beyond their scope. Rather, they suggest that these families, despite the odds, were also, at heart, ordinary families, facing the same issues that other families and people faced on an everyday level, from the grand issues of love, marriage, children, money, work and death to the mundane but commonplace activities of cleaning, cooking, decorating, shopping and socialising. Their voices show that while theirs was not always an easy life, their inter-raciality was also not always or inherently a cause for concern, either for themselves or others; rather, the crossing of racial boundaries could be viewed flexibly depending on geography, gender, ethnicity and class. Racism and acceptance were thus not separate, bounded either/or occurrences but rather an ebb and flow of the ‘metropolitan paradox’ where, against a wider backdrop of racism and prejudice, interracial intimacy could flourish and even become ordinary and commonplace (Image 5.3).



Image 5.3 Eliza Head and her sister, Mabel Head, c. 1900. The pair were the granddaughters of a former black American slave, Henry Parker, who had escaped a Florida plantation and settled in Bristol in the 1850s where he worked as a stonemason and met his white wife, Louisa. The couple had seven children. Courtesy of Bristol Archives, 43650, 7–21

Love and Attraction in the Metropole's Contact Zone

Although the British press and officialdom consistently and carefully hammered the image of Britain's minority ethnic residents into narrow boxes—as exotics, entertainers, transients and troublemakers—their very own reporting betrayed the reality that Britain was in fact home to a 'coloured' population that was as broad and varied in its constitution as it was widespread and, increasingly, settled. A deeper look behind official and media concern and contempt at this presence reveals a rich, multilayered set of experiences under the stereotypical surface. Alongside the servants, sailors, soldiers, actors and musicians that are increasingly recognised within mainstream histories of Britain are a wealth of other occupations, dotted from the highlands of Scotland to the coasts of Cornwall: students, doctors, dentists, nurses, vicars, barristers, journalists, politicians, diplomats, composers, business owners, housewives, dressmakers, labourers, cabinet-makers, colliers, firemen and fishermen.⁴ Such an occupational and geographical spread not only suggests a deeper embedding of the 'coloured' population in everyday British life than is commonly assumed but the creation of a substantive 'contact zone' (Pratt 1992) providing vast opportunities for interracial contact, relationships and intimacy in Britain itself.

Indeed, the combination of a largely male minority ethnic population settling alongside an increasingly socially and economically independent white British female population provided myriad opportunities for the types of social interactions in which interracial intimacy could develop. In 1902, an article in *The Evening Post* commented:

London might this season be termed the Cosmopolis. In one omnibus recently were a Frenchman, a Hindoo, a half-caste negro, an Italian, a Turk, two Americans and an English girl. It is unfortunately impossible to render on paper the variety of accents that assailed the ears of that English girl [travelling in the same vehicle].⁵

In particular, some locales appear to be not just critical but common sites of opportunity for the blossoming of interracial relationships. The boarding houses/café's of portside communities, for example, were well

documented in the press as places in which white working-class women associated with men of colour. Yet, boarding houses throughout the country as a whole also acted as a starting point for racial mixing to occur on a wider social and geographical scale. New arrivals to the country—and also those moving across the country—tended first to stay in lodgings where landladies provided bed and board. Outside of the port communities, such boarding houses were often mixed, both in terms of ethnicity and gender, and independent young women—including the landladies' daughters—could find themselves living in close and familiar proximity alongside men of colour from across Empire, with relationships frequently developing: James Jackson Brown, for example, a Jamaican doctor who ran a London practice for 40 years, married Millie Green, his landlord's daughter in 1906, whilst Mahomed Ben Mahomed, an Arab acrobat, met his wife, Mary, the daughter of local steelworker at lodgings in Birmingham in 1908 when he ended up rooming next to her family.⁶ The boarding house could also facilitate illicit relationships across the races: two women, Edith Hutchinson and Kate Hindle, were sued for adultery by their husbands due to their affairs with Japanese guests living alongside them in their separate lodging houses during the 1920s.⁷

As evidenced by the moral panic around the lure of jazz, nightclubs were another key meeting site, yet socialising more generally and 'respectably' could also provide opportunities: Nina Tomalin-Potts met Yung Hsi Hsiao at a 'suburban tea party', while Brinda Dutt first encountered her naval officer husband Lieutenant Gordon at a bridge party at his mother's house.⁸ Indeed, the pathways to interracial intimacy were many and not at all predictable. Some opened up during everyday, mundane interactions: Lahiri (2000: 122) notes that a Dr Knight at Edinburgh University remarked of the Indian students that while 'the landlady's daughter was often a snare', additionally 'certain drapery establishments where they could flirt with attendants, had great attractions'. Others were the result of more glamorous sites: Mrs Rupert Scott Blair met her 'West Indian half-caste' husband, aka 'Professor Zodiac', a 'fashionable West End palmist and phrenologist', when she went to him to have her fortune read,⁹ while as discussed in Chap. 3 a number of wealthy Indian and Southeast Asian nobles entered into relationships and marriages with white British women after seeing them perform on the stage.

Why did People Mix?

That these sites of opportunities played a large role in facilitating intimacy between such disparate groups of men and women was a frequent source of irritation for the establishment who, as we have seen, often tried to intervene by stealth, such as through cordoning off soldiers, deporting and repatriating foreign nationals, and raiding and closing down ‘coloured’ clubs. Yet, for all these efforts, these ‘geographies of interaction’ (Bressey 2013: 553) were for the most part beyond the real control of the authorities in Britain. With the absence of legislation against racial mixing, officials could only issue warnings, implement discouraging social policies and contribute to a strong atmosphere of social disapproval. Such activities however were, ultimately, useless. For, despite the constant admonitions of the psychological and social dangers of crossing racialised boundaries, men and women in Britain from different races clearly still actively and habitually formed relationships and families. Why, against such an enduringly hostile climate of opinion, would they do so?

Here it is important to return again to what Rich (1990) calls the ‘flexible attitude’ of the British towards race and, by extension, racial mixing. Britain—structurally and intellectually—was deeply and acutely predicated on a sense of white superiority, yet, as Jenkinson (2012: 209) notes, while racist views were common amongst all sections of British society in the early decades of the twentieth century, they were not entirely pervasive. In the metropole in particular, blatant and repeated displays of racial inequality related to Britain’s unofficial but virulent ‘colour bar’—which, in addition to discrimination in the workplace and housing, saw people of colour, and those of black heritage in particular, refused entry to hotels and restaurants—were also accompanied by clear disapproval amongst sections of the public. A hotel manager who refused to bow to the demands of Americans insisting on the removal of black guests in 1901 was praised across the press,¹⁰ while after a similar incident a few years later, the *Manchester Courier* mocked and disparaged the American guests as ‘extremely silly’, remarking that they should ‘conduct themselves less like petulant children’;¹¹ similarly, in the 1920s and 1930s, the turning away of black luminaries such as the millionaire newspaper owner Robert

Abbot and the singer Paul Robeson from first class hotels in London attracted criticism in the press and elsewhere at the abandonment of Britain's 'normal attitude of broadminded tolerance'.¹²

Of course, the encouragement of such 'tolerance' was easier when it was several degrees removed from daily life; as Rush (2002) observes, while white Britons were often sympathetic to abstract calls for race equality, it was a different story when they were required to engage in more concrete interactions (indeed, some of the same articles that disapproved of the hotel colour bar yet also condemned the idea of intermarriage). Nevertheless, attitudes were not always or inevitably hostile: in the 1900 trial of a black seaman accused of bodily harm, the judge severely rebuked the prosecutor for insinuating that a witness might be biased in the accused's favour as she was married to a black man, exclaiming 'Gracious Heavens, I do most strongly protest against this; why can't a woman marry a black man if she chooses?'¹³ Similarly, the case of the solicitor George Edalji—the son of an English mother and Indian vicar of a South Staffordshire village—who was wrongly convicted in 1903 of animal maiming and sending poison pen letters to his own family—attracted great public sympathy and support: a petition protesting Edalji's conviction was signed by over 10,000 people while the writer Arthur Conan Doyle, in the spirit of his famous creation Sherlock Holmes, took up the case to prove Edalji's innocence.¹⁴ Furthermore, the extent of intimate and friendly interracial relationships themselves also demonstrate that opposition to difference was not inevitable. An article in the *Western Mail* at the turn of the century reports that in response to the mocking of their 'half-caste' companions' hair, two white men took offence and were involved in the administration of serious injuries to one of the white taunters.¹⁵ Life in the increasingly diverse metropole frequently saw numerous white Britons and people of colour finding themselves engaging in what Lamont and Aksartova (2002: 1) term 'ordinary cosmopolitanisms', that is the local, ordinary and mundane bridging of boundaries with people who are different. The Japanese artist Yoshio Markino observed that in his temporary home of London in the pre-WW1 years, no one 'lifts an eyelid and turns a hair' at the many foreigners walking the streets; on asking a shopkeeper if he was interested that Markino was Japanese, the shopkeeper replied, 'No sir. You see, sir, we 'ave our colonies

all *hover* the world sir—white men, yellow men, brown men and black men are forming part of the British nation, so I am no curious of a Japanese gentlemen at all.’ (in Rodner 2012: 6).

In Britain, such ‘ordinary cosmopolitanism’ occurred most extensively between men of colour and white women. As the minority group living and working in Britain, men of colour were of course almost immediately and constantly immersed in living with difference. Yet, as discussed also in Chaps. 3 and 4, unlike in the colonies many white British women were not only exposed to this ordinary cosmopolitanism but often also felt comfortable with it; some, moreover, actively sought it out, whether in portside communities or in their nightlife—indeed, novelists frequently explained their female characters’ initial lack of repugnance at their ‘coloured’ suitors as the result of being ‘brought up in too cosmopolitan a world for scruples of that sort’, as Peterson noted of her heroine Esther in *The Lure of The Little Drum* (45). Indeed, as Chap. 4 demonstrates, even before meeting anyone of a different race in person, many female readers were exposed to the ‘mundane cosmopolitanism’ (Szczeszyński and Urry 2002) of exotic and different cultures through their reading of novels detailing a spectrum of interraciality. As Lahiri (2000: 92) notes, the female readers of these novels were often the very people that Indians—and other groups—who lived in rented accommodation had most contact with during their residence in Britain; therefore, even if those people of colour had no personal experience of this fiction, they may have been recipients of attitudes and perceptions engendered by this literature in the minds of the British people they came across in everyday life.

Such attitudes and perceptions, of course, include the exoticised ‘sexual desire’ for the ‘other’ that scholars such as Fanon (1967), Said (1978), Hyam (1990), Young (1995) and Stoler (2002) have so canonically unpicked. These analyses indicate that, whether expressed in terms of fantasy or aversion, non-white bodies as conceptualised throughout Empire were the target of intense feelings, creating emotional reactions that resulted time and time again in negative consequences for those same bodies: rape, exploitation and domination as well as the undermining of intellectual, emotional and moral capabilities through an undue prominence placed on sexual prowess and control. As highlighted previously, the pervasiveness of this desire—and its consequences—no doubt

had a part to play in some interracial attractions in Britain between white women and men of colour: the hysterical longing, for example, that some white women showed for black and Indian soldiers at the turn of the century—itsself echoed in the desire scripts of popular romance novels—suggests motivations along these lines. Similarly, foreshadowing Fanon's theorising that the 'black' desire to 'possess' white women so feared by white colonials formed part of a reverse sexual desire script—a reaction to white female bodies being placed on pedestals—Ras Makonnen, a Guyanese activist involved in the fight for race equality in Britain from the 1930s onwards, stated that some black and Indian students in London at that time felt it was 'a revolutionary act to get their own back on Europe by seducing white women' and that 'by getting a bastard child they could solve the problems of empire' (in Matera 2015: 221–222). Certainly, as Bush (1998) and Matera (2015) highlight, in middle- and upper-class intellectual and activist circles, intimate relationships between black men and white women—both frequently brought together by a desire to fight against and be liberated from white patriarchy yet unable to shake off its conditioning—could become politicised and complicated. Thus, motivations and desires to cross the colour line were frequently experienced—or seen to be experienced—as explicitly linked to imperial power relations in which interracial relationships were never equal but always a question of exploitation, either of black men exacting 'revenge' or white women fulfilling fantasies, with both parties castigated by wider society—often black as well as white.

Yet, while psychosexual desire of the 'other' factors into the explanation of why interracial relationships in early twentieth century Britain flourished, it is only one facet of their occurrence. Indeed, though such theorisation may work at a meta level to explain the attraction and coming together of such different populations in a climate opposed to their union, on a micro level it negates the ordinariness of individual relationships and, as such, skewers our understandings of the lived realities for such individuals. Thus while the American civil rights activist Maida Springer Kemp, who met many race activists during her time in England in the 1940s, has also noted that the interracial mixing in activist circles was underscored by the thrill of upsetting the racial order—she recalls

that some of the black men in the activist circles treated the white women like ‘handmaidens’—she also states that others ‘were not using the women, but really loved them. And if they could have, they would have married these women and gone back to their countries with them.’ (Richards 2004: 151–152). As such, though particular forms of sexual desire certainly contributed to the existence of interracial relationships during this time, it is critical to remember that desire contributes to relationships generally, not just interracial ones. The undue prominence given to sexual desire in the formation of interracial relationships as a whole—regardless of location, type or duration—has long overshadowed their everyday, routine mundaneness and commonality with same-race relationships more generally. As earlier chapters have demonstrated, such has certainly been the case for those occurring in Britain.

Gender: Women of Colour

Laura Tabili (1996) makes the important point that, similarly within this rhetoric, the presence and experiences of women of colour in Britain were almost completely overlooked. Tabili notes that with the exception of the pathological stereotype of the slovenly ‘half-caste’ girl of Fletcher’s report, the early presence of women of colour has been even more greatly erased from historical memory than those of white women and men of colour in interracial relationships. Yet, though their numbers were undoubtedly small and their presence scantily recorded, there are glimpses of their lives. Green (1998), for example, has highlighted the extent of black people, including women, in the entertainment industry, such as Amy Height,¹⁶ the black American comic actress who managed to cross over into dramatic theatre at the turn of the century, while Jenkinson (2009) provides insights into the presence and employment of black and mixed race women in Liverpool during the 1919 race riot tensions. Bressey’s (2002, 2010) excellent work on the recovery of accounts of ordinary, working-class black women in the Victorian and Edwardian eras illuminates their integration into—rather than alongside—British history, as does Stephen Bourne’s collaboration with his aunt, Esther

Bruce, a working-class woman from a racially mixed background born in 1912, on her autobiographical account (Bourne and Bourne 2012). As well as working and socialising in Britain, such women—and women of other ethnicities—also partnered and raised families—with white Britons as well as men of colour. Itoh (2001) has highlighted the invisible presence of Japanese wives married to British men at the turn of the century who remain unrecorded in statistics of Japanese-British marriages due to the loss of Japanese citizenship at point of marriage. Certainly, at this stage in recovering the history of racial mixing and mixedness in Britain, we know little of the extent of interraciality amongst women of colour, let alone their lived experiences and feelings, to be able to generalise in any significant way. Yet, some sources show fascinating snippets of interracial interactions and relationships between women of colour and white men across the country. Archival photographs from Carisbrooke Castle Museum show the renowned seismologist John Milne and his Japanese wife Tone at their home on the Isle of Wight at the turn of the century, where they entertained scientists and researchers from around the world.¹⁷ A 1911 newspaper article on the censure of a publican in Middleton-by-Youlgreave, Derbyshire, for allowing Sunday drinking notes that a ‘black woman who was engaged as a professional singer’ was amongst the four white men found drinking in the pub.¹⁸ Newspaper articles following divorce trials also suggest mixing: Louisa Potterton, a ‘negress’ from South Africa who had been part of the ‘Savage South Africa’ show, was sued for divorce in 1903 by her white husband, Sidney, a Reservist who had worked as a bus conductor and prison warder, who accused her of adultery with ‘a coloured man’;¹⁹ ‘in Burnley in 1911, a white woman petitioned against her husband for cruelty and neglect—she had found that ‘he was associating with a black woman’—when she complained to him about it, ‘he said he would do as he liked and that he was going to see the black woman that night’.²⁰ Glimpses of same sex relationships are also suggested by the accounts of Princess Catherine Duleep Singh, an Indian Princess born and raised in Britain, who lived intimately with her former governess Lina Schaeffer, and Paul Downing, a black American who was apprehended in London in 1905 for behaving

erratically while ‘looking for his wife’—on arrest, Downing was discovered legally to be a woman, Caroline Brogden, who had been working as a farm labourer.²¹ All such types of accounts, as Tabili (1996: 183) argues, not only restore women of colour to the historical record and produce ‘a more accurate understanding of racial and social dynamics in Britain and in the empire’, but also repudiate the view that interracial relationships were the sole products ‘of a pathological attraction between white women and Black men, rather than of a more mundane desire to establish a home and family’.

The general omission of the voices of working-class women in Britain—let alone those from minority ethnic backgrounds—means that illuminating the lives of women of colour in interracial families tends to revolve around piecing together fragments of information. Due to the ways in which social mobility and high status often produce events or achievements deemed worthy of recording, the interracial homes and families of women of colour inhabiting elevated class milieus, however, have left somewhat of a firmer footprint. Biographical material left by or conducted on the women themselves—or their parents—provides insights into the presence and experiences. Some wonderful scholarship has built on this material to foreground the lives of British middle-class women of colour in and from interracial families in the early twentieth century, such as Amanda and Lurannah Aldridge, the musically talented daughters of the internationally renowned African American actor Ira Aldridge; and Harriet Vincent, the daughter of a West Indian father and white Welsh mother who ran a profitable boarding house in Bute Town and who married twice, both times to Barbadian seamen (see for example Green 1998; Thompson 2005). Similarly, aspects of the everyday and social lives of high-born women of colour were recorded in newspaper articles, memoirs, paintings and photographs, such as that of Oei Hui Lan, the Duleep Singh siblings, and the composer Avril Coleridge-Taylor, daughter of the celebrated mixed race composer Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, their accounts also suggesting diverse experiences against the ever present backdrop of racism and prejudice (Image 5.4).²²



Image 5.4 Princess Sophie Duleep Singh in *The Sketch* magazine, 1901. ©The British Library Board. All rights reserved. With thanks to The British Newspaper Archive (www.BritishNewspaperArchive.co.uk)

Interracial Intimacy and Domestic Life: Marriage, Family, Children

However, despite the diversity in background of interracial couples in Britain, both official and popular understandings tended not only to focus on men of colour and white women but to cast their motivations into very narrow categories: mercenary, naive or morally deviant. In the reports and views of officials, the enactment of policies, the outpourings of the arts, and the reports and commentary of the media and social scientists, the emphasis and concern from outsiders

repeatedly emphasised sex as the factor underpinning interracial relationships. Those who crossed racial borders, it was held, were either engaging in interracial sex to make money or gain status, were ignorant as to the horrors and dangers of interracial sex—including miscegenation—or desired interracial sex due to their own sexual deviance and corruption. As such, the common-sense view stated that in time—once the lure of financial gain waned, or the inevitability of reality or shame crept in—such relationships would inevitably fail or come to be regretted. In moving swiftly from initial attraction to separation or regret, however, such views completely bypassed the widespread reality for many interracial couples—that of interracial domesticity (Image 5.5).

Indeed, as evidenced by the numerous interracial households that existed across the country and across the classes, initial interracial attraction and desire repeatedly and frequently transformed into



Image 5.5 Unknown couple, circa 1930. Courtesy of Butetown History & Arts Centre

stable marital relationships and family life. Mixed race couples were not only occurring in early twentieth century Britain, but they married, settled and raised children. Focusing on the details of such interracial domestic settlement—particularly the ordinary, mundane and everyday aspects of their lives—opens up different perspectives on the actuality and experience of being in a mixed race family at this period in time.

For example, despite the prevailing stereotype that white women who were willing to enter into relationships with men of colour were prostitutes, there is evidence that such interactions formed the minority of interracial relationships. Across the classes, there appears to be a great deal of commitment occurring between men of colour and their white partners. Even in damning social science and newspaper reports of racial mixing in poor working class portside communities, the majority of the women discussed are referred to as the men's 'wives', and while in some working-class communities, this may have taken the form of common-law-wives, this is not to say that such relationships were not longstanding. The recollections of Annie Lai—a white woman who had worked as an opium dealer with her Chinese husband in Limehouse in the 1920s and 1930s—suggest that even on the edge of the opium and prostitution trades, as she herself was, marriage and commitment to men of colour was occurring; she herself was married to the father of her children, Yeun Sing Lai, until he was deported in 1928 (Lai et al. 1986). Furthermore, within newspaper articles and Census records, there is vast documentation of the occurrence of interracial marriages taking place across classes and around the country and, despite press scare stories, there appears to be very little evidence of women ending up in polygamous marriages. Instead, the impression is given that many interracial relationships ended in the type of respectable, officially sanctioned unions of marriage common to those from similar class backgrounds. Harriet Vincent's memories of life with her black father and white mother in Edwardian Butetown paint the picture of a stable, respectable and loving household in a multiracial community repeatedly painted as a hotbed of criminality and vice (see Thompson 2005).

As Kuehn (2014: 65) notes, the popular imagination, particularly in literary terms, struggled to present narrative—let alone ‘real’—solutions to representing interraciality beyond tragedy and ostracism (Kuehn 2014: 65). If speculation did occur about the possibilities of long-term interracial households, they tended to be either exotic and tinged with gothic horror or imperial contempt—as in the case of the colonies—or—as in the case of Britain—rooted in the pitiful degeneracy and scorn of Fletcher and Richard’s imaginings of portside communities. Certainly, it is fair to say that, across the country, there were poor, deprived and chaotic interracial homes. Yet, it is equally important to note that such homes were not particular to racial mixedness. Family poverty in the first three decades of the twentieth century was widespread and not confined by race, as Pat O’Mara’s account of working-class life in the slums of Liverpool at the turn of the century shows (O’Mara 2009/1934). Indeed, Christian (2008) points out an important flaw in Fletcher’s methodology, noting that the sample was selected for her by local welfare agencies who had put forward the poverty stricken families in their care, making her study neither random nor representative of the wide range of interracial families living in Liverpool at that time.

The voices of those in sustained interracial relationships offer incredibly different perspectives to these popular, mainstream accounts, and ones frequently overlooked by outsiders, that is, the presence of love and affection and a sense of marital satisfaction. As discussed previously, while high levels of affection and harmony in interracial families—not only between husband and wives, but also between the parents and children—were also, often grudgingly, noted by commentators, as the years went on, such observations became increasingly overshadowed by finger-pointing and moralising over the very act of racial mixing and supposed consequences of racial degradation as a whole. Yet, across communities and classes, accounts of domestic contentment constantly ring out, particularly from white working-class women who vehemently opposed the picture painted of their husbands, such as in Lawless’s study of interracial Arab and white communities in South Shields where local white women took to the local newspapers to protest the depiction of their husbands

and families post the 1919 riots and tensions: in 1923, 'A White Woman of Six' wrote that 'as for the coloured men being inferior, well, it may be only in stature, but they are kind and gentle to their wives and children and that is more than a great deal of the so-called white men can say. Even if the coloured gentlemen of Holborn [district in South Shields] had to resort to sell oranges they would do it willingly to support the white wife they chose to share their lives and their kiddies; they look after their own and take care of what they have.'²³ Similar types of letters, mostly written by white women, can be found in other local and national newspapers—such as the numerous correspondents who wrote to the *Hull Daily Mail* throughout the 1920s referring to the happiness and harmony that they experienced in interracial family life: signing herself 'An Arab Man's Wife', one woman states 'I myself am married to an Arab and I could not find a better husband.'²⁴ Maria Lin Wong's interviews with children from Chinese and British marriages who grew up in 1930s' Liverpool echo these views, with interviewees stating that the local women had often preferred Chinese men because they were kinder and more considerate:

In those days, all [local white men] did was drink, go home and give out a good battering. And the kids were never clothed. But [with Chinese men] you were always sure there was a meal on the table, and good clothes.²⁵

Even when families seemed to fit into the stereotype from the outside—such as the Chinese opium dealing gangster that Annie Lai's husband, Yuen, seemed to fit—their inside accounts could suggest more complex realities; Lai et al. (1986: 18) suggest that 'neither Annie's nor Yuen's life was as glamorous as the stereotype of Chinese 'gangsters' would have us believe. Certainly Yuen was no Moriarty. Rather he seems to have been a middle-aged family man, who had a comfortable but by no means wealthy standard of living.' Male voices are harder to come by but some accounts also offer glimpses of love and affection obscured by contemporary accounts: in her memory sketch of her husband, Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, his wife Jessie recalls that 'before we were married my husband said to me, "You'll never know how gentle a black man can be,

until we are married,” and in this respect he was perfectly marvellous’ (Coleridge-Taylor 1943: 46). Larry Gains, the black Canadian boxer who had married a white German woman, Lisa, with the pair settling and raising their children in England in the 1930s noted that ‘from the beginning I had never looked upon Lisa as just another girl. She had always been something rather special. She was an attractive and amusing companion. But above all else, she was my pal, the best I ever had’ (Gains 1976: 49).

The personal histories of those in interracial relationships in these early years also suggest a level of mundane domesticity that prurient outsiders tended to ignore. Lawless (1995) and Tabili (1996) highlight how white wives carried out essential everyday tasks for their husbands and in-laws, writing letters or taking care of wages, behaviours that locate the women as far more than the sexualised bodies of popular imaginings.

A glimpse at portrait and family photographs of mixed race people, couples and families further reinforces this idea of normalcy. As Twine (2006) notes, while family photographs are not necessarily an accurate ‘visual record’ of events, they nevertheless provide a partial view of the social fabric and maps of people’s lives. The family—and more formal—photographs of early twentieth century interracial families not only attest to their existence, but also provide valuable insights into both their personal and wider social histories and interactions. In their showcasing of typical family groupings or special occasions, such photographs suggest a level of domesticity and intimacy missing from outsider accounts, as well as a sense of pride in their family, in terms of both its interraciality and ordinariness. Posed studio portraits, were not just a way of capturing and displaying family belonging and respectability but also involved both material and time costs. Thus, engaging photographers and having pictures taken in typical dress and poses of the period was a means by which interracial families could signal and display, as well as preserve memories, of their ordinariness as well as their individuality, both in terms of their family status as well as that of early twentieth century British citizens and residents (Hudgins 2010) (Images 5.6, 5.7 and 5.8).



Image 5.6 Unknown family, circa 1900. Courtesy of Butetown History & Arts Centre

Unhappy Home Lives

Of course, in presenting alternative narratives of interracial domestic satisfaction, we need to be careful not to idealise interracial relationships or family life. As Twine and Steinbugler (2006: 342) note of contemporary mixed race relationships, interracial intimacy neither guarantees nor is

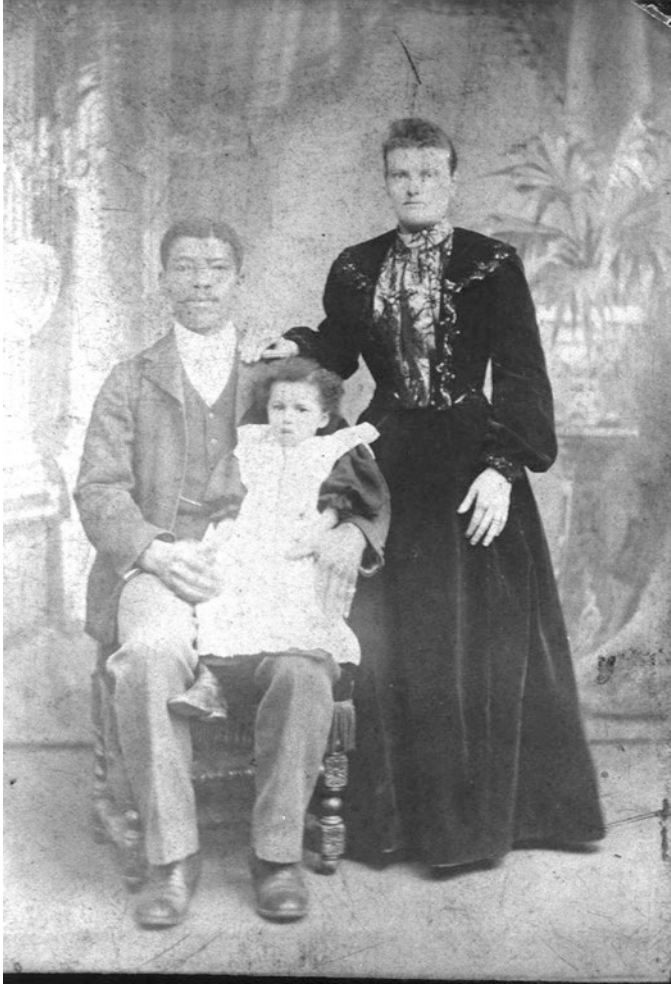


Image 5.7 Unknown family, circa 1916. Courtesy of Butetown History & Arts Centre

sufficient 'to catapult one across the chasm of what some theorists refer to as colorblindness', nor to evade racial prejudice. Some relationships clearly failed or were miserable with racial or cultural difference appearing to play a part in their undoing. A divorce case of 1916 between an Indian man, Pestongee Ardesir Wadia and his English wife, Eleanora,



Image 5.8 Two women and two children, date unknown. Courtesy of Glamorgan Archives

stated that the marriage had been unhappy from the outset, with Mrs Wadia refusing to meet her in-laws during her trip to India and, on the voyage home, she 'held him up to contempt and ridicule on account of his family and colour, and called him a black nigger, making his life impossible'.²⁶ In 1920, Countess Hoey Stoker was granted a divorce and

custody of her child, Lionel, with Captain Stoker who had effectively deserted her; it was stated in the hearing that her husband's unwillingness to introduce her to his people in Burnham, Somerset and generally recognise her as his wife had given her bitter cause for complaint—he in turn had reportedly told her that 'our lives and ideas are so far apart that it makes it impossible for me [to return].'²⁷ Mixed race children were also sometimes clearly unwanted or regretted by their white mothers, sometimes with tragic outcomes: in the 1925 case of the suicide of the English wife of a Japanese man in London, the coroner noted she had been heard to say 'she would rather drown herself than have a half-caste child'.²⁸ The Spanish-born actress Beryl Lingard was sentenced to death for the murder of her seven-month-old mixed race baby whom she drowned by throwing it into the Mersey river; at the trial, a doctor testified that when the baby was born, Lingard said, 'is the child black? If it is, kill it.'²⁹ Also littered in newspaper articles are numerous cases of child abuse, abandonment, domestic violence and murder committed by an interracial partner or parent to their spouse or child, as well as suicides and divorces.³⁰ Yet, in the majority of these, no specific reason or indication of interraciality being the cause is given; indeed, apart from the colour of the parties involved, the details of the cases are no different from the endless daily reports of similar incidents occurring amongst white Britons. Thus, while racial difference or mixedness could be a factor in an individual's, a couple's or a family's problems, it was not automatically or inevitably the case. More complex issues could underscore family unhappiness. In her memoir, Avril Coleridge-Taylor, for instance, recalls that while she was close to her father, her relationship with her mother Jessie was—unlike that between Jessie and Avril's brother as well as that between Jessie and her husband—cold, fraught and oppressive, suggesting perhaps that the issue was one of gender rather than race; indeed, Avril recalls her mother constantly and fiercely attacking strangers who insulted her father on account of his colour, much to Avril's own embarrassment. Unhappiness could also be borne, too, of circumstances beyond control: the Indian Nawab, Syed Saadat Ali Khan, died suddenly in a Torquay nursing home less than a year after his marriage to Gwendoline Reed, leaving her a widow with a baby son at their home in Goodrington, Paignton.³¹

Extended Family

Issues within the domestic sphere could also be caused by relationships with extended family. Given the hostility within the public sphere to racial mixing in Britain, it is not surprising that mixed race couples could face objections to their relationships from their own parents or other family members. Numerous newspaper articles highlight objections from white parents at the prospect of their child—overwhelmingly daughters—mixing interracially: a ‘Heartbroken Mother’ from Manchester wrote to the *Daily Dispatch* in 1918 pleading for something to be done about black men and white girls as her own daughter ‘has been enticed from home by one of these pests’.³² Such objections spread across class: the middle class Henry Sylvester Williams, founder of the Pan-African Association, was snubbed by his white wife’s parents (Abegunrin 2016), as were Dr Alcindor (Green 1998) and Samuel-Coleridge Taylor whose wife Jessie recalls how her family, shocked at the idea of her entering a mixed marriage, made ‘vile suggestions’ and ‘horrid threats’ and took ‘measures’ to separate them; Coleridge-Taylor himself was not ‘figuratively’ but ‘kicked out of the house...literally’ when he went to ask her father for her hand in marriage (Coleridge-Taylor 1943: 20–21). Such attitudes could put severe strains on relationships. Mrs Lombah, the English wife of an Indian doctor, reflecting on marrying interracially after 20 years of marriage in 1932, said she believed that ‘when mixed marriages were not a success...it was often due to the criticisms and interference of relations.’³³

White parents were not always the only ones to disapprove. Harold Moody’s marriage to his white English wife, Olive Tranter, in 1912 was objected to by both sets of parents: he noted that ‘the only painful letter which I had from my beloved Mother, was the one in reply to the information I gave her of my proposed marriage’.³⁴ Oei Hui Lan recalls the reactions of her Chinese mother during her period of flirting with and dating members of the white aristocracy in late 1910s’ London:

Once in a while I would tell Mama I was going to marry a duke; then I could have a crown on my stationery and wear a ducal coronet. If she

happened to be in an indulgent mood, she would smile at my foolishness. But if not she would say seriously, “I like to have you accepted in European society and hold your own with their women. But you must not marry a Caucasian. It would break my heart if you were to have Eurasian children. I do not think I could recognize them. Perhaps we should go back to the Orient” (Koo and Tavers 1975: 99–100).

We do not know what Oei Hui Lan’s mother’s reaction was when she did indeed marry a Caucasian man, Beauchamp Caulfeild-Stoker, and bore his child as she did prior to this period of flirtation she mentions (the couple were married in 1909); fascinatingly, the countess’s marriage to Caulfeild-Stoker, their son Lionel, and the couple’s eventual divorce are entirely omitted in her detailed memoirs of her life leaving the impression that her only marriage and children were that to the Chinese diplomat Wellington Koo whom she married in 1921.³⁵

Family opposition to racial mixing, however, was not necessarily inevitable. As Bressey (2013: 549) notes of histories of the East End, ‘examples of integrated families and their traditions are ignored [and] continually retold as histories of unchanging, homogeneous and purely white working-class traditions.’ Though certainly many white women who partnered men from other cultures in the inter- and post-war years were shunned by their extended families, these relationships were not automatically marginalised from extended family networks. A 1906 article in the *Stamford Mercury* reporting on a claim and counterclaim for damages in Grimsby between Charles Hirst, a ‘half-caste fisherman’, and his landlady, Julie Charlton, reveals that Hirst was courting Charlton’s niece and had helped the family open a grocery shop.³⁶ Similarly, in the Potterton divorce case, Sidney, his wife Louisa and the ‘coloured’ man she was accused of having an affair with—whom she claimed was her brother, not her lover—all visited Sidney’s father’s house in Buckinghamshire, and when Sidney was posted to South Africa, his father invited Louisa and the ‘coloured’ man to live with him; the two stayed with him briefly.³⁷ Such accounts are not uncommon. Tabili’s (1996: 181) claim that in seaport communities, interracial couples could be found ‘living in the same house with the wives’ families, a common working-class residential

pattern' is confirmed by other mid-twentieth century studies of these communities (e.g. Richmond 1954; Collins 1957; Little 1972). Such inclusion could also be found beyond the working classes: James Jackson Brown, for example, was welcomed and supported by his Jewish in-laws (Green 1985).³⁸ Meanwhile, the press stated that at the Tomalin-Potts/Hsiao wedding 'parental consent on both sides was obtained'; Nina's widowed mother gave her away and her sister was also present.³⁹ Additionally, as Tabili (1996) also notes, it was not unheard of for multiple mixing to occur within working-class families and communities: Harriet Vincent (Thompson 2005: 61) mentions that her mother's two sisters, regular visitors to their house, also married black men, while *The Sunday Post* reported the joint ceremony of Scottish half-sisters Isabella Fairburn and Mary Hays to black men in 1919, and later in 1926 noted that two Liverpool sisters, Ivy Reeves and Dorothy Dolla, were both married to 'negroes'.⁴⁰ Again, such patterns could cut across class and race: Alan Mander met his wife, Princess Sudhira, when she was recuperating at a nursing home in England and went to visit her along with his sister-in-law, Princess Pretiva, who had married his brother Lionel two years earlier.⁴¹

It is also important to note that integration into extended families was not a clear-cut 'either/or' situation. Complex and evolving family dynamics, as well as longstanding patterns of familial emotion and interaction, meant that feelings about interracial marriage could and did change over time. Some family members who were initially opposed to having an in-law of a different race changed their views, particularly once they had come to know the individual or once a child arrived on the scene. Furthermore, not all family members necessarily shared the same views. In her recollections of her husband, Jessie Coleridge-Taylor points out that her father had had nothing to do with the 'kicking out' of Coleridge-Taylor when he sought her hand in marriage and went on to have 'subsequent love' for his son-in-law; the virulent reaction that day had stemmed from her brother-in-law who had been present at the meeting and 'had such prejudiced feelings on the subject of mixed marriages, having passed so much of his life in the east.' (Coleridge-Taylor 1943: 21). Three of her sisters also disapproved of the match, with one persevering in her attempts

to talk her out of it right up to the day of the ceremony itself. However, the day before the ceremony, her mother invited Samuel Coleridge-Taylor to the family home where she and Jessie's father shook his hand in acceptance and ended up attending the wedding and acting as a witness. Such dynamics are interesting to consider in the face of the glimpses of extended interracial family contact seen in newspaper articles: at the Tomalin Potts/Hsiao wedding, was the consent and attendance of Nina's sister and her widowed mother, who gave her away, provided happily or with reluctance? When Lieutenant Gordon's mother who introduced him to Brinda and speaks of her with praise also mentions that she tried to dissuade the couple from the wedding due to their young age, is this her real reason for intervening? While such limited information currently allows us to do no more than speculate, the clear evidence of contact and exchange—whether positive, negative or a complex falling between the two—between so many interracial couples and the wider family suggests a more multifaceted picture of attitudes to racial mixing and mixedness than the contemporary stereotype of automatic ostracism and isolation suggests.

Outside the Home: Standing Out, Fitting in and Fighting Back

Effects of Institutional Racism

A significant part of this picture, of course, is not born from intimate family dynamics but from patterns of institutional racism. In Jenkinson's research into the 1919 riots, she gives an account of Theophilus Savis, a Jamaican-born merchant sailor who married a white British woman, Mary Louisa Colledge, in Coventry in April 1906—after his vessel was torpedoed, he took a job in a chemical and cotton works in Bristol where the couple lived with their five children. Due to the colour bar, he later struggled to find employment and, in dire straits and reliant on Poor Law payments from the Board of Guardians,⁴² applied for repatriation to Jamaica with his family but, due to his interracial marriage, this was

initially denied. Jenkinson notes, however, that the application was belatedly sanctioned in October 1919 on condition that the marriage certificate was provided and 'his wife informed of the 'poor conditions' in the West Indies'; later that year the Board of Trade tried to have the repatriation of the Savis family expedited (Jenkinson 2009: 171). Picking up the story where Jenkinson left off, it seems, however, that the repatriation never occurred. In a 1924 newspaper article entitled 'Darkies' Frauds at Bristol', a 'coloured' man named Theophilus Savis appeared before the court charged with making a false statement to obtain relief from the Guardians. Additional newspaper articles suggest that life in England was difficult for the family, with particular repercussions for Theophilus and Louis's son, Joseph Savis, who repeatedly appeared before the court throughout his life—'a dozen times' noted one judge—and was frequently jailed for theft and assault, including his first crime: an attack on a teacher at the Juvenile Unemployment Court. At one trial, his mother, sister and grandmother—Louisa's mother, who had moved from Coventry to Bristol—all gave evidence in relation to their receiving his stolen goods, suggesting that, despite their tribulations, the bonds of family remained intact. Ray (2009) highlights the case of another interracial couple, John 'Akok' Parker and his wife Ena, who in the early 1930s desperately wished to be repatriated to the Gold Coast, John's birthplace, after having been warned that John's severe tuberculosis meant he was unlikely to live through another English winter; moreover, the couple were constantly under the threat of homelessness due to the racial prejudice of landlords and other tenants preventing John from taking up a tenancy. Despite Ena's desperate pleas to the Colonial Office and the Governor of the Gold Coast, including raising the fact that John had fought for Britain in 1917, repatriation was flatly denied as long—it was made clear—as she attempted to accompany him. Refusing to separate from her husband, Ray notes that the story ends there; it is unknown whether John lived through the winter.

It is, of course, hard to say whether the lives of such families would have been any easier if repatriated, but it is clear that the establishment prejudice against interracial families likely deprived them of the opportunity to find out for themselves. Many were stuck in a Britain that, as we have seen, not only undervalued and ignored the contributions of its minority

ethnic citizens but actively worked to make life even more difficult for them through official and informal policies and procedures, such as the colour bar. Nora, the daughter of Monrovia father and Welsh mother was born in Butetown, Cardiff in 1925. Her memories of the discrimination faced by many young mixed race women seeking employment in the 1930s highlight the depersonalisation in the likes of Muriel Fletcher's 'findings' of 'half-caste' girls 'disinclined to work':

Well, we had terrible factories and young coloured girls or black girls, whichever they prefer to be called, had hard times finding work.... You couldn't go and work in a shop or work in an office. You had to either work in the paper works or Sigmunds or one of them paper bag factories or potato factory, anything that was nasty and grubby, you could work at.... A lot of people died before and around the war with TB from nasty places. Lots of very beautiful half-caste and black children died from working in these menial places during the war because the places were damp and dirty and that was the only way we could work.⁴³

Encountering Prejudice

Of course, institutional racism was only one facet of the prejudice that mixed race people, couples and families—along with all other minority groups in Britain—had to face. Interracial couples and people frequently provoked negative and strong reactions from the general public as evidenced by the plethora of letters that would appear in national and local newspapers repeatedly and increasingly as public attitudes to racial mixing hardened over the decades. Of course, such expressions of condemnation were not confined to letter writing. Prevalent too were expressions of everyday racism which could come not only from strangers but also from friends, acquaintances and, as discussed previously, family members.

Ignorant comments and microaggressions appear to have been frequently encountered, while disapproving comments were directly expressed to many interracial couples: in his work on the Moodys, Killingley (2003: 59) reports a friend of the couple told Olive that by

marrying a black man she was letting down the white race, while acquaintances and even strangers openly informed them that children from mixed marriages resulted in social degeneracy; Jessie Coleridge-Taylor (1943: 13) recalls her and Samuel 'passing two silk-hated "toffs" going to the theatre, as we were returning home from an afternoon concert, deliberately insulting us' and remarks that 'there were many similar incidents'.

While being on the end of openly expressed racial prejudice was a common experience for many people of colour in early twentieth century Britain, those in interracial relationships frequently found that white skin was not necessarily a protection from racist vitriol, particularly for women who became racialised as soon as they crossed the racial border. Rowe (2000: 59) notes that Murphy has argued that there are no documented accounts of violence surrounding particular instances of mixed couples in public during the tension of the 1919 race riots, thus suggesting that 'the issue might have been more prominent in the minds of middle class correspondents to the newspapers than within working class communities in the neighbourhoods concerned.' Information relayed back from the coverage of differing court cases, however, suggest this was not quite the case: in East London, the white wife of a Chinese man and her white friend were 'badly mauled by the infuriated crowd' who 'assailed the premises' she was hiding in on learning that they had been rented to her and her husband; in Cardiff, a woman named Martiniaz gave evidence that another woman had 'shouted at her, "You ought to be burned"', because she was a black's wife',⁴⁴ while Jenkinson (2009: 126) notes that one of the white females arrested in Liverpool was reported to have screamed: 'now's the time to finish the niggers' wives.' Additional evidence is suggested by the fact that verbal and physical violence spurred on by inter-raciality was not confined to the riots but rather existed as a frequent possibility for mixed race couples and families. In Liverpool, the wedding of Ivy Reeves in 1926 to her black husband had 'excited wrath in the district' and a violent mob had proceeded to attack the house where Ivy, her sister, Dorothy Dolla, their black husbands and the rest of the wedding party were celebrating, with one guest being struck on the head by a brick thrown through the window. Vehemently disagreeing with the Chief Inspector who proposed whether 'the scenes at this wedding were

not so disgraceful that all the decent people in the neighbourhood assembled to protest?', Dolla stated that 'the trouble began when we came out to be photographed, and the crowd interfered and tried to stop it.' It is worth noting that such accounts have come to light due to the perpetrators of the violence ending up in the courts and thus being committed to record; no doubt, however, that there are other incidents that occurred but have slipped under the radar.⁴⁵

Moreover, such intense, targeted racial and verbal violence was not confined to the random antipathy of mob uprisings. Conducting everyday, ordinary activities, such as simply walking down the street, could incite random, violent attacks. A white man and his sister in Surbiton were viciously assaulted by a man in 1926 who believed the couple to be 'a half-caste' and 'a filthy woman'; during the court case, the attacker reported that 'when he saw a half-caste man with a white woman he 'got hot under the collar'.⁴⁶ Meanwhile, though working-class interracial families and people appeared more vulnerable to explicit racial prejudice, those from the middle and professional classes were not exempt. A higher class status might insulate people from the more violent mob attacks that sometimes broke out in port communities, but it was no safeguard from overt racial abuse: both Jessie and Avril Coleridge-Taylor recall abuse being directed at Samuel Coleridge-Taylor from local youths and passers-by who would taunt him in the street.

Emotional Effects

As well as expressing and perpetuating racism towards mixed race people, couples and families, official accounts do also, as we have seen, contain a vast array of examples of the everyday racist acts conducted towards them. What they overwhelmingly lack, however, is any real sense of those on the receiving ends of these attitudes and actions as 'real' people and, consequently, the emotional effects involved. Where there are records of these effects, the emotional and psychological toll of dealing with racism is plain to see. Avril Coleridge-Taylor (1979: 96) recalls the stress that having to deal with the taunts from the youth on the streets would have on her father and herself, a child at the time: 'what they said caused him

great pain. When he saw them approaching along the street he held my hand more tightly, gripping it until it almost hurt.... I also came to experience a feeling of tenseness, surprising in one of such tender years.' In later years, she notes, those same youths took pride in saying that they had 'known' her father.

Despite the vast coverage of the 1919 riots, very little empathy was shown to those black, Arab, Chinese and interracial people and families who lived with the very real threat of physical attack. A glimpse of the stress put on such families, however, can be seen in Liverpool in 1919, when the police decided to take some men into police custody for their own protection, which, the *Yorkshire Evening Post* reported, 'led to some emotional scenes', including 'a very dejected little family party. A well-dressed negro was being led away by a policeman. He was carrying in his arms a little white child, and his English wife followed, evidently much concerned.' Two other wives of black men—who had been detained without their wives' knowledge—'made a scene in the street in their anxiety, threatening to do personal violence to themselves if their husbands had come to any harm'. Little empathy was shown by the newspaper which simply sneered that 'undoubtedly, many of the white wives of black men in Liverpool are eminently contented with their marital choices'.⁴⁷ The voices of those who lived through the violence were overwhelmingly marginalised and therefore have generally been lost; where traces of them can be found, they highlight both the fear and after-effects of the attacks that were meted out to ordinary families going about their daily lives, as a woman who was caught up in the riots as a child in Grangetown remembers:

I was only about eight or nine and, oh, I'd had a...birthday party...then in the middle of that same night I had the party, somebody came rushing in and they said, 'oh, you'd better hide him'—which was my father—so my mother said, 'Hide him? What for, what's he done?!' So he said, 'well,' he says, 'there's something going on,' he said, 'down the street. They've attacked two houses further down and yours will be the next.' So...they took my father out the back and into the next door and they hid him in the lavatory and then, bang, the door went down so, oh, it was pandemonium in there.... Well, we rushed upstairs and I said to my mother, 'let's hide', you know, under the bed because I was getting really scared then, and before we

could do anything like hide, they came upstairs and said, 'where is he, where is he?' So my mother said, 'well, he's down the Bay', you know. So with that they went down and they broke a couple more things up and then they said, 'oh, where's the lamp?'—it was so long ago, we used oil lamps then—and they tipped that all over the table, kitchen table and I suppose—this is what my mother told me because being a little kid I wouldn't have understood what was happening—they were going to light it and then they said, 'no, don't do that, because it's not their house, you'll get into trouble'—it was the landlord's house—and then they went. Because me mother after that, she wasn't much good.... My father had been torpedoed three times, been taken prisoner of war and he'd, you know, he'd done all those things and then he came home and look what happened to him. He was very bitter as well.⁴⁸

It was not only violence or the threat of violence that caused distress. As highlighted earlier, the vitriolic condemnation hurled towards those in mixed relationships or who had mixed race children could also lead to intense unhappiness, with severely damaging and tragic effects, such as child abandonment, murder and suicide. Such appears to be the case in the suicide of Lui Kee's wife Lily—who in 1921 threw herself into the Usk from Newport Bridge. The coroner noted that her death was due to depression from being taunted for having married interracially; her mother told the court that Lily had told her 'she was disgraced for having married a Chinaman'.⁴⁹ Microaggressive attitudes also took an emotional toll: Mrs Lombah, who had married an Indian doctor in the early 1910s, noted how she felt reluctant to take her babies outside because 'people used to collect outside my house to peer in my babies' pram. I bought a double hood for the pram and paced up and down my drawing room wondering what I could do.'⁵⁰ Many people of colour were acutely aware of the stereotypes made about them which caused intense feelings of frustration, tiredness and bitterness. The writer and occultist, Rollo Ahmed, the son of an Egyptian and a West Indian who moved in the literary circles in 1920s London, writes in his semi-autobiographical novel *I Rise: The Story of a Negro* how he found *White Cargo* embarrassing to his race (314), while in *Mr Ma & Son*, Lao She rails against the 'insane' images of the Chinese propagated by the artistic myths of Limehouse (Auerbach 2009: 189).

Fighting Back

The prevalence of outsider views has also meant that the ways in which such prejudiced practices and portrayals were refuted and challenged by the individuals and families themselves are overlooked. Certainly, during those periods when public condemnation of racial mixing and mixedness was virulent can be found evidence of resistance—powerful and subtle—by mixed race people and families themselves.

In the direct moment, this was sometimes a literal fight back. Mortimer John Neil, ‘an Indian half-caste’ described by his employer as being ‘super-sensitive to being called a black man’ hit his fellow lodger in a Chesterfield lodging house over the head with a teapot after being provoked by racial slurs.⁵¹ Jenkinson (2009: 97) also notes several cases of those in interracial relationships physically confronting racial abusers, including a case in Salford in 1919 when two white brothers loudly objected to a party in a nearby house because black men and white girls were dancing together; the white men were then ‘set upon and beaten up by some of the black partygoers’. Women also confronted their abusers in similar ways. Ivy Reeves and Dorothy Dolla were arrested after hurling ‘a large number of missiles’, including bottles, vases, cups and buckets of water at the crowd who had gathered outside Reeves’ wedding reception in anger at her interracial marriage. ‘I went to the crowd and asked them to go away’, stated Dolla, ‘but they jeered at me and shouted insulting things about my sister and me and our husbands. They would not go away, so I carried out my threat and threw two buckets of water over them.’⁵² Others did not resort to violence but reacted with sharp tongues: Jessie Coleridge-Taylor (1943: 13) recalls how, after the ‘toffs’ insulted her and Samuel, she ‘with a palpitating heart and sick with rage, darted from my husband’s side in front of them, stopped them and said, “Take back what you said and apologize” . . . I knocked some sense into two silly heads.’

Beyond the street, challenging the widespread pernicious racism of the press, establishment and public attitudes at large was more difficult, though Christian (2008: 222) reports that Muriel Fletcher ‘was stabbed and ran out of the city’ by the outraged black Liverpoolian community after the publication of her report. Such strength of angry feeling amongst interracial families at being stereotyped or ill-treated was generally hard

to communicate outside of the immediate community; however, occasionally, the press did report such views, such as the anger in 1920 in London's Chinatown at the bitter aspersions cast on its community. Speaking to the *Daily Graphic*, one Chinese resident of Pennyfields reportedly said, 'There is a great deal of nonsense talked about yellow men and white women. The facts are very simple. Some of our men, steady and hard-working people, have married white women, and have been very happy and contented with them.'⁵³ The fury was such that it even forced a semi-apology from Cairns, the magistrate who had virulently condemned racial mixing in the area, though this was itself backhanded in his clarification that it was the white women, rather than the Chinese men, with whom he felt the fault lay, sneering that 'the women can hardly expect coloured men to show more respect for them than they show for themselves'.⁵⁴

The main public means for expressing dissatisfaction, however, was through the letter pages of local and national newspapers where ordinary people in interracial relationships protested furiously against their depiction in the media and by sections of the public. Writing to the *Hull Daily Mail* in 1919, several 'coloured men', including 'a Coloured Corporal of the British West Indies Regiment' fiercely replied to a previous letter published from a white man, Jack Green, who wrote in to describe his 'unpleasant experience of seeing a negro in khaki with a white woman and a white man's child' being seen off at the station—'a hideous spectacle'⁵⁵—and generally to berate white women for marrying black men, warning them that their lives in Africa would be hell. Outing himself as the man Green saw, the Corporal stated that the child was his and admonished Green for his ignorance 'in thinking that all the coloured men he has seen with an English girl come from Africa', as well as for his incitement of racial violence and warnings against mixed marriages.⁵⁶ Wives of coloured men also wrote to the papers to defend their husband and children and berate ignorant attitudes: 'I am sure the coloured man is not so much uncivilised as some of my own colour,' fumed 'A White Woman and A Coloured Man's Wife' to the *Hull Daily Mail*.⁵⁷ Similar types of letters can be found in other local and national newspapers, with many referring to the happiness and harmony present in interracial family life (see, for example, Lawless 1995; Jenkinson 2008).

The fight back was also conducted by individuals who fought against pernicious colour bars and other forms of discrimination to achieve success in a range of workplaces, such as Walter Tull, the son of a Barbadian father and white English mother who commissioned as a full British Army Officer in 1918, defying the Military Law excluding those not of 'Pure European descent' (another of his remarkable achievements saw Tull become the second person of colour to play professional football in Britain), and John Archer, the son of a Barbadian father and an Irish mother who in 1913 became the Mayor of Battersea, the second person of colour to be elected as a Mayor in Britain.⁵⁸ Meanwhile, as Green (2000) and Lahiri (2000) note, across the country, a wide range of men of colour worked successively as professionals, including running thriving practices as lawyers, doctors and dentists: Walter Tull's brother, Edward, is held to be the first person of colour to qualify as a dentist.

People of the professional classes also came together at the group level to challenge both the attitudes and actions caused by racial prejudice, including the subject of interracial marriages and children. FEM Hercules, The General Secretary of the Society of Peoples of African Origin (London), wrote a stinging rejoinder to Sir Ralph Williams's letter in *The Times*, also published in the newspaper in 1919 (see Chap. 3), in which he called out the hypocrisy of men like Williams criticising interracial marriages in Britain given the plight of black women and 'half-castes' across the colonies resulting from the 'base lust of white seducers'. It is, he stated, 'to the credit of my people that they marry the girls with whom they associate instead of leaving them with illegitimate offspring to face the sneers of the world'.⁵⁹ As also discussed in Chap. 3, the League of Coloured People, the anti-racist organisation founded by Harold Moody and others in the 1930s, investigated the 'coloured seamen's crisis' in a number of reports, finding that poverty—rather than race and racial degradation—was the root evil for the families there; Moody himself, as a man in an interracial family of six children, 'spoke and wrote often on the question of interracial marriage and that he took pride in the educational progress of his children, most of whom entered the professions.' (Killingray 2003: 59). Perhaps the biggest challenge of all, however, came from the fact that those mixing and of mixed race continued to endure and exist, despite all that was thrown at them.

New Cultures

However, a desire to claim 'ordinariness' was not always an aim. As Wright et al. (2003: 460) have noted, the mixed race household is an arena in which 'newness can enter the world' and while many interracial families appeared to uphold and display British cultural norms, the merging of different cultures could also produce new 'mixed' practices. Weddings, for example, could merge traditions and cultural practices: at Mahomed Ben Mahomed's 'picturesque' wedding to Mary Hart, the Arab men wore 'flowing robes surmounted by turbans' while the wedding breakfast took place at a boarding house 'where dates, grapes, and brandy, with cups of strong tea, were the principal items on the menu';⁶⁰ similarly Ras Monolulu, the flamboyant black African betting tipster, dressed in ceremonial robes for his wedding to Nellie Adkins in 1931, while Brinda Dutt wore 'a magnificent old rose and gold saree'.⁶¹ Dual ceremonies often took place, with a marriage in a British registry office being preceded or followed by traditional Moslem rites, as in the case of Gwendoline Reed and Syed Saadat Ali Khan, Maddie Sinclair and Kabla Sunanda Sen, and Helen Wilson and the Sultan of Johore.⁶² While Dutt, a Hindu, kept her religion when she married, Mahamdallie (2007) notes that some British women converted to Islam and took Muslim surnames which were passed onto their children as the families became members of the dockside working-class population. Culture, food and language too could be shared: Green (1985) highlights how James Jackson Brown's wife, Milly, kept an essentially Jewish home but without Orthodox cooking, meanwhile Thompson (2005: 59) notes that Harriet Vincent's family would have regularly have saltfish and potatoes as well as tripe and onions as a breakfast option, while Annie Lai (Lai et al. 1986: 20) recalled that she was 'once a fluent Cantonese speaker' and 'that her Cantonese name was 'Insi-Por' which she translated as 'opium woman'. Some men also took on other men's children: a correspondent to the *Hull Daily Mail* defending mixed marriages in 1919 stated that she had a white child whose father was dead 'and I am sure the coloured man I am married to is as good to her as any white man.'⁶³

Flexible Attitudes: Geography Matters

While portrayals like Richardson's and Fletcher's (Chap. 3) failed to highlight the social prejudices hindering mixed race families, and ignored the community and cohesion of longstanding interracial neighbourhoods, retrospective accounts in recent oral histories and narratives provide a window on the everyday lived realities of interraciality. For example, amongst those who had participated in Fleming's Eugenics Society-sponsored 'race crossing' study in the interwar years, was Connie Hoe, the daughter of a Chinese father and a white British mother who, along with her husband, Leslie Hoe—also of mixed Chinese and white origin—has spoken extensively about her experiences growing up in London's Limehouse in the 1930s. Similarly to her husband Leslie and other Anglo-Chinese people who grew up during this period, Hoe's recollections highlight an everyday world far removed from the concerns and fears of the eugenicists and other institutional forces regarding racial mixing. Against an acknowledged presence of racism and poverty, accounts such as Connie's tell of 'ordinary' childhoods and family life in communities where, like those of other white Britons, life was full of good, bad and sometimes just mundane experiences:

LESLIE: [Limehouse] was a place where there was cobblers, hairdressers, all Chinese restaurants. Eventually, these men must have married English women...and we are the result.

CONNIE: We were like one big family. Everybody knew everybody else's business. We treated our friends as cousins. Limehouse disappeared under the German bombs. And the children were all evacuated. And the boys and girls that were old enough were called up and some of them got killed, some of them were prisoners of war, some of them got medals.⁶⁴

In particular, the accounts of those such as Connie and Leslie challenge those 'outsider' perceptions that fuelled stereotypical descriptions of their neighbourhoods and communities (Image 5.9).

LESLIE: [Connie] used to read these sordid accounts in these two-penny magazines...and this is the thing—she used to look for all this and couldn't find it! [Laughs] We used to think there must be something going on here, why don't they let us in on it?"⁶⁵



Image 5.9 Unknown Anglo-Chinese family, Liverpool, c1930s. Courtesy of Yvonne Foley

When such voices are heard, these take on a dimension of emotion and intimacy absent from outsider accounts, not only from those of colour but of those they lived amongst. Bloch (2006) has collated memories that illustrate how the taken-for-granted homogenous whiteness of East London hides an overlooked and multilayered history of interraciality. As he notes in his introduction (7–8):

Each of the dockland districts had its own complex and distinctive character especially in the period between the Wars. The Victoria Dock Road was

one of the most cosmopolitan places in London and bustled with life night and day. There were public houses every few yards and these opened early in the morning to serve the needs of the dockworkers both for refreshment and information about the work to be had. There were shops, dining rooms and lodging houses run by Indians, Chinese, Jews and Italians, where seamen of all nationalities would be sure of a welcome and assistance in finding somewhere to stay after a long voyage. Off the side streets lived black seamen and their families. Canning Town and Custom House had the largest black population in London in the 1930s.

As well as the settled presence of this community, what is equally fascinating are the memories of white residents who, like Doris at the beginning of this chapter, recall a more integrated existence between black and white throughout the twentieth century until the end of the Second World War than the racial tensions and animosity reported across the media suggests. Both Doris and another Canning Town resident, Doll Hill (Bloch 1998), recall going to school with black and, in Doll Hill's case, Chinese people. Other residents recall the shops in the Victoria Dock Road run by people of colour; the Indian Lascars in turbans knocking on doors selling toffee, scarves and ties; the Indian Dr Agarwala running his surgery from the front room of his house in Beckton Road; and the flamboyant African tipster Prince Monolulu striding down Canning Town's Barking Road, followed by kids: as one former Canning Town resident recalled, 'to us he was a 'Prince' and always had a friendly face and laughed and joked with all the kids of the area' (all cited in Bloch 1998). Monolulu's popularity seems to have insulated him from the type of hostility that Prince Lobengula received due to marrying a white woman in 1900: at Monolulu's wedding to Adkins, the *Sheffield Independent* reported that 'a large crowd...cheered loudly as the bridal couple arrived and left';⁶⁶ and even in the twenty-first century, his name provokes warmth and cheerful memories from those who encountered him, often the first black person most of them had ever seen.⁶⁷

Yet, as Bressey (2013: 550) has pointed out, 'spaces of integration are not always ones of conviviality', and the 'ordinary cosmopolitanism' found in Canning Town did not, by itself, create blanket attitudes of tolerance and acceptance. The disturbances from 1917 onwards clearly indicate the hostility of some locals and, even in those everyday positive

or neutral reminiscences of the neighbourhood in the 1920s and 1930s lie undertones of fear or concern about this interracial alterity. Ivy Alexander (2001: 14), who grew up in Canning Town in the 1920s, recalls being warned by older folk not to go ‘down the Marsh’—the Victoria Dock Road—though such warnings were not needed: ‘as a child, [it] seemed a foreign place anyway, frequented by ‘blackmen’ who wore their shirts outside their trousers. These were the Lascars.’

In both official and first-hand accounts, we thus repeatedly see the presence of what Les Back (1996) has called the ‘metropolitan paradox’, the complex and fascinating intersection of multiculturalism and racism where a picture emerges of localities in which attitudes towards racial mixing and mixedness fluctuated between acceptance and antipathy. In his excellent photographic history of interwar Canning Town, Bell (2002) clearly shows the ordinary, rooted presence and breadth of the local interracial community—including their many social events and beach day trips organised by Kamal Chunchie’s Coloured Men’s Institute—as well as the social racism that constantly lurked on entering the wrong establishment or taking the wrong street. Similarly, though Butetown, formerly known as Tiger Bay, tended to be seen as violent, dangerous and undesirable by outsiders due to its incredibly multicultural community (Evans 1985; Jordan 2001), archival testimonies suggest it was regarded with great fondness and pride by many of its inhabitants in great part due to this cosmopolitanism and interraciality. Like many other Butetown residents in the 1930s and 1940s, Nora (introduced earlier) remembers mixedness as a very ordinary part of growing up (Image 5.10):

I grew up as the average child in the Bay of a mixed family.... And I lived in Loudon Square which had 62 houses and about 42 nations in each.... People were really lovely, they were nice people, very human, very nice. They had their ups, their downs...they were just hardworking mixed families, most of whom were very well respected. Very few of them ever got into trouble and went to jail out of the old times. It was just a happy life, with all nations of the world.

However, whilst this mixedness might have been an ordinary part of Butetown life, Nora recalls that things were different in central Cardiff



Image 5.10 The wedding party of Mohammed Hassan, a Somalian man, and Katie Link, a mixed race Welsh woman, in Butetown, circa 1925. Courtesy of Butetown History & Arts Centre

where racial mixing was ‘resented’ and where, consequently, many couples did not venture:

Most of the fathers went uptown, but a lot of the mothers never went uptown, we shopped and bought everything in The Bay...and mothers and fathers didn’t go over the bridge very often, because they were abused Some people never went out of this bay for 30 years. Your father never walked uptown with your mother because...not because he didn’t want to walk uptown with your mother but because he thought someone might say, ‘look at that black man with that white woman’, or something to that effect and there would be an argument.⁶⁸

Certainly, Luke and Luke (1999) have insightfully noted how the ‘politics of location’, particularly the micro-geographies of everyday life—where one lives, works, socialises or travels—is often hugely significant in shaping people’s everyday experiences of being in or from a mixed racial

family. Accounts by residents in racially mixed neighbourhoods suggest that geography played an important role in creating not only a sense of belonging but of protecting against wider social discourses which posited mixedness as concerning, undesirable or dangerous. This is echoed in the recollection of George Lee, born in Liverpool in 1927 and the son of a Chinese seaman and mother of Irish descent: 'You didn't get very far from Pitt Street, where we lived, we always stayed around the district. Anywhere else was foreign to us, if you went out even to Sefton Park.'⁶⁹

Such clearly demarked interracial spaces can be glimpsed all throughout early twentieth century Britain. In addition to scholarship highlighting the history of longstanding and wide-ranging racial mixing of Liverpool generally (see, for example, Belcham (2014)), Richard Lawless (1995) has documented a vivid picture of a mixed Arab/white community in the Holborn district of South Shields, as has Maria Lin Wong (1989) on the Chinese/white interraciality of Liverpool's Merseyside, John Seed (2006) on that in Limehouse, and David Holland (2017) on South Asian men and white women in Sheffield, while emerging research is focusing on African/white mixing in Manchester and Nottingham.⁷⁰ Indeed our own research suggests glimpses of a history across most cities in Britain—including Birmingham, Bristol, Glasgow and Hull—of tightly knit communities of colour in which mixedness was ordinary and commonplace, living next to communities in which it was extraordinary and threatening. Thus, often in the picture of mixedness, Massey and Allen's (1984) maxim 'geography matters' is highly pertinent, much more so than the national picture. Official accounts often give the impression that life for interracial people and families in working-class communities was inevitably full of hostility and violence. While certainly, tensions and aggression could spill over and have very real consequences for these families, such areas could also work as protective and supportive enclaves: Little (1943: 20) noted that 'within the "mixed" dockland communities social intercourse between white and coloured families is usually the rule rather than the exception, and the local white inhabitants there are often the staunchest allies of their coloured neighbours'. The diary of Arthur Roberts (Miller et al. 2014), a mixed race man of black Caribbean and white British heritage who grew up in Glasgow and fought in the First World War, is conspicuously free of

encounters of racism, despite Roberts living and working in the city during the 1919 riots—indeed, Roberts seems to have found Glasgow a cosmopolitan and tolerant city. Similarly, Pat O'Mara, the 'Liverpool Slummy', recalls how growing up in a severely poor Liverpoolian dock-side neighbourhood in the early twentieth century, where 'Negroes, Chinese, Mulattoes, Filipinos, almost every nationality under the sun, most of them boasting white wives and large half-caste families were our neighbours', local white racial antipathy at racial mixing existed but was, for the most part, kept under control: 'some families, like my mother's, abhorred the practice of inter-marriage but it was so prevalent that they had to keep their beliefs to themselves.' The objection was not universal however. 'There were others,' O'Mara states, 'who had great pride in our coloured neighbours' (O'Mara 2009/1933: 12–13). Similarly, while middle- and upper-class social enclaves could insulate families and people from many of the overt effects of wider social attitudes, stepping out of them could engender different experiences: the *Evening Despatch* noted that when Princess Pretiva (who, as we noted in Chap. 3, was married to a Manders brother like her sister after her) had resided in her husband's home town of Wolverhampton, she did not appear in public much due to the curiosity that she would excite and 'invariably wore a heavy veil when motoring in the town.'⁷¹

Such polarities could also be found outside the city. As today, mixed racial and ethnic relationships and people were not simply a preserve of city life (Caballero et al. 2008). Indeed, there are fascinating glimpses of mixing and mixedness to be found in the suburbs, towns and rural communities of Britain even before the twentieth century (e.g. MacKeith 2003; Livesay 2018). In 1919, *The Sunday Post* gasped that two white half-sisters travelled from Glasgow with their 'negro' fiancés and 'a contingent of darkies' to their home in Helensburgh in Argyll and Bute to get married, the black visitors receiving 'much attention, particularly from the young people, who displayed much interest in their gorgeous apparel.'⁷² In 1900, the *Dundee Evening Post* featured an article entitled 'Negroes as Colliers' which, with disparaging astonishment, reported on the presence of black men working as miners in the Rhondda Valley and marrying local white women 'who look with much partiality upon the coloured visitor [but] by the men he is given

as wide a berth as possible'.⁷³ However, Alfred Lawes, the son of a West Indian father and a Welsh mother who grew up in 1930s in Maerdy, a mining village in the Rhondda, presents an alternate view when he talks about his father, who had come looking for work in the mines with other former black sailors in 1912, being strongly integrated into the community:

These were the first black faces they'd ever seen in, up in the valleys.... And believe it or not each one of them—there was four, five I think—were taken home, no questions asked, to be lodgers and to work down the pits with them in Maerdy. So you can just imagine the surprise when dad come home there and, "Look, who's that then?" standing behind him. "He's our new lodger, he's going to work with me in the pits tomorrow," like that, the first time. But to my father it was something as he told me many a time he discussed it: going into a house there and it was accepted, unheard of, like, it, they were part of the family. But then when it came to such things as bathing in front of the fire at, they had to learn to bath in front of the fire. But the neighbours used to be in and out talking. And whoever came in, they grabbed the flannel to wash their back, didn't ask questions, like that. It took a little while for them to get used to that, but they were taken into Maerdy just as people; nothing more or less, they were judged not on their colour, but the fact they were men and were willing to work down the pit. And that was how my father came into a place called Wrgant, Wrgant Place, up in Maerdy. And that was his first home.

In time, Alfred's father married his mother and their growing family continued to be part of the tightly knit community:

My father was 'Daddy Lawes', but my mother was 'Bopa Lawes'. And that's how they were known until the day they died, still as 'Daddy Lawes' and 'Bopa Lawes', and you can't get any more, what shall I say, friendly or accepted more, anything like that...They were accepted. My father was black, my mother was white. But that was it. They accepted them and of course as we came along, my brother and my sister as well, we were accepted as one. And I can honestly say this. That although down in Butetown, Cardiff, they weren't allowed out of it very much, in Maerdy they were part of it, they were exactly the same as if they were born in Maerdy.⁷⁴

In drawing on such accounts, we are of course aware of the need to be careful not to essentialise these memories of 'ordinariness' of interracial people, couples and families so that they speak for or to the experiences of all those from this group, or lessen those experiences of racism and prejudice of which there are certainly many. Rather, our aim is to show how these contemporary accounts contrast sharply with the official and representative accounts of Chaps. 3 and 4, thus illustrating how markedly discourses on racial mixing reflect the vested interests of different publics: academics, the media, writers, film-makers, officialdom, trade unions and the wider society. By illuminating how such polarities can form part of the complexity and diversity of racial mixing and mixedness, within and across experiences through the types of familiar, ordinary accounts of interracial life discussed in this chapter, we can more fully glimpse not only the existence of this group in early twentieth century Britain, but a sense of them living everyday lives, despite the overarching sense of official social condemnation directed at them.

Notes

1. *Daily Express*, 18 March 1930.
2. Anita Bowes, in Bourne 2001: 39.
3. Cited in Padfield (1999: 103).
4. For a fascinating look at this diversity in Edwardian England, for example, see Green (1998).
5. *The Evening Post*, 17 June 1902.
6. Green (n.d.); *The Nottingham Evening Post*, 3 February 1908.
7. *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 14 February 1922 and 8 July 1924.
8. *Gloucester Chronicle*, 10 December 1904; *The Standard*, 21 May 1938.
9. *The Manchester Evening News*, 31 March 1915.
10. *Dundee Evening Post*, 22 August 1901; *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 22 August 1901; *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 23 August 1901.
11. *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 26 April 1907.
12. *Supplement to the Manchester Courier*, 26 April 1907; *Hull Daily Mail*, 23 October 1929.
13. *The Worcestershire Chronicle*, 31 March 1900.

14. After serving three years hard labour, Edalji was paroled and received a pardon in 1907, it being held that Doyle's intervention likely playing a significant role. Doyle noted that he felt race and class had had a part to play in both Edalji's conviction and the poison pen attacks that the family had experienced, for 'though the vicar was an amiable and devoted man, the appearance of a coloured clergyman with a half-caste son in a rude, unrefined parish was bound to cause some regrettable situation' (Lahiri 2000: 85). Also see Lahiri for an in-depth discussion of the case.
15. *Western Mail*, 5 November 1900.
16. Such was her popularity that the theatrical magazine *The Era* featured her in a prominent interview on 9 November 1901.
17. See www.mix-d.org/museum/timeline/1900-john-milne-and-tone-noritsune [date accessed 06.07.2017].
18. *Derbyshire Courier*, 18 November 1911.
19. *St. James Gazette*, 12 February 1903.
20. *Burnley Gazette*, 22 November 1911.
21. In the coverage of the case in the *Derby Evening Telegraph*, 11 September 1905, it was reported that Downing/Brogden had been dismissed from her last post 'for paying too much attention to the female servants'. See also Oram (2007) and Bressey (2011).
22. Oei Hui Lan and Avril Coleridge-Taylor both wrote autobiographical accounts. See Koo and Tavers (1975) and Coleridge-Taylor (1979).
23. *Shields Daily Gazette*, 23 March 1923 (cited in Lawless 1995: 185–186).
24. *Hull Daily Mail*, 28 February 1929.
25. Cited in Wong (1989: 30).
26. *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 14 November 1916.
27. *Western Gazette*, 23 April 1920.
28. *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 28 January 1925.
29. Lingard was later acquitted, however, due to her 'emotional state'—the petition for her acquittal was signed by 7,000 people. It is interesting to consider whether the same leniency would have been shown if her child had been white. *Evening Telegraph and Post*, 7 March 1916; *Western Times*, 10 March 1916.
30. See for example the turbulent case in Odiham, Hampshire of a 'highly educated' half-caste Indian woman married to a British soldier who, after having been sentenced to two months hard labour for child neglect, had taken her husband to court for maintenance as he was refusing to take her back (*Reading Mercury*, 14 July 1900); the dramatic suicide of a black father of eight children from Maltby, Yorkshire whose estranged

- white wife would not take him back (Louth and North Lincolnshire *Advertiser*, 22 January 1910); the six-month sentence of hard labour given to a black father living in Trethomas, Caerphilly for beating his 11-year-old 'half caste' daughter with a knotted rope (*Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 5 June 1922); and the case of an Arab husband living in South Shields who was sentenced to three months for assaulting his white wife (*Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 29 October 1923).
31. *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 3 October 1934; *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 5 October 1934.
 32. *Cited in the Hull Daily Mail*, 17 September 1918.
 33. *Nottingham Evening Post*, 10 June 1932.
 34. Cited in Killingray 2003: 59.
 35. For more on the fascinating life of Oei Hui Lan, see Flores ([forthcoming](#)).
 36. *The Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, 7 September 1906.
 37. *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 13 February 1903.
 38. *Encyclopedia of the African Diaspora: Origins, Experiences, and Culture* [edited by Carole Elizabeth Boyce Davies p. 928].
 39. *The Whitstable Times and Herne Bay Herald*, 10 December 1904. The article also notes that 'the Chinese Ambassador likewise consented and congratulated the couple'.
 40. *Sunday Post*, 28 September 1919; 11 April 1926.
 41. *World's News*, 18 April 1914, p. 9.
 42. Poor Law was the only form of assistance offered to unemployed black workers who refused repatriation. Jenkinson (2009: 195).
 43. Oral interview featuring Nora Glasgow, Black Film and Video Workshop in Wales with Butetown Community History Project, 1987. Accessed at Butetown History & Arts Centre.
 44. *Nottingham Evening Post*, 17 June 1919; *Dundee Courier*, 17 June 1919.
 45. *Sunday Post*, 11 April 1926.
 46. *Gloucester Citizen*, 27 August 1926.
 47. *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 13 June 1919.
 48. Interview featured in *Struggles for Black Community: Tiger Bay is My Home*, directed by Colin Prescod, Channel 4, 1984.
 49. *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 19 March 1921.
 50. *Nottingham Evening Post*, 10 June 1932.
 51. *Sheffield Independent*, 19 May 1908.
 52. *Sunday Post*, 11 April 1926.
 53. Reported in *Nottingham Evening Post*, 7 October 1920.
 54. *Nottingham Evening Post*, 7 October 1920.

55. *Hull Daily Mail*, 16 July 1919.
56. *Hull Daily Mail*, 28 July 1919.
57. *Hull Daily Mail*, 13 October 1919.
58. Until recently, it was believed that Archer was the first person of colour in Britain to be elected as a mayor; however, it appears that this achievement actually belongs to Allen Glaisyer Minns, originally from the Bahamas, who was elected as Mayor of the borough of Thetford, Norfolk in 1904 (EmilySarah 2015).
59. *The Times*, 19 June 1919. Bland (2005) notes that although the 1903 Immorality Suppression Ordinance in the British colony of Southern Rhodesia outlawed sex outside marriage between white women and black men, no such legislation prohibited sex between white men and black women until 1927 and, even then, such transgressions were perceived as a far lesser crime.
60. *The Nottingham Evening Post*, 3 February 1908.
61. *Lincolnshire Standard and Boston Guardian*, 21 May 1938.
62. *The Graphic*, 21 October 1911.
63. *Hull Daily Mail*, 13 October 1919.
64. *The Original Chinatowners*. BBC Video Nation http://www.bbc.co.uk/videonation/articles/1/london_theoriginal.shtml [date accessed 10.02.2013].
65. Cited in Parker (2001: 191).
66. *Sheffield Independent*, 22 August 1931.
67. See memories of Monolulu posted online (Chepstow n.d.). Two of Monolulu's children—Rupert and Peter 'Prince' Mackay—went on to become entertainers, touring as a song, dance and comedy act called the 'Mckay Brothers', accompanied by a Sinhalese woman named Romayne. See *The Stage*, 10 August 1967.
68. Oral interview featuring Nora Glasgow, Black Film and Video Workshop in Wales with Butetown Community History Project, 1987. Accessed at Butetown History & Arts Centre.
69. Interview with George Lee. Accessed at the Cruel Sea Reminiscence Project, Liverpool Record Office. Ref: 387 CSR/4/3.
70. See 'Strength of Our Mothers' project, by National Black Arts Alliance, exploring the life experiences of white mothers in mixed relationships in Manchester spanning three generations of African migration 1940–2000; and 'The Colour of Love A Celebration of Mixed Race Relationships in Nottinghamshire 1940s–1970s', by St Anns Advice Centre, both funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund, 2017.

71. *Evening Despatch*, 4 March 1914.
72. *The Sunday Post*, 28 September 1919.
73. 24 July 1900.
74. Alfred Lawes, *Millennium Memory Bank*, 5 November 1998.

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Part II

1939–1949: The Second World War and the Early Post-war Years

As with the previous world war, the six years of the Second World War and its long aftermath had a disproportionate effect on racial mixing and mixedness. Firstly, this history in Britain had, until the early 1940s, been primarily about unions between peoples from British colonies or the Chinese and the white population. As Chap. 6 discusses, the war brought into Britain a community of black or African American servicemen with a very different ethnoracial history and who had also experienced substantially different processes of group racialisation. Secondly, interethnic relations and interracial union formation during wartime were subject to a particular set of military regulations that destabilised such relationships and significantly increased the vulnerability of the offspring of those relationships. Black US servicemen found themselves in a very different position to their white counterparts. And thirdly, as a consequence of those regulations, many of the children of mixed parentage were left without the support of one or both parents.

During the period 1942–1945, around one million US servicemen were based in England as part of the preparations for the invasion of Europe beginning in June 1944. Sources indicate that around 130,000 (13%) were black (African American) servicemen. The temporary presence of this new population created a number of tensions. The government was concerned that the racial prejudices that accompanied the

arrival of the segregated army would affect the black population from the British colonies who were already contributing to the war effort in Britain and might also offend the black population in British colonial territories as well as the British electorate. Some constituencies in government also expressed fears about the likelihood of interracial relationships and ‘half caste’ children. The practical difficulties became apparent as white women began to associate with the black GIs, many of whom were stationed in small towns, and segregated seats in cinemas and segregated dances were introduced in some parts of the country. Our history in Chap. 8 recovers narratives of conviviality, hostility and ordinariness of those whose everyday lives intersected with the Black GI population. The response of the government was delayed, uncoordinated, equivocal and sometimes contradictory, and failed to substantially satisfy any of the parties in this pressured arena.

A consequence of the presence in Britain of American servicemen and their relationships with white British women was the birth of an estimated 22,000 children, approximately 1200 to 1700 of which were estimated to be to white British women and their black American partners. For these ‘brown babies’ the consequences of prejudice in Britain against those of mixed race, the prohibition of mixed marriages in many US states, and the only half-hearted engagement with the issue by the British government were profound. It was largely left to voluntary organisations and benevolent individuals like Pastor Daniels Ekarte to make provision for these children, until legislation paved the way for ‘official’ children’s homes in the later 1940s.

The consequences of the war were also felt by the Chinese seamen in Liverpool (Chap. 7), many of whom (including some who had partners and children in the city) were repatriated to East Asia when the Pacific war with Japan was concluded. This expedient act of government stereotyped the Chinese in Liverpool, a group that had been characterised as a model community in the 1930s, as ‘undesirable aliens’ and, like the ‘brown babies’ created a generation of children who have been searching for their fathers and mothers into the twenty-first century.

The Second World War, too, had exposed the full horrors of Nazi racist policies on mainland Europe, a programme of systematic state-sponsored

incarceration and murder of Jews, Gypsies and other groups, including those who were mixed race. As we show in Chap. 9, the UNESCO-sponsored statements on ‘race’, beginning in 1950, were an attempt to make known the scientific facts about race and to combat racial prejudice, including the spurious arguments about the biological consequences of race crossing.



6

'Tan Yanks', 'Loose Women' and 'Brown Babies': Official Accounts of Mixing and Mixedness During the Second World War

This episode in the history of race relations is important for a number of reasons.¹ Firstly, the history of interraciality in Britain had, until the Second World War, been primarily about unions between colonial people and the white population and the children from these relationships. The war brought into Britain a community of black or African American servicemen with a very different ethnoracial history and who had also experienced substantially different processes of group racialisation. Secondly, with black US servicemen finding themselves in a very different position to their white counterparts, interethnic relations and interracial union formation during wartime were subject to a particular set of military regulations that destabilised such relationships and significantly increased the vulnerability of the offspring of those relationships. And thirdly, as a consequence of those regulations, many of the children of mixed racial relationships were left without the support of one or both parents. The long-term consequences for such children have been profound. As such children have become adults, many have embarked on the frequently fraught process of trying to identify and locate their fathers. With respect to government interventions involving minority groups in times of conflict, Saathoff (2011: ix) has spoken

of the imperativeness that 'we develop a prophylactic political consciousness of sensitivity in order to prevent disadvantages from degenerating into political and social discrimination and eventually into persecution'. The lack of such a political consciousness concerning those wartime unions and their children has left a continuing legacy of disadvantage.

During the first three or four decades of the twentieth century, we have seen (Chaps. 2, 3, 4 and 5) that there was a disproportionate focus on unions between white women and men of colour, most notably migrants from black African, black Caribbean, Asian and Arab locales. Much of this was in the context of fears of miscegenation and of the morally condemnatory attitudes of this time which castigated the migrants as destroying British society by taking white British men's jobs and women, and producing inferior 'half-caste' children. The discourse surrounding fraternisation, relationships and children in relation to black American servicemen and white women, however, was—at least initially—somewhat different. These servicemen were not voluntary migrants but in Britain as part of the Allies' efforts to defeat Nazism. They were US citizens and were generally made welcome. That these unions were forged in the circumstances of war was decisive with respect to their long-term stability. Again, issues of nationality and citizenship were at the heart of these relationships.

The genesis of this inflow of black servicemen began in the early 1940s. During the period 1942–1945, around one million US servicemen were based in England as part of the preparations for the invasion of Europe beginning in June 1944. Most sources suggest that around 130,000 (13%) were black (African American) servicemen. Amongst the very substantial numbers of black people who were combatants in the Second World War, there were also significant numbers from Britain's colonial territories. Many of the black American servicemen were based in military camps in predominantly rural areas where the local population had experienced little contact with members of black and minority ethnic communities. The 'Tan Yanks', as they were dubbed by the press, provoked substantial interest and curiosity as a result, particularly amongst young local women for whom the arrival of American servicemen as a whole represented a glamorous, exciting and exotic male presence in the midst of gloomy wartime Britain, where everything—including eligible British men—was in short supply (Wollacott 1994: Winfield 1992).

From the outset of the setting up of these English camps, difficulties arose. The British government was concerned that the racial prejudices that accompanied the arrival of the segregated US army would affect the black population from the British colonies—who were already contributing to the war effort in Britain—and might also offend the black population in British colonial territories as well as the British electorate; as such, the British government had insisted on non-segregation, much to the disapproval of the US army (Smith 1987). On the other hand, some constituencies in government expressed fears about miscegenation and the likelihood of mixed race children. Such voices, supported by the American military, gained increasing weight as white women began to associate with the black GIs, and segregated seats in cinemas and segregated dances were covertly introduced in some parts of the country.

Such measures had little effect. A consequence of the presence here of American servicemen as a whole was the formation of friendships and unions with white British women, which resulted in the birth of an estimated 22,000 children as a result of these relationships. Approximately 1200–1700 of these births were estimated to be owing to white British women and their black American partners,² although the precise number remains unknown.³ A survey undertaken by the League of Coloured Peoples between July and December 1945 identified 550 children born to British women and black GIs in England: the highest number of these births was in Devon, followed by Lancashire, Gloucester and Hampshire.

The first births of mixed race children to these unions were reported at the end of 1942 and these births were initially brought to the attention of the government in July/August 1944 by members of the public and voluntary bodies. Between mid-1944 and the end of 1947 the government was involved in intensive discussions across its own departments and with voluntary bodies and local medical officials about how to respond to these concerns. Events after 1947 are less well documented, though publicity given to the growing number of mixed race children in local authority and private children's homes bear testimony to the abandonment of these children. The records of the American military services provide a rich source of evidence on the difficulties that surrounded the fraternisation of black servicemen with white British women. In addition, the American press and other commentators offered a

perspective on the plight of these families. The American magazine *Newsweek* wrote of this matter as presenting an ‘insoluble problem to the British’ in 1947.

Racial Mixing Amongst Servicemen and Local Populations

Most of the black servicemen were stationed at American air bases in rural parts of the country and near small urban centres which had experienced little previous day-to-day contact with people from other ethnicities. The round of inspections of bases gives some idea of their overwhelmingly (but not exclusively) rural locations, frequently reinforced with the words ‘in the vicinity of’: Ashchurch, Barton Stacey, Basingstoke, Bishop’s Waltham, Bodmin, Bovey Tracey, Bristol, Brockley, Camborne, Cardiff, Carmarthen, Checkenden, Cheltenham, Chepstow, Chilcomb, Cleobury, Denbury, Doublebois, Drum Manor (Northern Ireland), Eardley, Evercreech, Everleigh, Eye, Gourock, Hator, Hereford, Kingclere, Kingham, Launceston, Leicester, Liskeard, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Marston-Magna, Monmouth, Moortock, Mortimer, Newbury, Newport, Newton Abbot, Newquay, Okehampton, Oxford, Plympton, Salisbury, Savernake, Shepton Mallett, Shipton under Wychewood, Southampton, Swansea, Taunton, Tavistock, Tidworth, Toddington, Torquay, Wellington, Wiscanton, Winchester and Yeovil.

In such settings, black GIs, white American servicemen and members of these local communities encountered each other in situations of everyday living and sociality. In the main the black servicemen were welcomed by their hosts and treated well. Where troubles arose, however, they were widely reported in the press and discussed by service chiefs. Given the suddenness of the arrival of these American servicemen, adverse events were frequently seized upon. Some press reports and military briefings were alarmist, while others accorded undue attention to relatively rare events as race was implicated. The positive side of the encounters was less newsworthy and consequently accorded less press attention, though it is recorded in personal testimonies (see Chap. 8).

The US military authorities showed continuing concern both during and immediately after the war about the relationship between its servicemen resident in Britain and their reception by local communities, and such concern was also evident in mainland Europe. Morale was always an issue, as was discipline and the need to minimise anything that damaged operational efficiency. Any civil disturbances were reported up the chain of command and resulted in detailed records being filed. Sometimes concern went much wider. One such case was the fraternisation of black soldiers and German women. The trigger was a feature in a 1946 issue of *Ebony* magazine, which was reported by *Newsweek* under the title 'Racial Mädchen and Negro'. The *Newsweek* article showed four photographs of white German girls with black GIs. The former National Commander of The American Legion's National Americanism Endowment Fund and its chairman, Owsley Alvin, wrote to Robert Patterson, Secretary of War, about his concerns: 'I am an American and I am ashamed of these photographs. I know you are ashamed also. I am a Southerner and consequently I am enraged over this article and these photographs. I am a Texan and I consider that this situation that has arisen under American Commanders is a disgrace to this country'.

The picture that emerges from press reports and official documents in Britain, however, is mainly one of a welcoming acceptance of black GIs by the host nation. There were very few reports of colour bars on black GIs but when they did occur they were taken seriously by the US military. One case was reported in the *Daily Herald* in September 1942, when coloured American soldiers stationed in the area were refused admission to an Army dance at Eye in Suffolk: a coloured military policeman was posted at the door to turn them away and they were placed under orders not to attend any dances there in future. These black GIs had also been refused admittance to the town's reading room which had facilities for reading and writing and other recreational activities, leaving them with nowhere to go when off duty in this small market town of a thousand or so population. The newspaper reported that the action was undertaken at the instigation of the American military authorities, though Britain's own Army Command had offered no objection to the entry of black soldiers to functions attended by British troops. The matter was investigated and reported to senior US military authorities. It was, in fact, Eye Borough Council that

had prohibited black GIs from attending dances in the town, the Battalion Commander implementing the ban 'solely in an effort to provide full co-operation with responsible British authorities'.

Towards the end of the war at one of Birmingham City Council Meetings, Councillor AF Bradbeer expressed resentment against discrimination between white and 'coloured' persons in the use of Birmingham's amenities. He gave as an instance of what he termed as 'the colour bar in Birmingham', the fact that an African American member of the US Women's Army Auxiliary Corps had gone to the Kent Street Bath for a Turkish bath⁴: 'She received every attention, but within a few hours the military authorities imposed a bar on the Kent Street baths to members of that particular unit'. However, when he proposed that the General Purposes Committee consider and report upon the desirability of issuing to all Corporation departments an advice to the effect 'that all services provided by the Corporation are available to persons irrespective of race or colour', it was defeated.

Just occasionally, there were cases of hostility which were given short shrift by the press. The *Sunday Pictorial* of 6 September 1942 carried the headline 'Vicar's Wife Insults Our Allies'. The piece reported that the women of Worle, Weston-super-Mare, were amazed by Mrs May, the wife of their vicar, who called them together and attempted to lay down a six-point code which would have resulted in the ostracism of African American troops if they had ever gone to the village. The rules Mrs May laid down were as follows: firstly, if a local woman keeps a shop and a coloured soldier enters, she must serve him, but she must do it as quickly as possible and indicate as quickly as possible and indicate that she does not desire him to come there again; secondly, if she is in a cinema and notices a coloured soldier next to her, she moves to another seat immediately; thirdly, if she is walking on the pavement and a coloured soldier is coming towards her, she crosses to the other pavement; fourthly, if she is in a shop and a coloured soldier enters, she leaves as soon as she has made her purchase or before that if she is in a queue; fifthly, white women must have no social relationship with coloured troops; and sixthly, on no account must coloured troops be invited to the homes of white women.

Her audience were outraged by the decree, seeing it as an insult to the black GIs, and reported the matter to their husbands, one of whom, a local councillor, took to preparing a full statement for the Ministry of Information. A local woman who attended the meeting told the *Sunday Pictorial*, 'I was disgusted, and so were most of the women there. We have no intention of agreeing to her decree'. Such statements of prejudice were rare and treated with hostility.

Relations Between Black and White US Servicemen

The friction between white and black US servicemen based in Britain appears to have been far greater than that between black GIs and local communities and on a number of occasions was significantly and consequentially mutually entangled in the latter. Between 1942 and 1945 there were a number of very serious incidents involving black and white servicemen, some of which started in community settings and were generally triggered by issues relating to behaviour and respect. In addition, there were numerous reports of 'friction' that became of growing concern to commanders in the western theatre of operations.

Typical of the fracture lines were relationships with local women. An extract from a 1944 Marine Intelligence Report records comments made by white enlisted men about the treatment of black American soldiers in Scotland and their interaction with white women:

I heard many comments from enlisted marines about the royal way the American negro soldiers are treated in Scotland. It seems that the negroes get the best of everything that the Scotch people have to offer, and the white boys are annoyed by this. You always see Negro enlisted marines with white girls, and the Negro enlisted marines are pretty "cocky" about the entire deal. They make remarks to the whites, to the effect that this is an example of what is going to happen to their sisters (the whites) when they get home. It goes without saying that there is a lot of bad feeling and many fights between the enlisted marines of the two races.

Contributory factors might have included the fact that there were '11,000 men over the hill in this area', the white and black marines sharing the same quarters at the Hotspur transit camp at Glasgow. The food, too, was reported to be 'very poor'.

The worst of these incidents occurred in Leicester, Bamber Bridge, near Preston (the so-called Battle of Bamber Bridge),⁵ Launceston in Cornwall, and in Thatcham, near Newbury, Berkshire. On two days in February 1944 there were major incidents in Leicester. On 20th February a number of white American glider troops were attacked by African Americans in the city. Six white Americans received injuries necessitating hospital treatment. Later the same evening the Civil Police received information that a number of American paratroops were about to assemble to attack black American troops. The Civil Police and Military Police succeeded in dispersing the soldiers. Four black soldiers were arrested by the American Military Police for having concealed weapons in their possession. These events were the culmination of a gradual deterioration in relations between white and black American servicemen in the city.

The 'Battle of Bamber Bridge' was immortalised in Anthony Burgess's autobiography (Burgess 1987: 348), in which 'Black soldiers had barricaded the camp against the whites and trained machine guns on to them. The Brigg was totally black in sentiment. When the US military authorities had demanded that the pubs impose a colour bar, the landlords had responded with 'Black Troops Only' (see also Chap. 8). Burgess was right to declare that 'it never got into the official chronicles of the war', the incident failing to get any mention in the US military archives like others did, possibly because of its seriousness.

There were numerous less serious altercations between black and white American soldiers in other parts of the country. In September 1943, for example, some black soldiers wounded two military policemen in Cornwall; in October 1943 black soldiers faced a court martial for mutinies and attempted murder at Paignton, Devon; in February 1944 there was serious fighting between black and white troops at Leicester; and on 5 October 1944, the wife of a licensee was killed in the cross-fire between black and white troops near Newbury, Berkshire.

Criminal Investigations

The US military services regularly monitored offences committed specifically by black GIs. Tellingly, commensurate lists for white US servicemen do not appear in the military archives. Typical is the October 1943 document, 'Cases in which Colored Troops were Involved', requested by the Duke of Marlborough, British Liaison Officer. It covered the period February to September 1943 and female victims of crimes were identified. Over this eight-month period, 37 crimes were listed, comprising 25 'attempted murder' (involving 51 soldiers, 5 of the victims being women), 5 cases of 'carnal knowledge' (involving 7 soldiers and 7 women), 3 cases of murder (involving 3 soldiers), 1 case of attempted rape and 2 of the rape of a woman, and the murder and rape of 2 women. Of the total of 65 black GIs involved in these investigations, 47 had been convicted, and 15 cases were pending. Regular weekly lists were compiled, giving a 'summary of incidents involving US coloured personnel'. A sample for one week, for example, comprised 'alleged assault of a female in a public house'; 'charged with rape' (three cases); accidental killing of two civilians while 'falling asleep at the wheel'; 'assault of a soldier with a knife'; 'drunk and incapable'; 'disturbance between white and coloured US troops'; 'unsoldierly conduct' with two women; and 'charged with larceny and lending of money at high rate of interest'.

The most serious cases, those of rape and murder during the war years of white British women by black servicemen, attracted widespread publicity. These cases were a highly emotive subject for a number of reasons. Firstly, although the number of such incidents was small, they received undue publicity in the national press as 'race' was implicated in their reporting. Further the ostensible disproportionate number of black and Hispanic servicemen who committed such offences was deemed newsworthy. Cases involving white servicemen appear to have been much less likely to have entered the public domain. Secondly, these cases came under the jurisdiction of the US military authorities in Britain and both rape and murder were punishable by death or life imprisonment. The fact that death was often the punishment for rape alarmed both parliamentarians and many in the wider society. Little evidence now survives beyond

brief case reports for the hangings that all took place at Shepton Mallett prison, under a special provision for the US authorities, some brief press reports and the records of the US military (that mainly concern appeals for clemency for the servicemen from British citizens).

Almost without exception, the detailed court records of the trials are not available and official US military archives contain scant information on the soldiers who were sentenced and imprisoned or executed. The National Council for the Abolition of the Death Penalty's *Wartime Bulletins* did not list executions of black GIs as these came under US jurisdiction. In 1943, for example, these bulletins record that 25 men and 1 woman were condemned to death on conviction of murder and 15 men were executed. Three cases concerned Canadian Private Soldiers, all executed for the murder of young women (one of whom died from injuries received while resisting attempted rape). The two cases concerning 'coloured men' (as they were identified in the Bulletin), were not of GIs. Gerald Elphinstone Roe, 41, 'engineer', was executed for murdering his 'white wife' following a quarrel, a case reported in the national press but without mention of the man's and victim's race. The other case, Thomas James, aged 26, a ship's fireman, was executed at Liverpool for murdering a prostitute.

However, there were a number of executions of black soldiers that took place at Shepton Mallett prison under US jurisdiction. Private David Cobb, a 21-year-old black GI was the first to be hanged, on 12 March 1943, though not for the murder of a white woman. Cobb was stationed at Desborough Camp in Northamptonshire and had been on guard duty for some time during Sunday, 27 December 1942, when he was reprimanded by 2nd Lieutenant Robert Cobner. He protested and Cobner ordered the sergeant of the guard to arrest Cobb. Cobb threatened the man who backed away, so Cobner unwisely decided to attempt the arrest himself. Cobb fired his rifle at Cobner fatally injuring him. He was tried by US court martial at Cambridge on 6 January 1943, his trial occupying less than one day, his death sentence being confirmed and reviewed by the authorities before he was executed by Tom Pierrepoint (the uncle of Albert Pierrepoint, Britain's leading executioner) within Shepton Mallett's new execution facility.

Lee A Davis, another young black GI, was the first to be convicted of murder or rape of a local woman during the war. The case was fully

reported by *The Daily Mirror*: The killing took place near Marlborough, Wiltshire, as two young women walked back from the cinema. Davis asked the girls what they were doing and the one, Muriel Fawden, said she was returning to the hospital where she worked as a nurse. They tried to get away from Davis who shouted after them to 'stand still, or I'll shoot'. He instructed the terrified girls to go into some bushes beside the footpath. Muriel's companion Cynthia Lay decided to make a run for it and Davis shot her dead. He then raped Muriel but did not kill her. She was able to give a full statement to the police and as a result all the rifles of the American soldiers stationed nearby were examined. Davis' rifle was found to have been fired and forensic tests matched the shell cases found near Cynthia's body. Davis admitted he had been at the scene of the crime but said he had only meant to fire over the heads of the girls. He was court-martialled at Marlborough on 6 October 1943 for the murder and rape, both crimes carrying the death penalty under US Military law, and hanged on the 14 December 1943 by Albert Pierrepoint and his uncle, Tom.

In 1944, the trials and punishments of black GIs for offences carrying the death penalty again attracted widespread publicity. The *Tribune* (published in London) for 9 June 1944 carried a three-page report on 'The Trial of a Negro'. This, surprisingly, provided a verbatim account of the court martial trial on 25 May 1944 of a 30-year-old 'Negro American soldier' based in an American army camp in Wiltshire, on a charge of raping a 33-year-old 'white English woman' at Combe Down, Bath, on 5 May 1944. This particular case attracted widespread attention in England. On 2 June 1944 the *Daily Mirror* requested clemency for this soldier. On 7 June Thurgood Marshall, Counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), New York City, cabled the Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Expeditionary Force requesting a stay of execution and opportunity to review the Court Martial record, citing the *Daily Mirror's* clemency request. On 18 June an outgoing classified message was sent by Dwight Eisenhower to the United States War Department, requesting that they advise Marshall that his request 'will receive due consideration as request for clemency and that sentence will not be executed unless approved, confirmed and otherwise determined by the proper military authorities to be warranted'. On 12 June 1944 an

Arthur Elton of Hampstead, London, wrote ‘in my private capacity’ to John CH Lee, Lieutenant General in the US Army and Deputy Theater Commander, about this case. Sir Arthur Elton—who was 10th Baronet (1906–1973), a pioneer of the British documentary film industry—had in fact at that time produced a film in which Lieutenant General Lee had made an appeal for better understanding between black people and white people. He had read about the case in *The Tribune*.

In the same feature in which *The Daily Mirror* announced that ‘Eisenhower acts to save the life of condemned negro’, the paper reported ‘2 more death sentences’, passed at an American military court in South Wales on two ‘coloured’ American soldiers, Archie Bowman and Joseph Glover, who had been found guilty of rape. Their victim was a 30-year-old Barry (Glamorgan) married woman, the rape taking place in a field near Sully hospital where she had been a patient for 18 months. The day after the offence the woman had picked out the two men in an identity parade of 800 coloured men. A Miss GM Ball of Whitnash, near Leamington Spa, appealed to General Eisenhower for clemency for these two soldiers on 19 June 1944: ‘I work in a Factory, and many of my workmates and myself beg you to reprieve these two men. Many girls encourage soldiers, Sir, and they deserve all they get. These men are probably more than sorry for the wrong they did to the girl, but Sir, they did not kill her, and even if they are coloured men, surely they don’t deserve the death penalty’. In his reply, the Theater Judge Advocate addressed the underlying racism: ‘Whether, as implied in your appeal, the accused is colored or white is not for consideration under our law in determining the guilt or in fixing his punishment for any crime whatever’. Bowman was not executed—and there is no record of such a punishment accorded to Glover. Indeed, we know from subsequent testimony that he lived with the heavy weight of his conviction for many years, until being pardoned by President Gerald R Ford in 1976.

Another two soldiers—privates Eliga Brinson, of Tallahassee, Florida, and Willie Smith, of Birmingham, Alabama—were sentenced to death in the spring of 1944, for the rape of 16-year-old Dorothy Holmes after a dance at Bishop’s Cleeve in Gloucestershire. Holmes had left the dance with her boyfriend when they were ambushed by Brinson and Smith who

assaulted them: when the boyfriend ran to get help both soldiers raped Holmes. They were caught through the boot prints they left in the field where the rape took place. The case came to trial at Cheltenham on 28 April 1944, taking two days to complete, the accused being sentenced to death. Brinson and Smith were hanged by Albert Pierrepont on 11 August 1944, their executions being reported in both *The Times* and *The Daily Mirror*.

This case attracted even more publicity than the earlier ones. A significant number of British citizens sought clemency from the American authorities. In a letter of 22 May 1944 VM Crump of Southend-on-Sea wrote to the Colonel In Chief of the American Forces, Cheltenham, petitioning for the pardon of the two soldiers: 'Are we not very much to blame here? Parental control these days seems to be unheard of. No home teaching of good principals or religion is given. How are young people to learn self restraint? By suffering punishment? Then there is the fact of our American friends being paid a greater salary than our own soldiers'. The Theater Judge Advocate only assured the writer that the evidence in the case would be thoroughly reviewed. In the same month George Bell, Bishop of Chichester, wrote to Eisenhower pleading for a reduction of the sentence: 'The crime of rape, whether committed by a negro or a white man, is a very grave crime. But I would plead that the punishment of death, which is ordinarily reserved for those who have committed murder, is a punishment which very large numbers of humane people would find it difficult to justify'.

The Right Honourable Lord Faringdon, House of Lords, too, wrote to General Eisenhower at the end of May 1944 'expressing to you the dismay which has been caused to many people in this country by the condemnation to death for rape of the two soldiers... Without wishing to condone the beastliness of the offence, as you will be aware, it is not under our law so severely punishable, and I have not infrequently heard those with wide legal experience declare how difficult it has always seemed to them to arrive at the truth in such cases'. Faringdon anticipated that the carrying out of the sentences 'would be highly disapproved here' and urged the exercise of the prerogative of mercy. The reply to Faringdon's letter came six days later from the Theater Judge

Advocate, stating that 'execution of the sentence of the court-martial was deemed requisite to justice', given 'the bestiality of the crime itself' and the need 'to deter others from the commission of such acts of violence'.

Other petitioners came from the fields of arts and letters. On 19 May 1944 Augustus John (the file notes: 'this man is noted artist in England') wrote from his home at 33 Tite Street, Chelsea, to General Eisenhower, pointing out that 'local feeling is strongly against this sentence, to judge by letters in the local press', 'that confidential enquiries have elicited... that the girl involved was more to blame than the men', and that the sentence 'would, in any case be adverse to British sentiment and custom'. Ethel Mannin (1900–1984), the Anglo-Irish writer and friend of WB Yeats, of Oak Cottage in Wimbledon, SW19, wrote on three occasions to the US authorities during May and June 1944. She argued that the case of these two soldiers 'have aroused feeling in this country, both amongst the intelligentsia and the working classes' and referred to 'letters of protest from trade-unionists and local workers which appeared in the local paper in the West of England town in which the offence took place'. She concluded, 'It is simply that English sensibility is shocked by what seems to it a disproportionately savage sentence'. In her last letter, to Lieutenant General Lee, on 20 June 1944, she enclosed a leaflet issued by the National Council for the Abolition of the Death Penalty.

Indeed, the voice of the working classes had been conveyed to Lieutenant General Lee on 2 May 1944 by HW Lewis, Personnel and Welfare Manager, of Messrs S Smith & Sons Ltd, of Edgware Road, London. Eighteen hundred employees at the company's Bishop's Cleeve Factory, fellow workers of the girl who was raped, had signed a petition for clemency. Lewis added that carrying out the death sentence would 'have a very detrimental effect on this child both now and in the future' and that 'the whole of these (petitioning) people's sympathies at the moment are with the men under sentence of death'. He worried 'that the sentence if carried out will be on account of racial feeling, by the authorities'.

These cases and the correspondence they provoked reveal that ordinary British people felt that the death penalty was disproportionate for rape and those in the communities where these incidents took place were

amongst the most vociferous in their appeals for clemency. Much sympathy was extended to the black GIs in spite of the severity of their crimes, belying the underlying support for these servicemen while they were based in Britain. The records of the Shepton Mallett prison do not provide us with an exact total of Black GIs who were executed for rape or murder during the war years. While clemency was exercised in a few cases, the US military were clearly minded to set an example to their black service personnel and the legacy of these punishments was one of shock and resentment amongst many in the British population and in the nation's parliament. As we discuss in Chap. 8, such incidents were also tackled within the arts: the issue of US military racism, as well as race, rape and culpability between black GIs and local British women, is a pivotal plot in Nevil Chute's successful novel *The Chequer Board* (1947).

Mixed Racial Unions and Births Outside Marriage

The events of the criminal cases aside, it was the births that took place to interracial unions of white women and black GIs that most consistently engaged the press and the wider public. Once the birth of babies to black GIs and white women in England and elsewhere in Europe entered the public domain, one of the most urgent issues was whether these births were taking place inside or outside marriage. In England it was the National Council for the Unmarried Mother and her Child which took the lead in addressing 'the position of the illegitimate child whose father is alleged to be a coloured American'. Over in the United States there was a controversy about whether black soldiers were being prevented from marrying local women in France, Italy and England: in December 1945 Walter White, Secretary to the NAACP, wrote to Robert P Patterson, Secretary of War, 'This Association has recently received several communications from American Negro servicemen and several from fiancées of Negro servicemen in France, Italy, England and other places reporting that American Army officers have refused permission to these individuals to marry. In some instances these servicemen are the fathers or prospective fathers of children. These men have sought to legitimize these children by

honorable marriage but have been prevented from doing so. As a result, the US Government, through the action of these officers, has become a partner to bastardy'. The NAACP requested that 'the War Department issue orders, and take steps to see that such orders are enforced, that where two persons wish to join in holy matrimony that they be not debarred from doing so because of race or color'. The allegations were communicated to appropriate commanders in the field of war and reports requested. The European Theater Commander declared: 'No instances such as claimed...have come to the attention of this Headquarters' and no action was taken. Edward Witsell, Adjutant General of the US Army (1946–1951), added in an internal memo, 'it is not the policy of the War Department to practice discrimination', even though there was separation of roles within the United States Armed Forces up to the 1950s (black units were usually separated from white units but were led by white officers).

It is impossible to know from surviving archival material whether an unofficial policy of preventing black soldiers from marrying French, Italian and English women was practised. In August 1944 General Eisenhower had issued an instruction to the US Army headquarters of the European Theater that 'No military personnel may marry in any area outside the United States...without the approval of the commander of the United States Army Forces stationed in that area'. In his letter to Walter White, Robert Patterson added, 'The Commanding General of the Theater...must take many things into consideration in determining whether or not a marriage should be permitted or refused, such as the capacity to marry, application of the local laws to foreigners marrying, sterility of the individuals concerned, reputation of the intended spouse, et cetera. All rules and regulations which govern the marriage of military personnel in overseas areas are applicable to all members of the Army, regardless of race, creed or color'. No figures have been identified for the number of marriages between black GIs and local women, though the absence of reports in surviving correspondence and the media suggest that they were sparse or non-existent. Indeed, the survey by London's League of Coloured Peoples indicated that *all* 544 children born to white women and black GIs were outside marriage.

Thus, illegitimacy was added to the stigma that attached to the 'mixed race' of these children and the poverty in which they were brought up. *Time Magazine* wrote of the 'unbearable' 'social pressure of British provincial respectability', quoting one British mother of a black soldier's

child: 'I am shunned by the whole village... The inspector for the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children has told my friend to keep her children away from my house...as didn't she know that I had two illegitimate colored children? Is there anywhere I can go where my children will not get...pushed around?'.⁶

The issue of these 'brown babies' as they were frequently dubbed was first brought to the attention of the Government in July 1944 by a letter from Squadron Leader Patrick Donner MP of the Colonial Office to a Mr A Henderson in the War Office, enclosing correspondence from a Miss OMM Clarke of Hayling Island and asking, 'Is any thinking being done by anyone about these children'. Miss Clarke had suggested that the children of coloured troops in Britain should be placed in West Indian Mission schools. The letter went around various officials in the Ministry of Health, with a number of views being voiced in internal memos such as, 'The proposed solution is high handed and (if confined to coloured illegitimates) has a Herrenrasse flavour not now popular'; and 'We have had distant rumblings about 'coloured babies' but nothing definite. The present proposal seems to me to be only very remotely our affair. I don't know what West Indian Mission Schools are, nor where, nor indeed whether they exist or whether it is suggested we should set them up'. The memos acknowledged that, 'perhaps, at some stage, we might collect information about coloured babies and discuss'. The reply from the Ministry of Health was terse: 'We have under consideration many war-time problems in connection with illegitimate babies, including that of coloured babies. The suggestion that special schools should be set up for these children would not, however, be a matter for this Ministry'. This exchange was to typify the way government departments treated the "brown babies" issue: a studied distance and non-engagement.

A month later it was the Soldiers', Sailors' and Airmen's Families Association (SSAFA) contacting the Ministry of Health to establish 'if any provisions are being made, or proposed, for the care of coloured children of English wives whose husbands are overseas, or absent from home'. They summarised the plight of these children, thus: 'We have been advised by various of our County Secretaries that this problem is likely to become very acute in the future. From our angle the problem is, that whereas it is very often possible to effect a reconciliation between

husbands and wives when the wife has been unfaithful but the child is white, where a coloured child is concerned the chances of reunion are almost negligible. Existing Homes are not willing to take on the care of these unfortunate children’.

A third letter to the Ministry of Health at the end of 1944 heralded a much more systematic attempt, led by voluntary bodies, to address ‘the position of the illegitimate child whose father is alleged to be a coloured American’: the General Secretary of the National Council for the Unmarried Mother and her Child informed the Ministry of a conference on the matter at their headquarters, Carnegie House in Piccadilly, and sought their attendance.

There were several attempts to count the number of ‘brown babies’. A Captain Stevens provided the US military authorities with an undated list that named the woman and gave the soldier’s company (the soldiers’ names being kept on a ‘secret file’): of the 24 cases, 3 were in Manchester, 1 in Leeds, 10 in Preston, 6 in Bristol and 4 location unknown. In addition there are the findings of an investigation into ‘illegitimate coloured babies’ that appears to have been undertaken in November 1943 through correspondence with medical officers of health and was then incomplete. This listed none in Berkshire; none in Gloucester but 21 born (2 to married mothers) and 3 abortions in Bristol with a further 6 ‘expected to be born shortly’, and 1 in Cheltenham; in Lancashire, 7 in Preston, one in Bootle, 8 in Liverpool (‘also many cases in which fathers said to be Jamaican and not American’), 2 in Manchester, and 1 in Southport; none in Northamptonshire; ‘several, actual number not known’ in Somerset; 1 in Wiltshire; 2 in Suffolk; and 1 in Glamorganshire.

The first comprehensive survey, undertaken by Miss Sylvia McNeill, special worker and a Jamaican schoolteacher, for the League of Coloured Peoples during July–November 1945, revealed substantially larger numbers (Table 6.1). The survey was mainly carried out by post, letters being sent to County Welfare Organisers in each county, as well as other organisations and individuals. Amongst the 544 mixed children identified (born outside marriage of the parents), most were reported in primarily rural counties (Suffolk, 33; Cornwall, 35; Somerset, 39; Hampshire, 50; Gloucestershire, 58; Devon, 83; but Lancashire, 68). Of the mothers whose marital status was known (just 184 of 536 mothers or 34.3%),

Table 6.1 First systematic survey of 'illegitimate' children born to white British mothers and black American fathers

County	Male	Female	Unknown	Total	Married mothers	Unmarried mothers	Unknown	Total	Priority cases
Berkshire	2	3	2	7	3	4	-	7	2
Caernarvon	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	1
Carmarthen	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	1	-
Cheshire	-	2	7	9	2	1	6	9	3
Cornwall	9	12	17	38	9	3	23	35	-
Devon	20	15	48	83	18	12	53	83	13
Derbyshire	1	-	2	3	1	1	1	3	2
Dorset	4	8	5	17	4	11	2	17	12
Glamorgan	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	-
Gloucester	-	-	58	58	-	-	58	58	-
Hereford	-	-	11	11	-	-	11	11	-
Hertfordshire	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	1
Hampshire	27	5	18	50	10	3	35	50	19
Kent	1	1	2	4	2	2	-	4	-
London	1	1	2	4	3	1	-	4	2
Lancashire	25	16	29	70	14	26	28	68	20
Leicester	1	1	3	5	2	1	2	5	2
Lincoln	2	-	1	3	-	1	2	3	1
Monmouth	5	12	4	21	5	16	-	21	12
Nottingham	-	-	6	6	-	-	6	6	1
Norfolk	1	-	1	2	2	-	-	2	2
Northampton	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1
Oxford	12	5	7	24	-	-	23	23	1
Rutland	-	2	-	2	-	2	-	2	2
Radnor	-	-	3	3	-	3	-	3	3
Suffolk	2	2	30	34	3	1	29	33	6

(continued)

Table 6.1 (continued)

County	Male	Female	Unknown	Total	Married mothers	Unmarried mothers	Unknown mothers	Total	Priority cases
Somerset	-	-	39	39	-	-	39	39	-
Surrey	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	1
Stafford	18	5	6	29	2	-	26	28	6
Warwick	1	2	5	8	5	2	1	8	-
Worcester	-	1	2	3	-	1	2	3	2
Yorkshire	-	-	5	5	-	1	4	5	-
TOTAL	133	98	313	544	89	95	352	536	135

Source: Sylvia McNeill. *Illegitimate Children Born in Britain of English Mothers and Coloured Americans. Report of a Survey*. London: The League of Coloured Peoples, 30 November 1945. [reproduced in: National Archives MH 55/1656/322979; 'Number of illegitimate children born in this country whose fathers are alleged to be coloured American soldiers']

unmarried mothers slightly exceed married mothers. Amongst the 135 'priority cases' ('cases needing immediate attention', 24.8% of the total), only very small numbers of parents (4), fathers (6), and mothers (3) were prepared to send their children to the USA, keep their children with the father's support (2), or fathers wishing to marry the mothers (4), the vast majority wanting to put their children into homes.

McNeill conceded that the survey findings were incomplete, 'a sample' or 'fair cross-section', children whose parent(s) had not applied for help and advice being excluded. They may have 'found it difficult to ascertain accurately the numbers involved':

One reason given was that many mothers moved away from home to other counties and cities, to escape the disgrace and prejudice they encountered. It was found that some mothers were unwilling to part with their children and often lived in appalling conditions, in order to obtain acceptance for themselves and the children. They had good reason to fear at least some of the local authorities, like Somerset, which insisted on taking such children away from their mothers. Destitute mothers reported that when they had approached children's homes, to get their children taken into care, the matrons refused them admission. A solution proposed and favoured by the local authorities, was the use of foster parents, who would give the children a home in return for payment. The Family Welfare Association and Dr Joseph-Mitchell were able to contact some of the children's fathers in America and a few children were actually sent there to be adopted. But there were many more who were unwanted or abandoned' (McKenzie-Mavinga and Perkins 1991: 91–92).

Dr Joseph-Mitchell who assisted McNeill estimated that the total number of such children 'must be in the vicinity of one thousand or so' but did not exceed 1700, though some sources produced questionably higher numbers.⁷

The 409 non-priority cases in McNeill's survey were said to 'all need attention'. Indeed, all the 'brown babies' children were also described by *Time Magazine* (1946) as 'in social or economic straits', a situation that had arisen following demobilization⁸: 'So long as the Negro fathers were in the US Army and acknowledged paternity, the mothers received support allowances. In the British provinces \$85 a month was comparative

riches. But when Negro soldiers were demobilized in the USA, allowances ceased; some Negro fathers neglected to make any other provision'.

McNeill's report drew readers' attention to a number of issues, including the position of women with 'brown babies' whose husbands were in the British forces and stationed overseas and the response to fathers who wished to bring their children to the USA. Harold Moody, President of the League of Coloured Peoples, described the 'brown baby' issue as a 'war casualty' and, in a letter to the Minister of Health, prioritised the upbringing of these children by their own mothers. Other options would be to send the children to a large number of homes that also cared for white children and, least satisfactorily, to send children to homes in the Southern States of the USA or the colonies. The government did little but to agree with Moody's priorities.

The Initiatives of Citizens

The Ministry of Health declined to get involved in the direct provision of homes and hostels (and also decided against undertaking an official census of these mixed race children), arguing that they should be integrated into existing homes if they could not be cared for by their parent(s). Voluntary bodies and well-meaning individuals stepped in once the scale of the plight of these children became apparent.

Amongst the first of those private citizens who endeavoured to respond to the need for homes or other caring arrangements was the famous cricketer Learie Constantine (1901–1971). During World War II, Constantine worked as a welfare officer for the Ministry of Labour. Based in Liverpool, his main responsibility was to help West Indian immigrants find employment and accommodation in Britain. The report of the 'Conference on the position of the illegitimate child whose father is alleged to be a coloured American', held at Carnegie House, Piccadilly, in December 1944, refers to Mr Constantine as 'Local Welfare Officer of the Ministry of Labour and National Service in Liverpool' who had stated that 'he was in the process of establishing a Home for these children and would offer vacancies when accommodation was available'. Additionally, according to Ministry of Health records, 'Mr Constantine,

the well-known cricketer, was said to be interested in the ('black baby') problem and a home for them in Liverpool'. Wilson (1992) further elaborates: 'In association with Learie Constantine, the West Indian Cricketer, and George Padmore of the Pan-African Federation, Ekarte (see below) unsuccessfully attempted to purchase property and establish a home for these children'. Constantine also provides a few sparse details about what were his intentions in surviving correspondence.

There are no surviving records to indicate why Constantine did not proceed with his scheme, nor retrospective reflections in later life when Constantine gained prominence as the first black Governor of the BBC and the first black life peer. However, what is clear is that the ways in which efforts by establishment figures like Constantine were treated by officialdom were very different from those of a handful of others, notably Daniels Ekarte who migrated to Britain from West Africa and who was eschewed by the powerful, including charitable bodies and the government. In the case of Ekarte, much of this treatment fell little short of racism.

The efforts of Pastor G Daniels Ekarte (1896–1964), Minister and Founder of the African Churches Mission, to provide for the 'brown babies' are better documented than those of Learie Constantine. His involvement in helping Liverpool's black population can be traced back to his arrival in the city in 1915 from the Southern Nigerian province of Calabar. The African Churches Mission which he later set up was located at 122 Hill Street, Liverpool 8, and Ekarte took these 'brown babies' into his homes between 1945 and 1949. Ekarte's social and welfare role in Liverpool evoked much criticism from government and official bodies. He was regarded as a controversial figure, yet much admired by segments of the city's population, who never got the recognition he deserved in his own lifetime. The treatment of Ekarte by official bodies during the war and immediate post-war years was savage, as indeed it had been throughout the period of his welfare work in Liverpool. Yet correspondence portrays a kind and courteous man trying to do his best for his community and acting in accord with his faith with extremely meagre resources to hand. Based on Ekarte's record, it is difficult to see why he was so badly treated without invoking the explanation of racism.

A graphic description of his West African Mission House is given in a report by a woman inspector from one of the Ministry of Health's NW regions. There were three rooms and a kitchen on the ground floor of the Mission, including one that was used as a study by Pastor Ekarte and another as a dining room. The third was a bedroom said to be approximately 350 sq. ft. in size, containing a bed occupied at night by a Mrs Roberts, three cots, a folding- and a chair-bed: the eight children in residence occupied these beds, three beds each accommodating two children. The children usually had their meals in the kitchen, 'a fair sized room in which the babies are bathed and the food cooked including pies and such like for Mission functions held in the Mission Hall'. The toddlers were bathed in a bathroom on the first floor and used the outside WC, the 'tweenies' being chambered in the bedroom. Also on the first floor were two rooms in which the children play during specified hours in the day. The Ministry of Health inspector summed it up, thus: 'The most appropriate description for this place is that it presents the general appearance of a mother and her eight children in a private household of reduced financial circumstances. That, indeed, is how neighbours regarded the property.'

By February 1946, 18 children had been accepted into the Mission House, 8 being resident on the day the Ministry of Health Inspector visited. Known histories were reported for 11 of the children. Six had 'Coloured American' fathers, 3 West African fathers, 1 a White American and 1 South American. Amongst those with American fathers, their births occurred between September 1943 and April 1945. Most of the 11 children were born locally to mothers resident locally, including Warrington, Walton, Seaforth and Huyton in Liverpool, and Ormskirk in Lancashire. Some of the children had been moved around a great deal in their short lives. One child born in Seaforth had been returned from a Miss Spencer, foster-mother, at Mayfield Cottage, Scholes, in Leeds, and, by February 1946, was being fostered with a Miss Carruthers, a Mission Visitor, in Liverpool. Two children born in Liverpool and believed to have West African fathers had been transferred from foster homes in Leeds. Another child had been born in London and been sent to Miss Spencer in Leeds, from where he had been admitted to hospital suffering

from rickets and bronchitis and subsequently transferred to Ekarte's Mission. No payments were being received for eight of the children.

A few other enterprising individuals set up schemes for homes, some of which flourished for a short time or attracted adverse publicity and were closed down. Dr Malcolm Joseph-Mitchell, a Trinidadian, was involved in the 'brown babies' issue in a number of ways. He came to Britain to study history and economics at Oxford University. He was a member of the University athletics team and captain of the West Indian team that competed in the Empire games in Australia in 1939. He knew Ernest McKenzie (c. 1898–1949), the Trinidadian writer and political campaigner active in British politics who emigrated to Britain in 1927, and had known McKenzie's sister and his family house in Trinidad. McKenzie introduced him to Paul Robeson, CLR James, Marcus Garvey, Aneurin Bevan, Lord Soper, Barbara Betts (later Castle) and Fenner Brockway (McKenzie-Mavinga and Perkins 1991: 115–116). When the League of Coloured Peoples commissioned their survey to find out about the problems of the welfare of these 'brown babies', it was Dr Malcolm Joseph-Mitchell (who was made General and Travelling Secretary of the League in 1947), who editorially assisted Miss Sylvia McNeill, who carried out the inquiry. Dr Joseph-Mitchell was also in correspondence with Kathleen Tacchi-Morris who ran an International School at North Curry, Somerset, and offered to take two of the brown babies into her care for education at the school.

According to the biography of Ernest McKenzie by his daughters (his first three children had, themselves, been placed in care because of McKenzie's unstable income), Dr Joseph-Mitchell had bought a house in Purley for the 'brown babies' and staffed it with two women who were sympathetic to their needs. Unfortunately, however, it could not function without funding and eventually was closed. *Crisis* magazine for 1948 records, 'Dr. Malcolm Joseph-Mitchell of the less well-publicized League of Colored Peoples (Britain's NAACP) is caring for about 50 children out of the League's meagre resources and is working hard on a unique adoption program for the placing of' these children.

According to Padmore, The League of Coloured Peoples had established a 'large and commodious institution' in Birkenhead—evocatively

named the 'Rainbow Children's Home'—that cared for some 70 children under the supervision of Mr and Mrs JAR Russell and a group of volunteer English helpers.⁹ The home functioned for a while but the Russells had a history of falling foul with officialdom and their endeavours were, in fact, brought to the attention of Ministry of Health officials in London. It appears that Mrs Russell was first interviewed at Ministry offices on 16 August 1944 in connection with a care home she was running, documents making reference to a report on the patients Mrs Russell had received into her care at Crundelend Farm, Stockton-on-Teme: 'The majority of the patients were removed from Mrs Russell's care by the end of 1944', except one 'mental defective' who left in June 1945.

The couple re-enter Ministry records in the autumn of 1945, when they were actively trying to set up a new care home for 'brown babies'. They were in London in December 1945 and asked to see Ministry officials who cautiously noted that 'regarding their proposals...they can get no satisfaction from the Councils!' and that official letters 'show that these people are not to be encouraged'. The meeting revealed that the Russells had been in touch with many welfare authorities in trying to establish a home under the auspices of the African Church Mission, including those in Gloucester, Sussex, Worcester, Shropshire, Cheshire and Brighton 'but there was always some objection raised'. Ministry officials went out of their way to deter the couple: 'We explained that a home of this kind would be expensive and need proper trained staff...Also that the Welfare Authority and Housing Authority would have to approve. We painted all the difficulties as much as possible in order to discourage them as both of us felt that they were hardly the people to run such a home successfully and keep trained staff'. In further deterrence, they added that the kind of home the Russells wanted to establish—one for a 100 children under five—'could never be agreed to in view of the risk of infection' and that 'to segregate children was wrong in principle. They should be mixed in with the normal population'.

The dislike of the Russells led to action against them, including ascertainment from the Ministry of Health's Board of Control of 'what they knew about them' and to 'warn all PRMO's' with a note giving references to Ministry papers. Other Ministry of Health records refer to attempts by Mr and Mrs Russell to establish a residential nursery for these children,

adding, 'The Russells have since been fined or imprisoned for neglect of children under their care'. We know relatively little about the background of this couple and thereafter they disappear from the surviving record.

The efforts of these various organisations were summed up thus:

Various organisations tried opening homes especially for 'half-caste' children. This of course meant segregation. There was not much success... The survey [by Sylvia McNeill] concluded that, although many of the children often lived in disgraceful conditions, they were no more socially disadvantaged than white children in the same area; that the children appeared to have no problems in school and mixed freely; but that when they left school they tended to find their own employment because employment exchanges were rarely helpful. (McKenzie-Mavinga and Perkins 1991: 91–92)

Official Provision

A number of factors led to a shift in provision from initiatives by private individuals to official bodies such as local authorities. On 5 July 1948, at the Park Hospital (now known as Trafford General Hospital) in Manchester, Aneurin Bevan, Secretary of State for Health, unveiled the National Health Service. In addition, the Children Act 1948 established a children's committee and a children's officer in each local authority. It followed the creation of the parliamentary care of children committee in 1945 following the death of 13-year-old Dennis O'Neill at the hands of his foster parents. The Act specified a duty of local authorities to assume care of children and to provide for orphans and deserted children, another part of the Act identifying an assumption that the Local Authority has parental rights. This legislation was to have dramatic consequences for those individuals who had set up private homes to care for the 'brown babies'.

The picture that emerges in 1948 is one of children being moved from private homes into local authority-provided institutional settings. Holnicote House in Porlock (near Minehead), run by Somerset County Council, was one of these first of these official homes (or orphanages as

they were called) to capture the attention of the national press. On 25 July 1947 the *Sunday Pictorial* ran the headline ‘The twenty “black” babies of Porlock’, asking, ‘Should they go to Negro homes in America—or should they stay here?’ These babies were again in the news later that year, featuring in the US *Life* magazine for 23 August 1948.¹⁰ According to these reports there were 40 children in the home, just half being the offspring of black GIs and English women.¹¹ In addition to ‘black babies’, the *Sunday Pictorial* also referred to these children as ‘darker than other children’ and ‘half-castes’. It claimed ‘Somerset County Council want to bundle them all off to coloured homes in America. They have their plan cut and dried, and have asked Mr Ede to sanction the adoption of these British-born babies by coloured families in Chicago and California’. The writer cautioned that ‘the Children’s Charter, which is now law, puts a heavy responsibility on all of us’ and joined the debate about ‘Where will these children be better-off—in Britain or in colour-conscious America?’ ‘A shoal of adoption offers’ had been made, following publication of the babies’ photographs in African American newspapers. This publicity resulted in a number of readers writing to the Ministry of Health about the plight of these children who were sent perfunctory replies stating that ‘under the Children Act 1948 the arrangements for the care of such children became the responsibility of the Home Office’.

Sir Edward Keeling (MP for Twickenham) announced in the House of Commons in December 1947, ‘The Ministry of Health requisitioned Holnicote House, which is being used as a children’s nursery by the Somerset County Council, and the children are nearly all the illegitimate children of black soldiers, a by-product of the war. This house had been let by the National Trust to the Holiday Fellowship. I am not suggesting that these unfortunate children are not just as much deserving of consideration as the Holiday Fellowship, but the point is that occupation by the Holiday Fellowship would be much more in accordance with the purposes of the National Trust than illegitimate children’. No sooner had these ‘brown babies’ secured a place in a care home, which according to recollections was a very congenial environment (Buckton 2006), than they were dismissively treated by government and shipped elsewhere.

Activities in the USA and Proposals for Adoption

In the years following the end of the war, newspaper and magazine publicity about the plight of the 'brown babies' (including photographs of the 'brown babies' in Holnicote House) and attempts to raise funds raised the interest of individuals and organisations in the USA. These included Eleanor Roosevelt who entered a correspondence on the situation with the NAACP in the USA and the Women's Voluntary Services in London.¹² In April 1947, George Padmore, the Trinidadian author and journalist, sent a copy of his account of the 'brown babies' issue to the *Chicago Defender*. A representative of the British Family Welfare Association around this time toured the US lecturing on 'the problem of white women and coloured GI's in Britain'. Also, a Mr Edwin J Duplan, 'a native of the Gold Coast' and secretary of the Negro Welfare Centre in Liverpool, went to America to raise funds for Ekarte's African Churches Mission. However, he was said to be making alarmist reports on the numbers and the *Daily Mail* of April 1947 reported the figure of 10,000 'dusky problem babies'.¹³ It quoted arrangements made by the Negro Welfare Society of London and Liverpool for the US Government to send a liner to Britain in nine months' time to collect 5000 of the children for transportation to the USA for adoption, the claim being made that Mrs Eleanor Roosevelt was organising the funds. These arrangements could not be verified. A similar item was run in the *Chicago Tribune* on 10 April 1947, adding that the 5000 children remaining in Britain would be 'reared in a special boarding school soon to be opened in Liverpool'.¹⁴

In late 1946 and early 1947 government departments discussed the possibility of sending the 'brown babies' to the USA for adoption, acknowledging the need to obtain Cabinet authority and announcing the policy in Parliament. Although the Home Secretary had been asked to sanction the mass evacuation, it appears that by the end of 1947 officials in the Ministry of Health were still equivocating on the issue and, in the end, nothing came of it, though plans for adoption in the USA still seem to have been under consideration as late as mid-1948. For example, it was

proposed in March 1948 that the Holnicote children could be transferred to America, though no subsequent mention of this is made after January 1949. The Australian newspaper, *The Worker*, reported in July of that year that Somerset County Council 'has received many offers from coloured families in California to adopt illegitimate coloured war babies from the Council's residential nursery', adding, 'The families are prepared to pay the cost of transporting the children to America, so the Council has decided to make a grant of £750 to meet the expenses of the children's escorts'.¹⁵ New legislation (the Children Act, 1948), new rules on adoption in 1949, and the fact that the children were too young to give informed consent probably ended such discussions.

It is important to remember that in 1945 interracial marriage was still illegal in around 20 states in the USA. This perhaps might explain the response of one Southern black father when asked by the League of Coloured Peoples if he wanted to take his white wife to America: 'Brother, if I did, I would have to leave her in New York when I went home'.¹⁶ According to Wilson (1992), 'Ekarte...attempted to develop a program whereby black women in America could adopt the children. This plan failed primarily because of negative publicity and the disapproval of both the British and American governments. Although archival materials are sparse, it seems likely that very few if any of the 'brown babies' born in Britain were either reunited with their Black American fathers or were adopted by American couples.

What the Discourses on the 'Brown Babies Problem' Tell Us About Inclusive Citizenship

The surviving official records of the British government and the US military authorities make it clear that the issue of the offspring of interracial unions between white British women and black GIs was one they did not wish to constructively engage with. The US authorities prevaricated on the right of Black GIs to marry those English women with whom they had formed relationships, arguing that they were not aware of such cases. *Life* magazine in 1948 commented, 'In nearly all cases duty or death called the father elsewhere, leaving the mother to face disgrace and economic

hardship. Uncle Sam has shown virtually no interest in her problems'. Surviving British government files suggest that cases of white British women and white US servicemen were treated very differently. The British government largely disowned responsibility for the children of these interracial unions until the passing of the Children Act in 1948. This attitude mirrored the treatment of Chinese seamen who had entered unions with local white women and fathered children (see Chap. 7).

The difficulties of marriage between white women and black GIs is nicely illustrated by one particular case that reveals the antagonism shown to these interracial unions by the US government and the equivocation displayed by its British counterpart. The case of Margaret Goosey, a 42 year old white British shoe factory worker from Wellingborough, Northants, received widespread attention when in 1947 she went to Goochland, Virginia in the USA to marry her American fiancé, Thomas Johnson, a black odd job man who had proposed to her during his time stationed in England. Though it appears that the American Consulate in Britain had approved her visa despite knowing the purpose of her visit, such intimacy was in defiance of the local Jim Crow laws and no exception could be made for British subjects. Once the authorities were alerted to what JC Knibb, the Virginia State Attorney, declared the 'grave offence' committed by the couple—while still unmarried, the pair had been cohabiting, itself a criminal act in the State of Virginia—the couple were charged; Johnson was put on probation and Margaret, who repeatedly defied the order to return to Britain or at least separate from Thomas, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment. 'Our court psychiatrist examined her but she seems quite normal', Knibb declared to the press. 'I understand you in Britain take a different view of these things, but I'm afraid we have our laws.'¹⁷ Unsurprisingly, the imprisonment of a British subject by its closest ally for crossing the colour line attracted ongoing press attention, where it was noted that the engagement had the support of Goosey's family, including her father, even though he was initially opposed to the relationship.¹⁸ Meanwhile Goosey's mother, Ellen Chambers, was quoted as describing Thomas as 'one of the nicest boys' she had ever met and stated that he would 'be welcomed' if he wanted to return to Britain with Margaret.¹⁹ An upset Ellen had also enlisted the support of Mr GS Lindgren, the local MP, for his help in freeing their

daughter. Lingren was informed by the Foreign Office that ‘Miss Goosey wilfully contravened the State laws of the country in which she was residing, and although these laws may appear to many British people to be hard to defend we have, of course, no grounds for approaching the United States authorities’.²⁰

Margaret’s case was also raised in Parliament, another awkward spotlight on the issue of interraciality for an establishment that had long tried to avoid appearing to officially endorse US attitudes towards racial segregation despite frequently being in favour of condoning them in practice. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Ernest Bevin, when asked by Thomas Driberg, the Member for Maldon, if he knew of the case and what action he had taken to safeguard the interests of this British citizen, replied: ‘I have ascertained that the action taken in this case was in accordance with Virginia State Law, and that Miss Goosey was warned by the State Authorities beforehand. I therefore see no ground for action other than the inquiries we have already made. At her own request Miss Goosey is being repatriated to the United Kingdom by the United States Authorities’. Driberg pressed the matter further: ‘However undesirable a particular marriage may seem to be to many people, or to local legislators, would my right honorable friend not agree that it is an elementary human right that men and women should be allowed to get married, irrespective of race or creed, and will he, therefore, consider referring this very difficult subject for discussion by the Working Group on the Convention on Human Rights?’²¹ Bevin declined to take action, observing, ‘I doubt very much whether it is proper for me to refer this case to that Commission, particularly as the lady was warned’. Such equivocation, as well as the iniquity of this particular law, was strongly scorned by Sheila Lynd of the *Daily Worker*, who, commenting on what she called the ‘sorrowful but uncritical’ coverage of the case in the *Daily Express*—which had quoted Margaret as ‘bitterly blaming the authorities in London for not warning what might have happened to her’—noted: ‘I can’t help thinking Miss Goosey feels a good deal bitterer on the subject of “a young, virile democracy” (as Mr Bevin described America last Thursday) maintaining such foul racial laws’.²² After serving just over 2 months of her sentence on an industrial farm—whose superintendent emphasised that she was well treated and ‘being a really good sport’—an exhausted Margaret agreed to

voluntary deportation, stating that she '[couldn't] go on fighting any longer'. Officially pardoned, she returned home stating, 'a lot of what has been published is lies, but I don't care' and that she wanted to return to her old job.²³ To date, no indication has come to light as to whether the couple were able to continue their relationship after Margaret's return to Britain.

The language of identity suggests that the children of these interracial unions were subject to the 'one drop rule' that defined US race relations in the 1940s (that is, where 'one drop' of black blood defined a person as black and thus subject to the social disenfranchisement enacted by Jim Crow segregationist laws). Between August 1944 and August 1948, the interdepartmental correspondence between officials in the Home Office, Ministry of Health, and Colonial Office reveals that the salient terms used by these departments were 'black babies' and 'coloured babies', 'half-caste' occurring on just two or three occasions. A woman health inspector in the NW Region used the term 'Negro child'. 'Coloured babies' was also the term of choice of voluntary bodies such as the SSAFA, the National Council for the Unmarried Mother and Her Child, and the League of Coloured Peoples, though Harold Moody, President of the League of Coloured Peoples, described the children as 'half-coloured'. In reporting these issues, the UK press constructed these babies as 'black' or 'half-caste': the *Daily Mail*, for example, wrote of 'dusky "problem babies"', the *Sunday Pictorial* of 'black babies' and 'half-castes', and *Reynolds News* of 'half-caste babies'.

The language used by US commentators reflected the different national discourse across the Atlantic. *Life* magazine, for example, described these mixed race children as 'half Negro',²⁴ while *Time Magazine* spoke of 'Britain's Negro problem' in its feature of March 1946: the 'hundreds of illegitimate mulatto babies that were left in Britain when the US black soldiers returned home'—'mulatto' being a derogatory US term commonly used to describe the children of white and black American parents.²⁵ The records of the US military in its national archives record the use of 'coloured births', 'coloured babies' and 'Negro babies'.

It is clear from these examples that a white British mother and her mixed race child living in Britain in the war years and their immediate aftermath lacked what is termed 'inclusive citizenship'. While the mother

had formal rights of citizenship, there was little recognition in terms of practices and identities and even less for her child, who was defined in terms of her partner's black race, the child's part-white heritage remaining unacknowledged. When the mother chose to keep her child, contemporary accounts reveal that she was deprived of full social and cultural participation, a burden substantially increased by financial hardship. As Carby has put it, 'These children were not imagined as present and future citizens but as 'problems' that should be exported....The double inscription of racialized encounters in modernity was resolved, not only in the dialectics of the encounter between black and white, but through the rejection of the transgressive bodies of their offspring' (Carby 2009: 650). In similar vein, Brown (2005: 196) writes of the 'absolute pathology which underwrote the half-caste category justifying the subordinate positions of Africans, Afro-Caribbeans, the white women married to them, and their children within society'.

Moreover, such attitudes meant that there was a substantial lack of representation, both US and British governments being largely indifferent to the circumstances of the mothers and children. These views were condemned by the various black commentators on the 'brown babies' issue. According to Padmore, 'Dr Joseph Mitchell pointed out that while the British Government has not really interested themselves in the problem of these children, when the question of adoption in America comes up...in steps the British Government, insisting that they shall not be handed over to foster-parents unless they can provide conditions to which they are not accustomed'. Edwin J Duplan said, 'It was a large problem, in which the Government was taking no hand to provide shelter or assistance for the mothers or children'.²⁶

In the second half of the twentieth century, the full extent of the loss for these children of their black American fathers and frequently also their mothers has become evident in the newspaper accounts, books and theses that have documented their plight (for a current discussion, including interviews with numerous 'brown babies', see Bland 2017a, b). Ann Evans, a mixed race child who lived at Holnicote House in 1947, and was subsequently adopted by a Welsh mining family, gave her testimony to the *Daily Express*:²⁷ 'There are a

number of people even now who don't know who their fathers are. A number of their mothers are living locally but they won't tell their children the details about their fathers. All these children are now in their fifties and it would not cause them or their mothers any harm for them to know who their fathers are. They have a right to know'. When Ann sought to track down her parents in the mid-1980s, the efforts ended in heartache: 'I wrote to my mum but she made it quite clear that she was not pleased to hear from me. It was the second time in my life that I felt rejected after being moved from the home in Somerset at the age of five. She even told a solicitor to take out an injunction to stop me contacting her. But I wrote back saying I had no interest in pestering her, I just wanted to know about my father'. She then discovered that her father had died young at the age of 49 in 1966. Only one of the ten Holnicote House children who joined Ann Evans' reunion had succeeded in meeting their father.²⁸

Notes

1. This chapter draws on two major archival collections: (1) MH 55/1656. Homes for 'coloured' children (1944–1948). The National Archives, Kew. (2) Records of Military Agencies Relating to African Americans (multiple documents), National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). Extracted and photocopied by Stacian Gorden at Modern Military Records Department, National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, USA.
2. Janet Baker, *The Children They Left Behind*, 1996. Accessed at: <http://lestweforget.hamptonu.edu/page.cfm?uuid=9FEC4352-FCC8-C499-64C306903814BD7A>
3. Likewise, there were no surveys in France, Italy and other countries where black servicemen were based. However, commentators reported estimates of 30,000–50,000 illegitimate births fathered by American servicemen in Germany, 1000–4000 in Japan, and 2000–4000 in the Philippines: no breakdown is available by race.
4. *Birmingham Mail*, 15 May 1945.
5. *Negro Digest*, 1944, Vol. 3, p. 5.
6. *Time Magazine*, 11 March 1946.

7. Padmore G(eorge). Coloured Americans' Legacy to Britain. Problems of Negro GI's Children. *Typescript*, 24 April 1947.
8. *Time*. Plain People. Is there anywhere..., 11 March 1946.
9. In 1947 George Padmore indicated that the League of Coloured Peoples 'is endeavouring to raise additional funds to set up another home which can provide accommodation for at least a hundred children'.
10. 'The Babies They Left Behind Them'. *Life*, 23 August 1948, Vol. 25, No. 8, pp. 41–42. See also 'On the lawn at Somerset's Holnicote House. Seven children of US negro soldiers and white English mothers beam at the photographer'.
11. Reports of the numbers vary. Carby (2009: 650) suggests that '20 brown British babies were wards of Somerset County Council and the Home Office'. Ann Evans who lived in Holnicote House as a mixed race child cites the figure of 27. See *Daily Express*, 8 July 2000.
12. Documents at the FD Roosevelt Library. Accessed at: www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/_resources/images/ergen/ergen1206.pdf
13. *Daily Mail Reporter*. 'Britain "exports" 5,000 babies'. *Daily Mail* (London), 5 April 1947, p. 3.
14. 'British girls give up babies by US Negroes. 5000 will go to fathers in this country'. *Chicago Tribune*, 10 April 1947, p. 24.
15. Negroes to Adopt War Babies. *The Worker* (Brisbane, QLD), 5 July 1948.
16. *Tribune Magazine*, 1946.
17. *Daily Express*, 18 December 1947.
18. See *The Mix-d Museum*, <http://www.mix-d.org/museum/timeline/margaret-goosey-and-thomas-johnson>; www.mix-d.org/museum/timeline/margaret-goosey-and-thomas-johnson [date accessed 12.01.2018].
19. *Daily Herald*, 19 December 1947.
20. *The Gloucester Citizen*, 10 January 1948.
21. *Hansard, Commons Debates*, 11 February 1948. Oral Answers to Questions—British Subject, USA (Sentence).
22. *Daily Worker*, 26 January 1948.
23. *Daily Express*, 19 December 1947; *Northampton Mercury*, 13 February 1948.
24. *Life*, 1948, Vol. 25, No. 8.
25. The term, officially, was last used in the decennial US Census of 1920.
26. History of the Pan-African Congress. George Padmore (editor) 1947. The Colour Problem in Britain, 15 October 1945. First Session.
27. Chapman J. Plight of Britain's Mixed Race Children Abandoned in World War Two Who Are Orphans of War Born to a Lifetime of Fruitless Searching. *Daily Express*, 8 July 2000. The article contains photographs

of the mixed race children living at Holnicote House in 1947 and of Ann Evans' GI father.

28. Lucy Bland's important forthcoming (2019) book—*Britain's "Brown Babies": children born to black GIs and white women in the Second World War* (Manchester University Press)—contains interviews with five of the children from Holnicote House whom she has managed to trace.

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7

'Undesirable Element': The Repatriation of Chinese Sailors and Break Up of Mixed Families in the 1940s

Introduction

In the chapters of Part 1 we described how two distinct discourses shaped commentary on mixed Chinese-White unions and their children. These can be mapped to the temporality of Chinese settlement, including its size and rate of growth, and, related to this, the vicissitudes in intensity of racism. Firstly, up to the 1920s, the status of the Chinese migrant as an undesirable 'alien'¹ and foreigner, a predator on young white women, and culturally an 'outsider' was salient. This class-based discourse was inextricably linked to the perceived threat Chinese migrants posed to the employment opportunities of the indigenous population and to a wider xenophobia. From the early 1920s, however, this discourse was replaced by one which characterised the Chinese, and intermarried families, as model members of the community, a marked transformation which came about following the plummeting size of Chinese communities, no longer seen as a threat in labour markets (Aspinall and Caballero 2013).

While Ng (1968) took the view in the 1960s that there had been no serious and protracted prejudice against the Chinese since the 1920s, there was in the immediate post-Second World War years a return to the

vilification of the Chinese as their numbers once again soared.² The fact that this renewed discrimination took place over a relatively short period of two years and was scarcely reported in the national press may help explain why it went largely unnoticed by commentators. Indeed, some popular and scholarly books on the Chinese community in Liverpool fail even to mention the event.³ However, the importance of the enforced repatriation of Chinese seamen for our narrative of racial mixing and mixedness lay in the impact this event had on those Chinese seamen who had partnered local White women through cohabitation or marriage and on the children of such unions. Though contemporary evidence is scarce and mainly confined to Home Office documents, the stories of the children who lost their fathers began to emerge as they grew into adulthood and started to explore their family histories. In turn, some amongst this group, notably Yvonne Foley, have sought to bring this event into the wider public domain through the setting up of a dedicated website and written accounts. Such endeavours have now given rise to its recognition in the visible urban landscape of Liverpool through the location of a memorial on the dockside.

The story of the Anglo-Chinese community in Liverpool in the immediate post-war years is one of how the Chinese population fell short of what is now termed 'inclusive citizenship' or 'full citizenship', a lack of recognition of their identities and of full cultural participation even though many lived settled family lives with British-born white women. The background to the repatriation was a very substantial increase in the population of Chinese seamen in Liverpool. While some estimates claimed that at the start of the Second World War there were around 20,000 Chinese seamen in the port, the Home Office⁴ more reliably stated that during the war years the Chinese population in the city had 'swollen' from around 200 to 300 to 2000, a tenfold increase, largely as a result of the arrival of Chinese seamen and their 'becoming unemployed or unemployable'. These seamen were also alleged to 'have caused a good deal of trouble to the police'. In spite of the fact that some of these seamen had given long and loyal sea service throughout the war, the Home Office bemoaned that 'it has not hitherto been possible to get rid of them'. What changed this situation was the ending of the Pacific War with the surrender of the Empire of Japan on 2 September 1945, following

the dropping of atomic bombs on the mainland cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This led to the opening up of the China coast again, enabling the British government to announce just six weeks later its proposal 'to set in motion the usual steps for getting rid of foreign seamen whose presence here is unwelcome'.

The Vilification of the Chinese Community in Liverpool

The strategy adopted by the Home Office appears to have been one of vilifying these Chinese seamen and the white women they had partnered in order to enable their actions to be seen by the wider society as one of 'in the public interest' and a social good. These were the Anglo-Chinese communities who, a decade or so earlier, had been described as exemplars of integration and stable family life by researchers who had investigated them through government research funding. The foundations of this strategy were laid at a meeting on 19 October 1945 of officials from the Home Office, Foreign Office, Ministry of War Transport, Liverpool Immigration Inspectorate, and the Liverpool Police. A Liverpool immigration inspector described these Chinese seamen on shore at Liverpool, thus: 'They had been discharged from ships during the war... That they were an undesirable element in Liverpool was shown by the fact that in the last three years there had been 1000 convictions for opium smoking and 350 convictions for gaming among the Chinese. Over half were suffering from VD or TB'. Further, it was claimed that '117 of the Chinamen had British born wives. Many of the wives were of the prostitute class and would not wish to accompany their husbands to China'. A more sinister reason was exposed in the discussions: 'The Liverpool authorities were anxious to secure the use of the housing accommodation which the Chinese occupied'.

The elements of the plan encompassed various groups. The first to be repatriated would be 'the more undesirable', that is, those who had deserted from the Chinese Seamen's Pool. Out of the 2000 Chinese seamen, 560 had left the Pool: they no longer reported for any available jobs and no longer drew Pool pay. They lived on their savings or by short-term

jobs taken without permission. However, it was anticipated that most would not go willingly because of conditions in China and the Home Office took the view that not reporting to the Pool, being in breach of their landing conditions⁵ (as no enforcement action had been taken), or having been convicted for an 'unimportant gaming or opium offence' could not be used to justify deportation. The strategy was therefore concocted to vary the landing conditions so as to require the seamen to leave by a definite date: if they failed to leave by that date they would have been in breach of landing conditions and deportation would then be justified. A theoretical sailing date for the repatriation vessel would be fixed two days before the actual sailing date and this theoretical date would be the one specified in the seamen's landing conditions. This would give time for the Home Office to prepare deportation orders for those who failed to go on board and to enable the police to place them on the ships compulsorily. It was decided that these would be signed individual orders, a similar procedure being proposed for surplus Greek seamen at Cardiff.

A second group for early repatriation comprised 18 men who had recently been discharged from the Pool on account of criminal activity or extreme indiscipline who could be deported without waiting for breaches of their landing conditions. This group also included others where there was evidence of 'undesirability', a few individuals noted by the Home Office as candidates for deportation, and 'any others in respect of whom the Chief Constable could make a case for deportation'. As the file elaborates, it was an opportunity for getting rid of a number of Chinese gangsters, brothel keepers and opium traffickers 'who have been marked down for some time for deportation when possible'. However, the document specifically states, 'Deportation Orders not to be made against men with British born wives'. A week later, this was reinforced: 'Men with British born wives and families should not be included in the first list, and should be reported on individually'. In early November 1945 a letter was sent to the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis asking for details of Chinese in his district who should be deported, including the grounds, the extent of the man's connections with the country such as length of residence, and whether he has a British-born wife or family.

In these early discussions, it soon became clear that the alteration of landing conditions would be more widely applied than just those who had left the Pool, to include 'the 1200 odd surplus seamen' no longer required in the port but on Pool pay.

The Implementation of the Repatriation Strategy and the Position of Chinese Seamen with British-Born Wives

Though wishing to proceed in haste (the Home Office identifying three ships that would shortly be available to repatriate 218 Chinese seamen), the implementation strategy faced potential problems: structural alterations were needed to the vessels to carry the men, trans-shipment to China had to be arranged as the vessels were destined for Singapore, concern was expressed that opium smoking was a capital offence in China, and the consent of the Chinese Embassy to these arrangements had to be secured (resulting in vigorous protests about the collection and detention of the seamen's baggage when repatriation began). When the military authorities in Singapore refused to accept Chinese passengers in transit, and the Ministry of War Transport withdrew their offer of a ship to take 1000 Chinese at once, arrangements fell back on the SS *Menelaus*, a ship sailing from Hull to Singapore and Hong Kong in early December with capacity for 100 of the Chinese seamen. However, the Hong Kong authorities refused to accept Chinese seamen for onward shipment to Chinese ports such as Shanghai and Tientsin, the file noting that 'many of the worst men are from Shanghai'. By mid-November, 100 Chinese seamen had been interviewed in connection with repatriation and their original conditions of landing varied.

This imminent removal highlighted the plight of Chinese seamen with British-born wives, 6 such cases being identified in the 100 men interviewed. The Liverpool Immigration Officers' report noted:

In order to prevent any misunderstanding amongst the Chinese seamen the conditions of the men concerned were varied in the ordinary way to

require departure by the 10th December next but they were told that their cases would be investigated. I think that it would be unwise at this early stage to give any indication to the Chinese that because a man is married to a British-born woman he will have a claim to domicile in the UK. As an instance of the complications which are likely to arise in this connection I would mention one case which came to light. One woman who has been living with a Chinese seaman asked whether the man would be allowed to stay if she married him. She said that she was quite prepared to be married immediately. In view of Mr Hill's (a Home Office official) direction concerning this type of case whereby such men must not go on the first ship I would confirm that it is not intended to enforce the men's departure by the 10th December.

By the last week in November 1945 the Home Office had identified another vessel, the SS Diomed, that would set sail from Liverpool for Saigon, calling at Singapore, on 8 December 1945. Similar arrangements were put in hand to repatriate 100 Chinese seamen to Singapore. The Diomed sailed on the agreed date with the full complement of 100 Chinese repatriates, all Singapore men,⁶ on board. The Menelaus sailed on 14 December from Hull with a total of 107 Chinese seamen, 104 for Hong Kong and 3 for Singapore, 12 deportees being included amongst the repatriates. Thus, a total of 207 Chinese seamen had been repatriated by the end of 1945, following interviews with some 300 men on variation of their landing conditions. The Immigration Officers' reports record 'such a successful working' of these 'bulk clearances', 'beyond our expectations'.

Though representations were made on behalf of particular seamen by bodies such as the Chinese Consul, Chinese members of the Pool Staff, and influential local Chinese residents, the only deferments agreed to were those cases where the seamen had claims outstanding with the Ministry of Pensions. Only one other deferment was mentioned, where a wealthy and influential Chinese man, Kwok Fong, had interceded and the Home Office had overruled the port's Immigration Officers in granting the seaman an extension. Mention was also made of attempts at 'bribery and corruption' and 'solicitors' letters'. The Immigration Officers' reports also refer to the need to track down 'the men who have been missing a considerable time (and) have yet to be traced': '...it should not

be difficult, if energetic steps are taken, to weed these out of the restaurant kitchens, laundries etc. in which they have found employment in various parts of the country'.

However, immigration officers still equivocated over the position of the intermarried Chinese seamen, their report of 15 December 1945 now more explicitly aligning marriage with a means to evade repatriation:

It is interesting to record that two or three men have married British-born women after their conditions of landing have been varied and within a few days of the date on which they were due to leave the UK. I have investigated these cases and in each one it has been stated that the man and woman have been living together for some time and there are illegitimate children involved. I cannot disregard the suspicion that the Chinese are now fully aware that marriage to a British-born woman gives them a lever in their claim for domicile. The men referred to above had, of course, to be withdrawn from the list of repatriates already prepared and the cases are now being considered by the Police pending a report to Home Office.

After these two 'bulk clearances' the immigration officers' reports on individual vessels cease. In mid-December 1945 it was decided that in future shipments the parties would be mixed, about one-half of the seamen being those on wages and the remainder being 'the absentees, unemployables and other undesirables'. Thus, when it was announced that the SS Ajax with 124 berths would leave Liverpool for Hong Kong and Shanghai on 7 January 1946, 12 men for Hong Kong and 56 'undesirables' for Shanghai, under immigration and police responsibility, and 56 Chinese seamen on-pay for Shanghai and under Pool responsibility, were assigned to the vessel.

The next report of the Immigration Officers, dated 23 March 1946, recorded that a total of 800 seamen had been repatriated to Hong Kong, Singapore and Shanghai since the start of the process. Of these, 231 or more than a quarter were cases which had required 'special rounding up' by the police and immigration officials. Further, an additional 1993 Chinese seamen had left the UK as members of crews for discharge in the Far East. However, the report notes that over the same period over 1200 Chinese seamen were landed for discharge in the UK who would now be awaiting repatriation or further sea service. The Immigration

Officers further anticipated that it would be possible to ship 418 Chinese seamen for Hong Kong and Singapore by three vessels, though not able to accommodate 'a large number of Shanghai men in Liverpool'. This left an estimated total number of men in the Anglo-Saxon Pool of 400 and 1500 in the Holt Pool (including a branch in Glasgow).

By 15 July 1946, the Immigration Officers indicated that a total of 1362 Chinese seamen had been repatriated to the Far East since November 1945, thus amounting to well over an additional 500 in the course of four months. Moreover, a total of 3569 Chinese seamen had left the UK through being discharged from vessels in the Far East, that is, around an additional 1500 since the March report. The number of off-pay and other 'undesirable' Chinese were now reported to be 'considerably reduced and difficulty is being experienced in tracing the remainder': 'On the occasion of the last repatriation ship...two whole days were spent in an intensive search for approximately 150 Pool boarding-houses, private boarding houses and private houses. As a result of this drive only 15 men were found to be out of order or deserters from the Pool'. Indeed, in early July 1946 Immigration Officials had circulated all Chief Constables throughout Britain as Pool deserters and other Chinese seamen engaged in unauthorised shore employment had been located as far away as Hereford and Greenock. It was clear by this time that the process was approaching an end: the Anglo-Saxon Pool had already closed down and it was anticipated that the Holt Pool would finish around the end of August 1946. Indeed, when Alfred Holt and Co. had to man the vessel 'Sarpendon', albeit 'a "hell ship" from a crew point of view', they could not scrape together a crew from the Pool seamen in Liverpool and had to recruit the necessary men in Singapore.

The Denouement: Involvement of the National Press in the Mixed Marriage Controversy

While the position of Chinese seamen who had married British-born women had been periodically addressed by immigration officers in the first month or two of the repatriation process, their plight and that of

their wives was brought abruptly into the spotlight when the *News Chronicle* ran a feature on 'Wives of Chinese to campaign' in its northern editions of 19 August 1946: 'British wives of Chinese seamen, who have been left destitute now that their husbands have been compulsorily repatriated, have formed a defence association at Liverpool. Led by 28-year-old Mrs Marion Lee, of Liverpool, the association is to campaign for the rights of Chinese seamen's families'. It reported that a telegram drawing attention to their plight 'is being sent' to the Chinese Ambassador and a deputation 'is to ask' the Lord Mayor for assistance, adding, 'MPs are also to be told of the conditions under which at least 150 women with an average of three children are living in Liverpool'. Though not explicitly stated, the implication is that all these 150 women had lost their husbands through repatriation, Marion Lee complaining that 'We are left to live on public aid, charity and the help of our families. We are British women, not foreigners, but we have nothing ahead of us except enforced deportation to a foreign land to which we do not want to go'.

Whilst the last official mention of intermarried Chinese seamen had been made in mid-December 1945, a series of handwritten Home Office minutes and notes show that their situation had not been forgotten. The first, of 18 February 1946, records 'the decision to defer repatriation of Chinese seamen with British born wives who married before 1 September 1945', adding, 'The police are said to be reporting individually but if there is no list of men in this category we shall not be in a position to look at the problem as a whole should that be necessary'. The note also mentioned that a *Reuters* reporter had been speaking to the Home Office press officer about the position of British-born wives generally. Minutes of 24 and 31 May 1946 state that the Liverpool Immigration Office had forwarded a 'nominal roll of Chinese seamen married to British born women' which showed that 74 Chinese seamen in the Liverpool Pools were married to British-born women, likely to be the total for Chinese Pools as there were no other such pools in the country. In 22 of the cases either the man or his wife was said to have declared an intention of returning to China, leaving 52 cases for consideration. A note casually adds that 'In view of the differences in the class and type of woman represented in these marriages, it would seem that individual examination is essential'. A further minute of 15 July 1946 records that 'all correspondence dealing

with Chinese seamen married to British women prior to 1 September 1945 is now dealt with', without further explanation. Finally, on 20 August 1946, a minute records that the *News Chronicle* cutting had been received from the Liverpool Immigration Office 'with observations'.

The government file on the repatriation episode finally does not yield up any official estimate of how many Chinese seamen who were married to British-born women were removed from the country through either forced repatriation or discharge in the Far East or who left with their wives. The only estimate is that in the *News Chronicle* of 150 women with children being left destitute, ostensibly because their husbands had been repatriated. Nothing is known about Chinese seamen who were in cohabiting unions with British-born women, possibly with children, as such relationships were not officially recognised. However, as we discuss in our next chapter, the accounts in later life of children who were left fatherless, including their endeavours to track their lost fathers, clearly show that this compulsory repatriation had lasting effects on the families of intermarried Chinese seamen.

Amongst the most notable of this group is Yvonne Foley (1946–), who first brought to the attention of the wider public the then largely forgotten events of 1945–1946 through articles in the press, talks on radio programmes (and more recently in appearances on television), the setting up of a dedicated website,⁷ and a successful campaign for a memorial for the repatriated seamen in the port of Liverpool. She is also preparing her personal account as a book for publication. What might otherwise have been an event confined to the archived files of government departments is now widely known, especially in Yvonne Foley's home town of Liverpool. Her work in uncovering these historical events and their aftermath has prompted others to give their own testimonies.

Notes

1. Throughout the half century, the Chinese were classed as 'aliens' (a term widely used to describe migrants who were not from Britain's colonies) and obliged to register, so that their whereabouts were known at any one time.

2. This unfavourable discourse re-emerged after the Second World War, when the size of the Chinese community again generated racism. In a Home Office Report of 1946–1947, the Chinese seamen of Liverpool were characterised as 'undesirable aliens' on the grounds that they were involved with opium and crime.
3. An important exception is Wong (1989). Ms Wong consulted the Home Office file HO 213/926.
4. The file (HO 213/926, accessed at the National Archives, Kew) on the 'Compulsory repatriation of undesirable Chinese seamen' was opened by the Home Office's Aliens Department in October 1945 and closed in October 1946. All quotes and references are to documents in this file unless otherwise stated. As well as 'undesirable', these seamen were also described as 'unwanted' and 'surplus' in the official file.
5. Chinese seamen were landed on condition of returning to sea at the end of a month.
6. The seamen were divided up for shipment to the appropriate ports at which they had originally engaged.
7. www.halfandhalf.org.uk/. This website contains a set of photographs of intermarried couples and their children.

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8

Conviviality, Hostility and Ordinariness: Everyday Lives and Emotions in the Second World War and Early Post-war Years

Though, as Chaps. 6 and 7 illustrate, the overall social climate in Britain during and immediately after the Second World War was one in which racial prejudice and practices were highly ingrained and prevalent, there could yet often be a level of disconnect between the generally disapproving and oppositional wider social attitude to interraciality and that demonstrated on a local, everyday basis. The social scientist Kenneth Little (1948/1972: 267), who carried out intensive fieldwork into race relations in Britain in the 1940s and specifically in Butetown, Cardiff, noted in 1947 that:

it may be said that English people display for the most part tolerant if somewhat prejudicial ideas regarding coloured people. Many of these ideas, attitudes and notions are very generalized, and as a rule do not become markedly antipathetic or antagonistic unless some form of actual social or physical contact with a coloured person seems likely to take place. In this respect, the question of intermarriage seems of paramount importance Though held widely, such prejudices, with the exception of “superiority attitudes”, do not seem to be strongly ingrained, and in the case of many English people seem capable of considerable modification, if not total elimination.

Indeed, as Nava (2007: 76) convincingly argues, the outcome of a 1943 Mass-Observation survey which showed ‘one in seven disapprove of mixed marriages’ does not support the contention of ‘near-universal hostility towards interracial sexual relations’ that has been attributed to white Britons during this time. Moreover, as she further notes, a more qualified analysis in terms of age and gender would likely have shown that ‘the roots and components of the hostility were not homogeneous’. Indeed, despite the familiar vicious scorn and vitriol that was often directed at them by the establishment and authorities, young white women, once more, were frequently at the vanguard of interracial conviviality: ‘the British girl’, General Eisenhower noted, ‘would go to a movie or a dance with a Negro quite as readily as she would go with anyone else’ (Gardiner 1992: 155).

Certainly, as during the First World War and earlier—and to the same great vexation—white male authority was continually and constantly flouted by an autonomous female sexuality whose visibility was further magnified and heightened by the presence of interracial relationships, thus continuing the longstanding complaint that modern woman’s laxitude was so great that she would even have sexual relations with men of colour.¹ Such actions, as discussed in Chaps. 6 and 7, provoked great concern and frustration amongst the authorities who were caught in various states of abhorrence, uneasiness, panic and even denial: in spite of clear evidence to the contrary, Bristol’s Medical Officer of Health, Dr RH Parry described as ‘utter rubbish’ the ‘rumours that local women had been giving birth to black babies’² even though Bristol was clearly host to a considerable deal of wartime interracial mixing. In fact, though in Bristol, as in much of surrounding Somerset, segregation of black and white troops had been thoroughly implemented (Wynn 2006), such barriers proved little deterrent to the forming of mixed race relationships: in 1945, hundreds of young women besieged the army barracks in protest at the imminent departure of the black GIs stationed there and the army’s refusal to allow them to say goodbye to the men; singing the Bing Crosby hit ‘Don’t Fence Me In’, the women broke through the barriers and made for the train station, shouting ‘to hell with the US army colour bars! We want our coloured sweethearts!’ (Smith 1987: 204).

What was also lost in wartime anxiety around interracial relationships was the fact that, as we have seen, throughout many parts of the country such mixing was hardly a new affair. Bristol too had long been home to

mixed families: indeed, Bristol Archives contain a wealth of material detailing the lives of a number of local interracial families, such as the Parker family (discussed in Chap. 5); ‘Dixie Brown’, the St Lucian boxer who married a Welsh woman named Lily Sellick in 1922 with whom he had nine children; and Joseph St Claire, a Barbadian man who worked as a dentist, herbalist and lay preacher and married Mabel, a local white woman in 1913 with whom he had six children. During the war, the Browns hosted black GIs, while Joseph and Mabel’s second son, Reuben, joined the Home Guard and became a non-commissioned officer. As with the first decades of the century, the lived experiences of those in and from mixed racial relationships and families open up a more dynamic, complex and layered picture of interraciality and British attitudes towards it than official accounts suggest (Images 8.1 and 8.2).

Wartime Interraciality: Lives and Emotions

As earlier in the century, the lazy, continual stereotyping of men and women involved in interracial relationships as either sexually corrupt or foolish victims devalued the myriad real relationships and heartfelt emotions that occurred between interracial couples, including black soldiers and local women. Talking to BBC Radio 4’s *Women’s Hour* in 1987, Laurie and Marion Phillpotts provide a rich and fascinating account of their experiences as a wartime interracial couple, including their deep love for one another. Like numerous other interracial wartime couples, Laurie, a Jamaican serving in the RAF, met his white British wife Marion at a dancehall. Their mutual love of dancing and music soon blossomed into love, as the Nottingham couple recalled:

Marion: I loved him—and I’m talking now as well—but I loved him. And I knew I wanted to marry him.

Laurie: I can candidly say that this was love because I’ve never felt like this before myself and Marion has given me that feeling to feel that way. And it was the type of thing we both wanted to do was to settle down with each other.³

Marrying in 1946, the couple had two children and remained together for 70 years until Laurie’s death in 2016.⁴



Image 8.1 Reuben St Claire, platoon officer in the Home Guard, son of Joseph St Claire, a black Barbadian dentist, and Mabel, a white Bristolian woman, circa 1940–1945. Courtesy of Bristol Archives 41948/14

The love and longevity of the Phillpotts relationship is also apparent in the recollections of another wartime racial couple, Trudy and Barclay Patoir who, in January 2017, were celebrating 73 years of marriage. Barclay, who was an apprentice engineer from British Guiana, met Trudy, a white British woman, when he came to work in a factory in Merseyside during the early 1940s where she was his assistant on the production line. Trudy's recollections of their time courting—'he used to bring me



Image 8.2 Reuben St Claire with Home Guard platoon, circa 1940–1945. Courtesy of Bristol Archives: 41948/6

sandwiches in. And make me cups of tea The others at work used to say, ‘they’re never going to come down now, they’re talking too much’ (Bates 2017)—highlights a sense of ordinariness and commonality present in early relationships that is starkly and persistently absent in official and media representations of wartime interraciality. As we argued in Chap. 5, our point here is not that relationships such as the Phillpotts and Patoirs should be taken as the norm or standard of interracial relationships during the war but rather that they should stand as evidence that such relationships were more varied, more complex and more encompassing of a range of feelings and experiences—similarly to monoracial relationships—than we have often been led to believe.

Emotional Effects: Anglo-Chinese Families

Indeed, as we also argued in Chap. 4, the more that personal reminiscences and accounts are woven into the history of mixedness, the more we can glimpse the lived realities—including critical emotional effects—for those mixed race people and families that existed beyond official and

media reporting. For example, as touched upon in Chap. 7, Yvonne Foley's immensely impressive work in uncovering the history of those Liverpoolian Anglo-Chinese families ripped apart by post-war repatriation policy provides critical and moving insights into the real life devastation caused to family members so disparaged by the authorities. Growing up, Foley discovered that the man she called her father was actually her stepfather; her biological father was a Chinese ship engineer called Nan Young, who her mother, Grace, had met at Liverpool University in 1943 where she had worked in the canteen. After courting for two years, the couple moved in together—against the wishes of Grace's father who refused them permission to wed—and Grace fell pregnant in 1945. Nan, however, never met his daughter; he returned to China and never came back, leaving Grace a single mother with no support. 'My mum,' Foley has said, 'she always thought she'd been abandoned, so there was that hurt that made it difficult'. Grace's pain is echoed in other women's accounts who experienced the unexpected prolonged absences or sudden disappearances of their partners: Linda Davis remembers how her father 'just went out to the shop, and my mum was waiting for him to come home, and he never came', while Foley recalls, 'I actually did an interview with one lady who said to me—it was quite emotional—it's nice to think at my age of 86 that I might not have been deserted.' And a lot of our mothers went to their graves thinking they had been.' (Image 8.3)⁵

Emotional Effects: 'Brown Babies'

The accounts of 'brown babies' also vividly highlight the ways in which social strictures and policies against racial mixing during wartime caused intense and longstanding emotional distress for many individuals. As Pamela Winfield has noted in her work on the accounts of children left behind by American GIs, though the offspring of white English mothers and white GIs could grow up having to deal with distressing feelings of being unwanted or misfits in their families, they could also grow up with 'no more than the slur of their illegitimacy.' The insult of being a 'Yankee bastard' could be outgrown, particularly if they moved away from home. Some even could and did pass as the biological child of their mother's



Image 8.3 Anglo-Chinese wedding, Liverpool circa 1940s. Courtesy of Yvonne Foley

current or future white husband or partner (Winfield 1992: 93). For those with black American GIs as fathers, however, such options were not an option for all but those who could ‘pass’ as white: in a *Derby Evening Telegraph* article of 1945 citing a mother’s arrest for being drunk and disorderly, the woman, Mary Taylor, stated in her defence that though her husband, who had come back from the war, had said he would accept her affair and mixed race child, ‘then he started calling the baby a ‘nigger bastard’ and kept putting me out of the house with it.’ He had burnt the baby’s food and clothes but she did not intend to see the baby knocked about. Taylor said that she had tried to get the baby adopted but no one, not even the Red Cross, would take it. Her life had been unbearable, she added. The court fined her 10 shillings.⁶

As a result, many GI Brown Babies had to grow up dealing not only with the stigma of illegitimacy or the rejection caused by being placed in care but the scenario of standing out racially in their communities and British society more generally, often without truly knowing why (Winfield 1992: 93–94). For example, though Gordon Willis was brought up in

South Wales by his white British mother, his father's identity remained a family secret. Set apart by his colour and illegitimacy, Gordon had a difficult childhood, as he discussed in Channel 4's 1999 programme *Brown Babies*:⁷

I hated being the colour I was. I always felt unwanted. I would get picked on all the time just purely because I was a slightly different colour to the rest. I can remember anybody who was born without a father was called a bastard, from that word came the phrase 'black bastard' and it usually went on from there. Usually I would have a little run home as fast as I could from here, some days when I knew I was going to get picked on after school I'd run from here because there was somebody after me here, a few of the boys after me here. And then I'd get home and there'd be somebody waiting for me down there from the other school. So I couldn't win.⁸

The stigma of their racial heritage was often not only confined to childhood. A contributor to the BBC's WW2 People's War⁹ shares how, despite her mother's affair with a Black GI marine, she grew up accepted by her mother's husband and her older siblings in Truro, Cornwall, 'surrounded by love at home'. While she 'always felt special at home within the family [as] being different just wasn't an issue', school and adult life proved increasingly challenging: taunts of 'Golliwog' at the village school and feelings of being different were intensified by a boyfriend declaring 'I don't want to marry you, our children might be black' and later a difficult period of rejection by her future husband's mother. 'I still have lots of doubts and just occasionally I wonder where I really belong, brought up white but looked at as black', she recalls; 'THE PAIN REMAINS' (Clark 2006).

An enduring legacy of painful emotions runs across numerous accounts of so many children of black GIs and white British women who have spoken as adults about their experiences growing up as well as of their search for their families. The recollections of Denny Smith, as also told in *Brown Babies*, vividly illustrate the intensity of the charged emotional histories and journeys experienced by not only the 'brown babies' but also their parents. Growing up in a children's home, Denny's feeling that she was 'a dark secret in all ways: colour, thought, everything' continued to cause her emotional pain as an adult:

I've always wanted to know who I am. And that's why you search and you go on searching. Looking at people and thinking, maybe, just maybe, they may be walking across the street or the other side of the road, that could be my father.

With her history denied to her throughout her childhood, she set out on the difficult journey to try and trace the truth of her past; however, as in the case of many children of GIs left behind, the search was hampered by a paucity of official information, bureaucratic red tape and, in numerous cases, the unwillingness of relatives to discuss still sensitive family and personal pasts—Gordon Willis' search for his father, for example, was hampered by his family's reluctance to discuss the past: 'There's one or two of the family still around that would know the answers. But it is still a family secret, I've been across to my mother time and time and time again ... she doesn't know, she's 'forgotten'. Now how can a woman forget the person who made her pregnant? She will not tell me.'

Like many 'Brown Babies', all Denny knew was that her mother was white and her father was a black GI and she believed herself to have been abandoned by them both. It was only when she gained access to her confidential records at the children's home that she found out the painful truth of her and her parents' history. Her impression that her mother had abandoned her at ten days old was upended by the revelation that she had not actually been given up until she was four and a half months old and, moreover, had been breastfed by her mother until that time, suggesting an intimacy and bonding hitherto unimagined. Denny found that she also had a grandmother who had written to the matron of the children's home, informing them that Denny's mother had married and had children to a white American whom she had moved to the US with but 'he will not have my poor little Denise—it is the colour of her, I suppose—over there.' Her grandmother also noted that she worried about Denny 'and feel so bad to think I can do nothing for her—I have only ten shillings pension and my heart is too bad to work ... I pray every night that Denise will have love and kindness.' The letter also revealed that Denny's grandmother had had a letter from her father 'and he wants her over there and that would not be for her good so I did not answer his letter.'

As we discussed in Chap. 6, the opposition of Denny's grandmother to sending her to join her father in America was a position widely shared by both the US and UK governments on the 'brown baby' issue. Denny's account, however, makes clear the extent to which the racial prejudices underlining this decision had very real, painful and long-lasting emotional consequences for so many wartime US-UK interracial people and couples. Letters to Denny from her father that were uncovered in the confidential records reveal his desperate attempts to be united with his daughter:

I have addressed several letters regarding Denise but have received no answer. I would thank you very much to know where she is, and how she's getting along. I'd like to send her something. I also wrote asking if it was possible to please send a photo of Denise. I'm very [illegible] and will contribute to her support as much as I'm able.

How old will Denise have to be before she's able to journey to America without an escort? I do hope to hear from you very soon regarding this matter.

*Sincerely yours,
Turner Powell.*

As we also discussed in Chap. 6, Turner Powell's willingness to bring Denny up in the USA was not unusual; Smith also notes that there are numerous accounts of Black GIs who desperately wanted their families to live with them in America. Amongst the scant surviving records, there are glimpses of the sorrow of black American fathers who, in the face of the insurmountable barriers of racial prejudice opposing them, realised they would likely never raise their own children: Rachel James (2005), an American contributor to the BBC's WW2 People's War, recalls how her father had revealed his sadness at "the babies that he had left overseas [in Burton On Trent] and how he would hold them and sing the song "Hush little baby, don't say a word, daddy's going to buy you a mocking bird" . . . They were always on his mind and in his heart." Some fathers, despite the vast odds, were reunited with their children who managed to track them down, such as Wallace P Nichols who was eventually found by his daughter, Jean Ashe, whose mother he had had an affair with during the war. While Wallace, knowing the difficulty that an extramarital affair

with a black man would cause for Jean's mother, had wanted his daughter sent to America, Jean was brought up in England by her mother and stepfather. Nevertheless, she had been told the full details of her father from the outset in positive terms by her mother and had grown up proud of having an American father though she notes that 'she never ever told anybody that he was black, you know. No, I never ever did that.' Wallace, meanwhile, was confident that, in time, his daughter would reach out to him: 'I never did give up on her though. I always said that I believed that I would hear from her. I always said to myself, 'well, one day the girl gonna want to know her real daddy.' The pair finally met when Jean was in her forties and though they had to deal with the emotions involved in so much time lost, they went on to develop a very close and loving relationship.¹⁰ Wallace and Jean's case it appears, however, is relatively unusual: accounts to date suggest that very few brown babies ever found their fathers, let alone grew up with them.

Such, sadly, was the case for Denny Smith. Heartbreakingly, by the time Denny tracked her father down, he had died. Her mother also had passed away but her mother's other children were still alive and Denny finally and very emotionally met with them, as well as with her father's friends, creating new family ties and finding some long sought after questions, as she says:

Reading between the lines, she was forced to give me up. It just wasn't the done thing.... Everything comes down to this colour, as a child, when I read it. It's so unfair.... [My father] I think I've got the feeling he just was head against a brick wall. In the end he just gave up, he thought, I'm not getting anywhere here. And just gave up. As far as knew he didn't exist. But for six years he tried to get me to go and live with him ... in his own way, he didn't abandon me.

I found I've got a mother, I think who loved me. I found a father I think loved me as well. And all the bits that go in-between. What people thought about him, what they've said about him. And it's all good I was a dark secret. I've said all along and it's the operative word. I was a dark secret in all ways: colour, thought, everything. A secret that got hidden away. But you are a person at the end of the day, you have feelings, you hurt. And you wonder why you're being kept a secret. I have a past. And eventually, there'll be a calmness in all this, an acceptance. And memories.

Although the lives of these 'brown babies' and their parents are clearly neither identical nor simplistic, what is evident is the role of racial prejudice underlying their experiences and circumstances of separation. Of course, as Lee (2011) notes, while raising a child as a single mother in Britain during and immediately after the war generally meant financial hardship and social ostracisation, such marginalisation was nevertheless exacerbated for those who had had children of mixed race. Doris Cooper, a 20-year-old white woman living in Derby, was sentenced to three months hard labour in 1945 for child abandonment after leaving her baby with a woman she had formerly lodged with and then disappearing. The police stated that she 'had been turned out of her lodgings because she was the mother of a coloured child' and 'her parents would have nothing to do with her.'¹¹ Indeed, as we have previously discussed, outside the established port communities, where interracial support networks and longstanding patterns of cohabitation amongst coloured sailors and white women could mean that children born outside marriage were not inevitably viewed locally as problematic (see also Little 1942: 130–132), the infusion of the social stigma of illegitimacy with that of racial prejudice worked to create a powerful and overwhelmingly hostile climate for those women who had doubly broken the laws of respectability.

While few first-hand accounts of the wartime parents who gave up their mixed race children have so far been brought to light, as we saw in the case of Denny Smith some glimpses of the emotional distress as well as the wrench of abandonment caused by their situations can be caught behind the details of official and media reporting. In 1941, the press noted that a six-week-old 'half caste' baby girl, 'well nourished and healthy' was found abandoned in its pram in the Groves in Chester, alongside an assortment of clean and new clothes and baby items. The baby was soon discovered to belong to a twenty-six-year-old woman from Welshpool, Martha Ann Jones, a former parlourmaid and cook, who was charged with deserting her child. Martha, described in court as having a previously 'excellent' and 'exemplary' character, was afraid to go to her parents who had 'Puritanical ideas' so she kept the matter to herself, left her employment and went to live in Welshpool, where the woman she lodged with testified that 'she was kind and considerate to the child and

took very great care of it.’ Martha was said to have been driven to abandon her baby after she had spent the £17 the baby’s father had given her on her confinement,¹² whereupon ‘she had become sensitive and would not ask the father or her parents for any more money’. She had left the baby at the entrance of a cafe ‘where somebody would find it’ and ‘fully realised the stupid action she had committed.’ Martha was found guilty by the court and bound over for 12 months and ordered to pay special costs.¹³ Though the court was told that Martha was now living with one of her sisters ‘who now taken an interest in her and was sorry for her plight’, and had a position to go to once she was stronger, ‘unfortunately, the matter was made more difficult because the child was a half-caste, but a coloured lady had become interested and desired to adopt it.’¹⁴ It is unknown whether Martha was ever reunited with her child.

While it is clear that the effects of this climate, as we have seen, were often brutal, painful and longstanding, it is important to remember, as we have also illustrated in Chap. 5, that a simplistic paint-by-numbers story of a tragic interracial experience for those in and from mixed race families should not be assumed. Indeed, when fuller accounts are considered, more multifaceted patterns and experiences are put forward. Elizabeth Anionwu’s important and fascinating autobiographical account *Mixed Blessings from a Cambridge Union* (2016), for example, clearly details such complexity. On paper, the bare facts of Elizabeth’s childhood appears to follow the familiar pattern suggested by official documents on the fate of so many mixed race children born during the Second World War and early post-war period: born in 1947 to a white English mother and a black African father, Elizabeth was raised in care until the age of nine. However, letters from her mother Mary to the Catholic orphanage in which she was placed, alongside Elizabeth and her family’s own recollections, further point to the complexity of emotions and events experienced by a family seeing the arrival of a mixed race child in their midst in the disapproving social climate of 1940s’ Britain (Image 8.4).

A brilliant student at Cambridge, Elizabeth’s mother, Mary, was—like numerous other women who became pregnant outside marriage in the mid-twentieth century—sent to a Mother and Baby home to deliver the child in secret, with the aim of Mary’s parents raising the child in their home at Stafford as their own so that Mary could continue her studies.



Image 8.4 Elizabeth Anionwu and her mother, Birmingham 1948. Courtesy of Professor Dame Elizabeth Nneka Anionwu

The revelation, however, that as the nun delivering the news put it, ‘the baby’s a little dark’ (19) changed the situation dramatically: Elizabeth’s father was in fact a black African man and fellow Cambridge student, Lawrence Anionwu, with whom Mary had developed a relationship and a ‘half caste’ baby could not be passed off as her parents’ own. If Mary

were to return to Cambridge—on which her parents were keen—this would mean placing Elizabeth up for adoption and though Mary did not want to leave her studies, she also did not want to abandon her daughter. She recalled the difficulty of the situation in a letter she wrote to the grown up Elizabeth:

It was a relief when the nuns put an end to the argument, telling us categorically that there was no chance of finding adoptive parents for a coloured child I went home to Stafford, as there seemed no immediate alternative. I deferred to my parents' wishes by telling nobody of Elizabeth's existence, but I refused to go back to college. I didn't want to be parted from Elizabeth indefinitely, and the sort of academic career that I had hoped for simply would not have been open to a woman with an illegitimate child. The climate of opinion in such matters was very different in those days from what it is now. (22)

Though Mary never returned to Cambridge, instead taking an office job which she hoped would provide her with the financial means to raise her daughter, Elizabeth remained in care for nine years. During this time, her mother worked tirelessly against social convention and disapproval to be reunited with her daughter. The older Elizabeth illustrates how the correspondence shows that, to her parents' approval, her mother's plan was to take Elizabeth to live with her and Lawrence in Africa where he had returned; the two had become engaged and hoped to marry once he was in a better financial position. In the meantime, it appears the pair had visited Elizabeth together when she was 16 months old, possibly her father's first sight of her.

The marriage, however, did not occur. Lawrence married an African woman which Elizabeth suspects caused her mother great pain; some years later, her mother also married—a white British man who agreed to take responsibility for Elizabeth's care. 'I cannot adequately express my gratitude to you and the sisters for your care of Elizabeth during the past nine years', her mother wrote to the care home, 'but as you know, it has always been my wish to have her with me as soon as circumstances permitted' (47). Elizabeth proceeded to grow up with between the houses of her mother, stepfather and half-siblings in Wolverhampton and her grandparents in Wallasey, developing close relationships with her mother and wider family—though not in the case of her stepfather who could

not cope with the taunts at work about Elizabeth's presence and, prone to drinking and violent outbursts at his family generally, treated Elizabeth differently and, on several occasions, with violence. Yet, Elizabeth places these incidents, as well as any ups and downs with family generally, within a wider context of the variances of family life and 'despite its rocky start plus a few unpleasant episodes along the way', sees her life as having been 'extremely fulfilling' and 'a vindication of all that my mother had to endure' (309). As an adult, Elizabeth would also go on to meet and develop a close relationship with her father, Lawrence, and her wider Nigerian family, and be awarded a CBE and Damehood in recognition of her services to nursing in Britain and the successful Mary Seacole Statue Appeal.¹⁵

Through Elizabeth's care in tracing and recording her life story, we are afforded a glimpse of the complex yet everyday details and emotions which are often obscured in understanding the lives of mixed race people, couples and families when gleaned mainly from official accounts. What such accounts importantly show is that the picture of interraciality in Britain during the Second World War and early post-war period was not static. Rather, hostility and conviviality ran alongside each other as it always had done, often exacerbated depending on who you were and where you lived.

Conviviality and Hostility: Settled Communities

With concerns about interraciality now mainly being directed at the issues of black GIs and brown babies, the war largely diverted the former vitriolic public focus on the subject away from those settled interracial communities which had once provoked so much of its ire. Though those of the East End of London were affected by the widespread bombing and displacement that relentlessly afflicted the capital,¹⁶ elsewhere such communities continued to exist and thrive. Interraciality was both normalised and supported via the visibility, networks and social spaces of mixed race families. In Cardiff, the Cairo

Café, for example, was more than a place to eat. Run by Ali and Olive Salaman, a Yemini and white Welsh couple, who had married in the late 1930s after meeting when Olive got lost in Butetown, the café also functioned as an Arab school, boarding house and, replacing the one in Cardiff that had been bombed during the war, a mosque. The Salamans, who had ten children, yet again belied the generalised stereotypes and assumptions produced by social science, fiction and the press of ‘predatory coloured men’ and ‘women of a low type’ (Tabili 1996): Olive had formerly been training as nurse before marriage and had learnt to speak fluent Arabic while Ali had built up a business from scratch. Hard-working and generous, the couple fostered children, ran a business and provided a vital local space, both for its vibrant Muslim community and more widely.¹⁷ Situated at the heart of its multiracial community, the café was representative of the interracial and intercultural interactions and exchanges which underpinned many portside communities. The historian Neil Sinclair recalls that he ‘used to go to the Arab school, and many of the kids used to go to the Arab school, even though we weren’t Arabs or Muslims, for that matter. But because your friends were going, you wanted to go along.’¹⁸ Alongside the Cairo Café, Nora (introduced earlier in Chap. 5) also remembers the help provided by another local venue which she recalls was the ‘only Chinese café in Wales at the time’, run by a generous owner: ‘I used to bring children from my school, poor children that lived ... down the Vale and various places, down there to have free school dinners. And he would feed them and after they had their dinner, they would call him Ching Chong Chinaman and he’d laugh and say, ‘they’re only children’. He was lovely.’

Such networks were frequently and organically born from community needs overlooked by government. Charles Jenkins, born in 1937 to a white mother and black African father in the Liverpool 8 district (now known as Toxteth), remembers how vital the work of Pastor Ekarte (as discussed in Chap. 6) and his church was in the area:

In the rooms there ... he’d open them up to anybody who was poor and served coffee and cocoa and toast and that, keep them off the streets. Also had musical

instruments that he'd let people use, that had no money to buy them, to practise in there. And he also had a nursery and that nursery consisted of babies that had been born to the black Yanks. The girls had them and he'd look after them—the Yanks had gone away then and left a girl with a baby—so he would look after them. So he had these rooms done up with all cots and that in, the nursery. And this used to go on for a long time, he was doing things, without any recognition, he was doing all this stuff ... and he used to look after all the children after school and any problems you could go there and every Christmas he'd have a party for the children, all colours, not just black, anybody. And we'd go there every Christmas He looked after these babies, and he'd done this work for years and no one had ever mentioned about it, and the council was getting a bit jealous about him having this nursery so they sent someone along to check on it. Well, they come back from the, what they call it, not a survey, perusing round, taking notes. Come back and said, 'well, as far as I can see, the babies are all healthy, getting fed, they're clean and so and so, but the building is a bit wonky, you know, there's broken windows and this and that, this and that.' So they closed him down. Over not the babies' health and that but because the building was ... they put a what you call it, an unsafe thing on it and closed him down. And from that onwards, that fella never recovered from that, he died. There's not a thing about him, they're putting plaques on walls for people, that man done things in his time for an awful lot of people. If he hadn't looked after the babies, who would have looked after them? And the children, he kept them off the streets ... there was always something going on, a pot of coffee or cocoa going so you could go in there night or day. And they had some people trying to get anything about him to find out if there's anything in the town hall, nothing. Yet they closed him down We called him Daddy Daniels, that's what we called him as the kids, like.¹⁹

Moreover, the support provided in interracial communities did not just benefit those who lived there. As in earlier eras, the communities also provided minority ethnic soldiers and entertainers with safer and more inclusive spaces in which to stay, socialise and mix. Nora recalls that 'people from all over the world' came to both the Cairo Café and the Chinese Café in Butetown which was 'very famous ... people like Anna May Wong and even Amy Johnson came there.'²⁰ Similarly, in Liverpool, Charles Jenkins remembers black Americans stationed at Burton visiting the area, as well as family stories of hosting entertainers:

Burton being so close, they used to come to the pub on the corner on the street there, the plonk house as we used to call them in those days And

me dad's brother, he was 23, he used to be on The Empire, as Buttons, tap dancing, he used to do all the shows. And at that time, he lived in no 1 Dexter St, all the stars from The Empire used to come and stay there, any black actors like, as I say, Paul Robeson, the (inaudible) Brothers ... anyone black at the time would come and stay there It was a big house on the corner, see, no. 1, so it was a huge house, with lots of rooms. And ... they used to come there and stay there ... and boxers also at the time, Jack Johnson, Sam Langford, Andrew Jephtha, who used to box, they'd come and stay there. With the only black place in Liverpool at the time, there was nowhere else and if you're appearing at the Empire, it was the nearest place where you could see the same colour as yourself so they tended to go to them places.... What someone said about the Adelphi—was it Paul Robeson or someone—couldn't stay in the Adelphi, but Roy Roger's horse could.

Recognition of these 'exemplary places' was not only acknowledged by those within. Certainly, as Kushner (2004: 22) illustrates in his wonderful research into the Mass-Observation archives that, for some, it was possible during the war and early post-war period to regard racial mixing as 'an ordinary part of the local landscape'. Such was the case in 1939 for a 26-year-old white male diarist from Newport:

I could visualise myself falling in love with a negress. If I did, I wouldn't hesitate about marrying her I have known a lot of cases of mixed marriages here [in Newport] and Cardiff and Barry, although they have all been cases of white women marrying black men. In fact, there is a street in Newport entirely occupied by such couples. The women seem happy and the men treat them well. My Sunday school work brought me into contact with some of the children of such marriages. They seemed very bright, clever people, and very happy. The attitude of the white children was interesting. They accepted the others quite naturally, even 'palled up' with them. Among these children, at any rate, there was no 'colour bar'.

Conviviality and Hostility: Representation and Everyday Lives

While interraciality was still an everyday norm within many communities, wartime mixing meant that, once again, Britain had to acknowledge and deal with the visible presence of interracial relationships and children

in its wider society. In 1946, *The Lancashire Daily Post* published a lengthy article on ‘The Dangers of Interracial Marriages’ in which the Secretary of the Marriage Guidance Council, Dr David Mace, responded to a letter from a male reader seeking advice on marrying a girl from another race. Stating that though such relationships may initially seem exciting, Mace nevertheless cautioned that they had a ‘high casualty rate’ as the ‘psychological difference’, marginalisation from both social groups and ‘notoriously hard’ lot of the children—who ‘suffer all the tension that is the fate of the “betwixt and between”’—makes such unions ‘notoriously difficult’. However, the reality of what was happening rather than what should happen was not lost on Dr Mace who conceded that the future might see a time where a truly international and equal society might make interracial marriages more workable and thus, ‘even now, it may be the appointed vocation of a few intrepid men and women to brave the dangers and pioneer the way.’ Such people, he followed up, however, ‘should not take such a step lightly without sober reflection.’²¹

For those who decided to ‘brave the dangers’, similarly to those of earlier generations the way forward was certainly not without obstacles. Encountering hostility was often very much part of the journey, as both the Phillpotts and the Patoirs were only too aware. Trudy recalls that ‘[Barclay] said to me: ‘It’s going to be very hard, you know that don’t you?’ And I said: ‘Yes, I know.’ Indeed, getting married was a challenge in itself for the pair with their local priest in Liverpool refusing to marry the couple on the basis that there were ‘too many coloured men coming over here and going back home leaving the women with children We were upset about that.’ The pair ended up marrying in the local registry office (Bates 2017). Emotional upsets could also be caused by the reactions of strangers, acquaintances and neighbours throwing dirty looks or making snide, ignorant or aggressive comments. ‘Why did you have to spit like that?’ Laurie once challenged a man who had done so in front of the couple. ‘Because you’re a nigger walking with a white woman’, he was told. Years later, the memory still resonated. ‘That was something that really shook me up,’ he recalled.²²

As we have also discussed earlier, opposition to interracial marriage was not tied to those outside the home. Both Trudy and Marion experienced vehement opposition to their relationships, with Trudy’s mother

‘threatening to throw her out of the house’ and the objections of Marion’s parents turning to emotional and physical abuse:

I was always in trouble when I got home. ‘Where have you been? What have you been doing? You’ve been out with that black man again’ and all this sort of thing. I said, ‘I want to do it and I’m going to do it.’ But I’ve had more good hidings from my dad. My dad used to sit up and wait for me. And the time he’s run up the stairs and given me a belting for it I don’t like to mention these things but it was very upsetting at the time. Very upsetting, because you see, I love Laurie.... And I don’t like to say it, but I have to say it ... but my mother said to me, ‘sooner than see you marry a black man, I would sooner strangle you.’²³

While the negative experiences of the Patoirs and Barclays can be found repeated across the recollections and accounts of numerous other wartime interracial couples, as ever, they did not form the entire picture. Antagonism was also interspersed with conviviality and even acceptance, both within and outside the home. Indeed, Laurie recalls that while the rest of Marion’s family were opposed to their relationship, her sister was supportive:

Marion had a very lovely sister who used to try and liaise between us and try to entertain us ... and she had a house where we could meet without parents knowing and things like that.... Her husband was also a very nice man who entertained us because he was a navy man and he travelled all over the world. And I remember meeting him and he said to me, ‘well, if you’re happy together what else can you do? Go ahead and get bloody married’, he said.²⁴

As had long been the pattern (see Chap. 5), complex and evolving family dynamics could see attitudinal shifts towards interraciality, particularly with the arrival of children. For both couples, the birth of grandchildren was a key factor in the white families’ acceptance of the black partner. Charles Jenkins also remembers that while he thinks there was initially some tension within the family at his mother marrying a black man, his mother ended up ‘bringing her mother with us and ... her three sisters, and she lived there with them They must have stuck with her, you know.’ (Image 8.5)²⁵



Image 8.5 Unknown family, circa 1940s–1950s. Courtesy of Butetown History & Arts Centre

Outside the home, the complexity of British ‘flexible attitudes’ towards race continued to create complicated and multidimensional pockets of day-to-day experience for many mixing or of mixed race. Echoing Nora’s memories of the bounded safe spaces of interraciality in Butetown (Chap. 5), Charles remembers how the unofficial geographical boundaries affected the daily lives of men of colour in Liverpool 8:

what they tended to do was to stay in their own locality. [My father] knew where he could go We got on alright. We didn’t have any problems really. Apart from the fact that there were at the time a few pubs around the area which me dad couldn’t go into. One on the corner of Wesley Street where he was born, he couldn’t go into the pub there. And a few more he could only go in the bar, he couldn’t go in the lounge and that was in where he lived, a couple of streets away in the area.

Despite the racial prejudice that was deeply entrenched in British society and official attempts to prevent interracial contact, the friendliness of white

Britons towards black GIs, for example, particularly during the early years of World War II, has been well documented (e.g. Reynolds 1985; Smith 1987; Gough 2007; see also Chap. 7). As at the beginning of the century, while there were many instances of black men being 'barred' from entertainment establishments, often at the behest of white Americans, there are also numerous instances of British owners and the public standing firmly against what was seen as the American imposition of racial segregation on British practices, such as Nat Bookbinder, a Warrington dancehall proprietor, who refused to bow down to American military requests both to turn away a young local Jamaican factory worker and to subsequently 'ban all coloured people from the ballroom' (Toole 1993). Given that black and white were supposed to be fighting together against fascism, the American call for segregations was frequently viewed by the public as lacking a perceived British sense of 'fair play' and created a sympathy for black Americans as well as a resentment against 'the authorities'; thus often in cases of overt racial discrimination, as well as in physical altercations with white GIs and the military police, white Britons frequently took the side of black soldiers (Reynolds 1985: 117; Wynn 2006). Smith (1987: 118) has noted how evidence gathered by the Ministry of Information reported that British pubs produced door signs reading 'for British people and coloured Americans only' and that British bus conductresses encouraged black servicemen not to give up seats for white American soldiers as 'they were in England now.' A relative of Joan Artis, a white woman who married Jack, a black British soldier, in Kent in 1944, also recalls how the racial prejudice of white American GIs was given short shrift by locals:

They were married for fifty plus years until [Jack's] death in 1997 He told us that the worst racism he came across was from white American GIs My aunt summed this up with a story of the family meeting up at the local pub when a leave allowed them to virtually all be together, that is all the uncles who were serving, plus the aunts and grandpa. Into the pub came some white GIs, apparently some snide remarks were not long forthcoming from the GIs all aimed at Uncle Jack. The GIs, however, got more than they bargained for as the people in the pub (besides our family) all knew and liked Jack well. The GIs were turned upon and after a 'scuffle' were unceremoniously ejected from the pub and told not to return again in no uncertain terms.²⁶

Such intersecting attitudes are fully reflected in Nevil Shute's 1947 novel *The Chequer Board* which incorporates many of the accounts of local defiance to segregation gathered by the Ministry of Information. In the section of the narrative set in Trenarth, Cornwall, initial wild stereotypes and fears shared by the locals about forthcoming black American troops are soon replaced after actual contact with warm affection: the black Americans become integrated into village life and interracial dating with local white girls fully accepted, much to the disgust of the newly arrived white American troops who object strongly to the lack of segregation and demand it is instated. Infuriated and repelled, the pub landlord bans all white Americans instead. Later, a misunderstanding causes a young black GI, Dave Lesurier, to be falsely accused of the attempted rape of a local girl, Gracie Trefusis, and in panic at his likely death sentence by the US military, Lesurier attempts to slit his own throat. Years later, however, Lesurier returns to Trenarth, obtains a job as a draughtsman in a neighbouring town and marries Gracie with whom he has an infant son; the couple, expecting a second baby, live happily in the town, accepted by her family and the wider community. Against the seams of racism that run deep in British society—even those who are sympathetic to Lesurier constantly refer to him as a 'nigger'—the novel nevertheless presents a unique representation of the ordinariness of interraciality and domesticity occurring in parts of Britain during and immediately after the Second World War.

Mixed Race People

In his polemical 1937 book *Half-Caste* that vigorously challenged the prejudices towards those of mixed race backgrounds, the anthropologist Cedric Dover, born to an English father and Indian mother, deftly described the dominant representation of this group at the start of the war years:

The 'half-caste' appears in a prodigal literature. It presents him, to be frank, mostly as an undersized, scheming and entirely degenerate bastard. His father is a blackguard, his mother a whore. His sister and his daughter, dressed by Coward and Cochran in a 'shimmering gown',²⁷ follow the maternal vocation.

But more than all that, he is a potential menace to Western Civilisation, to everything that is White and Sacred and majusculed. (13)

As the war years unfolded, such perceptions continued mostly to stand fast. As Chap. 8 illustrates, in social science circles, some change was occurring. In his study of Cardiff, Little (1942, 1972/1948a)—aware of and sensitive to the previous negative lens through which the interracial community had previously been viewed—demonstrated great awareness of both the heterogeneity of the families as well as the social prejudices and economic factors that held back so many interracial families in the area, particularly the mixed race youngsters who struggled to find decent work. However, the old tropes continue to be present: due to cultural, environmental and possibly ‘racial differences’, Little states, the children of mixed blood show sexual and physical ‘precocity’ (1942: 136), while ‘readers interested in the personality trait of the half-caste or the “marginal man” ... should consult [E.V. Stonequist]’s very interesting book on this subject’. Citing a large section of the book, Little highlights Stonequist’s belief that ‘the hypersensitiveness of the marginal man has been repeatedly noted. This trait is related to the exaggerated self-consciousness developed by continually looking at himself through the eyes of others. It may result in a tendency to find malice and discrimination where none was intended Having this conception of the world in his mind, he is more likely to provoke antagonism and prejudice against himself.’ (Little 1942: 142). For all Little’s obvious sensitivities and attempts to portray a more nuanced picture of interraciality than that had come before, mixedness is still presented as a homogenous, dockside experience of marginality, sexual precocity and dissatisfaction.

As we have previously discussed, the lived experiences of mixed race people during this time, including those like Nora and Charles who lived in such dockside communities, challenge this ‘prurient middle-class gaze’ (Balachandran 2014). In their accounts, marginality is not the dominant narrative through which their lives are seen. Rather, there is a sense of ‘ordinariness’ in which the everyday, commonalities of life is what is recalled, rather than any ‘tragic mulatto’ narrative. This is not to say that life was entirely rosy or that racial and social prejudice did not feature; in addition to issues around employment (as we discuss below), incidents of unjustness and targeted abuse—to self or others—can be recalled, as well

as more complex racial tensions within the communities. Discussing war-time memories, women from Butetown remember that, for black and mixed race women, attitudes towards race and gender meant that dating could be challenging:

*The [black] boys didn't date black girls. They used to say, I don't burn coal, and we used to say, blacker the berry, sweeter the juice and then they used to say, when they get that black, there ain't no juice! [laughter]. But a lot of them were enthralled by girls from Newtown and girls from Ely and Grangetown and they wanted to be seen with a white girl on their arm. I don't know whether it was status or what. I don't know. But they didn't burn coal.*²⁸

Going out with a white man, however, was also problematic. The women note that 'if we went out with a white boy, hmmm, that was something different. We weren't supposed to do that.' Those that did, they recall, would be insulted and embarrassed and 'they would attack the fella you were with.' The arrival of the black GIs, however, opened up new pathways. 'The 'Bay boys' did not ask us out for dates' recalls one woman, 'so we had no one to go out with. The Americans came over and they made a fuss of us ... we'd never been treated so well in our lives.' (Image 8.6)²⁹

Furthermore, though the 'brown babies' narrative often seems to define notions of racial mixedness during the war, it is important to note that this is only one aspect of mixed race histories at this time. While there has been extensive gathering of the diverse range of accounts of child evacuees during the war (see, for example, Henderson 2004; Summers 2011; Mann 2014), the accounts of children of colour are unfortunately almost completely invisible, though certainly such evacuees existed: Trevor Sawtell, a resident of Ebbw Vale in Monmouthshire, remembers the arrival of a London family who garnered significant attention, 'the father was black, the children coffee coloured, and the mother white.' (Sawtell 2004). Those few narratives that have been collected, such as those collated by Butetown History & Arts Centre on those from the area who were evacuated to Aberdare for four years,³⁰ thus add important insight into the unfolding and influencing of social attitudes and experiences of race in wartime rural Britain. As ever, a



Image 8.6 Unknown family, circa 1940s. Courtesy of Butetown History & Arts Centre

multilayered picture is glimpsed. One evacuee remembers getting into trouble with teachers due to fights with Aberdare children after being taunted as ‘blackie’—‘it didn’t happen often but as I said, when it did, you just had to give the kid a good hammering and he didn’t come and do it again!’—but over time becoming part of the Aberdare community and, like many of those interviewed, being upset when the time came to leave. The evacuation process also had an influence on those who hosted the children: Maureen Edwards, a resident of Aberdare who was the same age as the children from Butetown, noted that, ‘as I grew up, I couldn’t understand what the colour bar was. Because we never had it really. Jacob came and Jacob was Jacob. He was just a different colour

but he was [accepted]. And when, after the war when there was all talk about colour bar, I really couldn't quite understand it. And I think that shaped our lives perhaps a bit.' Likewise, Sawtell recalls that while the mixed race family in Ebbw Vale were initially 'considered very strange' and the mother a 'fallen woman', with people endlessly rushing to stare at them, over time they became a part of the community and remained in Ebbw Vale even after the war, 'where the children married and raised children of their own'. Similar patterns are present in the memories of the evacuation of the Antia twin sisters, Stephanie and Constance, the daughters of an African merchant seaman and his English wife who were evacuated from London to Stanion, Northamptonshire, in 1940. Billeted in houses on either side of the road, the girls became integrated into the community and formed good friendships with the local children who in 1944 chose Stephanie to be the May Queen.³¹ The crowning ceremony was captured in a remarkable film by the Colonial Film Unit; entitled *Springtime in an English Village*, the short was screened throughout Britain's African and Caribbean colonies during the government drive for cheap overseas labour as propaganda material to illustrate typical life in the UK.³²

Beyond childhood, around the country a host of diverse mixed race adult lives were also occurring, from the middle-class academic experiences of Anglo-Indians such as Cedric Dover, to working-class rural experiences such as the footballer and later comedian, Charlie Williams, the son of a white English woman and a Barbadian man, who grew up in West Yorkshire and worked in Upton Colliery during the war before being signed to Doncaster Rovers in 1948, his experiences of conviviality running cheek-by-jowl with hostility again common to many accounts (see Williams 1973). Further diverse experiences of British mixed race people were also in evidence—such as Stephen Bourne's aunt Esther who left her job as a seamstress in London during the war to work in a hospital³³—though often their very ordinariness has in itself allowed many of their accounts to disappear (Images 8.7 and 8.8).

Where such archival material exists, further glimpses of the challenge to the stereotyped fixity of the mixed race experience can be seen. As across Britain generally, the unfolding of the war engendered change,



Image 8.7 Wedding of Cleophus and Muriel St Claire, circa 1950s. Cleophus was the oldest of the St Claire children. His brother Reuben, Reuben's wife, Ruth, and their brother, Raymond, are also identified in the photo. Courtesy of Bristol Archives: 41948/21

willing or otherwise, on communities, families and individuals and those from mixed race backgrounds were no exceptions. In many cases, the war provided an opportunity for those who had been socially bypassed and excluded to have their presence and contribution recognised. A number of those whose archived interviews and material we have drawn on—Alfie Laws, Nora Richer, Charles Jenkins and Reuben St Claire—contributed to the war effort, either as soldiers or auxiliary services. Though racism was engrained at the higher levels of the military, their accounts suggest that on an everyday basis, though encountering racism was not



Image 8.8 Reuben St Claire with his wife, Ruth, and child, circa 1950s. Courtesy of Bristol Archives: 41948/25

uncommon, it was not always present. Alfie Lawes remembers that he was accepted by fellow soldiers though the military authorities saw him differently:

In 1939, I volunteered for India. And I couldn't go. Because I was the wrong colour. It's the God's truth. They marched me off the parade ground in Cardiff—all the boys are lined up in their KDs as we called it, ready to go out to India and the big boys noises came down, looked like that, see. 'Hey!' A boy said, 'they pointing towards you Alf, what's wrong?' 'I don't know,' I said. The

sergeant-major comes up, see. 'Attention. One pace forward. Slow march, quick turn,' and marched me off the barracks in Cardiff. I said, 'what's the matter, sergeant-major?' 'Quiet, quiet!' closed up, when they all marched off I fell in behind. 'What's the matter Alf?' 'I don't know.' 'We'll find out.' I was the wrong colour to go to India. And that was the first time [I had experienced prejudice] you see.³⁴

Charles Jenkins meanwhile recalls that though he was the only black person he saw during his time of National Service, he did not experience any problems. 'I enjoyed it. I wish I would've stayed in. Lovely. I used to box in the army [so] I could take care of meself ... and when you're from Liverpool, no one seems to bother you ...'³⁵

The war also opened up opportunities for those who had previously been denied them. Nora Glasgow and Veronica Johnson (another resident of Butetown), who both served in the Auxilliary Territorial Service, recall that prior to the war, work at Edward Currans, the armament factory, was impossible to obtain for people of colour. However, as Nora notes, 'during the war, they applied for us to work there. So since it was good pay, and we were doing our bit for the war, a lot of us went into Edward Currans. And he was very good to us'.³⁶ Veronica, however, after being denied a post there due to her colour in 1941, refused ever to work in Currans; instead she found employment at a Spanish restaurant.³⁷

Representations

The war also disrupted the obsessive condemnatory gaze on interracial communities that had been so prevalent in the preceding decades. Of course, this is not to say that the question of interraciality disappeared from public interest as a whole. As the war progressed, however, concerns about black soldiers and wartime workers settling in the country (rather than being a transient population) and the emergence of the 'brown baby' problem provided fertile ground for longstanding British fears around racial mixing to merge with imported American antipathy towards people of colour, creating a hardening of public attitudes towards the black military presence and racial mixing (Smith 1987). As discussed

in Chap. 6, the question of 'brown babies' was of some considerable interest and articles ruminating on their presence and fate, as well as the moral female laxity that had led to the situation, were a recurring feature: in the *Sunday Pictorial*, much despair was wrought over the number of illegitimate children born to local girls from American GIs in Nottingham—'The City of Broken Hearts'—particularly 'coloured babies'. The article noted that the baby of one girl, was born—to great relief—'as fair-skinned as its mother, without a trace of negro features.' Nevertheless, pondered the article, the 'baby had negro blood in it and will one day be capable of giving birth to a coloured baby in turn. What will happen? Will this girl, when she grows up, risk the shame of having a black baby, or simply renounce the right of parenthood?'³⁸ A third option—of having a baby and leading an ordinary life as so many mixed race Britons had and did do—was not considered.

Yet, aside from the 'brown baby' issue, the subject of racial mixing in Britain appeared to attract considerably much less attention during and immediately after the war. With greater political and social issues at stake, as well as shifting biological and social scientific attitudes to race (see Chap. 9), absent are the endless, vitriolic reports on the perils and dangers posed by working-class interracial communities. As at the turn of the century, more 'in passing' stories about mixed race people could be glimpsed such as the account of Doreen Childs, a seven-year-old 'little half-caste girl' from Canning Town who had been run over by a lorry: the court awarded the family £75 with the judge stipulating that £10 of the sum should be used to take Doreen on holiday and £1 of that to buy her the present of the 'white china dolly' she wanted. The episode, including a photo of Doreen with her doll, was covered by several papers without any significant undertones, as was the crowning of Stephanie Antia as Stanion's May Queen,³⁹ though the *Daily Mirror* did quizzically note that Stephanie's 'dark curls made a striking contrast with her crown of primroses' and snarkily entitled their article 'Dusky Queen of the May'.⁴⁰

Interracial marriages also continued to attract attention in the press and, as ever, particularly those where one partner was well-known, from the entertainment world, or from an upper-middle or upper-class background. The marriage of the Chinese-Indonesian tennis champion Kho Sin Kie to an English girl from Exminster, Joan Balfour, in 1940 was covered by vari-

ous papers,⁴¹ as was that of Joan Goodly, an usherette from Hounslow, to the Chinese troupe leader and performer Loi Long in the same year.⁴² Not all the marriages involved men of colour marrying white women; in 1941, the *Daily Mirror* reported that Dr AD Lindsay of Balliol College, Oxford, and his wife were very pleased at the news that their son had married a Chinese girl whom he had met during his studies in China.⁴³ The extent to which coverage of such stories was a mark of accepting the interracial people and families featured as ordinary or a 'curio' factor is a valid question to consider; generally both factors were often at play, depending on the subject, newspaper, the locality and the reporter covering the case. Stephanie's coronation, for example, was covered differently in the national *Daily Mirror* than in the local Northampton paper, while a 1948 article in the *Birmingham Mail* entitled 'They Met At Elmdon...' detailing the return to Britain aboard the Windrush of Herbert Zayne, a Jamaican who had served in the RAF, alongside his white English wife Irene and their two young children, is ostensibly presented as a 'feel-good story' but, as Searle (2013: 62) notes, 'arguably invites a voyeuristic assumption about what happened in the period between their meeting [at Elmdon airport] and the photograph of the couple with their two children', as well as being loaded with insinuations about the 'job-seekers' of the Windrush of whom Herbert was one. Black and white mixed relationships, most of all, continued to attract the most prurient and hostile attention, regardless of the class and status of those involved, no greater perhaps than in the furore over the relationship and subsequent marriage of Seretse Khama, the king of what was to become (under his leadership) the African Republic of Botswana, and Ruth Williams, a white English clerk. Nevertheless, the public reaction was not simplistic; while the British government was opposed (as indeed was much of the ruling elite of the Bamangwato), and some coverage was lurid, elements of the press and the public were sympathetic (see Williams 2006).⁴⁴

In terms of the arts, the heady interest in portraying racial mixing and mixedness had greatly deteriorated and within British-generated fiction, theatre and cinema, tales of interracial romance, whether at home or overseas, were few. Indeed, Shute's *The Chequer Board* is an exception, not least because it not only covers the subject but does so positively—as well as the happy outcome for the black and white couple, Dave and Gracie; a second positive interracial relationship is depicted in the form of the

happy marriage of an Englishman, Phillip, to Nay Htohn, a Burmese woman. Moreover, Shute once again turns interracial stereotypes on their head as, rather than the embarrassed, desperate state his English family fear Phillip must be in due to his marriage to a native, it is revealed that he is a respected member of the community, living affluently with his charming, educated wife. The novel was popular and well-received.⁴⁵

In its positive and ordinary depiction of racial mixedness, the novel, however, stands alone. Where fictional representation of interraciality occurred during this period, they tended to be either revivals of former theatrical successes, such as *The Chinese Bungalow* (1940 and 1946) or American cinematic imports, such as *Duel in the Sun* (1946) and *Pinky* (1949), that firmly located racial mixing and mixedness as part of America's 'race problem' or exoticised shenanigans in far flung places; moreover, whatever the location, the situation could only end in heart-break or tragedy, such as in Richard Mason's novel *The Wind Cannot Read* (1946) set in India where a British officer falls in love with and marries a Japanese girl, only to have her die in his arms when he returns from his mission. Such images, rather than those of Shute's, would heavily continue to underscore perceptions of racial mixing over the next decades.

Notes

1. Concerns, mostly from white British men, about the willingness of white British women to engage in interracial relationships being an indicator of a decline in female morality have been a constant refrain from the eighteenth century onwards. See, for example, Fryer (1984) and our Introduction.
2. *Western Daily Press* and *Bristol Mirror*, 10 March 1943.
3. Laurie and Marion Phillpotts, *Woman's Hour*, BBC Radio 4. Broadcast 7 January 1987.
4. *The Voice*, 20.01.2016.
5. BBC (2005); Castle (2015); Yvonne Foley, in *Mixed Britannia*, BBC2, 5 October 2011.
6. *Derby Evening Telegraph*, 28 July 1945.
7. *Brown Babies*, Channel 4. Broadcast 11 October 1999.

8. Gordon Willis, interviewed in *Brown Babies*, Channel 4. Broadcast 11 October 1999.
9. WW2 People's War is an online archive of wartime memories contributed by members of the public and gathered by the BBC. The archive can be found at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/ww2peopleswar/>
10. *Brown Babies*, Channel 4. Broadcast 11 October 1999.
11. *Derby Evening Telegraph*, 28 December 1945.
12. Few details of the father of Martha's baby are given; however, the considerable sum of money he gave Martha (equivalent of almost £800 in 2017) suggest that he had access to financial means as well as cared about the security of Martha and his child-to-be.
13. The costs are reported differently in press accounts: 34s (*Chester Chronicle*, 19 July 1941) and £1.14s (*Cheshire Observer*, 19 July 1941).
14. *The Cheshire Observer*, 14 June 1941 and 19 July 1941; *Liverpool Evening Express*, 16 July 1941; *Chester Chronicle*, 19 July 1941.
15. The Mary Seacole Statue Appeal was launched in 2003 in an effort to recognise the contributions of the Jamaican businesswoman and nurse Mary Seacole - of mixed Jamaican and Scottish ancestry - to aiding British soldiers during the Crimean War. After over a decade of fundraising, the appeal reached its target and an erected statue of Seacole was unveiled in June 2016 in the grounds of St Thomas' Hospital, the first public statue dedicated to a named woman of black heritage in Britain.
16. As may be recalled from Chap. 5, Doris, a white East End resident who reminisced about growing up with mixed race families in the 1930s, recalled that 'during the war, most of them went'.
17. See interviews with Olive Salaman in *Tamed and Shabby Tiger*, BBC Wales (broadcast 1 March 1968) and with her son Daoud Salaman in *Mixed Britannia*, BBC2, broadcast 6 October 2011. Also Gilliat-Ray, S., & Mellor, J. (2010). For more on the general history of Muslims in the UK, see Ansari (2009) and for local histories, including intermarriage, see Lawless (1995) on Tyneside, Gilliat-Ray and Mellor (2010) on Wales, and Holland (2017) on Sheffield.
18. Neil Sinclair, interviewed in *Mixed Britannia*, 6 October 2011. The same episode includes an interview with Daoud Salaman, one of Ali and Olive's children. Olive herself is interviewed in the BBC Wales programme, *Tamed and Shabby Tiger*, broadcast 1 March 1968.
19. Charles Jenkins, *Millennium Memory Bank*, 10 October 1998.

20. Nora Glasgow, interviewed in History of Butetown, Black Film and Video Workshop in Wales with Butetown Community History Project, 1987. Accessed at Butetown Arts & History Centre.
21. *Lancashire Daily Post*, 1 May 1946.
22. Laurie and Marion Phillpotts, *Woman's Hour*, BBC Radio 4, broadcast 7 January 1987.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. Charles Jenkins, *Millennium Memory Bank*, 10 October 1998.
26. My Black Uncle, WW2 People's War, www.bbc.co.uk/ww2peopleswar [date accessed 01.02.2017].
27. A reference to Noel Coward's popular 1931 song 'Half Caste Woman', as discussed in Chap. 4. The song appeared in Charles Cochran's 1931 *Revue*.
28. Recorded interviews with Butetown residents in their own home, Butetown History & Arts Centre pilot, Undated. Accessed at Butetown History & Arts Centre, 2007.
29. Ibid.
30. Aberdare evacuees—a panel of nine evacuees brought together in Aberdare, a cultural event organised by BHAC filmed by BBC Wales, 2006. Accessed at Butetown History & Arts Centre, 2007.
31. There are indications that the children's lives in London were similarly not blighted by racism either: in the comments on the British Film Institute's video of the event, a commentator remarks that she had recently met Stephanie who had said that 'at the time they lived in London, only three Black families lived there. I asked her whether there had been perceptible racism in London at that time; she said it was there (imagine the word there is underlined) but not obvious.' (Whit 2009).
32. *Observer*, 21 June 2009; *Guardian*, 26 August 2009; *Northamptonshire Telegraph*, 17 August 2009. As a result of the film being made available to view by the British Film Institute, Stephanie was reunited with Joy Smith, her best friend, from the village and she and her daughter visited Joy in Stanion.
33. Stephen Bourne's (Bourne and Bourne 2012) excellent work in documenting the story of his aunt, Esther Bourne, whom we also discuss in Chap. 5, is a great testimony to both the existence of ordinary mixed race lives and the attempt to preserve such histories.
34. Alfred Lawes, *Millennium Memory Bank*, 5 November 1998.

35. Charles Jenkins, *Millennium Memory Bank*, 10 October 1998.
36. Oral interview featuring Nora Glasgow, Black Film and Video Workshop in Wales with Butetown Community History Project, 1987. Accessed at Butetown Community History Project.
37. Veronica Robinson, interviewed as part of the Butetown Remembers the Homefront project, Butetown History and Arts Centre, 2005–2006.
38. *Sunday Pictorial*, 9 December 1945.
39. On Doreen, see *Daily Mirror*, 2 March 1940 and *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 9 March 1940. On Stephanie, see *Northampton Mercury*, 5 May 1944.
40. *Daily Mirror*, 2 May 1944.
41. *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 29 January 1940; *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 2 February 1940.
42. *Daily Mail*, 9 April 1940.
43. *Daily Mirror*, 27 June 1941.
44. The story of the Khamas was the subject of the 2016 film *A United Kingdom* which opened the London Film Festival that year.
45. Success occurred both in England and the USA, the latter somewhat to Shute's surprise given his approach to racial themes. McCandless (2017).

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Part III

1950–1979: The Era of Mass Immigration

The Second World War bequeathed on Britain in these post-war decades both a spirit of optimism and progressive change, yet also a need to learn from the past. The Statements on Race published by the newly formed UNESCO between 1950 and 1969 discussed in Chap. 9 represented a turning point in scientists' thinking about race, finally laying to rest the idea that interracial mixing carried adverse, biologically mediated risks. This marked the end of racial science in the form that had informed Darwinism, eugenics and Nazi ideology. It also heralded a new era in scholarly work on interraciality (the focus of Chap. 10), an eclipse of both the 'blind alley' work on anthropometry and morally condemnatory tracts by social workers and other commentators via the writings of sociologists and social anthropologists who were prepared to examine the role of racism in their approaches. They included black researchers and others who brought personal perspectives to their writing and, through their preparedness to embed themselves in the communities they studied, contributed a new rigour to scholarship.

The national landscape of racial mixing and mixedness also changed over these decades as we reveal in Chap. 10. The arrival of the 'Empire Windrush' in 1948 heralded an era of mass migration of peoples from Britain's former colonies. The new migrant populations formed substantially larger communities than the 'coloured quarters' or 'enclaves' of the

pre-Second World War decades and in parts of Britain—the large provincial cities of the Midlands and North of England—which had not had a strong tradition of black and minority ethnic settlement. The 0.2 million people living in Britain in 1951 who were born in the New Commonwealth had increased to 1.6 million by 1974. Mixing with the white population quickly followed this mass migration although reliable estimates of unions were to await new social surveys in the late 1970s. With migration initially characterised by gender imbalance, mixing was reported by virtue of its conspicuousness and in tandem with ‘colour shock’ and ‘strangeness’ but, by the end of this period, interethnic marriages (the term of choice of the official agency responsible for the census and social surveys) probably approached 1 per cent of all marriages. While the mixed race population had been counted in the mere hundreds in Britain’s major port cities in the 1930s, this population had probably attained the hundreds of thousands nationally by the end of the 1970s.

The wider social environment during these decades, discussed in Chap. 11, was characterised by racial prejudice, opinion polls consistently recording high levels of opposition amongst the British population to intermarriage and miscegenation. Tensions were frequently raised by racial disturbances, such as those in Notting Hill in 1958, leading to a politicisation of race relations. The two most prominent examples of ‘playing the race card’ in these decades were Peter Griffiths’ campaign to win the parliamentary seat of Smethwick in the 1964 General Election and Enoch Powell’s pronouncements on race, most notably, the so-called Rivers of Blood speech of 1968. Both politicians used population mixing to make their arguments, Powell openly racialising the children of these mixed relationships. However, another source of hostility to racial mixing and intermarriage, the eugenics movement, was on the wane and it never regained the momentum it enjoyed in the 1930s. Government, too, was not blameless, initiating in the late 1950s surveillance of new immigrants including mixed communities through chief constables, including numbers of immigrants in their area, level of integration, intermixing and miscegenation, living conditions, level of crime, illegitimacy rates, and involvement in brothels.

Against this background of racism in national politics and robust evidence of the operation of a colour bar in some parts of Britain, there were concerted efforts between the 1950s and 1970s to challenge such attitudes

through legislation, culminating after a dozen years of efforts in the Race Relations Acts of 1965, 1968 and 1976. There were also positive, even celebratory, but lesser known events, moments and movements—all underestimated in their impact—that prepared the way for a more favourable racial climate, such as the forming of the Keep Britain Tolerant group in 1958 and the founding of the *New Left Review* in 1960.

The arrival of new post-war ‘coloured’ populations saw the distinct wartime issue of ‘brown babies’ subsumed in media representations by a much more widespread and complex set of worries around race, citizenship and the subject of domestic racial mixing, with scenes of ‘ordinariness’ in everyday lives frequently scrubbed out of the media narrative of interraciality. The problem narrative that continued to dominate thinking on interracial relationships continued to be fuelled by fears about ‘half caste’ children and the issue of mixed race children in care. However, the sustained focus on racial mixing also functioned as growing evidence that racial mixing was not only part of British life but would increasingly remain so. Moreover, a representation of views that held how racism, rather than inherent racial qualities, might have a role to play in the situation and experiences of interracial couples, families and people in Britain began to insinuate itself into the media, helped by the wider dissemination of the findings and perspectives of the more progressive wave of social scientists. Some such viewpoints also began to emanate from the media itself, including direct representation of interracial couples or people, supporting or working to normalise interraciality. However, the framework within which such representations took place was still, overwhelmingly, one which started from the premise that the presence of ‘coloured’ immigrants and racial mixing was problematic.

This interweaving of calls for ‘tolerance’ and ‘open-mindedness’ within a wider framework which held that racial mixing was a cause for concern also framed the debate of the post-war decades in the arts. This included the repetition and rehashing of old familiar tropes, such as exotic tales of interraciality, though there was a body of work that increasingly located fictional representations of racial mixing and mixedness in a British context involving urban and often gritty backdrops that had long been associated with interracial relationships. In addition to racial prejudice, this new wave of representation also highlighted both

the very extent and occurrence of racial mixing that was being experienced in Britain during this period and even provided glimpses of interracial domesticity and intimacy. These representations of interracial relationships in Britain were also explored by minority ethnic writers, foregrounding issues of class as well as of race. Works by black women themselves highlighted different nuances within stories of interraciality which more greatly explored domesticity, intimacy and parenthood.

During these decades, the ordinary lives of those in interracial relationships were frequently threaded with hostile, fearful and ignorant attitudes and behaviours and even acts of violence. But there were also instances of latent friendliness and support for interracial relationships. This ideological tug of war between racial superiority and racial liberalism in the post-war decades was often played out in diverse domestic settings across the country, some of the diversity now being revealed in memoirs by those in interracial relationships including a pattern of navigating between everyday conviviality and hostility. Both class and geography added to this diversity of experiences, some finding solace and support in interracially mixed or predominantly minority ethnic communities.



9

Redefining Race: UNESCO, the Biology of Race Crossing, and the Wane of the Eugenics Movement

Antecedents of the UNESCO Statements on Race

It will be recalled from Chap. 2 that during the late 1930s several British geneticists took individual initiatives to challenge the Nazi appropriation of scientific racism for nationalist purposes. Haldane (1938), Huxley and Haddon (1936) and Trevor had all published books or articles on the misuse of race at this time. Such efforts were, indeed, part of much wider concerns in continental Europe about how race had been co-opted in the ideology and practices of National Socialism. While the UNESCO Statements on Race—published between 1950 and 1969—have gained a prominence in the wider scientific literature as turning points in thinking about race, international efforts had been initiated some 15 years before the first 1950 Statement.

In the mid-1930s the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) had sought to organise an international meeting of experts. Mazaryk and Benes took the initiative in calling for the conference ‘to re-establish in the minds and consciences of men everywhere the truth

about race' (UNESCO 1950: 2).¹ Although UNESCO conceded that scientists were unanimous in their wish to denounce the absurdity of racist dogma on an international stage, they were forced to forego this opportunity 'in deference to the appeasement policy of the pre-war period...(and) Nazi propaganda was able to continue its baleful work unopposed by the authority of an international organization'. In a similar initiative Franz Boas wrote to Raymond Pearl in October 1935 requesting him to formulate a statement on race, to be signed by prominent anthropologists and biologists, to counteract Nazi propaganda on race.² Pearl expressed his strong aversion to round-robins by scientific men.

In 1939 *The Journal of Heredity* published 'The Geneticists' Manifesto' which was presented at the Seventh International Congress on Genetics in Edinburgh just days before the declaration of war.³ While it focused on the genetic implications of human improvement rather than race, the manifesto called for 'the removal of race prejudices and of the unscientific doctrine that good or bad genes are the monopoly of particular peoples or of persons with features of a given kind'. Amongst its signers were Haldane, Huxley and Theodosius Dobzhansky.

Though such international efforts did not come to fruition or came too late, individuals persisted in attacking contemporary conceptualisations of race in the late 1930s and war years. Two of the most influential scholars writing during the war years were Ruth Benedict (1887–1948) who published *Race: Science and Politics*⁴ in 1940 (Benedict 1940), followed by *The Races of Mankind* in 1943 (Benedict and Weltfish 1943), and Ashley Montagu (1905–1999) who published *Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race* in 1942 (Montagu 1942).⁵ *The Races of Mankind* quoted the median scores obtained on the Army Intelligence tests by whites from three Southern states and compared them with the superior scores obtained by black people from three Northern states. A House Military Affairs Committee headed by a Southern member of the United States Congress achieved the suppression of this pamphlet for use by the United States Army (Montagu 1944). The book also resulted in a film strip, 'We are all brothers; What do you know about race?'

Montagu's *Man's Most Dangerous Myth* quickly went to a second revised and enlarged edition in 1945 which had gone through three printings by 1947. By 1945 the full extent of the Nazi Holocaust was

becoming apparent, prompting Montagu to write in a new preface that since the book left the press ‘the world has been horrified by the calculated murder of millions of Jews and Poles by the Nazis. This represents the practical realization of the doctrine of “racism” which has been so viciously enthroned as a political doctrine in the Nazi Weltanschauung. That doctrine, from beginning to end, is an absurdity; but absurdities have never wanted for believers, and, as Voltaire remarked, “as long as people believe in absurdities they will continue to commit atrocities”’.

The second edition, with a foreword by the philosopher Aldous Huxley (brother to Julian, the biologist), contained a lengthy chapter on ‘the creative power of “race” mixture’, a title that speaks for itself, and an appendix setting out state legislation against mixed marriages in the United States.

International efforts to address scientific racism were revived as soon as the Second World War ended. UNESCO came into being in 1946, a product of the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education (CAME) and the IIC, focused, respectively, on educational and intellectual exchange. UNESCO quickly became ‘a major site of political contestation concerning racism, “race”, and intellectual diplomacy’ (Hazard 2011: 176).

The 1950 Statement on Race

It was perhaps not surprising that Ashley Montagu was instrumental in the preparation of UNESCO’s ‘Statement on Race’, published in Paris in July 1950 and the first of several such statements (UNESCO 1950). By 1950 he had achieved a significant corpus of scholarly work on race and racism, including the influential *Man’s Most Dangerous Myth* (Montagu 1945),⁶ and had been supervised by Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict and become friends with Theodosius Dobzhansky, some of the most eminent anthropologists and geneticists of the day. Moreover, he had experienced racism at first hand, being born Israel Ehrenberg to a working-class Jewish immigrant family in the East End of London. While an undergraduate at University College London he changed his name to Montagu Francis Ashley-Montagu to protect himself from the pervasive anti-semitism he had experienced.

A conference was organised in December 1949 as the first step in UNESCO's race programme. Eight international experts composed the panel, comprising Professor Ernest Beaglehole (New Zealand), Professor Juan Comas (Mexico), Professor LA Costa Pinto (Brazil), Professor Franklin Frazier (United States of America), Professor Morris Ginsberg (United Kingdom), Dr Humayun Kabir (India), Professor Claude Lévi-Strauss (France), and Professor Ashley Montagu (United States of America) who was also rapporteur. These scholars were primarily sociologists and sociocultural anthropologists, only Comas and Montagu being trained as physical anthropologists, though it had been hoped that the panel would include both natural and social scientists (Reardon 2005: 27). Deaths and last-minute withdrawals depleted the former. According to Hazard (2011: 176), 'it is clear that Ashley Montagu dominated the effort to produce the 1950 Statement.'

However, there followed professional criticism by an even larger number (13) of established scientists representing the fields of genetics, physical anthropology, sociocultural anthropology and psychology (Professors Hadley Cantril, EG Conklin, Gunnar Dahlberg, Theodosius Dobzhansky, Leslie C Dunn, Donald Hager, Julian S Huxley, Otto Klineberg, Wilbert Moore, HJ Muller, Gunnar Myrdal, Joseph Needham, and Curt Stern). These scientists were eminent in their respective fields. Dobzhansky (1937), for example, had outlined the fundamental tenets of population genetics in his *Genetics and the Origin of Species* and co-authored with Dunn *Heredity, Race and Society* (1946). He had also critically reviewed Montagu's *Man's Most Dangerous Myth* ahead of publication. Stein (1949) had just published his mammoth *Principles of Human Genetics*, much admired by Montagu (Hazard 2011). It fell upon Professor Ashley Montagu to revise the text, ostensibly through three drafts, and as 'a final arbiter of the published statement' (Hazard 2011: 178).

The 1950 UNESCO Statement on Race comprised 15 numbered paragraphs and opened with the statement, 'Scientists have reached general agreement in recognizing that mankind is one: that all men belong to the same species, *Homo sapiens*'. The causes of racial differences were located in 'evolutionary factors' such as geographic isolation, hybridization and natural selection. Scientists should use physical rather than mental traits to interpret the formation of races, the latter resulting from environmental forces rather than the natural processes of evolution.

The document also provided an unequivocal statement on racial union formation, which dismissed the idea of adverse, biologically mediated risks, thereby challenging a substantial corpus of scientific and popular literature that (as we saw in Chaps. 2 and 3) had suggested such consequences or taken refuge in agnostic statements and arguments that the evidence base could not yet support a view. The statement declared the following:

With respect to race-mixture, the evidence points unequivocally to the fact that this has been going on from the earliest times. Indeed, one of the chief processes of race formation and race-extinction or absorption is by means of hybridization between races or ethnic groups. Furthermore, no convincing evidence has been adduced that race-mixture of itself produces biologically bad effects. Statements that human hybrids frequently show undesirable traits, both physically and mentally, physical disharmonies and mental degeneracies, are not supported by the facts. There is, therefore, no *biological* justification for prohibiting intermarriage between persons of different ethnic groups. (UNESCO 1950: 8, original italics)

The meaning and impact of the 1950 Statement has been widely debated and contested. Some saw the statement as marking the end of racial science in the form that had informed Darwinism, eugenics and Nazi ideology. Others have viewed the publication of the statement more as a catalyst than a step-change in attitudes. Jenny Reardon (2005: 24) has commented that the 1950 (and 1951) Statement functioned not ‘as a moment of closure’ but rather ‘ushered in an era of old and new debates about the use of race as an analytic category in science’. Hazard also concluded, ‘In the final analysis, the 1950 Statement on Race did not proffer a clearly articulated ground breaking perspective on “race” and racism, but... simply confirmed the rise of environmentalism and synthetic evolutionary theory’ (Hazard 2011: 182).

The 1951 Statement on Race

Given the extensive criticism of the 1950 Statement, it was not unexpected that UNESCO would publish another Statement on Race in 1951 (UNESCO 1951). This second panel was composed of physical

anthropologists and geneticists 'for preference from among those who had expressed disagreement' with the 1950 Statement. Following its meeting, a 'Statement on the Nature of Race and Race Differences' was published after its drafting on 8 June 1951. This time the rapporteur was the geneticist Leslie Clarence Dunn of Columbia University, New York. Moreover, the second panel of 13 experts⁷ comprised only physical anthropologists and geneticists (in contradistinction to the sociological bias in the first panel). The text notes that 'Dr Julian Huxley contributed to the final wording'. In addition to Huxley, the panel also included Haldane and Trevor amongst British scientists who had contributed to the debates about race mixing in the 1930s.

The second UNESCO Statement agreed with almost all the points made in the 1950 statement: 'races are derived from a common stock; there is no evidence for the existence of pure races; there are no inferior or superior races; races are deciphered inside scientific laboratories, not in society; the concept of race is merely a classification device used by scientists to study the evolutionary process; races are determined by several characteristics; races are not discrete groups defined by qualitative differences, but rather overlapping groups defined by quantitative differences' (Reardon 2005: 30). The text on race mixing remained essentially the same, reaffirming that, 'There is no evidence that race mixture produces disadvantageous results from a biological point of view. The social results of race mixture, whether for good or ill, can generally be traced to social factors'. LC Dunn (UNESCO 1951: 37) (as rapporteur) had provided a preface to the statement indicating, 'We were fortunate in having as members of our conference several scientists who had made special studies of the results of intermarriage between members of different races. This meant that our conclusion that race mixture in general did not lead to disadvantageous results was based on actual experience as well as upon study of the literature. Many of our members thought it quite likely that hybridization of different races could lead to biologically advantageous results, although there was insufficient evidence to support any conclusion'.

Following publication of the 1951 Statement, UNESCO sent it to a large number of geneticists and physical anthropologists for comment. The findings of this consultation exercise were published by UNESCO as *The Race Concept* (UNESCO 1952).⁸ A total of 96 international

anthropologists and geneticists were invited to comment, of whom 69 (72%) responded. Thirteen of the invitees were based in the UK. Of those who responded, the report stated that the statement was 'unreservedly approved' by 23 (exactly a third) and that a further 29 while agreeing with the general tenor of the statement 'made certain criticisms of detail or expressed reservations'. Four (Cyril D Darlington, Eugen Fischer, Giuseppe Genna and Carleton Coon) were 'frankly opposed to the statement'. Provine (1973) provides a somewhat different tally of the respondents, claiming that 'The UNESCO statement was sent to 106 prominent physical anthropologists and geneticists. Of the 80 who responded, 23 accepted the statement in its published form, and 26 agreed with its tenor but disagreed on particulars. The others had substantial criticisms'.

Specific comments on the paragraph of the statement addressing race mixing were made by only a handful of the respondents. The negative phrasing of the paragraph was highlighted by Joseph Needham: 'Couldn't one say that race mixture is positively advantageous, rather than not disadvantageous, as tending to unify humanity?' Cyril D Darlington (1903–1981) and AH Sturtevant (1891–1970) were positively opposed to the statement's paragraphs. Darlington wrote, 'the evidence points to the fact that wide crossing has never before taken place on such a scale as during the last 400 years.... The hybridization that took place before the invention of navigation was obviously of a very different order from what happens now and anyone who attempted to write human history and neglect this fact might just as well repudiate all biology'. He described the claim that 'no biological justification exists for prohibiting intermarriage' as an example 'of the worst effects of reiterating the negative (presumably in answer to an invisible antagonist)'. He asks (UNESCO 1952: 63):

What is the alternative? Disadvantageous with respect to what? To non-breeding? To incest? Or to crossing with an absent number of the same race? And in what circumstances? In the home country of one race? Or of the other? Or of both? When the Fuegians crossed with Europeans there cannot be any doubt that the progeny were superior to both parent races for living in Tierra del Fuego. But we may doubt very much whether the progeny were superior to both for living in Europe. Different kinds of

results have arisen from race crossing in all parts of the world. They show reliably and conclusively that the progeny are different in innate capacity from either parent of the so-called pure race and that these differences are sometimes advantageous and sometimes disadvantageous, to one or both in the circumstances obtaining. Simply because the innate capacities of all races of men, as of animals, are different, and are suited to different circumstances and habitats. There might therefore be a 'biological justification for prohibiting intermarriage' between races if intermarriage were not contrary to the habits of all stable communities and therefore in no need of discouragement.

AH Sturtevant, a biologist at the California Institute of Technology, also took issue with the Statement's text:

The consequences of race mixture seem to me to be stated badly. There is a possible confusion between 'biological' and mental properties here. It is the general experience of those who have studied the results (at least beyond the first generation) of crosses between distinctly different strains of many kinds of organisms (including at least one mammal, the dog) that there is a strong tendency towards the production of physiologically inefficient individuals. The geneticist understands why this is so—and that understanding gives no grounds for expecting man to be an exception to the general rule. It is true that such crosses give the possibility of producing some individuals that are 'better' (in any specified respect) than any to be found in either parental race—but experience and theory are agreed that, after the first generation, these are much less likely to be found than are 'inferior' individuals. The result of these considerations is that, even on a purely physiological level, crosses between quite different races are not free of danger.

If the 1951 Statement did not provide definitive closure on the nature of race, its text on race mixture was widely accepted. Provine (1973) has argued that 'the 1951 UNESCO statement marks a clear point at which the public attitude of geneticists on the issue of race crossing had reached the current [1973] dominant view: that race crossing is at worst harmless'. However, a small number of scientists persisted in their criticism. As we saw in Chap. 2, Reginald Ruggles Gates was a lifetime proponent of the idea that race mixing carried biological harms, making

his position clear early in his career in his *Heredity and Eugenics* (1923). In 1946 Gates published *Human Genetics*,⁹ a text of 1518 pages that summarised some of the claimed evidence on the disadvantageous biological consequences of race mixing. This included ‘a number of extraordinary cases of unilateral development of eye characters and disharmony of the jaws’ in Rachel Fleming’s 1939 article in the *Annals of Eugenics* (Gates 1946: 1358; see also pp. 1356–1358, 1386), Gates concluding that ‘the existence of such conditions in crosses has frequently been denied’ (Gates 1946: 1358). Though he was not invited to respond to the 1951 Statement, he criticised its ‘incautious’ comments on race mixing in the journal *Nature* (Gates 1952)¹⁰ the year after the Statement’s publication.

Cyril D Darlington also consistently argued that people who were mixed race (‘hybrids’) were biologically inferior. For example, he wrote in *The New Scientist* of 14 April 1960, ‘Is there not then a third system, one of wider outbreeding, of real crossing, such as black-by-white...? The answer is: no. Such crossing represents not a system but a change of system, a change from relative inbreeding to outbreeding...And the original types from which you started will never reappear: one can never recover the parental strain from the outbreeding of a wide cross...If you change from outbreeding to real crossing, you are liable to run into trouble’.

The 1964 and 1967 Statements on Race

The 1964 and 1967 statements took the same format as their predecessors, comprising short point-by-point statements and the membership of the respective panels of experts. On the issue of race mixing there were no changes in substance. The 1964 statement (UNESCO 1964)—intended to update and complete the 1951 statement—recorded that the history of human populations or races were ‘rich in instances of hybridization and those tend to become more and more numerous’, that ‘the obstacles to interbreeding are geographical as well as social and cultural’, and that such interbreeding contributes to the dynamic equilibrium of the hereditary characteristics of human population. Again, the statement denied the idea of adverse, biologically mediated risks arising from intermarriage: ‘It has never been proved that interbreeding has

biological disadvantages for mankind as a whole. On the contrary, it contributes to the maintenance of biological ties between human groups and thus to the unity of the species in its diversity. The biological consequences of a marriage depend only on the individual genetic make-up of the couple and not on their race. Therefore, no biological justification exists for prohibiting intermarriage between persons of different races, or for advising against it on racial grounds'. The statement was unanimously agreed by 22 signatories, mainly anthropologists and ethnographers (but excluding Professor Ashley Montagu) with only a handful from the natural scientists.¹¹ Two were from the UK, both Barnicot and Weiner being responsible for a transformation in the science of physical anthropology from the period before World War II to the 'new physical anthropology' of the post-war period (the application of evolutionary theory and scientific method and the de-emphasis on race classification) (Little et al. 2012).

The last of the so-called 'four statements on the race question', the 1967 *Statement on race and racial prejudice* (UNESCO 1967), provided a somewhat different focus on intermarriage, examined from the perspective of racial prejudice:

Faced with the exposure of the falsity of its biological doctrines, racism finds ever new stratagems for justifying the inequality of groups. It points to the fact that groups do not intermarry, a fact which follows, in part, from the divisions created by racism. It uses this fact to argue the thesis that this absence of intermarriage derives from differences of a biological order. Wherever it fails in its attempts to prove that the source of group differences lies in the biological field, it falls back upon justifications in terms of divine purpose, cultural differences, disparity of educational standards or some other doctrine which would serve to mask its continued racist beliefs.

The statement was prepared by a committee of 18 experts on race and racial prejudice which met in Paris from 18 to 26 September 1967.¹² The two UK experts were John Rex and CH Waddington. John Arderne Rex (1925–2011) was a sociologist who at this time had recently moved from the University of Birmingham to become the first professor of social theory and social institutions at the University of Durham. His obituarist (Michael Banton) reports that he was 'particularly proud' of having

served on the 1967 UNESCO panel (Banton 2015), also the year of publication of his seminal work on *Race, Community and Conflict*, written with Robert Moore. Conrad Hal Waddington (1905–1975), by contrast, was a geneticist and embryologist and something of a polymath.

Later UNESCO Statements and Contributions on Race

The 1967 statement did not mark the end of UNESCO's statements and contributions on race. All four statements on the race question were published in 1969, preceded by two essays, one by Professor Hiernaux, a biologist at the University of Brussels, and the other by Professor Michael Banton, a sociologist at the University of Bristol. In 1976 a committee of government experts met in Paris and published a draft declaration on race and racial prejudice, presenting the results of an expert consultation in July 1973 on possible changes to the 1967 statement on race and racial prejudice. In 1975 UNESCO published the book *Race, Science and Society* (UNESCO 1975), a revised version of *The Race Question in Modern Science* that UNESCO published in 1956, which included the 'four statements' as an appendix. This was followed in 1978 by a further 'declaration on race and racial prejudice' and 'declaration on fundamental principles concerning the contribution of mass media to strengthening peace and international understanding, to the promotion of human rights and to countering racialism, apartheid and incitement to war'. However, the 1967 statement was the last to provide a specific paragraph on intermarriage, perhaps identifying that this challenge had been won by the early 1970s. LC Dunn (65), in UNESCO's 1975 book, provides the settled view on this issue: 'we often hear it said that intermarriage between races has had biological consequences. There is no good or extensive evidence of this and much to be said on the other side. It is true that the immediate offspring of mixed marriages often have a hard time, falling between two racial communities without belonging to either of them. But the effects in such cases are usually of a social and economic and psychological nature rather than biological...all human beings are hybrids or mongrels containing genes from a wide variety of different ancestors'.

Genetics, the UNESCO Statements, and the Biology of Race Crossing

Most attempts to investigate why attitudes changed on the biological and social effects of 'race crossing' have focused on geneticists. Two main hypotheses have been advanced. Provine (1973) has argued that geneticists in England and the USA reversed their published remarks on the effects of race crossing between 1930 and 1950, in two steps: in the 1930s there was a change from a condemnation of wide 'race crosses' to an agnostic view, followed during and shortly after World War II from the agnostic view to the belief that wide 'race crosses' were 'at worst biologically harmless'. Discounting such explanations as the emergence of new compelling data on race crossing and the rise of 'population thinking', Provine argues that the most important reason why geneticists changed their mind was a shift in public attitudes, notably, the revulsion amongst educated people in England and the USA to Nazi race doctrines and their use in justifying extermination of the Jews. A more complex history is invoked by Ernest B Hook (2011) who in the early 1970s, when he was a medical geneticist at the Health Department of the State of New York, queried (like Provine had done) around ten prominent geneticists on the subject of Provine's views (see Glass and Stern 1986). In a recent resuscitation of these debates, Hook (2011) has argued that none of his informants knew of any geneticists who changed their minds on effects of race crossing in response to these political viewpoints and there is no evidence that anyone did so. He adds, 'Those who strongly opposed race crossing died or tended to grow silent out of recognition of affinity with Nazi views; others appeared who spoke out against extremist views on race crossing'.

The evidence from Britain presents some support for both views. Haddon who had been a 'neutralist' died in 1940 and the pre-war views of Huxley and Haldane presaged their post-war position. Indeed, Huxley (who became the first director of UNESCO in 1946), Haldane and JC Trevor were named as contributors to the 21 November 1951 UNESCO revised 'Statement on Race' which asserted, 'There is no evidence that race mixture as such produces bad results from the biological point of view. The social results of race mixture whether for good or ill are to be traced to social factors'. All three had written texts in the pre-war years

that had expressed concern at the politicisation for nationalist purposes of the concept of race. Huxley and Haldane's pre-war position had been one of agnosticism, so a subtle shift had taken place. Trevor had never publicly expressed a viewpoint on the debate, though his endorsement of the 1951 statement is consistent with his finding that hybrid populations had no more variability than their parent races. Ruggles Gates became an increasingly isolated figure after the Second World War. His views on race crossing and opposition to the UNESCO statements—which placed him in a minority amongst scientists in post-war Britain—persisted till his death in 1962. Equally his views on 'race'—that various human populations should be considered as species rather than races, a polyphyletic origin for mankind—received negligible support: 'The fact that all races of mankind are fertile with each other is no longer a sufficient reason for classifying them as one species. The present generation of naturalists is describing innumerable species of plants and animals as distinct species, although they are perfectly fertile with each other' (Gates, *Heredity and Eugenics* 1923: 224). Only towards the end of his life did he manage to attract some attention to his ideas. Shaffer's investigation of Gates' personal papers reveals his interactions with American segregationists—whose racial order had legalised segregation in schools, housing, the workplace, and transportation—and receipt of their financial and editorial support for the controversial journal *Mankind Quarterly* which Gates founded with others in 1961 (Schaffer 2008).

Others amongst the neutralists showed diminishing enthusiasm for the subject. Kenneth Little dipped his foot into anthropometry but quickly withdrew it. Although Trevor published his monograph in 1953, it was based on research done before 1939 and was regarded as dated in terms of its statistical methods (there being no evidence of subsequent scholarly contributions on this topic). Most of the serious work on race mixing had been undertaken by the anthropometricists (who had largely ignored the biological consequences) and, with this cadre gone, interests shifted elsewhere, notably to the concepts of race relations, racism and racialization. There is no evidence of any in this group changing their minds, except perhaps Huxley and Haldane who, by virtue of signing the UNESCO statement on race, shifted from neutralism to a belief that race mixing resulted in no adverse biological consequences.

In reality, the coming together of a number of factors may have resulted in a loss of interest in the issue. From the viewpoint of a molecular biologist, James D Watson—co-discoverer of the structure of DNA and based in England in the early 1950s—lends some credibility to Provine's arguments about social attitudes: 'by mid-century the valid science of genetics, human genetics in particular, had a major public relations problem on its hands. When in 1948 I first came to Cold Spring Harbor, former home of the by-then-defunct Eugenics Record Office, nobody would even mention the "E word"; nobody was willing to talk about our science's past even though past issues of the *German Journal of Racial Hygiene* still lingered on the shelves of the library' (Watson and Berry 2003: 33).

In the field of genetics, many serious scientists (such as Alfred Russel Wallace, Thomas Hunt Morgan and Raymond Pearl) had questioned the validity of much of the work of eugenicists long before eugenicist ideas were exploited by the Nazis with such terrible consequences, culminating in the Holocaust. Much of the thinking was seen as bogus and without scientific foundation, including that which claimed specific outcomes of inheritance of human physical and behavioural characteristics. Moreover, the science had moved on: geneticists had turned their focus to the gene and how it functioned in the cell, including the chemical nature of the gene, aided during the 1930s and 1940s by new and more effective technologies for studying biological molecules.

With respect to intersections with the social sciences, by the early post-war years a new dynamic in race studies was heralded by figures like Little, Banton, Patterson and Collins, where the focus had shifted to social anthropology and sociological analyses, particularly with regard to racism and racialization. This was paralleled by the setting up of new departments and academic units that specialised in these new areas. The Department of Social Anthropology at Edinburgh University was the first such centre (Little 1969) and was followed by other units, including the Race Relations Unit of the Royal Institute of International Affairs in 1952 (which became the Institute of Race Relations in 1958). In Britain, there was no return to anthropometry and there had never been much eagerness to join the US debates on whether the biological consequences of race mixing were adverse or not that raged during the 1920s and

1930s. By the 1950s work on evolutionary biology was beginning to undermine the whole notion of adaptive gene complexes in the human species.

The UNESCO Statements and the Wane of the Eugenics Movement

Much debate has focused on the timing of the demise of race as a scientific concept. Some scholars have traced this to the interwar period, including Barkan (1992) in his seminal work *The Retreat of Scientific Racism*, and suggested the increasing influence of left-wing ideologies amongst the country's leading scientists. Indeed, Huxley and Haddon in their 1936 publication *We Europeans* had called for an end to the use of the term 'race'. However, these authors stopped short of denying that there were adverse biological consequences to racial mixing on the grounds that the scientific evidence to pronounce on the matter was unavailable.

It is clear that the Nazi ideologies of racial inferiority and superiority—and their outcome in the Holocaust—were of substantial concern to scientists, though, again, there is debate about the extent to which these events in themselves resulted in a shift in scientific attitudes to 'race'. However, that there was a distinct shift in attitudes in the early post-war years is evident from the UNESCO statements. The Nazis believed that races were pure, fixed and static, that races are defined by innate biological differences reflected in psychological and cultural traits, and race crossing destroys racial integrity and leads to disharmonious physical results (Reardon 2005). Their ideas of racial inferiority and superiority were based on the idea that there is a racial hierarchy. The Statements on Race had, by the early 1950s, overturned all these ideologies of race and supported the idea of a humanist vision of the unity of the races, the theme of 'human unity'.

While UNESCO had thoroughly discredited the political use of racial science, the impact of its statements on the post-Second World War wane of the Eugenics Society is difficult to establish. Schaffer (2008: 9) has shown that the Eugenics Society was 'a broad church' with wide and

contradictory agendas. The critical mass of its concerns was not focussed on racial matters and policy. However, the adverse biological consequences of intermarriage had been a distinct strand in its racial thought and it is clear that from the 1950s it was swimming against the tide of accepted scientific opinion when it chose to influence the opinions of government and the public on such matters. In 1983 the University of Oxford demographer, David Coleman unequivocally stated, ‘Genetical differences between human populations appear neither to give rise to biological problems of fecundity or health in the offspring of interracial marriage, nor to endow such offspring with “hybrid vigour”’ (Coleman 1983: 44–45).

Notes

1. UNESCO (1950) contains introductory text, followed by ‘Statement on Race’.
2. Provine (1973), citing letter from R Pearl to F Boas, 3 October 1935 (Franz Boas Papers, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia).
3. Men and Mice at Edinburgh. Reports from the Genetics Conference. *The Journal of Heredity*, Vol. 30(9), 1939: 371–374.
4. An edition of this book was republished as *Race and Racism* in 1942 (London: G Routledge and Sons).
5. Also: *Ibid.*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1945 (2nd edition). The book was simultaneously published in Britain and India.
6. Two dozen sole-authored and one joint-authored publications are listed in his 1945 (edition) book.
7. Professor RAM Bergman, Professor of Anthropology, Netherlands Anthropological Society, Amsterdam; Professor Gunnar Dahlberg, Director, State Institute for Human Genetics and Race Biology, University of Uppsala; Professor LC Dunn, Department of Zoology, Columbia University, New York; Professor JBS Haldane, Head, Department of Biometry, University College, London; Professor MF Ashley Montagu, Chairman, Department of Anthropology, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ; Dr AE Mourant, Director, Blood Group Reference Laboratory, Lister Institute, London; Professor Hans Nachtsheim, Director, Institut für Genetik, Freie Universität, Berlin; Dr Eugene Schreider, Directeur adjoint du Laboratoire d’Anthropologie

Physique de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Paris; Professor Harry L Shapiro, Chairman, Department of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History, New York; Dr JC Trevor, Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge; Dr Henri V Vallois, Professeur au Museum d'Histoire Naturelle, Directeur du Musee de l'Homme, Paris; Professor S Zuckerman, Head, Department of Anatomy, Medical School, University of Birmingham; Professor Th Dobzhansky, Department of Zoology, Columbia University, New York.

8. The UNESCO 1952 also included copies of the 1950 (pp. 98–103) and 1951 (pp. 11–16) Statements and an Appendix (pp. 92–97) listing the 'Physical Anthropologists and Geneticists Invited to Comment on the Statement'. Accessed at: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0007/000733/073351eo.pdf>
9. R. Ruggles Gates. *Human Genetics*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1946. Full-text accessed at: <http://14.139.56.90/bitstream/1/2029321/1/IVRI%202101.pdf>
10. In Gates (1952) he used articles by Raper and Lehmann on sickle cell disease in mixed race individuals to contest the 1951 Statement paragraph on race mixing.
11. Professor Nigel Barnicot, Department of Anthropology, University College, London; Professor Jean Benoist, Director, Department of Anthropology, University of Montreal, Montreal; Professor Tadeusz Bielicki, Institute of Anthropology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Wroclaw; Dr AE Boyo, Head, Federal Malaria Research Institute, Department of Pathology and Haematology, Lagos University Medical School, Lagos; Professor VV Bunak, Institute of Ethnography, Moscow; Professor Carleton S Coon, Curator, The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA (United States); Professor GF Debetz, Institute of Ethnography, Moscow; Mrs Adelaide G de Diaz Ungria, Curator, Museum of Natural Sciences, Caracas; Professor Santiago Genoves, Institute of Historical Research, Faculty of Sciences, University of Mexico, Mexico; Professor Robert Gessain, Director, Centre of Anthropological Research, Musée de l'Homme, Paris; Professor Jean Hiernaux (Scientific Director of the meeting), Laboratory of Anthropology, Faculty of Sciences, University of Paris, Institute of Sociology, Free University of Brussels; Dr Yaya Kane, Director, Senegal National Centre of Blood Transfusion, Dakar; Professor Ramakhrishna Mukherjee, Head, Sociological Research Unit, Indian Statistical

- Institute, Calcutta; Professor Bernard Rensch, Zoological Institute, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität, Münster (Federal Republic of Germany); Professor YY Roguinski, Institute of Ethnography, Moscow; Professor Francisco M Salzano, Institute of Natural Sciences, Pôrto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul (Brazil); Professor Alf Sommerfelt, Rector, Oslo University, Oslo; Professor James N Spuhler, Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI (United States); Professor Hisashi Suzuki, Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Science, University of Tokyo, Tokyo; Professor JA Valsik, Department of Anthropology and Genetics, J. A. Komenský University, Bratislava (Czechoslovakia); Dr Joseph S Weiner, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, University of London, London; and Professor VP Yakimov, Moscow State University, Institute of Anthropology, Moscow.
12. Professor Muddathir Abdel Rahim, University of Khartoum (Sudan); Professor Georges Balandier, Université de Paris (France); Professor Celio de Oliveira Borja, University of Guanabara (Brazil); Professor Lloyd Braithwaite, University of the West Indies (Jamaica); Professor Leonard Broom, University of Texas (United States); Professor GF Debetz, Institute of Ethnography, Moscow (USSR); Professor J Djordjevic, University of Belgrade (Yugoslavia); Dean Clarence Clyde Ferguson, Howard University (United States); Dr Dharam P Ghai, University College (Kenya); Professor Louis Guttman, Hebrew University (Israel); Professor Jean Hiernaux, Université Libre de Bruxelles (Belgium); Professor A Kloskowska, University of Lodz (Poland); Judge Kéba M'Baye, President of the Supreme Court (Senegal); Professor John Rex, University of Durham (United Kingdom); Professor Mariano R Solveira, University of Havana (Cuba); Professor Hisashi Suzuki, University of Tokyo (Japan); Dr Romila Thapar, University of Delhi (India); Professor CH Waddington, University of Edinburgh (United Kingdom).

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The Era of Mass Immigration and Widespread Population Mixing

The decades after the Second World War saw a transformation in the settlement patterns of Britain's black and minority ethnic population. Hitherto, this population had been concentrated in a number of seaport towns and cities, notably, Cardiff, Liverpool, London and South Shields. Such areas were variously described as 'coloured quarters' or 'enclaves of coloured people'. While Richmond claimed that the small numbers in these communities 'gives these localities a very different appearance from that of Harlem or any other Negro section of an American city' (Richmond 1954), the picture was soon to change. In the post-war years the new migrant populations formed substantially larger communities in these areas and in parts of Britain—the large provincial cities of the Midlands and North of England—which had not had such a strong tradition of black and minority ethnic settlement and these were also the areas where mixed communities lived. Indeed, in 1951 Mervyn Jones was arguing the opposite case of Richmond's, warning that 'distinctively Negro quarters, on the American model, are coming into existence to replace the old cosmopolitan neighbourhoods normal before the war' (Jones 1951).

Mass Migration and Population Mixing in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s

The mass migration of people from New Commonwealth countries and Pakistan to Britain from the late 1940s to the 1970s transformed the ethnic diversity of Britain. In 1951 there were 0.2 million people living in Britain who were born in the New Commonwealth: by 1971 this had increased to 1.2 million people. These totals would have excluded children born in Britain to New Commonwealth parents but would have included a significant number of those Indian-born who were white. The New Commonwealth ethnic origin population in mid-1974 was estimated at 1.6 million persons (Runnymede Trust and Radical Statistics Race Group 1980).

In the immediate post-war years the counting of this population was confounded by the several terms that continued to have some saliency as descriptors of the minority ethnic group population: most lumped the 'mixed' population in with the wider black population. In the mid-1950s AH Richmond (1954: 230) used the term 'Negro' to mean 'any person who is of ultimately African descent. It includes not only West Africans, but Africans from other parts of the continent including the Hamitic Somalis, together with West Indians of wholly or partly African descent, and coloured people born in Britain of an African or West Indian parent' (and thereby including those who were black-white 'mixed'). He further noted that 'the term "coloured" is used in Britain in a somewhat wider sense than, for example, in South Africa. It includes not only people of mixed racial parentage but also any person of non-European origin, including Indians, Pakistanis, Malayans, Chinese, and Negroes'. On the term 'half-caste', Richmond claimed it was 'often inaccurately applied' to the entire 'coloured population born in Britain'. Some alternative specific labels were toyed with, including 'Anglo-coloured' though 'not much better, since it cannot be applied strictly to coloured people born in Wales or Scotland'. However, it was a term used by some of those working on race relations in Kenneth Little's Department of Anthropology at the University of Edinburgh, including Sheila Patterson (1963) and Sydney F Collins (who also used 'half-caste') (Collins 1957). Richmond (1954)

concluded, “The only satisfactory term appears to be the rather clumsy “coloured people born in Britain”” (which would, of course, also include those who were not racially mixed).

The Scale of Population Mixing

Mixing with the white population quickly followed this mass migration to Britain of the New Commonwealth-born, although the prevalence of such unions is largely unknown. Reliable estimates of the number and proportions of the population who were in interethnic unions (the term of choice of the official agency responsible for the census and social surveys) had been unavailable for the first half of the century as there was no data collection in the census to undertake or facilitate such estimates. Moreover, comprehensive national social surveys did not appear till the late 1970s. In the early post-war years this situation was to continue for more than two decades as the 1951 and 1961 Censuses captured only the country of birth. During these decades, our knowledge of the saliency of interethnic unions and their offspring was based on local knowledge. For example, Patterson (1963, 1965)¹ wrote that ‘in Brixton white wives or consorts are in a small minority among the migrants, in contrast to such earlier coloured settlements as Cardiff or Stepney’ (1965: 249). In spite of two years of field research in the area, she declared that she knew only ‘of about a dozen mixed marriages’, one half of whom ‘involved old-timers, usually skilled artisans or clerks’. Hill (1965) reported that in the year ending March 1963, the 1000 parish priests questioned in areas of immigrant settlement solemnised only 84 marriages between ‘white’ and ‘coloured’ (Benson 1981: 9). Rex and Moore (1967: 68) found only 13 interracial households amongst the 232 interviewed in their research area labelled ‘Sparkbrook 1’, and none in the other two Sparkbrook zones. Finally, in their 1965 survey of the St Paul’s area of Bristol, Richmond and Lyons (1973: 74) reported, ‘The more balanced sex ratio undoubtedly reduced some of the sexual and social pressures towards intermarriage with English girls that were evident at an earlier period. In fact, there were very few interracial marriages and little cohabitation among immigrants in the survey area’.

However, attempts to measure the scale of this population mixing and its saliency in the black and South Asian groups became feasible from 1971 with the introduction in that census of the collection of data on parents' country of birth. Moreover, the 1970s witnessed the introduction of the first large-scale social surveys that included measures of the ethnicity of respondents. In the 1980s, investigators used these surveys to produce the first reliable estimates of the numbers and proportions of the population in interethnic unions. Such estimates revealed a good level of consistency and were generally substantially lower than those derived from 1970s data on country of birth and parents' country of birth and from one or two one-off surveys undertaken in that decade.

Estimates of interethnic union formation based on country of birth data provide only indicative evidence as country of birth is a poor proxy for ethnicity: these data are of two types. Firstly, the collection of parents' country of birth was introduced at birth registration in April 1969. This enabled estimates to be prepared of the number of unions where one parent was foreign-born and one UK-born and a birth had been registered. Secondly, the 1971 Census collected data (for the first and only time) on parental country of birth. Both sources are problematic for estimating the number and proportion of interethnic marriages.

Bagley (1972a, b) used the data on the country of birth of parents in the 1969 Registrar General's Quarterly Returns for England and Wales to estimate intermarriage. Clearly, these data would not identify black and minority ethnic parents born in the UK but Bagley assumed that, 'Since immigration from the coloured commonwealth is a relatively recent phenomenon, the number of individuals who are British by virtue of being born in Britain but are black or brown can be assumed to be extremely small'. Moreover, persons born abroad may not belong to black or minority ethnic groups: those born in India, for example, may be white by virtue of their association with the country's colonial administration. Bagley concluded from an analysis of these data that 1.79% of all 'fertile' marriages in 1969 involving Britons were between white Britons and coloured immigrants.

Scholars have generally eschewed the 1971 Census as a source for estimating interethnic union formation because of the technical difficulties in using parental country of birth as a proxy for ethnic group and the

limitations of the standard census tables produced by the Office for Population Censuses and Surveys (OPCS). Again, the limitations of this data are evident. As with the birth registration data, people born in the New Commonwealth and Pakistan (NCWP) to white British parents (that is, white Indians) would be regarded as 'coloured': should they marry someone born in the UK, this marriage would be regarded as interethnic. In all probability, Bagley (1972a, b)'s estimates were misleadingly high and that intermarriages as a proportion of all NCWP marriages declined over this period (Schaefer 1980; Coleman 1983).

With respect to the use of occasional surveys in the 1970s, the first of these (albeit a one-off), *Racial Disadvantage in Britain* (Smith 1977), was undertaken by Political and Economic Planning (PEP) in 1974. A total of 3292 persons (1189 West Indians and 2103 Asians) were interviewed across England and Wales. From this survey, Smith (1977) estimated that 6% of married Asian and West Indian men were married to a white person and 1% of married Asian and West Indian women were so married. Minority men, especially West Indians (West Indian, 8%; Asian, 5%) were more than three times as likely as minority women (1% West Indian, 2% Asian) to marry a white person. However, no estimates were produced for intermarriages in the population as a whole. The PEP survey observed that the longer people had lived in Britain, the more likely they were to have married a white person. It noted, too, that younger people—though they had more generally come to Britain more recently—were more likely than older people to be married to a white person. It did not escape their notice that 'these two findings imply that the number of mixed marriages will increase in future'.

The only other large-scale one-off survey in this decade was the National Dwelling and Housing Survey (NDHS) undertaken in 1977–1979. This three-stage sample survey of households in England (only) yielded a very large sample of 925,000 households. The response rate to the ethnic origin question was close to 100%, although some investigators have expressed concern that the rate was lower in inner-city areas which had a high concentration of minority ethnic populations and of couples in interethnic unions. Jones' (1984) analysis of the NDHS survey data found that only 0.3% of the *marriages* involved one white spouse and one spouse from the New Commonwealth, the investigator

concluding (1984: 401) that this finding 'provides conclusive evidence that the rate of white: non-white marriage in Britain is considerably lower (less than one quarter) than the figures presented in earlier studies (Bagley 1972a, b; Schaefer 1980)'. As observed by Smith (1977), Jones found it much more likely for the white female to enter interethnic marriage compared with the white male (26,510 white females vs. 8500 white males when weighted up to the national population). Intermarried whites were most likely to marry a West Indian (around 51% for both males and females), followed by Indians (25% for females, 38% for males). Amongst the NCWP population, males were more likely to intermarry than females; 15% of married African males being in unions with white women and 8% with someone from other NCWP groups. 15% of married West Indian men were married to white women (almost twice the proportion found in the PEP survey).

Estimates continued to be sparse until the early 1980s and some commentators even failed to recognise that interethnic marriages were taking place. In 1980, for example, Drew wrote, 'As the immigrant population from the Caribbean and the Indian sub-continent have remained separately endogamous, their children tend to share their parents' physical characteristics. Hence, one is able to refer to a British-born black population' (Drew 1980). However, between 1982 and 1985, a number of investigators produced estimates of interethnic union formation using new large-scale social surveys, notably, the Labour Force Survey (LFS) and the General Household Survey (GHS). Most of these studies yield fairly consistent estimates. The first use of the LFS to estimate interethnic marriage rates in Britain was undertaken by Jones (1982). The 1979 LFS contained birthplace and country of origin for around 57,500 couples, enabling a comparison to be drawn between the two measures. Of these couples, just 218 or 0.38% were considered to be 'black-white' marriages on the measure of ethnicity but 383 or 0.67% on the basis of birthplace of spouses. Jones (1982: 225) concludes that 'the use of the former (country of birth) as a surrogate for the latter (ethnicity) can result in a significant overestimation of the actual rates and patterns involved'. Two sources of misattribution may be at work in the case of estimates based on birthplace: those involving white Britons, one of whom was born overseas, and those where both spouses were UK born but one having 'coloured'

ethnic origins. Given the difference when compared with ethnic group, the first source of misattribution is likely to have been substantially the larger. Jones (1984) repeated his analysis using the 1981 LFS, which showed that 0.42% of all the marriages in this survey were between a white spouse and a spouse from the NCWP (West Indies, Africa, India, Bangladesh and Pakistan).

A further reliable estimate of ethnic intermarriage in Great Britain was that undertaken by Coleman (1985), also based on the 1981 LFS. Coleman uses a somewhat broader definition of intermarriage, to include Chinese, Arabs, Mixed and Other groups, as well as NCWP categories. He found that just under 1% of all marriages in the 1981 LFS involved one white spouse and one spouse from an ethnic minority group, while around 2% of marriages were intermarriages between members of different minority groups. The findings show that the proportion of interethnic marriages amongst minority ethnic married people had increased significantly, especially amongst black West Indians who were the most likely to intermarry: 24% of men and 13% of women were in mixed marriages, mainly with white partners (22% of West Indian men and 10% of West Indian women). Ethnic minority men continued to have a consistently higher rate of intermarriage than women: 12% of Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi men were in mixed marriages (8% of men from these groups being married to a white woman). By comparison, 7% of Indian women and 9% of women from Pakistan and Bangladesh were in mixed marriages, though only 4% of Indian women and 2% of women from Pakistan and Bangladesh had a white husband (most of the others were married to Indian men).

These findings are broadly corroborated in an analysis by Cretser (1990) of the 1983 GHS, the first GHS to include a question on ethnic origin.² In 1983 the overall response rate was 82%, falling to 75.1% in Greater London. Out of 25,000 households sampled, 5140 married couples met the inclusion criteria (including, for example, co-residence). Around 1% (0.98%) of all marriages involving at least one white spouse were interethnic marriages. Of all marriages involving at least one minority ethnic spouse, 27% were intermarriages. Just three marriages comprised spouses from different ethnic minority groups. Intermarriage was higher amongst white women than white men (0.6% vs. 0.3%). Of the

49 interethnic marriages including a white spouse, two-thirds (65.3%) involved white wives. Around 80% of the minority ethnic spouses married to whites were foreign born. A higher proportion of intermarried couples were living in urban areas than endogamous couples (82.7% vs. 65%). The majority of the intermarriages (51.3%) had been contracted since 1975 (56% in the case of intermarriages involving white women).

Cretser provides us with a wealth of information on the socio-economic characteristics of these intermarried couples. The mean age of intermarried men and women (including white males and females) was substantially lower than their endogamous counterparts. With respect to educational attainment, intermarried men and women had left school considerably later than endogamous couples. Substantially higher proportions of intermarried men and woman had attended higher education institutions than their endogamous counterparts. A higher proportion of intermarried men were in 'professional', 'intermediate non-manual' and 'semi-skilled occupations' than endogamously married men.

Several broad conclusions can be drawn about interethnic union formation during these early post-war decades. Firstly, the rate of such union formation was increasing. Around half of the intermarriages identified in the 1983 GHS had been contracted in the previous eight years and the other half prior to 1975. Survey data reveal small increases in the proportion of white-NCWP interethnic marriages (from 0.30 to 0.45 over 1977/79–1983), though differences in survey methodology may explain the differences. Coleman (1985) argues that the increase in the size of the 'mixed' group is evidence of increasing intermarriage. Further, the average age of interethnically married couples (males and females, including white partners) is substantially below that of endogamously married individuals in the same ethnic group. Secondly, nearly all intermarriages involved a white person and, according to analyses of LFS and GHS data in the early 1980s, comprised around 1% of all marriages. Of the 5140 intermarriages analysed by Cretser (1990), just 3 were between different minority ethnic groups.

Most contemporary explanations for these differential rates of intermarriage across minority ethnic groups invoke three types of explanations: varying male:female sex ratios, gender differences in the propensity to form intimate interpersonal relations, and different cultural (and

especially faith-based) practices. The asymmetrical gender composition of the new migrants, men outnumbering women, was prominent in the early post-Second World War decades. Up to 1956 men comprised 69% of all those West Indians that had arrived in Britain, this figure falling to 56% in 1959, 54% in June 1962, 52% in December 1964, stabilising at 51% in 1966, 1968, 1969 and 1971, and not attaining 50% till 1974. The proportions were even more skewed in the South Asian groups: Amongst Pakistanis and Bangladeshis proportions of men remained at 90% or above up till December 1964 and fell gradually to 65% by 1974; up until December 1964, 69% or more of Indians were men, falling to 56% in 1974, the proportions being similar amongst African Asians. These gender asymmetries, investigators argue, drove these male migrants to seek white partners. Secondly, as Bagley observed, 'men have traditionally been freer to explore new territory and new social relationships than women' (Bagley 1972b). Thirdly, while some contemporaries such as Smith and Drew did not comment on the lower rate of intermarriage amongst Asian men, others argued that the importance of faith to these communities acted as a cultural barrier. A high proportion of Indian sub-continent migrants belonged to one of the main religious communities (Muslim, Hindu and Sikh). For Hindus marriage to an outsider was prohibited.

The Size of the 'Mixed' Group

As with the challenges of establishing a reliable estimate of the number of interethnic marriages, statistical estimates of the size of population who were the offspring of such marriages and other interethnic unions are sparse, though there was commentary on the increasing diversity of the population over these decades. Though, as previously noted, the 1971 Census asked a question on the respondent's country of birth of parents,³ this proved to be of little utility in estimating the size of the mixed race population, given its several drawbacks. Firstly, according to the 1971 Census quality check, the completion rate was 95.5% for the country of birth of the person's father and 94.9% for country of birth of the person's mother, lower than 99.1% for the person's own country of birth (OPCS 1977). Furthermore, not all those with one or more parents born in an

overseas country in the Caribbean, South Asia or elsewhere would be a member of a minority ethnic group. For example, it was estimated that nearly one-third of those enumerated in the 1966 Census as born in India were white (the so-called White Indians), born during the period of British colonial rule. In the 1971 Census, 1.2 million of the British population were enumerated as born in the New Commonwealth: a quarter of this population, 0.3 million, were estimated to be white. Counts of the population of one parent born in the New Commonwealth and one in the UK might have provided *indicative* evidence of the geographical distribution of the 'mixed race' population but standard census tables omitted such output.

Before the era of social survey data collection that included ethnic group, commencing in the late 1970s, the most reliable indication of the changing size of the 'mixed' group is that derived from birth registrations. Clearly, such data do not provide a 'mixed' count commensurate with that obtained from observational cross-sectional surveys (that would include all 'mixed' persons of any age within a defined geographical area). However, analysis of cohorts of births for particular years or periods provides a point of access to the changing size of the 'mixed' group. This type of analysis became possible when the collection of parents' country of birth was introduced at birth registration in April 1969. King (1977) examined all births in the County Borough of Leeds in 1971, collecting information directly from the birth registration forms held by the Department of Child in Leeds. While no names were extracted, King notes, 'recognition of an Anglo-Saxon name along with an Indian birth-place recording was noted, and the cases are included in the analysis'. In 1971, there were 7842 births in Leeds CB to residents of the city. Amongst mothers born in the UK, there were 294 births with an overseas father, representing 22% of all 'ethnic' births but just 3.7% of all Leeds births. However, nearly half of these births (49.0%) had a father born in the Republic of Ireland. There were only 38 births to British mothers and a Caribbean father (12.9%), 18 births (6.1%) to British mothers and an Indian father, and a very small number—just 10 births (3.4%)—to British mother/Pakistan father unions. Thus, births to these intermarried British mothers accounted for just 0.8% (66/7842) of all births in Leeds, though of course only for one year.

Table 10.1 Births to interracial couples, Birmingham, 1965–1980

Year	One parent white and one non-white	Unknown	All births	% of all births	% of all non-white births
1965	517	440	21,555	2.4	14.1
1967	575	469	21,035	2.7	13.7
1969	504	473	18,999	2.7	11.9
1971	501	403	16,950	3.0	12.4
1973	444	359	14,398	3.1	12.1
1975	415	315	13,540	3.1	11.6
1977	409	235	13,060	3.1	10.1
1979	431	258	14,529	3.0	9.0
1980	481	235	15,201	3.2	8.2

Source: Coleman (1983), citing: City of Birmingham (1981, 1982), Table 10.1

A statistical series for Britain's second city, Birmingham, provides similar data over a period of 15 years. This indicates that births to parents in interethnic unions (one parent white and one non-white) declined over the period and also fell as a percentage of all non-white births (Table 10.1).

Coleman (1983: 76) has suggested that 'larger, more self-sufficient colonies and a more balanced sex ratio reduced the pressures for intermarriage'.

With respect to social survey evidence, Smith (1977) did not provide a count of the mixed race population in the 1974 PEP survey, counting such persons in with West Indians or Asians as was the practice at this time. The first reliable counts of the 'mixed' population in Britain were based on the large-scale social surveys of the early 1980s, notably the LFS and the GHS. According to *Social Trends*, the 'Mixed' group comprised 0.37% of the population in 1983 and 0.43% in 1985.⁴ Data from the 1985 LFS (OPCS 1986) showed a 'Mixed' population of 232,000 (0.43%), larger than counts for each of the Bangladeshi (99,000), Chinese (122,000), African (102,000), Arab (61,000) and Other (117,000) groups. This estimate accords with an additional estimate from pooled LFSs, 1984–1986, of 235,000 'mixed' persons. The 'Mixed' group was the most youthful of the ten groups listed, 55% being under 16, even higher than the Bangladeshi group (51%). 75% were born in the UK, the highest of all minority ethnic groups, and 42% were living in non-metropolitan areas (only the Chinese had a higher proportion, at 49%).

Thus, while the mixed race population had been counted in the mere hundreds in Britain's major port cities in the 1930s, this population had increased to almost a quarter of a million by 1985, demonstrating the huge impact mass migration had had on population mixing in the post-war decades. Moreover, many of these children were being born in large provincial cities which had received much of the inflow of migrants, some of which had hitherto experienced only limited population mixing in their demographic history. Thus, the growing numbers of racially mixed individuals in the population became a statistically important group in reporting nationally and by local jurisdictions.

Studies of Racial Mixing and Mixedness in the Era of Large-Scale Migration

In the early post-war decades studies of racial mixing and mixedness were dominated by a community of scholars based at the Department of Social Anthropology at the University of Edinburgh, instituted in the city in 1946 and reflecting the growing integration of sociology and social anthropology. On arriving in Edinburgh following his research in South Wales, Kenneth Little found two assistants in post, Ernest Goffman (later noted for his seminal work on asylums and stigma) and Sydney Collins, who was involved in a study of the social lives of Arab seamen and ex-seamen, their English wives, and their families in the dock areas of Tyneside. In the early fifties Kenneth Little brought together a number of scholars who were interested in 'race relations'. He had available at this time a two-year studentship to which he appointed Michael Banton. Banton and Collins were joined in 1951 by Anthony H Richmond who was appointed a lecturer in the University's Department of Social Study that trained social workers and who was never supervised by Little. He had conducted research in Liverpool on West Indian technicians and taught in Edinburgh till 1963. Arthur Geddes in the Department of Geography added further critical mass. During the decade from the late 1940s a number of influential field studies were published by its members: Michael Banton's *The Coloured Quarter* (Banton 1955) and *White and Coloured* (Banton 1959); AT Carey's *Colonial Students* (Carey 1956);

and Kenneth Little's study of the black community in Cardiff in 1948 under the title *Negroes in Britain* (Little 1948), all of which made some reference to interracial couples, people or families.

Little was adept at raising research funds from the Noel Buxton Trust, Nuffield Foundation and other bodies and those studying race relations included Phillippe Garigue, Alex T Carey and Sheila Webster, who studied colonial students, and Eyo Ndem who undertook fieldwork in Manchester. Sheila Patterson undertook her study of 'Dark Strangers' (Patterson 1963)—a two-year research project carried out under the supervision of Dr Kenneth Little between late 1955 and early 1958—while a member of staff in the department, before moving to the Institute of Race Relations in London. Violaine Junod also held a short-term research post, initially undertaking research on the coloured 'social elite' in Britain, then refocusing her work on the 'coloured middle class'. In the 1950s the Edinburgh department also hosted two Fulbright scholars from the USA. Ruth Landes wrote extensively but somewhat unsatisfactorily on race differences in Britain, including racial mixing and intermarriage, but little of this work was ever published and virtually none in Britain (controversially, she used Kenneth Little's own mixed race family as part of her research evidence). Robert Bierstedt wrote on sociological theory. Many of these researchers contributed the critical mass of scholarship on race relations, including mixing and mixedness, at this time, though Banton (2011) has argued that, 'Contrary to the impression given by some commentators (Rich 1990), we never constituted a "school"'. Most of these scholars brought a robust anti-racism to the Department and their texts and some a partisanship through their personal histories. All cited those segments of the community that were broadly supportive of the contributions these new migrants made to the nation, as well as acknowledging those who were not. Thus, these studies contrasted markedly with the racist tracts of Fletcher, Richardson and others in the 1930s.

While Edinburgh was the main institution that hosted work on race relations in the 1950s, it was not the only one. In 1952 the Royal Institution of International Affairs started a programme of studies in race relations with an orientation towards the British Commonwealth under the leadership of Philip Mason, an author and former member of the Indian Civil Service. In 1958 this became the Institute of Race Relations

and Sheila Patterson moved there in 1958 after her spell at the Edinburgh Department. From 1959 the Institute published an academic journal, *Race*, and its staff were active in studying race relations in Britain. In 1972 the Institute of Race Relations was the subject of a take-over that gave it according to Banton (2004b) 'a radically leftist character'. In the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s other institutions became involved in this work, such as University College London, where Ruth Glass (1960) was based; Warwick University (Rex and Tomlinson 1979);⁵ and the University of Cambridge (Benson 1981),⁶ though few achieved the critical mass of scholarship attained by the Edinburgh department in the early 1950s. US scholars also continued to make a contribution, such as Ann Baker Cottrell (1939–) who spent a year at the University of Edinburgh and conducted a study of South Asian-British couples in Britain during 1975–1976 (Cottrell 1979), including a focus on their children.⁷ Mention also needs to be made of work that, incidentally, yielded findings on mixed race families from the growing body of social science research at this time, including, for example, Dennis Marsden's 'Mothers Alone' study of 1965–1966 (Marsden 1969), which examined the lives of lone mothers and their children living on state benefits, 11 of the 116 mothers interviewed having dependent children from mixed racial and ethnic backgrounds. This work is especially valuable for the first-hand accounts of lone mothers, including the prejudice they were subjected to, by both family, National Assistance Board Officials, acquaintances and strangers as well as Marsden himself, all of whom casually drew on the 'prostitute stereotype'. Marsden's field-note comments on the friend of one interviewee who also had mixed race children state:

Mrs Whiteman's friend from London looked a real slut, a greasy, obese young woman, but carefree enough, and the children were beautifully dressed. She looked as though she might be a prostitute. She was the one who had led to Mrs Whiteman meeting Stephen's [West Indian] father in the first place (in Caballero and Edwards 2010: 10).

The pioneer studies in the new social science 'race relations' disciplinary mode were by Ruth Landes, Kenneth Little and Sydney Collins. All three scholars brought personal perspectives to their writing. The sociologist

Sydney Collins (born 1917; date of death unknown) who was of Jamaican ethnicity was one of the first in the Edinburgh Department to contribute to its scholarly reputation. His work on interracial mixing was mainly undertaken in the established interracial communities in the ports of Cardiff, Liverpool and Tyneside in the 1940s (Collins 1951, 1957). The first book by Kenneth Little (1908–1991), *Negroes in Britain: A Study of Racial Relations in English Society* (Little 1948), based on his University of London PhD Thesis and research he undertook in Cardiff from 1940, has been described as ‘the first serious examination of Britain’s black urban population’ (Nava 2013a: 23). By 1950 he was established as head of the Edinburgh Department and, in 1956, married his second wife, Iris Mary Buchanan, a Jamaican who had entered Britain as a young nursing student. The American anthropologist, Ruth Landes (1908–1991), was born in New York to Russian Jewish immigrants, arriving in the Edinburgh Department on a Fulbright fellowship in 1951. Kenneth Little was her sponsor, referee for her fellowship application, and then colleague. By that time she had published studies on Native American Ojibwa women and Afro-Brazilian candomblé cults. Landes had attended Fisk University (a historically black university) as instructor in anthropology in 1937–1938 and had romantic relationships with Elmer Imes, a black professor at the university, and with Edison Carneiro, a black Brazilian anthropologist in the early 1940s.

Sydney Fitzgerald Collins, a graduate of McMaster University in Canada (1944–1946), started his research on mixed race couples in interracial port city communities in the late 1940s. He commenced his career in the University of Edinburgh’s Department of Anthropology, founded by Ralph O’Reilly Piddington in 1946,⁸ and, as an assistant from 1948, was already in post when Kenneth Little arrived in 1950. Following a Master of Arts degree (1946–1948), he commenced a PhD with support from Outlook Tower Association (Stevenson Fund), Carnegie Trust for Scotland, and the University’s Social Science Committee. His PhD Thesis, awarded by the University of Edinburgh in 1952, was titled “‘Moslem’ and ‘negro’ groupings on Tyneside: a comparative study of social integration in terms of intra-group and inter-group relations’.”⁹ The following year he is recorded as being an ‘Assistant in Race Relations’ in the University’s

Department, then in 1954 a Lecturer in Social Anthropology and Senior Lecturer from 1956–1962, thereby becoming one of only a small number of black scholars employed by British universities at this time. His work was first published in 1951 (Collins 1951), then at book length in 1957 (Collins 1957).

Collins was one of the first researchers to focus on Muslim as well as black groups in early post-Second World War Britain, such communities in Britain being yet to be investigated at the time he commenced his research. The Muslim community in Tyneside then comprised around 1000 persons (including wives) around the dockland area, including a core settlement of 60 families. Male members were immigrants from Aden, Yemen, Somaliland, Egypt, Malaya and Pakistan. The black group was more scattered and comprised about 150 people. Of the 60 families with Muslim husbands and 39 families with black husbands, the wives of 51 and 32, respectively, were white. Most of the remainder were described as ‘half-caste women of the second generation’. Collins reported favourably on such relationships, causing the American Landes to write of the ‘idealized impressions of Collins and others’ (Nava 2013a: 28). This ethnographic study, according to Searle, ‘pioneered many of the traditions of the now more established sociology of ‘race’-relations and even ethnic-relations’ (Searle 2010), and was widely reviewed at the time in such journals as *Man*, *American Anthropologist*, *International Affairs*, *Population*, and *American Sociological Review*.

In addition to this main research, Collins was Visiting Lecturer at the Institution for Social Study, The Hague, in 1958 and Department of Social Anthropology, Oxford University, from 1959 to 1960, and also spent around six months in Jamaica where he was engaged on an intensive study into social mobility in a local community. He was also an active reviewer for journals. Collins left his post in Edinburgh quite suddenly in 1962 to join the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations and was working as an adjunct professor at the University of Miami’s Center for Advanced International Studies in the 1980s when he would have been in his sixties.

The contribution of Ruth (Schlossberg) Landes to racial mixing and mixedness in these early post-war years has remained largely unknown,¹⁰ besides the summary of a communication to the Royal Anthropological

Institute (Landes 1952), even though her work in this area was widely acknowledged by the Edinburgh scholars and others.¹¹ This situation has recently changed through Mica Nava's examination of Ruth Landes' papers in the Smithsonian Institution in the USA (Nava 2013a). According to Nava's account, Little had met Landes while he was a visiting scholar at Fisk University in 1949 and invited her in the late 1940s to join his team in Edinburgh on a study of 'colonial assimilation' in the UK. She stayed as Fulbright fellow from 1951 to around 1954, returning to the USA that year to complete writing up her 'Colour in Britain' manuscript¹² (which was, according to her biographer, subsequently rejected by Oxford University Press). Around 1959 she wrote a shorter version of this study called 'British Color in Perspective' which, too, remained unpublished.

She made two distinct contributions to scholarship on racial mixing in Britain. Firstly, she claimed that 'negroes' in the USA had a sense of belonging, while those in Britain did not and were marginalised: 'Her main argument about Britain was that the relative fluidity and unsettled nature of its attitudes to 'coloureds', and the absence of US-type Jim Crow laws and conventions to ensure racial segregation, had led to an unpredictable, insecure situation and "negro disillusionment"' (Nava 2013a: 16). She judged that the Jim Crow segregationist regimes in the USA provided a more favourable environment than the lack of clear boundaries, fluidity and predictability that characterised race relations in Britain. Secondly, she showed a preoccupation with the circumstances of 'half-caste' children and especially what she regarded as their marginalisation in the UK, 'the idea of the half-caste as uncategorisable, as neither one thing nor the other, as innocent victim' (Nava 2013a: 18) and as '... wasted stuff in Britain, entirely dispensable' (Nava 2013a: 27). Nava (2013a) characterises Landes' writing on race relations in Britain as 'poor scholarship', describing it as 'unconvincing, rambling and often based on minimal and unreliable research' (Nava 2013a: 5) and it is clear that it has been largely neglected over the last half-century.

As with Collins' work, the studies produced by the Edinburgh scholars in the later 1950s, including those by Sheila Patterson (*née* Caffyn) (1918–1998) and Michael Banton (1926–) showed a similar commitment to anti-racism. Sheila Patterson's Nuffield Foundation-funded study of West Indians in the Brixton area, *Dark Strangers*, was carried out under the direction of

Kenneth Little between late 1955 and early 1958 and first published in 1963. Like Landes, she came to Edinburgh with a track record of undertaking research in multi-ethnic societies, from 1948 to 1954 in South Africa and from 1953 to 1955 in Canada (focusing on Polish immigrants). Patterson opens her book with a description of her experiences of 'colour shock' and 'strangeness' as she explored Brixton following the recent large-scale immigration of West Indians: 'At least half of the exuberant infants playing outside the pre-fab day nursery were *café noir* or *café au lait* in colouring. And there were coloured men and women wherever I looked, shopping, strolling, or gossiping on the sunny street corners with an animation that most Londoners lost long ago' (Patterson 1965: 13). By the time her book was published by Pelican in the mid-1960s Patterson commented that 'this feeling (of strangeness) is gone in most of our large industrial towns and cities. Coloured people have become an accepted part of the British urban landscape, if not yet of the community' (Patterson 1965: 329). These were years of rapid change in race relations in Britain.

Patterson focuses on three major areas of association in the Brixton area: jobs, housing and social activities, including casual contacts, organised social activities, informal social intercourse, and sexual relationships and intermarriage. She found that most social relationships between the West Indian migrants and the local population were mainly restricted to casual contacts in the streets, shops, buses and public houses. In the latter she found 'some incidents' and 'temporary colour bars' in the earlier years and noted that even later 'they are still not sure of a welcome in dance halls where the sexual motivation is more directly involved'. With respect to 'the most intimate social relationship' (sexual association and intermarriage), she observed that 'this is not yet the norm in Brixton'. 'A minority of male migrants...have been associating with white 'misfits' and declassed women, drawn usually from the provinces or other parts of London. There are a handful of mixed marriage, most of them entirely successful, but the norm in Brixton is the all-West Indian ménage' (339). She cites evidence that attests to the rarity of such unions. Between 1955 and 1960 only 25 cases of West Indian mothers in which the putative father was English or European were reported by the Southwark Diocesan Association for Moral Welfare. In the London diocese the figure was higher, with a total for the six years of 83. The Southwark Diocesan

Association for Moral Welfare reports that the number of English girls giving coloured putative fathers for their illegitimate children was only 110 for the six years 1955–1960 (the figure for London north of the river was around three times as high). Patterson described her own research as ‘somewhat negrophile’, like ‘most of the sociological literature on the subject’ (Patterson 1963: 41). Michael Banton, her biographer (Banton 2004b), has described the book as ‘a descriptive study based on the assumption that the settlers would eventually be assimilated into the general population’.

Patterson’s work was itself strongly shaped by Banton’s own scholarship on ‘coloured’ minorities in Britain, including the influence of social attitudes on perceptions and experiences of racial mixing. His portrait of the racial mixing between West Indian and African men and the white women that took place in Stepney, East London in the 1950s in his works *The Coloured Quarter* (1955) and *White and Coloured* (1959) highlights the pervasive and pernicious opposition that those in such relationships faced, with reports of police and other officials trying to prevent interracial mixing, and the white women experiencing family disownment, and verbal and mental abuse from co-workers and strangers.

Yet, though Banton’s work was highly sympathetic to the situation of the black and other minority ethnic communities in Britain, his treatment of the white women who partnered them is infused with the dominant attitudes of the time. In his speculations on why white women partner ‘coloured’ men, though there is an acknowledgement that some may do so for love, companionship or compatibility, very little attention is paid to these types of ‘ordinary’ experiences. Rather, the focus is on those women who are drawn to interracial relationships due to being ‘personally unstable’, ‘outcasts from white society’ or ‘psychologically abnormal’ (Banton 1959: 127). ‘Conventional British attitudes towards coloured people are such that few women will associate with them,’ the introduction to *The Coloured Quarter* (1955: 13) states, ‘those who do are mostly women who have failed to find a satisfying role in English society and their unstable temperament lies at the root of the unhappiness in many mixed marriages.’ Furthermore, he expounds later, ‘some of the women attracted to coloured men appear to be nymphomaniacs’ (153) and

‘frequently they are mentally and educationally sub-normal.... The majority of these women would be incapable of maintaining a stable relationship with an Englishman.’ (158–159).

Thus, while Banton’s work was incredibly influential in highlighting the everyday and systematic prejudice that caused minority groups in Britain to undergo widespread inequality, it also clearly reinforced the static and one-dimensional picture of racially mixed families in Britain that had developed from the Fletcher era. In *The Coloured Quarter* in particular, there is little recognition of the more socially and ethnically diverse and complex patterns of racial mixing found outside the narrow confines of the chaotic relationships that Banton saw as common in the neighbourhood, as indicated by the work of Collins (1957) and as we have also uncovered in our own work: as Chap. 11 discusses, the elite marriages of the Khamas and the Appiahs were high profile during this time, while unions between ‘respectable’ working and middle-classes were also registering in the public eye. Rather, Banton’s scholarship added to the picture of racial mixing that conflated uneducated, sexually lax white women from the underclass partnering black men.

Several of the students in the Edinburgh Department focused on the experiences of black students in universities. Philip Garigue and Alex T Carey explored attitudes to ‘colonial’ students in London and other cities, Carey as a registered PhD student at Edinburgh. Sheila Webster examined the experience of black students at Oxford and Cambridge (Webster 1955). An exception was Eyo Bassey N’dem who studied voluntary associations amongst students in Manchester but addressed wider issues such as the family and community life of the black population (N’dem 1953, 1957). N’dem was Nigerian and had close associations with the city’s ‘coloured’ community as a seaman, then as an assistant in a city library, before undergoing training in social anthropology and undertaking the study in 1951. Richmond (1958: 355) has commented that, given his origins and his ability to speak a number of West African dialects, ‘he probably succeeded in obtaining a more intimate contact with all groups within the coloured community than any other investigator’. N’dem’s work also emphasised an interconnectivity between black men and women ‘of a low type’, drawing attention to the part played by prostitutes in the lives of the city’s black population: ‘poorer types of prostitute sometimes associated themselves with coloured men who acted as procurers. The attitude of coloured men toward

white prostitutes tended to be distinctly ambivalent. There was a recognition of their dependence on the women but at the same time a resentment of the need to be so dependent, which was attributed to the prejudice of white people generally, who would not permit a ‘respectable’ white girl to associate with a coloured man’ (N’dem 1957).

Many of the scholars who had contributed to the reputation of the Edinburgh Department left the university in the late 1950s and 1960s, Patterson in 1958 to take up a senior post at the Institute of Race Relations, Collins around 1960 to pursue a career in public life and academia in the USA, and Banton in 1965 to take up the Professorship in Sociology at the University of Bristol. AT Carey became Protector of Aborigines in the then country of Malaya, where he settled and, as Iskander Carey, converted to Islam; the social anthropologist Sheila Webster (1929–2015) (who became Sheila Kitzinger) became a specialist in pregnancy, childbirth and the parenting of babies and young children; Phillipe Garigue who had studied colonial students moved to academic posts in Canada; and Eyo N’dem and Violaine Junod returned to Nigeria and South Africa, respectively (Banton 2011: 7). According to David Mills (2008: 138), ‘the research “team” lost its momentum’. It faced disparaging comparisons with the London School of Economics (LSE) and Oxford from newly arrived staff, ‘became notorious for not advancing its students’, and subject to what was ‘unkindly called the “Negroes-in-Britain industry (Banton 1973: 224)”. While unfavourable comparisons have also been drawn with Max Gluckman’s department at the University of Manchester, Banton has stated that Little never had the ‘sense of his trying to create a school in the way that Gluckman created a school. There’s no comparison’ (Mills 2008: 138).

Racial Prejudice, Racism and Anti-Racism

Racial Prejudice

Throughout the post-war decades of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, opinion polls consistently recorded a high level of opposition amongst the British population to intermarriage and ‘miscegenation’. Banton’s survey (1959: 203–207) of English attitudes in six provincial centres gave the

proportion of those disapproving of racial intermarriage as 'definitely... over 45%'. Few of these were positively opposed to intermarriage on biological or other grounds, but offered a vague sociocultural aversion to racial mixing. Less than half (45%) of the respondents recorded any first-hand contact with 'coloured' people. In September 1958 a Gallup Poll showed only 13% of respondents approved of such marriages while 71% disapproved and 16% were undecided.¹³ In May 1961 the responses were, respectively, 7%, 68%, and 25%. Hill (1965) reported that 91% of his sample disapproved of racial intermarriage.¹⁴ A 1970 Gallup Poll of teenagers recorded that 41% of interviewees would not consider dating a partner 'of a different colour', while half (50%) would not consider marriage.¹⁵ Finally, a small study by Wells (1970) of adult English males in a provincial town found that 68% of respondents were hostile to the idea of their daughter marrying a West Indian, and 75% and 77% objected to such marriages to Indians and Pakistanis.

These levels of prejudice were evident in reader's contributions to the national press. One reader wrote to the *Daily Mirror* in 1954: 'The time may come when intermarriage will be universal and eventually men's skins will be a uniform shade of khaki. But for the present I feel that a black man who marries a white girl wrongs her, wrongs himself and wrongs the children that may come'.¹⁶ Another contributor declared, 'I love my fellow men of whatever colour. I am willing to call any man my brother—but not my brother-in-law if his skin is a different colour from mine'.¹⁷ A similar sentiment was expressed by the Birmingham press: 'Too many white women of a certain type between 20 and 50 prefer coloured men. They say that the coloured men are always kind, always gay, and will give their children marvellous care... But the effects of interbreeding are reflected in the ever-increasing numbers of half-caste children'.¹⁸ As Chap. 11 further explores, such views manifested themselves in the way those in interracial relationships were treated in everyday interactions by the wider society. Doreen King, a white woman married to a West African for four years, informed the *Birmingham Despatch* of the quotidian abuse she and her husband were subjected to: 'We were walking down the street when a white man grabbed me and said: "what's the matter with you? Aren't white men good enough?"'¹⁹

Though not specific to people in mixed unions or their offspring, there is a range of evidence indicating prejudice and discrimination in a number of institutional settings. In 1944 Learie Constantine, a famous cricketer and former president of the League of Coloured Peoples, won damages in the High Court against the Imperial Hotel in Russell Square for being refused accommodation that he had booked due to the ostensible hostility of white American officers staying there (Howat 1975). The *Birmingham Post* reported a colour bar at a Birmingham hotel in 1962, the proprietor refusing accommodation to an Indian businessman as ‘in a family atmosphere as we have, it would be embarrassing to us and them’.²⁰ AT Carey’s study of ‘colonial students’ living in London found that the records of a lodging bureau showed that 70% of landlords would not take non-Europeans and 90% would not take ‘Negroes’ (Carey 1956). Richmond (1954) cites substantial evidence of prejudice against West Indians in Liverpool during the Second World War and post-war period, including discrimination in hotels, restaurants, dance halls and elsewhere. Indeed, when Lambeth Council organised a ‘No Colour Bar’ dance in its town hall in Brixton in 1955, the event made the *Pathé News*. A study of ‘coloured workers’ in Birmingham found that some employers refused to take them and in 1963 the Bristol Omnibus Company refused to employ ‘coloured workers’ on its buses.

‘Playing the Race Card’: 1960s and 1970s-era Political Campaigns and Interraciality

In August and September 1958 there were racial disturbances and unrest in Nottingham and the Notting Hill area of London, white outnumbering black offenders by 2:1 amongst the 108 people charged with crimes such as grievous bodily harm, affray and riot and possessing offensive weapons. In the weeks that followed Patterson (1965: 324) wrote of ‘signs of the growth of...a defensive feeling of ‘colour community’’. The ‘White Defence League’ (WDL) was set up by Colin Jordan in the wake of the Notting Hill riots, the press having claimed that its members had participated in the disturbances. These events led to the politicisation of race

relations. The disturbances and the social survey evidence on public attitudes to miscegenation and intermarriage were tapped by a number of opportunistic politicians in the following decade to launch racist campaigns to gain power.

The metaphor, 'playing the race card', has been defined in its original, historic usage, and to an audience that acknowledges racism as 'race baiting (as cause and effect of racism) by white people...an ultimate trump, a trick up one's sleeve that is played at a key moment to boost the odds of winning' (Joseph 2013: 41). In other words, the use of the race card is about who has power. The two most prominent examples of playing the 'race card' in the early post-war decades were Peter Griffiths' campaign to win the parliamentary seat of Smethwick in the 1964 general election and Enoch Powell's pronouncements on race, most notably, the so-called 'Rivers of Blood' speech of 1968. In deploying the race card, both politicians used population mixing—as well as broader considerations of blackness—to make their arguments.

Smethwick, a West Midlands town bordering the city of Birmingham to the east, had experienced substantial immigration from the 'New Commonwealth and Pakistan' in the 1950s and 1960s. In a contest that saw Peter Griffiths (1928–) elected as an MP and the Labour candidate, Patrick Gordon Walker, a designate foreign secretary, unexpectedly defeated, the Conservatives were accused of running an anti-immigration campaign under the banner 'If you want a nigger for a neighbour vote Liberal or Labour', a slogan which Griffiths refused to condemn. Concern over the episode was exacerbated by two events: Malcolm X's visit to Smethwick shortly before his assassination and Peter Griffiths' own account of the 1964 election which he published in 1966 (Griffiths 1966). Griffiths' book invoked many of the charges against the black community made by Fletcher and Richardson in the 1930s, including lack of hygiene and the spread of 'prostitution' and venereal disease. On population mixing, Griffiths wrote, 'Mixed marriages, the final stage of acceptance and assimilation, are very strongly opposed. Even people professing liberal views on immigration and race relations object to miscegenation' (Griffiths 1966: 69). He concluded that 'In countries where intermarriage is legal it has remained exceptional' (Griffiths 1966: 45). Using the term 'half-caste' to describe the children of interracial relationships, he

claimed that a fifth of children accommodated in voluntary children homes were 'coloured' or mixed.

Four years later came Powell's inflammatory speech. On 20th April 1968 he spoke about immigration to Birmingham's Conservative Political Centre in a speech that had not been cleared with Edward Heath and which breached the Shadow Cabinet's consensus on the subject. Powell quoted one of his constituents who indicated that he wanted to leave the country because 'in this country in 15 or 20 years' time the black man will have the whip hand over the white man'.²¹ In one of the most provocative parts of the speech, Powell said of the growth of the immigrant population, 'we must be mad, literally mad, as a nation to be permitting the annual inflow of some 50,000 dependants...It is like watching a nation busily engaged in heaping up its own funeral pyre'. The speech ended with the apocalyptic vision, 'as I look ahead, I am filled with foreboding. Like the Roman, I seem to see "the River Tiber foaming with much blood"'. It was the pejorative language—including several references to 'Negroes'²² (by the late 1960s usually referred to as the 'coloured', 'New Commonwealth', or black population) and the use of the phrase 'charming, wide-grinning piccaninnies'²³ ... (who) cannot speak English'—that evoked hostility to the speech and resulted in Powell being dismissed from the Shadow Cabinet.

Yet only a couple of years later, Powell was addressing the conference of the Institute of Population Registration on the growing immigrant population.²⁴ The substance of his paper was the impact of the change in the form of registration of births initiated in April 1969, that is, the inclusion of the country of birth of the parents, 'resulting in the recent discovery that the Registrar General was gravely underestimating the number of children currently being born in Great Britain, one or both of whose parents, not being of United Kingdom descent, was born in the New Commonwealth'. He thereby racialised the children born in Britain of migrants who had entered into interethnic unions by including them in the 'coloured' population. These issues of mass migration and its threat to nationhood continued to permeate his speeches during the 1970s:

The most perfect, and the most dangerous, example of this process is the subject miscalled, and deliberately miscalled, 'race'. The people of this country are told that they must feel neither alarm nor objection to a West

Indian, African and Asian population which will rise to several millions being introduced into this country. If they do, they are 'prejudiced', 'racialist'... A current situation, and a future prospect, which only a few years ago would have appeared to everyone not merely intolerable but frankly incredible, has to be represented as if welcomed by all rational and right-thinking people. The public are literally made to say that black is white. Newspapers like the *Sunday Times* denounce it as 'spouting the fantasies of racial purity' to say that a child born of English parents in Peking is not Chinese but English, or that a child born of Indian parents in Birmingham is not English but Indian. It is even heresy to assert the plain fact that the English are a white nation. Whether those who take part know it or not, this process of brainwashing by repetition of manifest absurdities is a sinister and deadly weapon. In the end, it renders the majority, who are marked down to be the victims of violence or revolution or tyranny, incapable of self-defence by depriving them of their wits and convincing them that what they thought was right is wrong. The process has already gone perilously far, when political parties at a general election dare not discuss a subject which results from and depends on political action and which for millions of electors transcends all others in importance; or when party leaders can be mesmerised into accepting from the enemy the slogans of 'racialist' and 'unChristian' and applying them to lifelong political colleagues....

However, throughout these post-war decades, another source of hostility to racial mixing and intermarriage, the eugenics movement, was on the wane and did not have the momentum it enjoyed in the 1930s. Its journal, the *Eugenics Review*, offered negligible coverage of racial mixing and intermarriage in the post-war years. Only a couple of publications invoked the dangers of such mixing. A booklet titled *West Indian Immigration*, written by GCL Bertram, a Fellow of St John's College Cambridge and the general secretary of the Eugenics Society, was published as *Eugenics Society Broadsheet no. 1* in 1958 after discussion in the Society's council (Bertram 1958). It warned that the miscegenation of black immigrants with whites was socially damaging since they brought 'measurable and largely inheritable physical attributes below the average for the United Kingdom'. It referred to 'the distaste which affects many of unpigmented skin at the idea of a white girl breeding with a person whose epidermis contains black granules'. It was clearly out of tune with

the times and even critical of UNESCO ‘for its “benevolent” avoidance of racial differences’. In his letter to *The Times*²⁵ Kenneth Little further exposed the lack of scientific basis to the broadsheet’s arguments. The rejoinder came from Sir Richard Pilkington, a member of the Eugenics Society, who wrote to *The Times* from the House of Commons to defend it on the astonishing grounds of being ‘an impartial review’ of the many issues.²⁶ The extent of the decline of this pseudo-science was evident from the decision of the Eugenics Society to change its name to the Galton Institute in 1989 and Bertram’s disavowal of his views two years later: when Michael Banton drew attention to his booklet at a Galton Institute conference in 1991, ‘Dr Bertram said that things looked very different in those days. They did indeed’ (Banton 2011). Rich (1986) noted, however, that it was persuasive enough to be used by Lord Godfrey Elton (1892–1973) in his book against immigration—*The Unarmed Invasion*—published in 1965.

Anti-racism

Against this background of racism in national politics and robust evidence of the operation of a colour bar in some parts of Britain, there were concerted efforts between the 1950s and 1970s to challenge such attitudes through legislation. During the period 1951–1964 there were in excess of ten attempts to legislate on the subject of racial discrimination. The following Race Relations Acts of 1965, 1968 and 1976 were a major step in addressing such discrimination. The 1965 Act set up conciliation machinery to handle complaints of discrimination and made unlawful discrimination on the grounds of ‘race, colour, ethnic or national origin’ in such places as hotels, restaurants, places of entertainment or on public transport. Following studies of the Act that highlighted shortcomings, the Race Relations Act 1968 extended provisions of the 1965 Act to cover a wider area, including employment, housing and the provision of services. Again, studies showed that the legislation had been ineffective in reducing the scale of discrimination against ethnic minorities, especially the substantial level of discrimination in all manual job recruitment. The Race Relations Act 1976 represented a more encompassing and determined

attempt to reduce racial discrimination, including making incitement to racial hatred a criminal offence. Moreover, the 1976 and subsequent acts explicitly recognised the concept that people may have multiple races: ‘The fact that a racial group comprises two or more distinct racial groups does not prevent it from constituting a particular racial group for the purposes of this Act’.

However, as in the USA (Carter 2013),²⁷ there were positive, even celebratory, but lesser known events, moments and movements that prepared the way for a more favourable racial climate (including that relating to racial mixing) and paved the way for the radical shifts in public opinion that characterised the 1990s. In addition to the ‘ardently sympathetic’ scholarly studies of the 1950s and developments in film and fiction (see Chap. 11), Nava (2013b) provides a list of critical political events and organisations: the founding of Racial Unity in 1952; the founding of The Movement for Colonial Freedom in 1954; the publication of *No Colour Bar for Britain* in 1955; Claudia Jones’ founding of the *West Indian Gazette* in 1958; the forming of the Keep Britain Tolerant group in 1958 to contest the Keep Britain White rioters in Notting Hill; the founding of the South Africa Boycott Movement in 1959 (renamed the Anti-Apartheid Movement in 1960); and the founding of the *New Left Review* in 1960. As Nava (2013b) has emphasised, this strand of anti-racist thinking was more important and influential than recent historians have acknowledged.

The Emergence of ‘Mixed Race’ as a Focus in Statistical and Social Policy

The period from the late 1960s to the 1990s sees the ‘mixed race’ group become for the first time a focus in statistical and social policy. This is by no means a smooth, linear process but one of advances and setbacks, a picture of gains in momentum frequently followed by reversions to past practices. Nevertheless, the fact that the mixed race group starts to be identified as a discrete population group—separate from a heterogeneous ‘coloured’ population—gives the group legibility, even if in some jurisdictions that legibility is strongly contested. This legibility is accompanied by new terminology designed to accommodate demographic change, notably, the increasing size of the second-generation population.

In the domain of statistical policy, this process of identification can be traced back to the late 1960s. Although the government had been invited to count the offspring of wartime interracial unions, it had declined to do so. However, in 1969, a memorandum from the Home Office appears to have discussed the problem of precisely defining race, especially for the mixed race group: 'No doubt many people could be identified by inspection as broadly falling within the definition of white or coloured, but this is a different matter from providing precise guidance on how any doubts should be resolved (*persons of mixed blood would be an obvious example*) and it would be necessary to rely on subjective judgements which would obviously vary'.²⁸ Little happened till the late 1970s, when the first testing programmes for the inclusion of a question on race/ethnicity in the decennial census got under way. However, as these trials proceeded up to 1989, the importance of the 'mixed' group diminished (Sillitoe and White 1992). While recognised in the early trials, 'mixed race' was then relegated to the 'other' group and then disappeared from the categorisation altogether (surviving in the question instruction). However, the assumption of the UK census agency that mixed race people preferred to identify with a single group was shown to be ill-judged by the findings of the 1991 Census. By this time an emerging policy of multiracial multiculturalism was taking hold that made the decision to include 'Mixed' categorisation in the 2001 Census uncontested.

Social policy for the mixed race population was slow to develop and this was probably related to government failures to count this population as a distinctive collectivity. As we saw in Chap. 6, in the immediate post-war years, the government maintained a distance from the issue of providing care for the offspring of Black GIs and English women. Though it was drawn into piecemeal interventions—such as vetting some privately owned homes for such children and their proprietors—there was nothing in its policy-making for racially mixed people that was systematic and population-focused. Even by the late 1950s, when Sheila Patterson undertook her research in Brixton, children's societies or associations, such as Dr Barnardo's Homes and the Church of England Children's Society, were the main providers of homes for mixed race and other children and the handlers of fostering and adoption placements (Patterson 1965, see 235–239).

A policy interest in the increase in the number of mixed race families began to emerge from the late 1950s. By 1957 the Home Office was undertaking surveillance of new immigrant communities through a memorandum sent to all chief constables requesting information on the number of immigrants in their area, the state of the integration process, living conditions, level of crime, illegitimacy rates, and involvement in brothels. By 1960 the memorandum was asking about 'intermixing, miscegenation and illegitimacy', motivated by concerns about social stability and the rise of interracial relationships. The information the Home Office specifically requested from the Chief Constable of Manchester included the number of 'one parent coloured' and 'both parents coloured' families, the number of their children born inside of and outside marriage, and the families' accommodation.

The 1962 report from Manchester,²⁹ based on data collected by health visitors, revealed that of 58,000 children under 5 in Manchester in 1961, 971 (1.7%) had two 'coloured' parents and 527 (0.9%) had one 'coloured' parent (the Home Office terming these children 'half-caste'), a ratio of 0.54 for 'mixed' to minority ethnic parentage. Most lived in Moss Side, Chorlton-on-Medlock and Ardwick. Compared with 25% of those with two 'coloured' parents, 50% of the mixed race children were born outside marriage (and two-thirds of these had a West Indian parent). Of the 299 interracial families, 147, 49%, were said to be 'legitimate' ('successful' mixed marriages, as opposed to lone parents and cohabiting couples). Additionally, of the interracial families 44% lived in 'rooms', compared with two-thirds of the two 'coloured' parents families. It is notable that the Home Office termed these racially mixed children 'half-caste'—even though perseverance with such term was on the wane by this time (Aspinall 2013b)—in contradistinction to the police authorities who described the children as having 'one coloured parent' and 'two coloured parents'. The Home Office commented on the Chief Constable's report: 'I should not myself regard these figures as very startling. If anything they bear out our conclusion that there has not so far been a great deal of intermixing and miscegenation'.

The role of the state was soon to change from surveillance to the provision of children's homes as the size of the mixed race population increased, monitoring data showing a disproportionate number of children from this group being looked after. For example, a Birmingham City Council Social Services Committee report of 1971 reported that of 883

‘coloured’ children in care, 469 were ‘partly coloured’ and 414 were ‘fully coloured’, a ratio of 1.3:1.³⁰ During the 1980s the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) consistently reported this disproportionality amongst minority ethnic and mixed race children (Commission for Racial Equality 1990). In 1983, for example, the CRE cited figures for a northern city in its evidence to the House of Commons Social Services Select Committee Inquiry into Children in Care: 20.2 per 1000 white children were in care, 24.3 per 1000 for Afro-Caribbean children, but 142.2 per 1000 for children of mixed parentage (Commission for Racial Equality 1993).

Frequently, the scale of this disproportionality was concealed by including the mixed race children in the black count. This practice of cultural homogenisation had been criticised by Birmingham City Council in its 1971 report, a city councillor arguing, ‘We need to have all the facts. The report throughout refers to “coloured children”, and throughout the assumption is that it is the fact of being coloured that makes the problem’.³¹ The councillor continued, ‘It is neither statistically valid nor remotely helpful to produce a table which includes, under one heading, groups as dissimilar as those with a different cultural, recently immigrant background and those who happened to have been fathered by a black immigrant’. Yet by the 1980s the identification of ‘mixed’ children as black had become entrenched in the social work profession. For example, Small (1986: 90) complained that ‘the concept of mixed race...has become part of conventional social work language’, preferring the term ‘black’: ‘The term ‘mixed race’ should...not be used by administrators or professionals, and should be discouraged amongst people who want to provide homes for Black children’. It was only in the mid-1990s that officialdom finally recognised the ‘mixed race’ population by agreeing to include ‘Mixed’ categorisation in the 2001 Census (see Chap. 12).

Notes

1. A shortened Penguin addition: *Dark Strangers. A study of West Indians in London*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd was published in 1965.
2. Before the 1983 GHS interviewers were instructed to code respondents as either white or coloured based on visual assessment.
3. The Census question asked, ‘Write the country of birth of: *a* the person’s father *b* the person’s mother’. *This question should be answered even if the*

- person's father or mother is no longer alive. (If country not known, write 'NOT KNOWN'). Give the name by which the country is known today. See: 1971 Census—England (private households): Accessed at: http://edu.mimas.ac.uk/1971/downloads/71CensusForm_Priv.pdf
4. *Social Trends*, No. 15, 1985 & No. 17, 1987, cited by Cretser (1990: 231).
 5. The University of Warwick also hosted the Institute for Race Relations Archive.
 6. Benson's study was based on her University of Cambridge Doctoral Thesis.
 7. Ann Baker Cottrell. Bringing up children in an Asian-British home. Report on 'What about the Children?' A Harmony Conference on 17th June 1976 on Children of Mixed Marriages.
 8. Piddington had been outspoken on the issue of gross racial discrimination in Australia.
 9. Accessed at: <https://www.era.lib.ed.ac.uk/bitstream/1842/8351/2/Collins1952.pdf>
 10. It was usual for biographical studies to omit her work in Britain. See, for example, Ogilvie and Harvey (2000: 740–741); Cole (2003).
 11. Her work is cited by Richmond (1954: vi, vii); Banton (1955: 200); Collins (1957: 248); Banton (1959); Patterson (1963: 6, 8, 445, 1965: 362); and Henderson (1960).
 12. This was a 350-page manuscript entitled: 'Color in Britain: a study of emerging biracialism' and is cited by Banton (1959).
 13. Quoted by Patterson (1965: 248).
 14. Quoted by Benson (1981: 9).
 15. Benson (1981: 9) quoting *Daily Telegraph*, 30 July 1970.
 16. *Daily Mirror*, 31 July 1954.
 17. *Ibid.*
 18. 'Vice and drug-taking worry police in boom city'. 15 April 1956 (newspaper cutting, Birmingham Central Library).
 19. 'I am proud I married a coloured man'. *Birmingham Despatch* (newspaper cutting, n.d., Birmingham Central Library).
 20. *Birmingham Post*, 26 October 1962, 21 November 1962.
 21. For Enoch Powell's speeches, see www.enochpowell.net/speeches.html
 22. From the early 1970s Powell reverted to the use of the term 'coloured' population which he defined thus: 'the official definition of "coloured" adopted in the late 1960's, namely, a person who, or at least one of whose parents, was born in the New Commonwealth, not being of European descent'. See: <http://enochpowell.info/Resources/May-Aug%201973.pdf>

23. A term that widely applied to ‘Negroes’ and the children of South African and Australian natives but regarded as an ethnic/racial slur.
24. Conservative Central Office. Paper read by the Rt. Hon. J Enoch Powell, MP (Wolverhampton SW) to the Conference of the Institute of Population Registration, Cambridge Hall, Southport, on Friday, 1 May 1970. Accessed at: <http://enochpowell.info/Resources/May-June%201970.pdf>
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30. These numbers had increased rapidly. In 1956 there were 40 ‘coloured’ children in care in Birmingham. In October 1960 there were reported to be 206, 14% of the total.
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11

'Would You Let Your Daughter Marry a Black Man?': Representation and Lived Experiences in the Post-war Period

While liaisons between black American GIs and white English girls had dominated concerns and conceptualisations of interraciality in Britain during the Second World War, the arrival of new post-war minority ethnic populations saw the distinct wartime issue of 'brown babies' subsumed by a much more widespread and complex set of worries around race, citizenship and the subject of domestic racial mixing. As Chap. 10 discussed, from the outset it was clear that—unlike black American soldiers—these new populations that were arriving to work in Britain were unlikely to be transient ones; taking up their right to British citizenship and residency, West Indians, Indians, Pakistanis and other visible minorities from Britain's colonies began not only to settle in new settlements and bolster existing ones, but to put down roots through family life, including intermarrying with white Britons, as well as those of colour. It was relationships with the foremost group, however, that caused much concern.

As had been the case with post-First World War populations of colour, of whom many had also fought for Empire and had citizenship or colonial ties to Britain, the media both reflected and directed the public mood

towards both these newcomers and the subject of domestic race mixing which was, once again, firmly back on the table. Unsurprisingly, much of this mood tapped directly back into the fearful, scandalised and condemnatory discourse that had dominated discussions of interraciality in the 1920s and 1930s; however, with the continued erasure of the Chinese as an economic immigrant threat came a commensurate reduction in racism,¹ and Anglo-Chinese mixing, the subject of so much academic enquiry and press vilification in the early half of the century, was now hardly focused on at all (see Chaps. 3 and 4; also Aspinall and Caballero 2013). Rather, the issue predominantly boiled down—yet again—to horror at the idea of sex between black men and white women. Attention was drawn to locales around the country in which it was noticed that racial mixing was the norm, the *Daily Mail* reporting in 1950 that the northern end of Tottenham Court Road had been turned into a ‘miniature Harlem’; ‘in one pub,’ noted the reporter, ‘apart from the staff, I was the only white man in the place. All the girls were white or semi-coloured.’² Old tropes were quickly wheeled out, with lurid tales of the dangers black men presented to white womanhood: in 1954, it was reported that an anti-vice squad was being formed in Newcastle to investigate allegations of ‘sweet tea and vice parties’ in which local white girls were being drugged by ‘coloured’ men, though the police and local authorities stated that there was no cause for alarm given that ‘not one case of drugging had come to the notice of the health authorities, hospitals, doctors or the police in the city.’³ Similar fears underpinned the notorious Smethwick by-election of 1964 (see Chap. 10) when a Conservative Councillor, Donald Finney, alleged that Spon Lane ‘was a centre of vice’ where ‘his own wife had been accosted and white girls were associating with coloured men.’⁴

As hinted at in Finney’s accusation, blame for the spread of interracial vice was also laid at the feet of ‘white girls’, particularly the enduring cliché of ‘women of a low type’; reporting on ‘illicit unions’ between black men and white women, the *Aberdeen Evening Express* remarked that while for the black man, sexual relationships outside of marriage were normal, ‘it has also to be taken into account that the only white women some young coloured lads are likely to get near enough to desire are those quaintly called undesirable.’⁵ The *Daily Mail’s* reporter sarcastically noted that Hogarth, the great eighteenth century chronicler of London’s underclass, would have enjoyed

the modern scene he witnessed in Tottenham Court Road at pub closing where white women fought over the 'coloured' men: 'I saw a woman with bright blonde hair chasing a young coloured lad and a girl down the road. She was screaming: "Come home! You went out with her last night."' ⁶

As at the peak of hysteria over interraciality in the 1920s and 1930s, a similar, frequently prurient, interest in the occurrence of these early post-war relationships began to appear with a steady flow of media investigations and analyses on this newly visible mixing coming forth, often under tantalising newspaper and magazine headlines such as, 'The black man doesn't always think as we do: NOT MARRIAGE BUT HE THINKS IT NORMAL'; 'When love breaks the barrier'; 'MARRIAGE AGAINST THE ODDS.' ⁷ Television programmes also delved into the subject of miscegenation. The growing art of social documentaries in the 1950s and 1960s which aimed to explore the hard-hitting problems of the day covered racial mixing both as part of wider issues of mass immigration and the colour bar (see Malik 2002) as well as a standalone subject: in 1958, the topical ITV news programme *People in Trouble* devoted an episode to the question of 'Mixed Marriages', the presenter, Dan Farson, introducing the issue by stating that 'I think if we were honest with ourselves that we'd admit it would be a bit of a shock if we were told that our sister or daughter was going to marry a coloured man.' Certainly, black and white mixed relationships most of all continued to attract the most salacious attention, with the age-old focus and all its accompanying fears boiled down into variations of the question repeatedly asked in the press, perhaps most notoriously by the *Picture Post* in 1954: 'would YOU let your daughter marry a black man?' ⁸ The answer, it was widely agreed, was the ultimate litmus test for English people of their 'colour prejudice' and belief in the equality of the races; to be against the colour bar and in favour of racial equality and integration in the workplace, in housing and in social circles was one thing, but to consent to the lowering of the bar that 'permitted' black men to become part of the British family through intimacy with white daughters was seen as entering radical territory. 'It is an ugly, raging black question', commented the *Daily Express* reporter George Gale, writing under that very headline in 1956. '[But] let's not beat around the bush. The answer is "No". The honest answer, that is...'. ⁹ Continuing the earlier tradition of roving reporting on interracial settlements, white male

journalists such as Gale visited 'coloured' neighbourhoods around the country to peer into the locales and lives of the interracial couples they found there; in one area, visiting a 'broken down' house that had been turned into a club called 'Charlies', he noted how 'a few black men danced with cheap white girls' and outside 'women prowled around. White ones.'¹⁰

Instances of interracial weddings, often accompanied by photographs of the couples, also continued to appear frequently in the press, such as that of Joan Lawrence, a BBC clerk who married an Arab BBC producer, Mohamed Husni Bibi, in a civil and then Islamic ceremony, in London in 1951.¹¹ In some cases, these stories highlighted couples who were opposing parental wishes and not waiting for parents to 'let' them marry but went ahead anyway, such as Myra Holt, an 18-year-old white English woman from Birmingham who had married a Pakistani man, Abdul Ahmed, against her father's wishes in 1954.¹² Similarly, 'Margaret Can Wed Her Dusty Sailor' chirped an article in the *Daily Mail* in 1956, reporting on the decision of Portsmouth magistrates to overrule the objection of the father of 20-year-old Margaret Temple to her marrying her 'dark-skinned sailor sweetheart'.¹³ High status interracial marriages, as ever, also drew great attention; as with the continued scrutiny of the Khamas' situation and family life, the relationship and marriage in 1953 of Peggy Cripps, the daughter of Sir Stafford Cripps, the former Chancellor of the Exchequer, to Joseph Appiah, a wealthy Ghanaian law student and son of an Ashanti chieftain, provoked a worldwide media frenzy, as did the subsequent birth of their son, Kwame, and presence of their later children: the *Daily Telegraph* noted that at St John's Wood hospital, Kwame 'was given a welcome from the Press that any film star might have envied', facing 'a battery of cameras with the utmost composure'.¹⁴ As had typically been the case with interracial relationships involving wealthy high status society or colonial families, the British press were mostly very restrained in their coverage of the race angle; Appiah's status and political importance trumped his race in a way that the musician background of the African American musician Henry Crowder who dated the socialite Nancy Cunard earlier in the century could not (as discussed in Chap. 4). As such, British journalists displayed a respectful even fawning tone, gushing over the high status guests at the fashionable St John's Wood Church

wedding and cooing over 'ravishing' baby Kwame and the Appiahs' 'enchanted' children.¹⁵

For the most part, such reporting on interracial weddings—regardless of the class background—was presented without overtly hostile commentary and so, in some ways, could be considered as belonging to that style of 'human interest' stories that featured in the press of the time more widely—certainly many weddings of white couples were covered in a similar way. Yet, when we consider that the moral right of white people to marry each other was rarely in and of itself questioned on racial grounds,¹⁶ it becomes harder to consider such coverage as parallel. Within a wider climate in which racial prejudice, suspicion and disapproval of both minority ethnic populations and racial mixing in Britain was occurring—'what most of us instinctively recoil from is miscegenation' declared the *Daily Telegraph* in 1958¹⁷—alongside the in-depth 'inside mixed marriages' reports churned out by the press, it is perhaps more likely that coverage of such marriages, as discussed in Chap. 8, were actually often served up as curiosities, with the aim both to titillate and warn. Indeed, as Davis (2015: 208) notes in his analysis of the 1954 *Picture Post* 'Would You Let Your Daughter Marry a Negro?' article, while the text may conclude that mixed marriages are not necessarily doomed, the accompanying series of photos which pose the black father, white mother and their child as a 'disconnected family suffering social and economic hardship' suggest otherwise. 'The choice of a static mother-and-child image as the principal signifier of the white-family-norm-in-trouble' remarks Stuart Hall (1984 in Highmore 2002: 261) who first dissected the article, 'is certainly not fortuitous, however fragile or contingent the meaning seems to be.' Indeed, similarly to the *Daily Express* photos of 'The Street of Hopeless Children' discussed in Chap. 5, Hall found that the contact sheets from the *Picture Post* shoot showed 'a much wider range of shots, with alternative ways of representing the white mother and black father: close, not distanced; together or together with the child; doing things, in context—shopping, playing, walking about.' Such scenes of 'ordinariness' thus continued to be frequently scrubbed out of the media narrative of interraciality. During the 1950s, Pathé News, for example, filmed various 'everyday' scenes of mixed race couples and families: in *English Girls married to Jamaicans Live Happily in Brixton AKA English Girls* (1956) footage of white and black children

playing happily together in the street is followed by a scene described as ‘Jamaican Mr. Rufus Blythe comes home from work and kisses his English wife and daughter Shirley and baby Robin. They enter house’; then in *Jamaicans Marry at Brixton AKA Jamaican Problem In London* (1956) footage of Jamaican couples’ weddings and their life in the visibly multi-racial area more generally also contain the clips ‘home with Mr. and Mrs. Mitchell and their baby Gregory, having tea’ and various shots of ‘Mr. Dimsdale of Jamaica and English woman, Gerda Yaann, walking down street, and looking in furniture shop’. In both wordless films, Brixton is depicted as a multiracial, integrated space and the scenes of the interracial couple and family groupings are happy, intimate and quotidian. The films, however, appear never to have been shown, though the archives note that some of the street scenes may have been used in a newsreel story called ‘Our Jamaican Problem.’¹⁸

Moreover, the problem narrative that continued to dominate thinking on interracial relationships was, as ever, fuelled by fears about ‘half caste children’. Despite Britain’s both longstanding and newly emergent history of racially mixed citizens—those portside neighbourhood children who had caused such consternation in the 1920s and 1930s, for example, had now reached adulthood—the debate was once more infantilised under the familiar ‘what about the children?’ banner. The common assumption that mixed race children—regardless of their class, wealth or status—inevitably faced great difficulties in life continued; huffing about the press mania that greeted the birth of Joe and Peggy Appiah’s son Kwame, a *Daily Telegraph* writer remarked that ‘the baby has my sympathy. The world’s prejudices being what they are, its life will not be easy. Why the baby so should early be made an exhibition of I find it difficult to understand.’¹⁹ These and other populist understandings in the press of the troubles and issues that entailed life for mixed race children were exemplified in a 1957 article in the *Daily Mirror* about ‘Peter Jackson’, a seven-year-old child of a West Indian father and a white mother, who was being brought up in Dr Barnardo’s care home in Barkingside, Essex. Entitled ‘the heart-rending tale of... The Little Boy From Two Worlds’, the article highlighted the tragedy of his plight and marginality. ‘When Peter has his nightly bath,’ the *Mirror* reported, ‘he often asks the woman who cares for him: “If I wash myself VERY HARD will my skin become white like

yours?' Despite being well-cared for at Barnardo's, the article went on, his issues would only worsen over time; 'heartbreak' will come when he starts to wonder why his mother did not want him or why the parents of the girl he wants to take to a dance tell her, 'he seems a decent chap, dear—but better not...'.²⁰

Continuing on from the 'brown babies' scandal, the issue of mixed race children in care increasingly registered in the public eye. High-profile adoptions of a number of mixed race children by white families hit the headlines in the post-war decades: in 1957, the case of five-year-old Linda, the daughter of a mixed white English and Nigerian couple who had been adopted as a baby by a white couple, Peggy and Peter Darke, featured in the press, similarly to the adoption the year before of Matthew, a mixed race child, by the wildly popular and esteemed stage actor John Neville and his wife Caroline (who would go on to adopt two other mixed race children). The Earl and Countess of March also attracted attention when they adopted Maria and Naomi, two girls of mixed racial backgrounds in the late 1950s and early 1960s, as did the adoption of a mixed race son by the Conservative MP Nicholas Scott and his wife Elizabeth in 1968.²¹ While the couples' decisions to adopt were generally praised in sections of the press, some of the coverage was also conducted under the familiar prurient gaze—in 1967, the *Daily Mirror* talking to John Neville about the couple's adoption of three 'coloured' children asked 'why didn't he adopt pink ones like everyone else?'²² Most mixed race children in care, however, did not find permanent homes with families and the plight of children such as Peter continued to be used as a warning to white women thinking of crossing racial boundaries. The *Mirror* article noted that while cases such as Peter's had once been exceptional, the 'influx' of West Indians into Britain—who 'have different social standards from those in Britain'—meant that 'such children are rapidly becoming a social problem'. Quoting the National Council for the Unmarried Mother and her Child, it was pointed out that while an unmarried mother of a white child was often reconciled and supported by her parents, 'if she has a coloured baby they tell her: '[g]et rid of it—or never come near us again.' A steady stream of articles over the post-war decades highlighted that such social attitudes meant that mixed race children were not only disproportionately placed in care, but—as we

discuss in Chap. 10—were likely to remain there. ‘It is almost impossible to place a child of African blood’, one social worker remarked to *The Times* in 1963, ‘[though] a child with Asian blood is easier.’²³ The situation was dire, social workers commented. Black adopters were generally held not to be in the material position to adopt while white adopters were reluctant to take a child they could not pass off as their own or to make themselves the target of racial prejudice.²⁴ ‘A white couple might love a piccaninny’, a social worker featuring in a news segment on attempts to place a ‘coloured’ baby remarked, ‘but would they love a Negro son of 18?’²⁵ Thus a clear picture was painted for white women, one that highlighted how entering into interracial relationships could ruin not just one’s own life but also condemn children to a difficult and isolated loveless fate. Great care needed to be taken, even if the relationships initially seemed sincere. As Banton (1959: 70) notes, the bizarre myth that sex with a black man could result in ‘coloured children’ even years after intercourse had taken place (see Chap. 4), continued to flourish, including amongst Oxbridge students. Familiar tropes about race, gender, class and respectability were thus woven into these cautionary tales, with references to prostitution deeply ingrained into the narrative: citing the Cleveland and Middlesborough Association for Moral Welfare, the *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* noted the greater severity of parents’ reactions to their daughter if her illegitimate child was ‘coloured’ and the difficulty ahead for those women who tried to keep their children as work and housing was consequently hard to come by with ‘the inevitable result’ being ‘a drift towards prostitution.’²⁶ Almost a decade later, a report in *The Times* also invoked the stereotype that linked vice with racial mixing, noting that while some of the interracial relationships that had led to the birth of the children in care were the result of the loneliness of young women in big city life, social workers had remarked that others—between white girls and African or Arab students—were borne of naivety, where promises of marriage had foolishly been believed. “‘They are not the prostitute type”, said one worker, “they have been bamboozled.”²⁷ While scholarly work on mixed race children in care reflected some of these issues, the complexity and nuance found by academics was overlooked in the media. In Fitzherbert’s 1967 study of mixed West Indian/British children in care—part of a larger study on West Indians in London—she

found that while nearly all the 41 white mothers were 'of the social type which cannot make the grade in our competitive society' (58) and 11 of them showed 'evidence of prostitution' (56), most were not the 'prostitute class' or 'bamboozled' young girls made out in the press; in fact, over half had already had one or two white children before having had a child with a West Indian man. The factors that had led to their children being placed in care were diverse and, racial rejection from family and discrimination in housing notwithstanding, similar to white mothers of white children in care: mental health, poverty, social incapacity. Moreover—and contrary to Fletcher's earlier pronouncements about such mothers—Fitzherbert noted that 'one feature of these women incapable of running their lives, and coping with jobs, housing and neighbours, was that they were often very affectionate and emotionally satisfying mothers. Motherhood was their only skill, yet they were so ineffectual at providing the necessary conditions for it, that Child Care Officers often considered reception into care necessary' (59). Furthermore, Fitzherbert noted the willing role that many West Indian fathers were willing to play, with 7 taking their illegitimate children into their married homes and several others expressing willingness to be involved in their children's lives, though, she remonstrated, these overtures were often passed over by Child Care Officers.

While the traditional orthodoxy of interraciality continued to be wheeled out across the press, the sustained focus on racial mixing also functioned however as growing evidence that racial mixing was not only part of British life but would increasingly remain so. The crossing of racial boundaries was no longer portrayed as being something that only happened in insalubrious portside neighbourhoods or through lax wartime morality. Though media coverage did not generally position mixed race couples and families as 'ordinary' in and of themselves—indeed, we have seen how evidence of their 'ordinary' daily lives were frequently removed from reportage—the continual and widespread coverage of the extent of interraciality meant that even when it was discussed in problematic terms, it was clear that racial mixing was being repositioned as something that was happening more 'ordinarily' within Britain, whether white Britons liked it or not. 'Think: 150 more West Indians a day...' the *Daily Express* counselled its readers in 1956, 'sooner or later you will come into personal

contact with one of them; sooner or later the question will be faced by someone in your world: “Would I let my daughter marry a black man?”²⁸

Thus within such discussions during the post-war decades of the likely rise in mixed marriages in the country, a small but perceptible shift can be glimpsed within the wider media narrative on interraciality. While, as ever, the presence of ‘coloured’ immigrants and all that went along with their settlement in Britain, including racial mixing and racially mixed people, was overwhelmingly held up as a problem—and the immigrants and their families themselves as problematic—there was also a move towards acknowledging the role that the British social psyche towards racial difference (and the institutional social structures resulting from this mindset) played in the worsening or bettering of racial issues. ‘Whether these mixed marriages work or not,’ the *Express* told its readers in 1954, ‘will depend a good deal on one thing: it will depend on what *you* think.’ While it took ‘pluck’, the article went on, to marry against convention, ‘it takes greater pluck to stay happily married in the face of hostility over the garden wall, in buses and shops and the local pub.’ It did not take much for those who marry for love, regardless of colour, to be happy, the article further argued. ‘All they need for happiness in Britain is to be accepted and liked, to be one of the family, to be neighbourly. Is it as simple as that for you—the neighbour?’²⁹

The answer, it appeared time and again, was clearly not—and it was due, some sections of the media concluded, to the racial prejudice of white Britons rather than the inherent incompatibility of the races. George Gale, who had investigated mixed race marriages around the country for the *Daily Express* in 1956 in his attempt to answer the ‘would you let your daughter...?’ question, declared that after looking at some ‘extraordinary lives,’ he realised ‘the pattern is the same. The marriages are successful. Why do I say “No”? Why does almost everybody say “No”?’ The answer, he concluded was ‘prejudice’. Somewhat shamefacedly, he admitted that though he opposed ‘the colour bar’ generally, he found himself as guilty of prejudice against mixed marriages as his taxi driver who associated the vice in his London neighbourhood with immigrants. ‘He blamed the black men. He was wrong. But he wouldn’t let his daughter marry one. Neither would I, though I despised him.’³⁰

Unlike the dominant discourse in the 1920s and 1930s around the 'coloured' immigrant presence, there thus crept forward a representation of views that held how racism, rather than inherent racial qualities, might have a role to play in the situation and experiences of interracial couples, families and people in Britain. Covering a conference on childcare in 1954 which a number of prominent politicians including the Home Secretary, Sir David Maxwell Fyfe, attended, *The Times* reported the view held by the MP and former Home Secretary, James Chuter Ede, that a colour bar was a significant problem for the older 'half-caste child'. 'I have found it very difficult,' Chuter Ede was quoted as saying, 'to discover a case where one of these children, no matter how high its intelligence, can get an entry into one of the skilled occupations when it comes to earning a living.'³¹ The issue of the extent of mixed race children in care increasingly registered as a problem that was caused by social attitudes—in addition to the prejudice that fuelled their placement in care, it was reported that these same attitudes kept them from finding permanent homes: 'fear of what the neighbours will think looms large,' reported *The Times*, 'there was a fear that the explanation that the child was adopted might be disbelieved.'³²

The findings and perspectives of the more progressive wave of social scientists, including Michael Banton and Kenneth Little, who highlighted the significance of white British attitudes and racial prejudice for 'coloured' and interracial communities (see Chap. 10) were also beginning to filter out into the wider public sphere via local and national media in the forms of book reviews, coverage of conference talks, radio appearances and letters to the press.³³ In 1958 *The Times* published a letter by Little in which he condemned an attack appearing in a pamphlet by the Eugenics Society on the ill-effects of West Indian immigration to Britain, including the 'fact' of the biological perils of racial mixing. 'The broadsheet calls special attention to the increase in "half-caste" illegitimate children,' he stated, 'but omits the obvious conclusion that their number might be smaller were racial relationships between persons of opposite sex regarded as normal.'³⁴ The views of the well-known psychiatrist, David Stafford-Clark, covered in the *Daily Telegraph* in 1960, were even more robust; comparing racial prejudice as being to the bigot what alcohol is to the alcoholic ('take it away and he is nothing'), he stated that

‘miscegenation would be a very small price to pay for the ending of race prejudice, if it can be regarded as a price at all.’ Indeed, he continued, ‘some of the finest people he knew were the products of mixed ancestry.’³⁵

Such viewpoints also began to emanate from the media itself. In 1959, the *Daily Express*—usually no stranger to fanning the flames of racial intolerance as far as interraciality was concerned³⁶—published a fascinatingly complex and progressive three-part investigative series by the journalist Merrick Winn into what was billed as the ‘hot subject’ of mixed marriages. Travelling round the country, Winn spoke to numerous mixed race couples as well as experts and those within the ‘coloured’ community more widely. Admittedly, and as long familiar, the articles fall easily at times into a number of key racial and interracial tropes, including the idea of the vigorous hybrid (‘there is even some evidence that they may produce better children. Taller, more intelligent, more fertile parents’) and that well ingrained stereotype of gender, race and class: Winn states that as ‘good’ women are not likely to be interested in the black man, he tends to end up with the ‘women who want him because no one else wants him; because they too are human and need someone and a roof over their head. The “bad” women, the white trash, the outcasts, the prostitutes at the end of their beat.’ Yet Winn notes that while such partnerships occur and are sometimes ‘all the better broken’, many more work out, as do those occurring within ‘the educated classes’. Having spoken to a range of interracial couples and families, Winn’s overall tone and conclusions scathingly challenge the mainstream viewpoint held by both experts and popular opinion that mixed race marriages were doomed to fail, bred delinquency, and condemned children to marginality. ‘It is nonsense’, he stated. ‘The children of mixed marriages are not freaks or streaked, or tainted. They are normal like any other children, and many I saw looked better...I did not find coloured youngsters tragic or faring always worse than other youngsters. I found no serious justification for the stock objection to mixed marrying—what about the children?’ What was problematic, however, he stated was the barriers such couples and families faced from white society. ‘[These marriages] seem to succeed in spite of the stares and the nudges, and the leery whispering, and perhaps because of them too. Because these couples suffer for one another....

Mixed couples and their children are all right if they stay “coloured” in the bashed up houses of Tiger Bay or Notting Hill. But when they go “white” there may be prejudice. Not open, but perhaps worse for being subtle. It comes from ignorance... But it will come right later, when prejudice goes, when black and white come to see the grey in one another. When we stop wondering why white and black fall in love, knowing the answer. Because they are people.’³⁷ Winn’s conclusion echoes that of George Gale who, after speaking to numerous interracial couples, concluded his report by admitting that though his feeling was that he would not be happy if his daughter married a black man, ‘I could find nothing to JUSTIFY that answer in the lives of the men and women who made mixed marriages.’³⁸

Winn and Gale’s emphasis on the importance of remembering that those in interracial relationships were individual and complex people, rather than simply a colour, can also be glimpsed more widely across the media. Amongst the probing and gawping that was reminiscent of coverage in the 1920s and 1930s, there was also some turn towards seeking, rather than just assuming, a slightly deeper and more nuanced understanding of mixed racial relationships and family life than had been common during those earlier periods. Indeed, in addition to a greater focus on racial prejudice, a second narrative shift in media representations can be seen in the turn towards providing space for those within or from interracial unions to speak rather than to be simply observed, a development facilitated in part by the new observational and drama documentary style of reporting that was increasingly popular in the post-war era (Chapman 2015). Both Gale and Winn in their *Express* articles presented the voices of those Gale called ‘ordinary people who were also extraordinary, because they were black married to white’,³⁹ as did George Tansy in his extensive report in 1953 into the ‘colour bar’ for the *Aberdeen Express*: in response to ‘moving letters’ from white women married to ‘coloured men’ who all said that they ‘were happily married and had no regrets’, Tansy took up the invitations to visit a number of such homes and fed back their views under the headline ‘The happiness of two mixed marriages’.⁴⁰ In all three reports, the inclusion of the voices of interracial families—the majority of whom spoke of their domestic happiness alongside the prejudice they also encountered outside the home—provided a

more nuanced and even positive slant on mixed marriages than the reporting of earlier decades.

Across the 1950s and 1960s, the direct representation of other interracial couples or people could be found in similar newspaper reports—McDonald Bailey, the Trinidadian-born Olympic athlete who was quoted as being ‘very happy’ in his marriage to his white English wife, and Alma LaBadie, the mixed race West Indian activist, were featured in a *Daily Express* article that put forward ‘the views of two well-known coloured Londoners who reject the implied fear of mixed marriages’⁴¹—as well as in television documentaries. *People In Trouble’s* ‘Mixed Marriages’ episode featured the Jacksons, a mixed black Jamaican/white English couple with a young son, introduced by Farson as ‘an example of an extremely happy and successful mixed marriage’, alongside Michael Savage, a racially mixed Nigerian/Scottish ex-public schoolboy and British Army Officer, who, when asked if he would be worried that any children he might have might face prejudice, cheerfully replied, ‘being a product of a mixed marriage myself and not having suffered much I shouldn’t feel at all...what’s the word I want...? Hesitant about [it]’.⁴² Similarly groundbreaking was the Welsh filmmaker Selwyn Roderick’s 1968 BBC documentary *Tamed and Shabby Tiger* which took a sympathetic look at the working-class residents of the multicultural ‘Tiger Bay’ area of Cardiff which was in the process of being demolished. Here, mixed race families and people were portrayed warmly and in their own words—the singer Shirley Bassey, born to a white English mother and black Nigerian father and who had grown up in the area was featured, as well as Olive Salaman of the Cairo Café and her family. Perhaps the most revolutionary of all, however, was Peter Morley’s 1964 ITV documentary *Black Marries White—The Last Barrier*. Featuring mixed couples, people and their extended families from different class and ethnic backgrounds in the Tottenham and Stoke Newington areas of London in vastly differing domestic and social settings, the programme contained no voiceover or ‘expert’ opinions, leaving the participants to speak widely and openly amongst and for themselves on their thoughts and experiences of mixed marriages, including on racial prejudice, interracial domestic cultures, familial opposition (on both sides) and the inevitable subject of children. While the absence of external interviewers caused critics to herald its ‘reality’, it is important

to note that the programme, like all reality television, was heavily edited to produce a particular narrative which, similarly to most investigations of the time, was crafted round the premise that racial mixing was an inherently problematic subject: Morley himself stated that he thought the subject of mixed marriages was 'one of the most profound human dilemmas confronting us...a disturbing subject that, like it or not commands our attention.'⁴³ Nevertheless, once the programme moved on from its initial lingering and provocative shots of black hands in white, a range of complex and multifaceted views and attitudes were presented, from the depressing and moving to the humorous and commonplace. The programme generated great controversy and debate, attracting critical plaudits—the *Telegraph's* reviewer called it 'the most remarkable documentary that I have seen for a long time'—as well as a huge audience: close to eight million viewers tuned in to watch it, making it the third most popular broadcast of the week it was shown, only trumped by the eternally popular soap *Coronation Street*.⁴⁴

Views that supported or even worked to normalise interraciality were thus spread throughout the media: an article in the *Daily Mail* in 1960, revelling in the headline 'The Compliment That Sammy Paid Us Yesterday', argued that the black American singer, Sammy Davis Jr., had chosen London to announce his engagement to the Swedish actress May Britt because, despite all the issues of the colour bar and racial tensions, 'Britain, in 1960, is one of the most tolerant countries of the world.' The barriers were being broken down, the article further stated, mainly due to the examples of show business stars setting the way, citing the positive experiences of Johnnie Dankworth and Cleo Laine, John Neville and his adopted children, and the Anglo-Chinese actress Chin Yu and her husband the Australian David Williams, as evidence that 'race barriers in this country are slowly but steadily melting away.'⁴⁵ Far removed from the intense and curiosity-driven focus of the Holnicote House children in the late 1940s (see Chap. 8), a 1966 feature in the *Illustrated London News* on Dr Barnardo's Garden City children's home at Woodford Bridge in Essex only casually mentioned that half the children resident there were 'coloured or of mixed racial origin' and stated that there was no 'typical' reason why a child was admitted.⁴⁶ Similarly, in contrast to the previous types of cautionary advice given by experts or

agony aunts to white girls considering relationships with black men, the *Daily Mirror*'s 'If I Were You...' help column took a different tack in 1964. In response to a young woman who had written to the paper regarding her fear of being seen by her neighbours with the 'charming half-caste boy' she was dating, the columnist sharply scolded her for her lack of courage and recommended it would do her good to face the situation head-on: 'If you really like him, you will say "To heck with those turned up noses." You will suffer a little—but you will grow up in the process.'⁴⁷ The year before, the *Daily Mail*'s agony aunt—discussing fears of 'the colour problem' by prospective transracial adoptive parents or people dating (or seeing their children dating) interracial—counselled that they should ignore concerns and go ahead as 'real love between people makes racial prejudice seem the ludicrous irrelevance that it is.'⁴⁸

However, though the foundations upon which interraciality was discussed and represented had been weakened, being no longer firmly bolstered by racially prejudiced biological and social pseudo-science, the framework within which such discussions and representations took place was still, overwhelmingly, one which started from the premise that the presence of 'coloured' immigrants and racial mixing was problematic. As Malik (2002) notes on the representation of minority ethnic groups in Britain generally at this time, the dominant view was one which positioned racial mixing and mixedness both as a problem to be answered as well as interrogating what the answers meant to and for white British people. Thus frequently, even when the conclusion of an article, discussion or report appeared to be coming down on the side of favouring interracial marriages and children, and even when it showcased the own viewpoints of such families, the initial starting premise had almost always sprung from exploring or focusing on racial mixing as an subject of concern, as can be seen in the headlines and phrases used to introduce or frame the matter—such as 'People In Trouble', 'Is It Right?', 'The White Bride Riddle', 'When L-O-V-E Needs Courage Too!'—or the tone of the typically white middle-class male interviewer or investigator who focused repeatedly on the extent of racial prejudice experienced by interracial families and expressed by white Britons above all else. A three-part investigation into mixed marriages by the *Daily Express* in 1968 exemplified this approach. Entitled 'Marriage Against The Odds,' the articles explored 'the very human problems of this

growing aspect of our society' through a variety of 'cases', including Vijay and Mary Batura, a young mixed Indian and white British couple, and 22-year-old Julian Tahamakar, the mixed race son of an Indian father and white English mother, who were given space to tell their accounts. While the articles showcased a number of successful and happy marriages and concluded that mixed couples could beat the odds against them—'and when they do, they have very good marriages indeed'—this positive note was overshadowed by the series' overall general doom-ridden tone that warned that 'society is not ready to accept racially mixed marriages, and the chance of one succeeding is not high.' As such, 'only the strongest couples survive.' While it was admitted that Vijay and Mary were happy with each other, it was also made clear that, isolated and discriminated against, their lives were nevertheless full of misery: 'among the ethnic penalties imposed on them: Lack of cash, comfort and companionship with the society outside their cold, depressing flat in Charlton, South-East-London.' 'You see, people are not friendly to the two of us together.' Vijay was quoted as saying, 'And we are—lonely. That I think, is the worst thing.' Other couples, who were more integrated into their communities, nevertheless recounted the efforts it had taken to be accepted and still reported coming up against prejudice and ignorance, both towards themselves and their children. Later, under the headline 'What About The Children', the voices of couples who were putting off having children due to worries about racial prejudice were confirmed in Julian's testimony "You want to know about it from the child's point of view, do you?" he says. "It is hell." ...The half-caste gets the worst deal. He is accepted by neither black nor white. He is in a hellish no-man's land in between.' The seriousness of marrying interracially, not just for present but future generations, was also brought to attention in the concluding and somewhat bizarre final account of the series where Eva Powell, a 40-year-old woman born to white farmer parents in Wales, told of her pain at being a 'throwback child' as the result of the fact that 'her great-grandfather was coloured'. The only one of her seven sisters who was born with dark skin, Eva was seen as 'half-caste' and had suffered greatly as a result, rejected by both a white and then a black husband. 'I was a freak to my family,' she said, 'and now it seems to the rest of the world. [Mixed marriages] should never be.'

Representation in the Arts

This interweaving of suggestions for the need for ‘tolerance’ and ‘open-mindedness’ within a wider framework which held that, essentially, racial mixing was a cause for concern, thus framed the debate of the post-war decades, not just in the media but also in the arts. ‘Nothing produces a faster emotional reaction than the thought of mixed marriage’ the *Daily Express* pronounced in 1968 and indeed after largely ignoring the issue during the Second World War, literature, film, theatre and art had once again begun to capitalise on this potent source of drama.

While these decades broke some new ground in representation, for the most part the dominant theme was the repetition and rehashing of old familiar tropes. Exotic tales of interraciality continued to thrill. Sax Rohmer, the creator of Fu Manchu, continued to paint lurid accounts of the dangers of the Orient, including the machinations of racially mixed people, in his sexually aggressive megalomaniac Eurasian female villain Sumuru who starred in a popular series of novels first published in 1950 and, in the following decades, two film adaptations.⁴⁹ High and low-brow literary and cinematic tales of daring but mostly doomed interracial love affairs in lush exotic settings featuring a host of archetypes—the beautiful and tragic or beautiful and dangerous black, Asian, Oriental or ‘half-caste’ woman; the handsome but troubled, or weak and jealous ‘half-caste’ man; and the forbiddingly attractive black or Indian native—found great success, such as *Island in the Sun* (1955), Alec Waugh’s international bestselling novel about interracial desire in the Caribbean (later adapted into the controversial Hollywood hit 1957 film of the same name);⁵⁰ *The Wind Cannot Read* (1958), an adaption of Mason’s 1946 novel; *The Inn of the Sixth Happiness* (1958), a distorted adaption of the account of the British missionary Gladys Aylward, including her relationship with Colonel Linnan, a Chinese soldier; *Without the Grail* (1960), a BBC drama set in India starring Sean Connery in which he is attracted to the mixed race daughter of a tea planter; *The Terror of the Tongs* (1961), a Hammer film production about a violent and shadowy Chinese syndicate in Hong Kong where the white hero has a love affair with, the trailer thrills, ‘a beautiful half-caste who ...found love in the midst of terror’; ‘Hell-cat’ (1962), a *Tit-Bits* maga-

zine serial depicting the East African-based depravities of Maria, one of 'the alluring half-caste girls of Pemba...trained from childhood by their unscrupulous families to win a white husband'—she was 'the loveliest of them all...yet evil through and through';⁵¹ *The Brigand of Kandahar* (1965), set in nineteenth century India in which a mixed Bengali British officer is unjustly courtmartialled by his commanding officer and flees to join brigands fighting the British; and *The Jewel in the Crown* (1966), the first in Paul Scott's Raj Quartet novel series set in India which revolves around the scandalous and tragic love affair of a white British woman with an educated Indian man to whom she bears a child. American works in the same vein such as *King of the Khyber Rifles* (1953), *Love is A Many-Splendored Thing* (1955) and *South Pacific* (1958), the film adaptation of the hit 1949 Broadway musical, were also prolifically shown and popularly consumed. For the most part, as Bettinson (2015: 12) notes, this body of work flirted with 'the exotic thrill of miscegenation only to denounce such relationships as transgressive and ultimately perverse.' To counter the shock, many of the 'native' love interests were depicted as 'half-white' and frequently played by white actors in 'black-face' and 'yellowface'—a derogatory form of theatrical makeup used predominantly by white performers to represent black and South and East Asian characters—as in *The Inn of the Sixth Happiness* in which the character of Colonel Linnan, a Chinese man in real life, was acted by the white German actor Curt Jurgens and portrayed as half-Dutch. Nevertheless, most of the interracial romances were, as per the tradition, depicted as failures, ending in death, separation or ambiguously unresolved.⁵²

Not all the representations and scenarios were predictably archetypal however: John Masters' 1952 hit novel *Bhowani Junction*, set in India shortly before independence, features what Cassity (1999: np) calls 'an unprecedented exploration' of Anglo-Indian identity, with its plot unfolding primarily through Anglo-Indian characters and voices, including its Anglo-Indian heroine, Victoria Jones. Critical reaction to the novel continues to vary with the multilayered, progressive characterisation and plot pointed to by scholars such as Cassity conversely seen as a facade between which imperial tropes of Eurasians are deeply embedded (see, for example, D'Cruz 2006; Jajja 2013). Similarly, Richard Mason's hit 1957 novel *The World of Suzie Wong* provides a more complex and nuanced account

of the longstanding stereotypical white male/Chinese mistress fictional relationship, though the setting and characters are still rooted in Orientalist tropes, including the agreeably sexual Chinese woman. Yet the novel also depicts an unusual contemporary representation of interracial domesticity and happiness: like Victoria Jones, the eponymous prostitute Suzie does not die but overcomes numerous trials—including abuse, death of her child and imprisonment—to end up in a happy marriage with her white British lover, Lomax, who proudly takes her to live briefly in England before returning to settle in Hong Kong.⁵³

Exotica was not the only representation of interraciality however as the post-war period saw the emergence of a body of work that increasingly located fictional representations of racial mixing and mixedness in a British context, such as Henry Hurford James's play *Under The Skin* (1952) whose plot hinges around the wartime 'seduction' of an intoxicated and naive young white woman by a black soldier whose child she unwittingly bears and puts out to foster; later, when happily engaged to a white man, she and her family are blackmailed over the secret. As in the public discourse more generally, the key focus in these fictional representations was on black and white mixing. Interracial representations featuring the Chinese, for example, who had dominated discussion and representation earlier in the century, were now all but erased and, outside exotic settings, other minority ethnic groups rarely featured as the dominant focus of fictional depictions concerned with interraciality in Britain. A rare exception is the 1957 novel *Tamahine* in which a beautiful and free-spirited Tahitian 'half-caste' is sent to stay in Devonshire with the relatives of her deceased English father. A 1963 comedy film of the same name, starring the mixed race Chinese actress Nancy Kwan, relocated the drama primarily to a boys' boarding school where one of the eponymous Tamahine's relatives is the headmaster. Drawing unashamedly on endless clichéd 'South Seas tropes', particularly Tamahine's uninhibited sexuality and availability, both the novel and the film nevertheless forgo a 'tragic mulatto' ending, the novel seeing Tamahine return happily to Tahiti (taking much of her English family with her), and in the film happily marrying an English man (her distant cousin) and settling down in England as a headmaster's wife.

Depictions of interraciality in Britain that featured the predominant coupling of black men and white women, however, soundly eschewed Tamahine's glamorous and exotic gaze. British-based cinema drew more

familiarly on urban and often gritty backdrops that had long been associated with interracial relationships at home, such as Basil Dearden's *Pool of London* (1951), a heist story which features a sub-plot focusing on the growing attraction between a black sailor, played by the Bermudan actor, Earl Cameron, and a white British woman in London's docklands. Thought to be the first representation of a black male/white female relationship on British screen, while the couple show all the signs of falling in love, the film falls shy of fully breaching taboos—physical contact is limited and ultimately the relationship is unfulfilled, an outcome directly attributed to the American film censor, Joseph Breen.⁵⁴ Dearden would revisit the subject of interraciality twice more. In his crime drama *Sapphire* (1959) the plot hinges around a classic 'tragic mulatto' trope when it is shockingly revealed that the eponymous murdered young woman was not white as those around her had assumed but, as her black brother reveals, was of mixed race. Central to the film then is the theme of 'passing', which sits somewhat oddly given the film's British setting—while slavery and legislation against interracial mixing in the USA saw both the practice and representation primarily of people of black racial backgrounds firmly rooted into American fictional depictions, the lack of such laws in Britain meant that 'passing as white' was not commonly undertaken or portrayed (though one notable exception is Merle Oberon, a leading star of British and Hollywood films in the 1930s and 1940s, who came to public attention in her role as Cathy opposite Laurence Olivier in *Wuthering Heights* (1939). With limited cinematic opportunities for people of colour in the 1930s, Oberon, an Anglo-Indian, concealed her mixed racial background and passed as white for her entire career. See Higham and Moseley (1983)). Several years later, Dearden again drew on a classic interracial trope in his film *All Night Long* (1962) in which the story of Othello is updated to the jazz world where, wracked with misplaced jealousy planted by a white musician, a black man violently attacks his white wife though, unlike in Othello, he stops short of killing her.⁵⁵ Mixed racial relationships and people also featured in the works of popular novelists, often drawing on prevailing stereotypes: Agatha Christie's *Ordeal By Innocence* (1958),⁵⁶ for example, includes the character Tina a 'graceful dark half-caste...whose mother was a prostitute and whose father had been a Lascar seaman' (138), while Catherine Cookson's *Colour Blind* (1968) centres both on a flawed mixed race marriage between a black

African sailor and his white wife in the Tyneside of the First World War, and the tribulations of their beautiful daughter who is continually marginalised, even by the white lover the ambivalent ending sees her end up with: in the short preface, Cookson notes that the solution for the 'living conflicts, the half-castes, would seem to lie in the far far future.' Yet though such representations drew on longstanding tropes, they also increasingly engaged with the issue of racial prejudice and discrimination in Britain, including the way in which this framed interracial relationships and people. These issues underscored the very plot of the 1958 play *Hot Summer Night* which premiered just a few months after the Notting Hill race riots and portrayed the deep prejudice and conflicts that are revealed when a trade unionist who is furiously opposing the colour bar at work finds that his daughter is planning to marry a black man. Well-received, the play was adapted into a television production in 1959 which appears to hold the landmark of being the site of the first interracial kiss broadcast on television.⁵⁷ A film version titled *Flame in The Streets* followed in 1961 and across all formats, the drama's scope extends beyond the casual, working-class prejudice of landlords and teddy boys that Dearden highlighted to critique also a liberal hypocrisy which promulgated colour equality in British society yet balked at its extension to within the white home. This attitude was also skewered in Muriel Spark's short story 'The Black Madonna' (1958)—and televised by the BBC in 1963—in which the outwardly liberal and cosmopolitan attitudes of a Liverpool childless couple, Lou and Ray Parker, who have befriended black Jamaicans, are exposed as bogus when, after praying to a 'Black Madonna', Lou becomes pregnant and gives birth to a black child (which her sister has hinted may be due to previous 'color' [sic] in the family). Horrified at what people will think, the two give the child away.

In addition to racial prejudice, this new wave of representation also highlighted both the very extent and occurrence of racial mixing that was being experienced in Britain during this period, no more so perhaps than in Colin MacInnes' London Trilogy of novels of London youth subculture—*City of Spades* (1957), *Absolute Beginners* (1959) and *Mr Love and Justice* (1960)—which thrilled at the lives of black newcomers living alongside other outsiders of London and featured a range of interracial relationships and characters, from 'Spade-crazy' teenage girls to cool but lonely mixed race men, and turbulent mixed race couples. As in works such as Mercedes Mackay's *Black Argosy* (1954), the story of two young African men trying to eke out a living

in London, fictional depictions often confined these relationships as occurring between men of colour and prostitutes or 'women of a low type'. At times, however, it drew back the scandalous facade of the topic to provide glimpses of interracial domesticity and intimacy, such as in the denouement of Henry Hurford James' play in which the white girl and her fiancé regain her mixed race child or in *The Micky-Hunters* (1957), where a white orphan who lives with his aunt and her black GI husband is briefly depicted. Such reflections were also found in the emerging wave of 'kitchen sink dramas', the rise of fictional works in the 1950s and 1960s that depicted the domestic lives of working-class Britons. Shelagh Delaney's 1959 play *A Taste of Honey Play* (adapted for the screen under the same name in 1961) controversially at the time portrayed a developing relationship between Jo, a neglected 17-year-old working class white girl from Salford, and Jimmy, a young black sailor who returns to his ship, unknowingly leaving Jo pregnant. While Jimmy's character arguably taps into the stereotype of the 1950s' fear that 'black men get white women pregnant then leave them' (Webster 1998: 51)—certainly, the brief relationship is not explored in-depth, being mainly used to drive the story forward—the interactions between the two when they do occur are nevertheless both intimate and ordinary as well as sympathetically and tenderly portrayed. Though less sympathetically depicted, the relationship between two minor characters in Alan Sillitoe's novel of working-class Nottingham life *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* (1958)—Mr Chumley, an Indian lodger, and Doreen Gretton, his white landlady—yet also underscores the existence of interracial domesticity in the British home.⁵⁸ These types of representations were not confined to working-class communities but were also depicted as occurring in middle-class enclaves as both *All Night Long* and *Sapphire* demonstrate. In the following decade, the middle-class mixed household even became placed front and centre, with the 1967 BBC TV series *Rainbow City* focusing on the life and work of a black lawyer married to a white woman in multiracial Birmingham. From its inception, the programme courted great controversy and it was uncertain whether it would even be broadcast due to concerns about its bold content. 'Some of the scenes show the Jamaican solicitor in bed with his wife' gasped the *Daily Mirror*.⁵⁹ While its intelligence and fearlessness in portraying both happy interracial family life and racial problems were commended in some quarters—the *Daily Mail's* critic, Barry Norman, noted that an episode in which the 'coloured husband argued with white wife and in-laws about

upbringing of half-caste child' was 'very well done'⁶⁰—the BBC abandoned its 'bold experiment', shelving the series after only six episodes.

Representations of interraciality in Britain were also explored by minority ethnic writers, including those who took a frank and unsparing look at the racial prejudice and assumptions that surrounded and could infuse and undermine mixed race relationships—such as Samuel Selvon's *The Lonely Londoners* (1956), Norman Beaton's musicals *Jack of Spades* (1965) (co-written with Ken Hignett) and *Sit Down Banna* (1966),⁶¹ and V.S. Naipaul's *The Mimic Men* (1967)—often humorously but critically exploring sexual interactions amongst working- and lower middle-class black and white communities. In the works cited above, sexual exoticism, gender roles, poverty and deep-rooted attitudes towards racial hierarchies on both sides inevitably scupper the development of any true affection, and most of the relationships fail to progress beyond a sexual element. Other works, however, paint a more nuanced picture, such as in Errol Braithwaite's autobiographical novel *To Sir With Love* (1957), based on the author's time teaching in a rough neighbourhood of London's East End. The novel depicts his developing relationship with a white female colleague, alongside the various prejudice and opposition they encountered, including from her own parents who dress their opposition to the relationship up in concerns about racism affecting the marriage, including any future children. The educated middle-class Braithwaite also has to come to terms with class difference as well as racial prejudice in the shape of his unmotivated working-class pupils and the closing drama of the novel is driven by Braithwaite's frustrations when the mother of one of his pupils dies and the other students initially refuse to visit their bereaved boy's home to deliver a wreath as the boy, Seales, is mixed race: despite the pupils' friendship and familiarity, they cannot be seen going to a 'coloured' person's house. In the popular 1967 film adaptation starring the Hollywood actor Sidney Poitier, while the story of Seales is kept in, the interracial relationship was greatly downplayed, much to Braithwaite's dislike.⁶²

Issues of class and race were even more greatly at the forefront of the Jamaican playwright Barry Reckord's work *You In Your Small Corner* (1960). Focusing on the relationship between Dave, a young Jamaican man, and Terry, an English girl in Brixton, the drama subverted the usual tropes through foregrounding a radically different scenario and characters:

the cultured and progressive Dave is about to head off to study at the University of Cambridge while Terry is a working-class factory worker. In a reversal of typical representations, Terry's mother, far from oppositional to the affair, sees it as means of helping her daughter transcend the class barrier and thus encourages it. 'With commendable assurance' reported the *Daily Mail*, '[the play] cuts right through already hackneyed "Would you let your daughter marry a Negro" territory, to essay a most unusual and provocative drama about class.'⁶³ The play was well received and adapted for television in 1962 where it continued not to shy away from depicting intimacy between the couple, featuring an 'explicit' post-coital scene.

Reckord's drama was also unusual in its focus on black family reactions to interraciality. Unlike Terry's white mother, Dave's mother is mortified by his relationship with what she sees as 'poor white trash', seeing it as risking all her hard work to elevate Dave into a different and imagined race-blind social milieu. The inclusion of the character's voice is an atypical focus within representation and portrayals of interracial romances which—as in the wider society—tended to prioritise representation and discussion centring not only on black men with white women, but on the attitudes of white society to the 'problem'. The particularity of such a focus did not entirely go unnoticed. In reviewing *Flame In The Streets*, *The Illustrated London News* asks about the 'other side of this question of miscegenation' pondering whether Ted Willis, the writer, 'might now like to give us a film dealing, with identical sincerity and forthrightness, with the coloured girl and the white man making a match of it?'⁶⁴

No such film was forthcoming, either from Willis or anyone else. The representation of black—and other minority ethnic women—in interracial relationships and families in Britain—was generally overlooked in cinema. This is not to say that they were completely invisible, however. There was *Tamahine*, of course, while in the film *All Night Long*, the racially mixed American actress and singer Maria Velasco appears as the on-off lover of a white musician. There was also some limited recognition in the press where the relationships of high profile female entertainers of colour such as the singers Shirley Bassey and Cleo Laine were sometimes discussed, as were their own racially mixed backgrounds. On a more everyday level, a fascinating article in *Daily Express* in 1954 drew attention to the impending arrival of 'Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders who went to troubled British Guiana

a year ago' and spoke to a number of women and men in similar pattern relationships already in Britain, including Pauline Pulleyn-Holden, a Jamaican woman married to a white man and living in Kensington, London; Ching Hone, a Chinese student living in Ickenham, Middlesex, with her white husband; and Masako Matthews, the Japanese wife of a white man living in Leicester, who all spoke of facing, but ultimately overcoming, different types of prejudice—from housing bars to ignorant comments—and now being fully integrated into their communities.⁶⁵

Aspects of such relationships were highlighted slightly more directly in other areas of the arts. The ballad opera *My People and Your People* (1959) about a romance between Kathy, a West Indian immigrant, and Ian, a Scottish bandleader, was broadcast by the BBC Home Service in which *The Telegraph* noted 'no happy ending is promised';⁶⁶ Freeman (2017) notes that though the radio version received good reviews, a later recorded television version was never broadcast and the opera fell into obscurity apart from one of its songs—'The First Time Ever I Saw Your Face'—which Ian sings to Kathy—becoming a mainstream hit. Romances featuring black women and white men did appear on television, however. The made-for-TV opera *Dark Pilgrimage* (1962) retold the Orpheus myth in which the hero, a white male, attempts to rescue his jazz-singer black wife from an underworld club, while the television play *Member of the Family* (1962) featured the mixed-race American singer and actress Eartha Kitt in a specially created role as the wife of a wealthy white merchant banker fighting family disapproval and, later, for the inheritance of her deceased husband. Less fraught romance—at least onscreen—was explored in the long-running ATV television medial drama *Emergency Ward 10* which in 1964 depicted a relationship between a black female surgeon, Dr Louise Mahler, played by the Jamaican-born actress Joan Hooley, and a white male doctor, Giles Farmer, played by John White, that featured a brief but very definite kiss between the actors. The press caught hold of the panic amongst television executives—who had nervously wavered about broadcasting the interaction—dubbing the prevarications as a 'colour bar' (to much denial from the studio); in the end the show went out with the intimate moment watered down by the executives from its initially more intense encounter (rather than a chaste kiss in the garden, Hooley was initially supposed to emerge from her bathroom in her slip to embrace and kiss White). There was, Hooley recalled, little actual public fuss made at the time about the broadcast embrace but the television com-

pany were reluctant to take the romance any further and a storyline bringing the romance to an end—due to Farmer's family objecting to his having a black fiancé—brought the relationship to an end. Soon afterwards Hooley's popular character was dropped from the show, ATV claiming that 'her stories have reached their limit' and the character was sent to Africa where she died from a snake bite.⁶⁷ Similar off-screen drama overshadowed the storyline in the BBC's popular 1960s soap *Compact* where a mixed race girl married a white man, provoking a storm of protest and hate mail to the actress, who was of Spanish heritage (Bourne 2001: 174).

For the most part, the racial difference in these relationships was the driving drama and was underscored by a sense of inevitability about the relationships failing. Works by black women themselves, however, painted different shades within stories of interraciality, ones that focused on racial tensions and prejudice but ones that also more greatly explored domesticity, intimacy and parenthood as well as the emotions stirred up when colour lines were crossed, both by themselves and others. Beryl Gilroy's (1959 but lost until 1994) novel *In Praise of God and Children* sees Melda, a Guyanese woman who migrates to London, struggle greatly with her brother's interracial relationship, marriage and children with a white woman before eventually coming to accept, if not entirely condone, his choice (Courtman 2012). As with Joyce Gladwell's memoir *Brown Face, Big Master* (1969) discussed below, Gilroy's work reminds us that black women often had 'different experiences of emigration, exile and racism in the metropole' than their male peers (Francis 2015: np); similarly, as we have seen, those from working-class backgrounds—male and female—were also likely to produce different accounts. Such voices did not generally shape the media and arts narrative but accessing them, as well as that of the reactions and attitudes of the communities around them, provides much needed nuance to the dominant 'interracial orthodoxy' usually put forward.

Navigating Conviviality and Hostility in Everyday Life

As Olusoga (2016) notes, recent arrivals as well as longstanding descendants of immigrants had to navigate a post-war Britain which struggled to integrate recent wartime goals of fighting against prejudice, oppression

and persecution with longstanding ideologies of imperialism and racial supremacy. Despite growing scientific discrediting of inherent racial differences—given even more weight by the horrors of the war—filtering down to the wider public, racial prejudice continued to be both pervasive and deeply ingrained in everyday British life, at times tipping over into aggressive forms including those stirred up by or directed at interracial relationships. Such violence did not only take the mob forms of the 1949 Causeway Green disturbances—where, like hostels for West Indian workers around the country, those in the Birmingham housing were attacked by Polish (and in other locales fellow British and Irish workers) (Searle 2013)—and the well-known 1958 Notting Hill race riots, but also individual attacks. Press reports on the injuries that the white British actress Elspeth March sustained in London in 1951 mentioned that she was knocked down by a gang of men, but omitted the detail that the attack was the result of hatred of interracial relationships: March was in the company of the black actors Eddie Crabbe and Cy Grant who were all three assaulted by ‘teddy boys’ after leaving the West End theatre where they were performing together. ‘They attacked her for being in our company after the show,’ Grant recalled, ‘just because she was a white woman being seen with two black guys’.⁶⁸ Violence could also come in the form of attacks on property: in Bauer’s (2010) ethnographic interviews with African-Caribbean and white extended families, Dusty and Dawn Smith, a Jamaican and Irish couple who met in the 1950s, recall racist graffiti and swastikas being painted on their front door as well as dog faeces; discovering ‘dog shit on the doorstep’ would become an increasing experience and image of racial abuse in the latter half of the century (see Chap. 12).

More common than violent acts in the everyday, however, were hostile, fearful and ignorant attitudes and behaviours. ‘During my childhood, racism was endemic,’ reports David Clay (2008: 88–89), born in mid-1950s’ Liverpool to an African father and an English mother. ‘It was not until government legislation was introduced (Race Relations Act, 1965) that direct discrimination was made illegal. In reality, the only difference, for example, was that you could not state in a job advertisement that ‘no blacks need apply’. You simply did not employ black people.’ Indeed, as has been well documented, the colour bar meant that for minority ethnic people jobs and housing were hard to find, though in the case of interracial couples accommodation was often obtained by the white partner solely approach-

ing the landlord and agreeing terms before the other partner's racial identity was revealed. This could be problematic, however, if the white partner was also Irish, as was the case for the family of Gus Nwanokwu, who, as he describes in his memoir *Black Shamrocks* (2016), were made up of a black father and an Irish mother: prejudices and anxieties against both these groups also saw the proliferation of the infamous signs—'No Black, No Irish, No Dogs'—displayed in the windows of houses for let (Collins 1957; Bauer 2010). Similarly, problems could occur if the landlord discovered the tenant's colour: Joyce Gladwell (2003/1969) recalls a shocked Hampstead landlady berating Gladwell's husband for his deception before forcing the couple to leave. Socialising in face of the colour bar could also cause problems as Charles Jenkins recalls when taking a girl on date to one of Liverpool's most popular dancehall clubs, The Grafton, in the mid-1950s:

So I bought a ticket to Lewises and it cost me 2 and 9 in a taxi, from where we lived, up to the Grafton. Get out the taxi, big style like. Go to the gate and the fella said, 'sorry, you can't come in'. I said, 'why?' He said, 'no colour allowed'. I felt terrible. [But] well, what could I do? There was nothing you could do. There was no one to turn to in them days, there was nothing you could do.

As reported on throughout earlier chapters, mixed race couples in the post-war decades also recall 'dirty looks', nasty comments and ignorant statements from strangers and acquaintances—as well as friends and family. Yet, as ever, such encounters were not inevitable or even inescapable as British attitudes towards racial difference were neither one-dimensional nor universal. As ever, Britain continued to pride itself on being a racially tolerant country particularly in comparison to countries with legally enshrined racism such as the USA and South Africa (Webb 2017). While the reality was a more complex picture than the bastion of racial liberalism some parts of the press liked to promote, this perception was nevertheless rooted in some truth. Little's (1972/1948a: 265) early post-war observation that amongst white Britons 'a great deal of latent friendliness underlies the surface appearance of apathy and even of displayed prejudice [and] there are also many English people in every section of society who display a complete absence of colour-awareness as well as of colour prejudice' still held. Sociological and media surveys during this period repeatedly indicated that Britons holding 'extremely prejudiced' views towards racial minorities were

not the dominant group but tended to make up around one-third of opinion with the other two-thirds split between an ambivalent group who tended towards being 'mildly hostile' and a remaining third who 'had no racial prejudice,⁶⁹ a situation also described by one of the white wives in the *Black Marries White* documentary, as she and her husband agreed that 'by and large you go about without thinking about it at all, don't you?' The attitudes were also further skewed by age and gender with younger people and women less likely to hold prejudiced views.⁷⁰ As Olusoga (2016: 502) has noted, this more open-minded third 'are often forgotten in our telling of the dispiriting story of the rise of British racism in the 1950s and 1960s' but certainly in some quarters there existed a very liberal and dismissive attitude to racism as well as support for interracial relationships: Mary Atlee, the sister of the then prime minister, stated in 1951 that 'mixed marriage is God's plan for beating the colour bar'⁷¹ while Lord Altrincham, appearing in *People in Trouble*, told Farson that it was 'ridiculous' to be prejudiced on the grounds of colour when it came to marriage. In addition to the involvement of white Britons in opposing racism at a structural level—such as the campaign to bring in race equality legislation supported by members of the Labour Party from the 1950s onwards (Hindell 1965)—many ordinary people decried such behaviour on an everyday level. In London, at a 'No Colour Bar' dance held by the Mayor of Lambeth in 1955 and filmed by Pathé, local whites turned up to dance alongside and with local black residents, while in the letter pages of national and local papers white Britons expressed their dismay and anger at unfair racist behaviours and attitudes and their support of racial equality, including racial mixing. 'Good luck to Sammy Davis, Jr and May Britt in their forthcoming marriage', wrote 'Well-Wisher' in 1960 to the *Daily Mirror* commenting on the black American entertainer's impending interracial union which was announced in London, 'Britain is not free of race haters. But an overwhelming majority of decent people throughout the world believes that love knows no colour bar.'⁷²

'Well-Wisher's' statement, however, appeared to hold more weight at a theoretical level as on an everyday basis interracial intimacy was clearly difficult for many white Britons to accept unequivocally: Webb (2017: 113) notes that hostility to interracial relationships was so pervasive that in 1958 *Punch* magazine included the phrase 'I'm a pretty reasonable human being, I hope, but frankly I draw the line at miscegenation' in its

'clichés of the week'. Indeed, echoing the hypocrisy highlighted in *Flame In The Streets*, the same surveys that showed a general widespread support by white Britons for racial equality in society also showed that these views generally did not tend to extend to interracial marriage, particularly if considered within the context of their own families (as opposed to racial mixing in theory): a nationwide survey commissioned by the *Daily Express* indicated that although by 1969 six in ten white Britons believed immigrants should be given racial equality, almost 1 in 2 would not 'let' their daughter 'marry a coloured man'.⁷³

Belief in the intellectual and moral inferiority of non-white races, the inherent incompatibility of the races and 'what about the children?' concerns continued to fuel such opposition: in 1967, the Conservative MP, Duncan Sandys, declared on ITN's *News at Ten* television broadcast that 'the breeding of half-caste children would merely produce a generation of misfits and create increased tension'.⁷⁴ This fear of polluting the British race was frequently expressed throughout British society, if not always in the directly oppositional language used by Sandys, then frequently in well-known coded terms: the age-old concern of 'what will the neighbours think?' was a constantly reported refrain of white Britons when interraciality in their immediate circle was a potential or even imagined likelihood.⁷⁵ Indeed, the languishing of so many mixed race children in the care system was frequently attributed to this reason: John Neville's adopted son Matthew was returned back into care twice by foster parents 'because the wives couldn't stand the insults and hurtful stares from the neighbours'.⁷⁶ Illegitimacy and extramarital affairs were certainly given extra prurience when racial mixing was involved: the midwife Jennifer Worth (2002) who worked in the East End in the 1950s recalls the panic at several births where the mother feared or expected to give birth to a 'half-caste' child. Such fears were a reality for a Mrs Brittle who, in 1951, attracted in-depth press attention when her Indian GP, Dr Nandial, was accused of fathering her child. Nandial, himself married to a white woman, strongly denied the charges but despite the ambiguity in the case (Mrs Brittle was regularly seen in the company of a Mohammed Sharif who said the child could be his), Nandial was struck off and the press reported that the Brittle family had had to leave their neighbourhood in Birmingham 'after she gave birth to a half-caste child'.⁷⁷ Ambivalence around interraciality—particularly the tensions around wanting to avoid the scorn of the neighbours while

yet desiring to be a 'decent' person—was clearly evidenced in a fascinating investigation by the *Aberdeen Evening Express* into the touted colour bar in the city in the mid-1950s. This bar, said the *Express*, was greatly upsetting the West Indian and other 'coloured' university students who were being refused housing and socially ostracised; young white women were reportedly refusing to dance or be seen with them for fear of what others might say. Speaking to the paper, local mothers reported feeling 'shocked and sorry' that the students had been snubbed, with a number saying that they would invite the students to their home and encourage their daughters and sons to go out with them if they wished though ideally, one mother said, the socialisation would happen at home to avoid the criticism of the neighbours. While none of the mothers liked the idea of their children entering into a mixed marriage, one mother said that if that was what her son decided, she would accept the decision and try to help them through the difficulties of an interracial union. However, she would try to dissuade them for the sake of the children, as 'such children were a tragedy'.⁷⁸

Nevertheless, regardless of popular attitudes, racial mixing was clearly occurring throughout the country: 'mix marriage is the fashion and the world is saying so...It doesn't take no glass to see how it come to pass, coloured Britons are rising fast' sang Lord Beginner, the recently arrived Trinidadian Calypsonian singer, in 1952. Though the scale was larger, it was often forgotten that such mixing was not new and that overwhelmingly, both longstanding and recent racially mixed, people were British citizens. A glimpse of the frustrations experienced by these mixed race Britons—many from longstanding multiracial neighbourhoods or with black GI and colonial soldiers as fathers—are expressed in a letter written to the *Daily Telegraph* by 22-year-old Susan Head in 1967 in response to another reader who had complained that the influx of 'coloured immigrants' would soon see the country dictated to by 'poor half-castes'. 'I am a half-caste. My mother is Welsh and my father an American Negro', stated Head. 'I was born in England, and have enjoyed being English, for that is what I am I ask for nothing but peace of mind to live my own life I do not want to rule Britain and I cannot help the colour of my skin. But as long as I can keep my self-respect, I shall remain proud of who I am.'⁷⁹

Furthermore, though the prevailing pattern and discussion of interraciality was that of black men and white women, there was nevertheless a

diversity of ethnic, gendered and social mixing, albeit on a lesser scale. For example, while the increasing presence of South Asian immigrants in the 1950s and 1960s also fed into the same fearful narrative around 'coloured' mass migration, the tendency of many male Indian and Pakistani settlers to return home to marry, or to bring their wives over to Britain meant that these groups were not generally seen as threat to the nation's racial heritage as were the more exogamous West Indian populations. This is not to say, however, that interracial relationships—including marriage—did not occur. Accounts of marriages between white Britons and Indians, Pakistanis, Arabs, Chinese and other minorities feature prominently in many of the post-war sociological studies on race, particularly Banton (1955) and Collins (1957). As Chap. 10 discusses, while Banton paints a depressing and fixed picture of interracial relationships in the East End as troubled encounters between marginalised underclasses, other memories and accounts in the East End and East London suggest his findings are not widely applicable outside their narrow focus. Born into a large East End Jewish family, Elizabeth Benjamin met Mohammed Omar, a Bengali waiter, through one of her sisters in the late 1950s. The pair married at Hackney Town Hall, with the reception at her sister's flat. Their daughter, Deena, recalls that her mother's relatives 'welcomed my dad into the bosom of their family' and her parents provided her with a loving family life (Images 11.1 and 11.2).⁸⁰

Similarly, Pamela, who like Elizabeth was from an East End family, also had a happy marriage with Shafique, a Bangladeshi man she met in the mid-1960s at the local Wimpy restaurant where he was a chef. Extended family relations in this case were not initially good; Shafique's mother in Bangladesh disapproved and while Pamela's mother accepted the relationship, her father refused to come to her wedding. Over the years however, the solid and loving marriage caused a change of heart and Pamela's father 'admitted he had been wrong and Shafique became his favourite son-in-law.' The pair visit Bangladesh regularly, went on to have six children and, as of 2016, were celebrating 50 years of marriage.⁸¹ Such accounts chime more readily with Collins' (1957: 48) more multilayered and dynamic portraits of interracial life across British communities for mixed white and South Asian, Arab, Chinese—and also Black Caribbean and Black African—couples and families. While there were observable



Image 11.1 Wedding day of Elizabeth and Mohammed Omar, Hackney Town Hall, 1962. Courtesy of Deena Omar

trends in the types and experiences of interracial families, Collins observed, these also unfolded in very individualised and complex ways, with class, gender, ethnicity, geography and financial means all playing a part. In terms of family relationships, although mixed marriages often resulted in the estrangement of the white women from her parents, he noted, the cases of complete estrangement were few. The level of hostility and opposition could vary, particularly between family members and, over time and through varying efforts and circumstances, reconciliation



Image 11.2 Elizabeth and Mohammed Omar at the beach, circa 1960–1961. Courtesy of Deena Omar

was often achieved. Moreover, he remarked, ‘some members of the girl’s family may condone or even support the mixed relationship. These individuals will visit, spend a holiday or live with the couple.’ Charlie Williams (1973: 59) recalls how while he had girlfriends whose fathers forbade them to go out with him, he got on from the outset with his wife

Audrey's parents who lived in Royston, Yorkshire. 'My mother-in-law', he recalls, 'used to want me to stay in her house all weekend I were her favourite lad and she couldn't do enough for me.' The ideological tug of war between racial superiority and racial liberalism in the post-war decades was thus often played out in diverse domestic settings across the country. Family patterns and experiences were not homogenous and for all those that seem to share, at least superficially, many commonalities, others were more outlying, such as the marriage of Sir Milton Margai, the Prime Minister of Sierra Leone who, in 1961, had been married for almost 40 years to a white British woman, Lady Margai, with whom he had two daughters. However, while Sir Milton spent most of his time in Sierra Leone, his wife resided in Whitley Bay, Northumberland, and had never even visited her husband's homeland for fear the presence of a white wife would ruin his political career. Nevertheless, Sir Milton visited when he could and the couple were happy with their arrangement. 'We may seem to have lived a strange life through the years but it has been one of full understanding and love for one another', Lady Margai stated. Reporting on the Margais, *Jet* magazine commented that the couple's daughters were happily married—one to a black man and one to a white—and when they gathered together, 'they do not assemble as an interracial oddity on the English countryside, but as a closely-knit happy family which has found love and understanding together—though they live worlds apart.'⁸²

Moreover, as the 1954 *Daily Express* article on the imminently arriving Guyanese brides showed, it was not just white women and minority ethnic men who crossed racial boundaries. Interracial relationships between women of colour and white men also occurred and were perhaps most noticeably glimpsed within the entertainment industry. The actress Joan Tooley was in a relationship with a white man, as was the highly popular Trinidadian jazz pianist Winifred Atwell, and the Belizian actress, singer and songwriter, Nadia Cattouse, who married David Lindup, the well-known white British jazz composer: speaking to Merrick Wynn in 1959, Cattouse said, 'neither of us dreamed we'd ever marry out of our own race. But we met and it happened. We were just an ordinary couple in love.'⁸³ While records and accounts outside this milieu are harder to come by, a glimpse of the existence of such marriages across all social sectors of

British life can be seen through various relationships that, for differing reasons, attracted national and press attention: in 1952 the story of a soldier named Russell Wood who returned to Berwick with the Chinese wife he had married in Hong Kong⁸⁴ was reported on, as was the following year the case of a Durham soldier, John 'Andy' Anderson, whose Commanding Officer in Singapore was thwarting his marriage to a Chinese girl, Diana Lee, despite both sets of parents' blessings—'I had doubts that I would be accepted into Andy's family', Lee stated, 'but I got a reply from his mother, who was very sweet. They are all nice people.' The proposed marriage of Princess Zabariah—the 19-year-old daughter of a white Englishwoman and a Malayan prince who was raised in London and had never set foot in Malaysia—received significant coverage as the princess, more commonly known as Joan Hamid, faced significant overseas family opposition from her father and his brother, the Sultan of Kedah, when she announced she wished to marry her former schoolmate, Arthur Collins, an English factory worker. Regardless, Hamid married Collins once she turned 21, leading her Malaysian family to disown her.⁸⁵ The situation of the rector of Kelvedon Hatch in Essex, William Lawton Browne, who was married to a West Indian woman, also hit the news in 1960 when villagers started a petition protesting against his position there due, he suspected, to their opposition to his wife's race.⁸⁶

While in-depth accounts of such women's daily lives are harder to come by, some insights can be gleaned from the West Indian writers Beryl Gilroy and Joyce Gladwell, who both produced memoirs that provide fascinating glimpses into their interracial marriages in post-war Britain.⁸⁷ In *Black Teacher* (1976) Gilroy discusses the naturalness of her developing interracial love, marriage and children with a young Englishman against her anger, frustration and helplessness at the blatant and latent everyday racism of 1950s' and 1960s' Britain—a qualified teacher, she not only struggled to find educational employment but was constantly navigating the wearying ignorance and insensitivity of white colleagues, acquaintances and strangers in London: while feeding her son at the Health Visitor clinic, she recounts a woman shouting 'Look at it!...that blackness round 'er tits! Do you reckon that's good for the baby?' (112). The easy acceptance of mixing Gilroy had grown up with in the Caribbean was subsequently replaced by the fears and myths of 'miscegenation' that

were deeply rooted 'in this blood- and lineage- conscious country'. During the impending birth of her first child, she recalls worrying he would be born with some defect; seeking assurance from books proved fruitless as 'the libraries were full of books about mulattos, most of whom seemed to be notorious for one reason or another I remember to this day the anxiety with which I first examined my son, seeking some flaw, born of a fear buried deep down inside of me.' (105 & 109). The draining interactions of everyday life in Britain were offset, however, by Gilroy's happy, strong and secure relationship with both her husband and his family, as well as her strong will and determination: Gilroy would go on to become the first black head teacher in London and her son, Paul, an eminent scholar of the Black Atlantic diaspora.

Gladwell's relationship with her in-laws on the other hand was more complicated. In her memoirs which include an account of her time as a university student in 1950s' and 1960s' Britain, she recalls how the initial warmth of the parents of her male English friend, Graham, rapidly cooled once the friendship blossomed into love and proposed marriage. Firmly resisting the engagement on the basis that mixed marriage was 'wrong', particularly in terms of the children—'I could sense the submerged and surging agony inside them, an irrational, blind pain like that of people in disaster'—(148–9) Gladwell recalls Graham's parents' 'sorrowful, strained faces' at the hospital when her son was born, the baby forcing on them 'the reality of our union which still seemed to them unnatural' (156) though, as often reported in Sydney Collins' observations of interracial family life, they came to 'accept and love [the] children warmly' (156). Unlike Gilroy, however, Gladwell's daily life was less full of racist confrontations. 'Prejudice when we met it', she notes, 'was isolated and unusual' (132). It appears that the politeness of the middle-class university and faith enclaves she moved in provided much protection from the types of blatantly hostile attitudes encountered by Gilroy—even after the Gladwells are thrown out of their lodgings due to Joyce's colour, she recalls that the landlady's husband came to the flat and apologised to her. Nevertheless, there always lurked the draining possibility that such aggressions would occur—Gladwell recalls 'glancing fearfully around for 'Teddy' boys' (118) while travelling on the tube—and, like Gilroy, there were the constant efforts of navigating both low and blatant racial prejudice in the

struggle to find female support and community with other mothers of young children. Thus, despite their individualised experiences of life in Britain across the 1950s and 1960s, the tense 'outsider' status of being a black immigrant mother in an interracial family runs throughout both accounts, yet again suggesting how the interplay of race, gender, class and geography continued to shape the experiences of those in and from interracial families. Like Gilroy's son, Gladwell's child, Malcolm, would also go on to gain international recognition as a journalist and author.

Indeed, the pattern of navigating between everyday conviviality and hostility that we saw feature in the lives of interracial families earlier in the century continued in force during the post-war decades, particularly depending on the space inhabited. As previously—and as noted by Collins in his studies of black and Asian communities in Tyneside, Wales and Lancashire—neighbourhood and regional differences could be pronounced. Indeed, some areas developed their own terminology to describe mixedness: in Liverpool, those of black and white mixed race were known locally as 'Shines' in the 1960s,⁸⁸ while in 1961 a journalist from *The Sphere* recounted hearing an old agricultural term 'mislen'—originally referring to a field of mixed corn—used by a young man in Wiltshire to describe a woman in his village.⁸⁹

Through political, structural and personal reasons, the newer migrants tended to settle and congregate in specific areas—such as West Indians in Lambeth and South Asians in Southall and Bradford (Cloake and Tudor 2001)—that previously were often predominantly white and now frequently festered with resentment until, as the writer Mercedes Mackay opined, 'a half-bred baby or bellicose coloured "spiv" acts as a spark and leads to a nasty riot and some broken heads.'⁹⁰ In such spaces, where—despite the overall numbers of migrants—interracial families were often the sole or one of few visibly such families, life outside the home was often delineated differently to white Britons. In the popular contemporary imagining or reminiscing of the post-war decades as a time when, unfettered by 'political correctness' or 'health and safety' restraints, children could run and roam carefree across their neighbourhoods and beyond, it is rarely acknowledged that such experiences were not available to all. Recalling her time growing up in the working-class Kilburn neighbourhood of London in the 1950s, the sociologist and psychotherapist

Gail Lewis (1985: 220)—the daughter of a Jamaican father and white British mother—recalls that not just parts of the neighbourhood but ‘the whole street was a patchwork of no-go and go areas’:

I was not allowed into the playground because that’s where a lot of the young Teds hung out I was only allowed to cross the road to go to school, get things from the shop two streets away for Mum, and to go to the White Knight [Laundry]. I could go to the Rec, but I wasn’t to hang around in those parts of the street where people from the house couldn’t see me and where the Teds hung out. Mum and Dad were frightened that racist adults or children would abuse me or even physically harm me, particularly because I was a girl.

A move to another neighbourhood, even in the same city, could produce a very different experience, however. Across numerous accounts, life could change vastly by uprooting; Gladwell, for example, notes how the general cold indifference and prejudice experienced by her family when living in the Hampstead and Highgate neighbourhoods of London was replaced by good relationships with neighbours and the local community in later residential stays in the Edgware area of London and Southampton. Longstanding multicultural areas in which mixing remained a usual or even ordinary facet of life continued to provide more welcoming spaces. In the mid-1950s, the US-based *Afro-American* newspaper featured a story on the racially mixed community of South Shields, dubbing it a place ‘where intermarriage is virtually flourishing.’ Children of all races played harmoniously alongside each other in and outside school and a local resident, Sayyad Ghulanhassan, was quoted as saying that ‘many mixed marriages are happier than others’ due to the greater devotion of the husbands to their wives and children.⁹¹ Similar comments of familial devotion were made by Collins in his study of the area as well as the observation that racial prejudice was absent from the local schools and the children were well-integrated, a different picture than the one highlighted by Gilroy, Lewis, Bauer and others in recounting the miserable way in which mixed race and other minority ethnic children tended to be treated by their white schoolmates in differing neighbourhoods of London. This geographical patchwork of conviviality and hostility is also illustrated in the experiences of black GIs who remained stationed in

England in the post-war decades; while certain towns surrounding the bases were off-limits to black soldiers, these barriers—as during the war—were mainly at the request of the US Army whose white soldiers continued to loathe the lack of segregation and racial mixing with white women that frequently occurred. Discussing this issue in 1960, the *Daily Mail* noted that the black GIs, particularly those who had found English girls, made greater efforts to mingle with the local community and were consequently more integrated than the white GIs. Any trouble came from white Americans. ‘Not once,’ the reporter stated, ‘did a negro mention to me an incident provoked by an English man or woman. “The Blokes,” a negro sergeant told me at Sculthorpe, “they didn’t even know how to spell Jim Crow. I had to tell them. It’s a great little country.”’⁹² Such encounters, as well as the increasing acknowledgement and representation of interraciality in the media and the arts, it has been convincingly argued, continued to feed into the civil rights struggle in the US as black soldiers and audiences experienced and absorbed these more inclusive attitudes to race relations (see, for example, Toole 1993 and Webb 2017).

Thus, though the deep-rooted racism of British society saw interracial couples, people and families share many common experiences in the post-war decades, daily life was varied and individualised depending on the set of circumstances. Class, like geography, for example frequently engendered a different set of experiences; in discussing the extent of racism in his life, Kwame Anthony Appiah, the son of Joseph Appiah and Peggy Cripps who was educated in both Ghana and England, including at boarding school and the University of Cambridge, remarked that he thought ‘a background of class privilege on both sides of my family has protected both my sisters and me from some of the worst challenges of living in a racist world (Yancy and Appiah 2015). Nevertheless, class was no guarantee of attack or protection; multiracial working-class communities such as those found by Collins in Tyneside and Wales could be inclusive, and though the blunt and direct expressions of prejudice often reported in predominantly white working-class environments appeared to be generally lacking from upper- and middle-class milieus, this did not make them more tolerant or comfortable to be in. Casual racist assumptions and microaggressions could be as draining and hurtful as more

direct attacks. Gladwell (2003/1969: 153) recalls one of her and Graham's feared 'moments of embarrassment' on an early visit to her middle-class parents-in-law where an old family friend was visiting:

We stood together with Graham's sisters as Dad identified each one of his now grown family. "And Joyce, Graham's wife," he ended. The visitor searched the faces round him in silence, seeking and failing to find the extra one that suited that description. We were paralysed by the dread realized, caught unprepared in an aberrant social moment for which the rules did not prescribe.

Informed by such moments, on moving to Southampton Gladwell recalls experiencing an acute awareness of what Du Bois (1903: 3) labelled 'double consciousness', the 'sense of always looking at one-self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity'; wearily she notes 'being always on guard for signs of prejudice against me, particularly when I met people or entered places for the first time, in a restaurant perhaps, or a doctor's waiting room I wondered, would my presence be resented? How deeply felt and how widespread was the objection to my colour?' (2003/1969: 175). While her fears went unmet for the most part and the Gladwells became integrated into the community, it was clear that—as for many people of colour and interracial families—such moments could come at any time: waving goodbye to Graham and her children from the doorstep one afternoon, Gladwell recalls how the happy moment was broken by a passing boy on a bicycle shouting 'Nigger!'. 'The picture I had built up of an accepting community vanished,' she said. It was only through her Christian faith that she managed to overcome the feelings of turmoil the encounter raised (178–9). This interplay of continually experiencing the ebb and flow of hostility and conviviality runs strongly through accounts of interraciality in the 1950s and 1960s, where within the same day, in the same neighbourhood, or on the same street, experiences of animosity and rejection could interrupt those of friendship and sociability, and vice versa: Maureen Ishmail, a white single mother of three who had married a black man in the late 1950s recalls how while all her neighbours in her East London neighbourhood were white, they 'were great [and] would do anything for me and my family', except for

the family living over the road who tormented her and her children—‘they put poo on our doorstep, put things through the letterbox They were bad years I wouldn’t like to go through those again.’⁹³

Certainly, and as earlier discussed in Chap. 5, these experiences often had acute effects, whether the sickening fear of violent attack, or the exhaustion of dealing with stares, disapproval, rejection and ignorance. Pat Fredericks, a white mother of a young child married to a black Trinidadian recalled the endless witless comments she encountered when out and about in Manchester: ‘I feel like shouting at the top of my voice that my husband is from Trinidad, that he’s never been to Africa in his life, and he does not bang on the tom-toms before he goes to bed.’⁹⁴ The pressure of living in a deeply prejudiced society could also have effects on family relationships as Gail Lewis felt was the case of her own parents whose arguments ‘would be riddled with race/sex tensions’ which would sometimes end in violence (231). As the influential work *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967/1952) of the Martinique-born psychiatrist and writer Franz Fanon discussed, the legacy of exoticised ‘sexual desire’ for the black or brown other and the colonial positioning of white femininity as the ideal standard (see also Chap. 5), continued to be in play in some everyday interracial relationships; as reflected in some of the black-authored fiction discussed earlier, Gilroy also recalls how many white girls were ‘keen to test’ the myth of black male hypersexuality while some black men enjoyed seducing white women. Yet again, while such interactions occurred and were often assumed—by both white and black Britons—to be the driving force behind such relationships, they were one of many types of interracial couple patterns. In discussing interracial marriages in Tyneside, while Collins (1957: 60–61) notes that, like all relationships, some interracial marriages were not so harmonious—and in those cases ‘were usually caused by sexual jealousies’—he observed very many happy ones, including ‘some so touching in their demonstration of affection and intimacy that I should never care to describe them in a report.’

Indeed, it was noted by some sociologists that the widespread disapproval of mixed marriages and the familial and social isolation that could occur often made the relationships even more solid (Collins 1957; Patterson 1965), a point noted by some couples themselves.⁹⁵ Those in

interracial relationships and families often found themselves relying on each other as in many cases getting by in white society, let alone fitting in, could take great efforts. Such efforts took various forms. As previously in the century and across many accounts, a sense of resilience and determination not to be cowed or intimidated by prejudice comes across. A recurring theme amongst women in interracial relationships—aware of the stereotypes of minority ethnic people and the white women who associated with them as dirty and slovenly—is taking great pains to keep their homes and children spotless, as the poet SuAndi describes in *The Story of M* (1994/2017: 39), an autobiographical monodrama that pays tribute to her white Liverpoolian mother who married a black African sailor and raised her children in Manchester during the 1950s and 1960s:

When it came time for her to go to
Secondary School.
I hit a major problem.
The school uniform.
How in God's name
Was I going to make sure
that everyone knew she was clean each day?
Then one night I hit on this great idea.
I had the days of the week,
You know, Monday, Tuesday
Wednesday, Thursday, Friday
Embroidered on the collar of her school
blouses, and every day she swapped a
cardigan for a jumper, you know.
You're laughing.
I'm laughing.
But it's not funny to be called dirty and smelly
So why are we laughing.

Others co-opted the attitudes of the day to survive, insisting they had no 'chip on the shoulder' and striving to show they took little offence at racial jabs, even turning prejudiced comments and attitudes into jokes, such as an ex-miner George Tansy of the *Aberdeen Express* encountered, who lived with his white wife in Manchester. 'He is not hyper-sensitive about colour and criticises severely the men who are,' Tansy commented.

On visiting the home of a farmer at dusk, who commented, 'it's dark enough out there without you...come in,' the miner 'took the crack for the joke it was'.⁹⁶ Such self-deprecating humour became the hallmark of the comedians Charlie Williams and Sammy Thomas—also a mixed race man from the north of England, with a Nigerian father and an English mother—who first came to fame in the 1950s and 1960s, their sets including gags such as Sammy Thomas' greeting to any fellow racial minorities in the mainly white audiences: 'Good evening brothers. Sorry, I didn't see you there in the dark.'⁹⁷ Like Williams, Thomas felt that 'as a half-caste I can see both sides of the colour question' and tended to downplay the extent and effect of racism in Britain, an attitude critiqued in the calypso 'If You're Not White, You're Black' by the Trinidadian singer Lord Kitchener (himself married to a white British woman) during his residency in England in the 1950s, the lyrics chiding mixed race Britons who tried to distance themselves from black immigrants; a futile effort, warned Kitchener, since the prejudice of white British society made no such distinctions (Perry 2015). Though both Thomas and Williams fell into these 'colour blind' attitudes, tending to be dismissive of the increasing resentment and frustration of the newly arrived immigrants at the racism they encountered, the comics also stated that they also tried to use jokes to unpick the 'ridiculous prejudices' of white people and their 'deep-down fear of the coloured man', and gags that swiped at racist attitudes were also woven into the sets: 'If you don't shut up,' Williams and Thomas would tell hecklers, 'I'll come and move next door to you.'⁹⁸

While many mixed families and people found themselves racially isolated, either by circumstances or design—such as the former miner and his wife Tansy encountered, who sought to get by through segregating themselves off from 'the coloured quarter'—as has been widely noted, many others found solace and support in interracial mixed or predominantly minority ethnic communities (e.g. Collins 1957; Patterson 1965 and Bauer 2010). Those with means to buy housing frequently rented rooms to others who were having trouble securing accommodation and, with public entertainment spaces often off limits or bearing the threat of hostility, such spaces could also become 'new sites of ethnically mixed sociability' (Bauer 2010: 83). A shared sense of battling prejudice could bring people together, as a white mother from Birmingham talking to The Inheritance Project recalled:

In those days for white people to go with black people we were considered trash. If you saw a white girl coming along the road with a black baby you would be immediately attracted to each other and you would come up and you would say ‘hello, how are you’—you had this bond that nobody else understood, only white women who were married to black men.⁹⁹

Moreover, despite the types of tensions Gilroy has pointed to that black women could feel about black male and white female interracial relationships, it is clear that, as Twine has noted of contemporary relationships (2010), black women in particular also frequently provided much needed support to white women and mixed race children: interviewed by Bauer (2010: 147–148), Verna, born in the late 1960s to a white mother and a Barbadian father, noted how while her father was often absent from the home, her mother and the children were close to his family who were also in England; her grandmother, she recalled, taught her mother to ‘speak patois and to cook Caribbean food’ and ‘she’d always do my hair ‘cause my mum didn’t really know how’, while her father’s sister and brothers would provide practical help with child-care and chores as well as provide extended family socialisation. As ever, while racial prejudice and hostility certainly featured heavily in the lives of interracial families and people, a range of factors, that included class, gender, materialism, geography, sexuality as well as intimate family dynamics, all intersected to create commonalities of experience that were, nevertheless, highly individualised.

Entrenchment, Violence and Indifference in the 1970s

As the 1970s dawned, a convergence of fears of the ways in which ‘mass immigration from backward alien cultures’ was assaulting ‘all that is English and wholesome’ saw the black and Asian presence in Britain—once again—increasingly vilified as a root cause of the country’s increasing economic, moral and social woes (Centre for Contemporary Culture Studies 1982: 24–25). The sweeping conflation of this presence with immigration saw a feverish debate emerge over race and citizenship, figureheaded by the

Conservative Shadow Defence Secretary Enoch Powell who, in 1968, gave what would become known as the 'Rivers of Blood' speech in which he drew on vivid imagery of inevitable violence and conflict on the streets of Britain—'like the Roman, I seem to see "the River Tiber foaming with much blood"'—in his opposition to Commonwealth immigration to the UK and the proposed Race Relations Bill. While the content of Powell's speech was widely rebuked by the establishment—*The Times* called it 'an evil speech', noting that 'this is the first time that a serious British politician has appealed to racial hatred in this direct way in our postwar history', and Powell was immediately sacked from his frontbench post—its sentiments were wildly shared by much of the public: a Gallup opinion found that 74% were in agreement with Powell (Olusoga 2016) and newspapers were inundated with letters of support for Powell's viewpoints and calls for his reinstatement (Davis 2015). Further supporting and building on his views, Powell later advocated that, in order to prevent Britain's disastrous future, the end of any further immigration should also be supplemented by a mass voluntary repatriation scheme, overseen by a 'Ministry of Repatriation'.¹⁰⁰

Spilling over into the 1970s, this groundswell of hostility created a racial climate of disillusionment and fear for visible minorities in Britain. Support for the National Front—the far-right 'racialist' group founded in the late sixties whose doctrine furiously opposed racial mixing—steadily grew and the violence that spiked after Powell's speech became both an increasingly lived under threat that would frequently and brutally materialise: Olusoga (2016: xvii), who grew up in Britain in the 1970s and 1980s, notes that 'almost every black or mixed-race person of my generation has a story of racial violence to tell...from humiliation to hospitalization'. Homes and property belonging to 'coloured' people were often vandalised, and 'Paki' bashing gangs roamed the streets specifically targeting Asians but happy to assault any person of colour who crossed their path, such violence ending numerous times in murder (see Bourne 2007). Overlaying the physical violence was the common regularity of verbal assault, the popular racist epithets of the day—'wog', 'Paki', 'chink', 'coon', 'half-breed', 'nigger'—hurled viciously or casually at passers-by. The poet and actor Craig Charles who grew up in Liverpool with his white mother and Caribbean father in the early 1970s as one of the only mixed race families on the Cantril Farm Estate recalls being in

fighters ‘every day of my life, defending myself, defending my mum.... You would get on the bus and people would move as they didn’t want to sit next to you and kids would shout, “N***** n*****, pull the trigger, bang bang bang!”¹⁰¹ As Gail Lewis (2009: 15) remarks, ‘the racial atmosphere was thick and threatening like anything could happen anytime.’ From this antipathy, class was not always a protection: recalling her time at a local comprehensive school she temporarily attended in the mid-1970s, Nimmy March, the Duke of Richmond’s adopted mixed race daughter, recalls how she ‘didn’t experience racism until then. But...the National Front was running rife and I experienced incredible unpleasantness. I had NF scored on my locker and was always being sent notes saying, ‘Go back to the jungle, we don’t want you here’ (Young n.d.). Certainly, such abuse was not only the preserve of the working-class white youth that formed the core of the National Front supporters: on stage in 1976, the blues-influenced musician Eric Clapton drunkenly ranted ‘Bastard wogs. Britain is becoming overcrowded and Enoch will stop it and send them all back. The black wogs and coons and Arabs and fucking Jamaicans don’t belong here, we don’t want them here. This is England, this is a white country, we don’t want any black wogs and coons living here... Enoch for Prime Minister! Throw the wogs out!’ The tirade ended on the National Front’s motto: ‘Keep Britain white’ (Warde 2013).

A key underlying flaw in the ‘Keep Britain White’ plan, however, was the extent to which Britain’s non-white population was so genealogically as well as socially rooted, as disturbances between black youths and police in the Toxteth area of Liverpool in 1975—a precursor to the more well-known riots of the 1980s—highlighted. Citing a report into race relations in the region, the *Daily Mail* reported that the frustrations of the community—repeatedly refused work, refused entry to entertainment spaces and forced into squalid housing—were ‘not the problems of recent immigrants, but the problems of third and fourth and fifth generations of children.’¹⁰² As Small has noted, the London-centric debate about where the children of black immigrants fitted in regarding their identity and citizenship—as British, West Indian, or something in—was ‘irrelevant’ to Liverpool, home to Britain’s oldest black community, given its ‘unique and particular trajectory of blackness’ (Gabriel 2006). In addition to its centuries-old black presence, the majority of black people in

the city not only had parents who were born in Liverpool but also generally a parent or grandparent who was white, leading to the development of the moniker 'Liverpool-born Black' to describe this racially mixed black and white population.¹⁰³ Recalling these early tensions between the police, who had refused to protect the first residents—who were black—on a newly built housing estate from the resentment-fuelled violence of bigots, Clay (2008) highlights the anger felt by this longstanding British community that was still classed as outsiders even though, as he writes, they were 'part of a generation of black kids who were born in Liverpool, only spoke Liverpudlian and in affect were black 'scousers' in Liverpool.' Similarly, outside of Britain's oldest black community of Liverpool, many people of colour were not only British citizens but British born: an estimated 40% by the mid-1970s (Olusoga 2016: 514). Where, therefore, was repatriation to take place to? As Charlie Williams would quip in his comedy routine 'when Enoch Powell said, 'Go home, black man,' I said, 'I've got a hell of a long wait for a bus to Barnsley.'¹⁰⁴

As Williams highlighted, such a paradox was often even more noticeable in the case of mixed race families where, overwhelmingly, the children tended not only to be British citizens but also have a white British parent. 'Does [Powell] expect me to pack off my son, a half-caste to a country he has never seen, to be with a father he has already forgotten?' a mother wrote furiously to the *Daily Mirror*.¹⁰⁵ Actual cases in which interraciality shone a spotlight on the complexities of race and citizenship suggested that if repatriation came to pass, the establishment's attitude could well be so: in 1972, the national press featured the story of Betty Ullah whose four children had accompanied their Bangladeshi father from Warrington to his homeland while travelling on his passport and were now being kept there against their will and living in a 'nightmare'. Their local MP, Tom Williams, who had raised the case in the House of Commons, reported that the eldest daughter had been married off at 12 to a man in his 30s while the younger children were being beaten, starved and neglected. Williams strongly criticised the Foreign Office for its 'callous' attitude and 'dereliction of duty'; the British High Commission in Bangladesh, it was reported, had turned away one of the severely beaten children who had ran away to them to seek help, and had consistently refused to intervene. 'They should be returned to this country immediately as British children in peril,' Williams stated, a sentiment echoed

by the *Daily Express* who later interviewed the children in Bangladesh and, confirming the dire situation, also demanded that the government acted. The Foreign Office, however, said that as the children did not have British passports and their mother had initially agreed to place them in the care of their father, the issue was a 'family dispute'.¹⁰⁶ The government's attitude on this issue thus appeared to share the underlying logic Powell repeatedly stated in debates on repatriation, that the children of immigrants born in Britain were not Britons but citizens of their parents' homelands.¹⁰⁷ When questioned on television by Russell Profitt, a black father in an interracial family, on whether this also referred to the children of mixed race relationships, Powell was evasive, claiming that 'if inter-marriage were taking place on a great scale then my fears for the future of this country would be negligible compared with what they are.' However, Powell's theoretical 'browning of the nation' as a cure for race relations—a sentiment expressed in the song 'Melting Pot' by the pop group Blue Mink that became a hit in 1970¹⁰⁸—was dismissed by Powell himself as well as 'virtually all the experts', stated the *Daily Mail*, due to the unlikely prospect of 'mixed marriages becoming a general phenomenon'.¹⁰⁹ Profitt also dismissed Powell's answer though for differing reasons: 'people can't intermarry because it is going to help improve race relations', he told the *Mail*. Like many others, Profitt also noted that the talk of repatriation had left him and his wife fearing for the future¹¹⁰: the writer Hanif Kureishi, who grew up as a teenager in the late 1960s and early 1970s with a Pakistani father and white English mother, has remarked that 'one of the horrors of [his] teenage years was Enoch Powell':

For a mixed-race kid, this stiff ex-colonial zealot—with his obscene, grand guignol talk of whips, blood, excreta, urination and wide-eyed piccaninies—was a monstrous, scary bogeyman At school, Powell's name soon become one terrifying word—Enoch. As well as being an insult, it began to be used with elation. "Enoch will deal with you lot," and, "Enoch will soon be knocking on your door, pal." It was said, after Powell mooted the idea for a Ministry of Repatriation, that we "offspring", as he called the children of immigrants, would be sent away.... Sometimes, idly, I wondered how I might like it in India or Pakistan, where I'd never been, and whether I'd be welcomed. But others said that if we were born here, as I was, it would be only our parents who would be sent back. We would, then, have to fend for ourselves, and I imagined a parentless pack of us unwanted mongrels, hunting for food in the nearby woods.¹¹¹

Although the generally hostile, aggressive and often violent everyday racial climate was reminiscent of that of the 1920s and 1930s, representations of interraciality were not however, for the most part, as incendiary as at that time or even in the preceding decades. While high profile interracial relationships and families still featured in the press, they were more often now covered with less prurience and shock at the issue of racial mixing: The *Daily Mail's* coverage of the engagement of white British actress Liz Bagley to the mixed race Chinese actor David Yip did not even mention his racial background;¹¹² similarly the story revealing that the father of the child born to black American actress Marsha Hunt was the white British singer Mick Jagger frequently omitted her race, let alone discussed it under the types of lurid headlines common in the past—the *Daily Express*, for example, referred to Hunt as 'California-born'.¹¹³ Rarer too were the investigative forays into interracial neighbourhoods to gawp at the 'problem' of mixed race families. In a 1973 article for the *Daily Mirror* entitled 'Our Mixed Marriage', the journalist John Pilger spoke to Rocky and Doreen Byron—credited as the article's authors—about their experiences as a mixed race family of six on a council estate in Newcastle upon Tyne. Unlike previous articles of this type, there was little journalistic labelling of the marriage as inherently problematic or stereotyping of the type of people the couple were with Pilger mostly letting the couple talk for themselves; as such, though a picture was painted of the constant challenge the family faced living in a deeply racist community in which ignorance, hostility and violence were regularly directed at them, it also pointed to the multidimensional nature both of their situation—where the initial hostility of members of the neighbourhood could soon turn to conviviality—and of the racial climate more generally. Despite their difficulties in the community, Rocky's frustrations were not so much directed locally but both at Powell and the middle-class 'liberal folk' who, Rocky felt, shied away from standing up to his incendiary views because deep down they also feared black people. 'In the end, it'll be working people who'll accept us, man.' The article highlighted the strength of their marriage and family life and how this was enabling them to protect and guide their children. Asking if they feared more violence or other repercussions once their story appeared, the article ended with the couple on a defiant and resilient note. "Do it man," says Rocky. "We can handle that." "Yes," says Doreen. "We'll be alright."¹¹⁴

The complexity of experience for many mixed race families, even when living in highly charged racist environments, still did not generally however translate to their representation in the arts. While the quality of fictional writing varied greatly, novels, plays and films continued riffing on the orthodox themes of interraciality with old tropes coming to the fore. Marginalised exotic half-castes and tragic foreign love affairs reared their heads in works such as in Diane Cilento's glitzy 1970 novel *Hybrid*; the hit 1977 stage farce *Privates on Parade*; and the popular 1977 novel *The Ginger Tree* with its tender but doomed turn-of-the-century romance between a white Scottish woman and a Japanese soldier. The grittier approach which portrayed interracial relationships and people in Britain as an urban, social problem also continued: *Lucky*, a 1974 television play, revolved around a Liverpool mixed race youth and serial thief from a broken home who was in and out of gaol—the *Daily Telegraph* noted that the drama had a 'serious theme floating about': 'The casual relationships on the rootless fringes of port life inevitably lead to unwanted, half-caste offspring without any anchor strong enough to attach them to the rules of the adjacent society.'¹¹⁵ The challenges of racial mixing in urban Britain were also explored in the plays *Seduced* (1976) by the black actor and writer Jimi Rand and staged at the Young Vic, and *The Seed* (1977), the first attempt at Birmingham Repertory Theatre to engage seriously with the issue of mixed marriage, here between a Muslim Pakistani man and a white British woman, and inspired by one of its co-writer's encounters with the mixed Anglo-Muslim children in his classroom (Davis 2006; Cochrane 2006). The 'problem' of interracial marriage was also played for laughs in the television comedy *Mixed Blessings* (1978–1980) which centred on a university graduate couple who had set up home much to the disapproval and consternation of both sides of the family. More unusually than most of its contemporary representations, the pairing was a black woman and a white man though this was about the extent of the show's originality; even at the time, reviewers found the racially provoked humour the show derived from the mixed race couple painful, patronising and clichéd. *The Stage* noted, as an example of how to approach the issue, attention should be drawn instead to the ITV soap *Crossroads* which it felt had recently depicted the issues of a mixed race relationship—between a middle-class Muslim girl and a white man—'with hon-

esty and sensitivity'.¹¹⁶ Indeed, as Bourne (2001: 175) notes, while *Crossroads* was ridiculed for its bad acting and poor sets, it was one of the first soaps to include regular roles for black and minority ethnic actors, as well as to touch on racial issues. In 1970, a black character, Melanie Harper, made her first appearance asking to speak to Meg, the show's lead white character, dramatically announcing that she was Meg's daughter just before the end credits rolled, thus scandalously suggesting to the audience a secret interracial romance; propriety was maintained, however, when it was later revealed that Melanie was Meg's foster daughter.

While depictions of interracial relationships in the 1970s appear to have attracted much less commentary in the press than they had in the preceding decades, it was clear that the subject could still rattle people and not just those National Front supporters who were virulently opposed to the broadcasting—and general occurrence—of racial mixing on the whole. The plan to show *Somebody's Daughter* (1978), a made for schools TV series by the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA), to ILEA secondary school pupils caused great consternation not just amongst the National Front but also amongst school teachers when it was revealed the five-part drama told the story of a teenage girl, Mandy, who becomes pregnant by her black boyfriend Winston.¹¹⁷ The series revolved around a number of stock interracial tropes: Mandy becomes estranged from her mother; Winston, who turns to mugging to provide for her, is sent to a detention centre; Mandy, depressed and impoverished, then abandons the baby in a phone box where it is later placed into care. Ostensibly made to provoke discussion in social studies classes of what an ILEA television producer described as the 'delicate situation' of 'the mixed-race issue and the illegitimacy problem', the miserable scenario depicted in the series yet again reinforced interraciality as problematic and, clearly, something to be avoided by its teenage audience.¹¹⁸

What appeared more disconcerting during this decade for some in the press, however, was not the depiction of interraciality but the fact that it was often done in such a hackneyed way. 'Well-meant plays on the theme of miscegenation have landmarks to which authors appear to be drawn rather as a pin jumps to a magnet', critiqued *The Telegraph* in its review of ITV's *The World in a Room* (1970), an Armchair Theatre production on the 'almost overwhelming problems of a mixed marriage' that come to a

head when the landlord of the young family finds out that the white husband has a black wife.¹¹⁹ Amongst the clichés, however, some more original and multifaceted characters and works did appear, such as the ‘ambitious half-caste’ spy Stephen Bellecroix who features in David Craig’s ‘Bellecroix and Roath’ novels *Young Men May Die* (1970) and *A Walk At Night* (1971): born and raised in ‘Tiger Bay’, the character breaks free of his rough background and, university educated in the UK and USA, becomes a British Intelligence agent and the on-off lover of a fellow agent, the aristocrat Sheila Roath.¹²⁰ Other works avoid hitting the complete litany of interracial clichés by situating their ‘half-caste sons of prostitutes’ in rural settings: Joanna Ostrow’s novel *In The Highlands* (1970), for example, juxtaposes the experiences of a mixed race man living in Edinburgh with his white wife and children with the family’s move to a croft in the highlands in order to take care of his foster mother while his foster father is in hospital; similarly, *Scausby* (1977) by John Drabble—the father of renowned writers Margaret Drabble and AS Byatt—sees a white lawyer in the eponymous fishing village of the title help both a troubled mixed race teenager explore his identity and his own adopted mixed race Anglo-Indian wife search for her parents. On screen, the rural and historical setting, as well as the focus on a black African female character, Tulip, accompanying her white British husband to his home in Dorset, makes the 1978 film adaptation of David Garnet’s 1920 novel *The Sailor’s Return* particularly memorable next to other depictions of interraciality of the time. The vividly depicted beauty of the film’s Victorian England country setting is marred by the villagers increasingly ugly, vicious and brutally violent persecution of Tulip, her husband and their son—‘drown the little nigger!’ the mob shout at one point—who are simply trying to live their lives, thus linking the long history of the black presence with an enduring British racism—‘tracing the roots of much that is wrong in society today,’ as a *Daily Mail* review stated.¹²¹ Indeed, the tragic and well-crafted film made a profound impact on a number of critics, Richard Barkle of the *Sunday Express* calling it ‘one of the most heart-rending’ films he had seen that year.¹²²

Unless the topic was covered as part of a dedicated focus on the ‘problem’ however, there was nevertheless still a tendency to shy away from the inclusion of interracial relationships as an ordinary part of life. A 1970

episode of *UFO*, the British sci-fi show created by the same team behind the hit series *Thunderbirds*, hinted at the stirrings of interracial romance between a white female Commander and a black male co-pilot but shrank from any direct acknowledgment. Nevertheless, changes were occurring. Though numerous depictions were still being played by actors in 'brown-face'—such as the white English actress Peggy Mount's 'half-caste, clay pipe smoking, chi chi wife' in the 1976 BBC2 television play *Spice Island, Farewell!*¹²³—as a result of the gradual increase in the casting of minority ethnic actors more generally during the 1970s (Bourne 2001), more mixed race actors were now appearing on screen and, increasingly, in 'ordinary' roles in which their mixedness was not the central focal point. The actress Angela Bruce, for example, who was of mixed West Indian and white British parentage, starred in the musical *Hair* and took over the role of Magenta in the stage production of the *Rocky Horror Picture Show* before becoming known to the television public through a variety of popular roles, including as nurse Sandra Ling in the BBC nursing drama *Angels*, and as the waitress Janice Stubbs in the long running popular ITV soap *Coronation Street*, her affair with the white character Ray Langton causing the break up of his marriage to longstanding regular Deirdre. While the word 'dusky' was occasionally used in press descriptions of Bruce's roles, more often than not her race or colour was omitted.¹²⁴ Similarly, as had long been the case, the entertainment and sports industries also highlighted the presence of racially mixed people and families in Britain, not just through the continuing success of now successful and recognisably acknowledged 'British' stars such as the singers Shirley Bassey, Cleo Laine, the boxer John Conteh and the comedian Charlie Williams, but new talent like Poly Styrene (born Marianne Joan Elliot-Said) the frontwoman of the 1970s punk band X-Ray Spex whose mother was white British and father black Somalian. Though Styrene's music and public discussion focused heavily on the domination of consumerist society and the general malaise amongst young people generally and not her racial background—as indicated in the 1979 BBC Arena documentary *Who Is Poly Styrene?*—much was made in the press, however, of her racially mixed background. 'She is a human being reeling from the confusion that began in London's Brixton ghetto where her father was black, her mother white and she was neither', proclaimed the *Daily Mail*.¹²⁵ Styrene herself,

meanwhile, was dismissive of the tabloid stereotypes of both herself and her family background. In her biography, she comments:

Mum was forced to leave Bromley because she felt it was too white and judgemental for me to grow up in and that we could never be accepted. That's why we moved to Brixton. But although life was a bit austere, we were always well fed, clean and respectable—mum was a legal secretary, and where we lived that was considered posh! (Bell 2005)

Despite parts of the discursive terrain thus shifting to acknowledge the extent and depth of racial mixing in Britain, old tropes were both deeply entrenched and easily and quickly drawn upon. The growing tensions in the Toxteth community during the 1970s were being fuelled not only by inadequate housing, social segregation, and discrimination in employment and education but also police brutality (Belcham 2014). However, in the lead up to the broadcast of a television programme on the Merseyside Police in 1978, the BBC's *Listener* magazine published an article that swept these issues aside. Drawing uncritically on the comments of the Chief Constable of Merseyside, Kenneth Oxford, the article stated that the 'main social problem' the police faced in the area was identified as mixed race youth, who were discussed in terms that plugged directly into the prejudiced and defamatory legacy of Muriel Fletcher, Captain Richardson and their ilk:

Policemen in general and detectives in particular, are not racist, despite what many Black groups believe.... Yet they are the first to define the problem of half-castes in Liverpool. Many are the products of liaisons between Black seamen and white prostitutes in Liverpool 8, the red light district. Naturally they grow up without any kind of recognisable home life. Worse still, after they have done the rounds of homes and institutions they gradually realise that they are nothing. The Negroes will not accept them as Blacks, and whites just assume they are coloureds. As a result, the half-caste community of Merseyside—or more particularly Liverpool—is well outside recognised society.¹²⁶

As in the wake of Fletcher's report, the community was incensed. A large protest march to the BBC offices was organised, forcing an apology from the magazine's editors (McNeil 2010: 86; Moody 2014) as well

feeding into a new mobilisation of a political consciousness that, as throughout the country generally, coalesced around and celebrated a strong 'black' identity, including for those of mixed black and white racial parentage (see for example, Nelson 2000).

As is well documented, the identification of mixed black and white people in the UK (and of course the USA) with a singular black identity—both personally and politically—was not a new development. As McClain (2004: 44) has noted, the combination of the one-drop rule, physical appearance, the common segregation of racially mixed communities from white ones, and the general willingness of black families and communities to accept and embrace racially mixed people—and their white mothers—as one of their own had all long interacted to define mixed race individuals socially as black, as well as engender similar self-definition.¹²⁷ Politically too, the long history of organised black resistance and protest during the twentieth century—often centred around a 'Pan-African' perspective—had also included those from mixed racial backgrounds and those in interracial relationships, such as John Archer, Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, Harold Moody and George Padmore (Rossum 1997; Richards 2004). From the 1960s onwards, this foundation was built upon by the Black Power Movement emanating from the USA which emphasised black pride and self-empowerment, both in terms of identity and organisation. For many black and minority ethnic people in Britain, including those from racially mixed backgrounds, this message was affirming and empowering and was particularly embraced by this younger black generation, overwhelmingly British-born citizens, who were increasingly unwilling to accept the racist practices and structures that the earlier generation had endured. Identifying with the strong 'Black Is Beautiful' message of the Black Power Movement could provide a sense of empowerment for those who were labelled as doubly problematic, being firstly frequently rejected from white society for being 'coloured', as well as then specifically castigated for being seen as biologically and psychologically 'mixed'.

For others, however, such a turn was felt to be unnecessary. For example, writing to the *Daily Mirror* in relation to reports that the Jamaican athlete, Marilyn Neufville, was leaving Britain due to racism, Pamela, who described herself as half-Burmese, criticised the decision, saying that during her child-

hood growing up in 1930s and 1940s West London, she was called ‘a half-caste bastard, chink, Jap, you name it. But so what? Wherever you go, there will always be someone to call somebody else nasty names.’¹²⁸ Nevertheless, there was an increasing move by many in and from interracial families to counter the vilification aimed at them, whether through embracing a black identity or their mixedness. In 1972, a white Cambridge graduate Carole Kayira, who was married to the Malawian writer Legson Kayira with whom she had two children, wrote to the BBC Radio *Johnnie Walker Show* setting out her idea of an organisation to bring together people for whom, as she put it, multiracial living was a normal everyday experience. The positive response provoked by Kayira’s subsequent appearance on the show led her to set up the organisation Harmony (later known as People in Harmony), whose aim was to bring together interracial and intercultural families—both biological and adopted—and provide social and practical support, as well as ‘to work tirelessly to bring about a just and fair multicultural society in Britain and the World.’ By 1977 there were local groups or contacts in seven areas of London, twenty-two stretching across the rest of the country as far afield as Inverness-shire, Clacton, Plymouth and Huddersfield, as well as in Ireland, Nigeria and Sweden. To keep in touch with this growing network, Harmony distributed a quarterly newsletter to which Kayira and others contributed accounts of their own personal experiences, the difficulties they faced, and the steps they took to overcome them. The very first issue, for example, dispelled myths around the issue of mixed race adoption such as in the case of a woman who had contacted Harmony after being advised by her doctor to have an abortion ‘on the grounds that she would find it impossible to have her mixed race baby adopted’. As in following newsletters, the issue also interspersed grittier issues of racism and integration with practical tips on matters such as useful books, how to care for Afro hair or cook food from other countries, as well as competitions and reports of Harmony events such as its 1976 conference. Entitled, ‘Mixed Marriage: What about the Children’, the event was attended by over 60 people including Harmony members, teachers and social workers. Speakers included Mrs Ros Howells (then a West Indian Family Community Worker, now Baroness Howells), who spoke not only on the experiences of the families she met but also on her own marriage to a white Englishman and the importance of parents playing an active social role in their mixed

race child's upbringing—'not leaving the child to go it alone socially' but to stand up for the child where necessary, especially at school—while Dr Ann Baker Cottrell from San Diego University gave a talk 'Bringing up children in an Asian-British Home?' Members also went out into the wider community—giving talks to organisations like the Mothers Union, Health Visitors and the Racial Unity Society—and the work of the organisation appeared in the national and local press; in 1976 the *Daily Express* ran a feature on Kayira—by then a mother of four—and the work of Harmony under the subheading, 'when racial tension means just a few cross words in the family'¹²⁹ (Bentley 1977; Aspinall 2012).

Despite such inroads into the ways in which those in and of interracial families might individually work to empower their sense of identity—whether via strong black or positive mixed affiliation—the social situation continued to remain challenging. While conviviality and resistance continued in various and multifaceted forms, including within white British society—in 1977, schoolgirls in Bideford, Devon, who included the Bishop of Hull's daughter, hit the press for putting on a nativity play in which Joseph was black, Mary was white, Jesus was mixed race and Herod was represented by the National Front¹³⁰—interraciality continued to be presented as a one-dimensional but double-faceted problem, particularly for those of mixed race who were frequently labelled as doubly problematic: seen not only as facing the same problems of marginalisation and discrimination from white society as 'monoracial' groups, but also as harbouring additional identity and social issues due to their mixedness. While this double perspective would continue to be played out over the following decades in very particular ways, there would also emerge a distinct shift in attitudes and framework that would see a new discursive strand added to the way racial mixing and mixedness in Britain was conceptualised and understood.

Notes

1. Indeed, Ng (1968) takes the view that there had been no serious and protracted prejudice against the Chinese as a group since the 1920s.
2. *Daily Mail*, 9 May 1950.
3. *Yorkshire Post* and *Leeds Mercury*, 27 September 1954.

4. *The Times*, however, solemnly noted that both an appointed watch committee and investigative journalists from a national newspaper ‘which is good at finding vice failed to discover anything sensational.’ 9 March 1964.
5. *Aberdeen Evening Express*, 19 October 1953.
6. *Daily Mail*, 9 May 1950.
7. *Aberdeen Express*, 19 October 1953; *Daily Express*, 15 April 1959 and 28 February 1968.
8. See, for example, *Aberdeen Evening Express*, 19 October 1953; *Picture Post*, 30 October 1954; *Daily Express*, 18 and 19 July 1956.
9. *Daily Express*, 18 July 1956.
10. *Daily Express*, 19 July 1956.
11. *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 4 December 1951; *Yorkshire Post* and *Leeds Intelligencer*, 4 December 1952.
12. *Daily Express*, 4 November 1954.
13. *Daily Mail*, 22 September 1956. Though it was possible during this period to marry at 16, parental consent was required until the age of 21. It would not be until the Family Law Reform Act 1969 came into force in January 1970 that the age of majority—and thus the freedom to marry without parental consent—would be lowered to 18.
14. *Daily Telegraph*, 15 May 1954. Reportedly, the furore around the marriages of the Khamas and Appiahs inspired William Rose’s screenplay for arguably the most well-known Hollywood film on interracial relationships, *Guess Who’s Coming to Dinner* (1967). See Duodu (2006).
15. *The Sphere*, 25 July 1953; *Aberdeen Evening Express*, 29 July 1954. *Daily Mail*, 4 March 1957. For film footage of the Appiahs’ wedding and further discussion, see the 2011 BBC2 television series *Mixed Britannia* 1940–1965.
16. Objections to marriages between white people were made, however, on the basis of religion, namely longstanding historical opposition to unions between Catholics and Protestants. The Act of Settlement (1701) banned British monarchs from marrying Catholics. Disqualification of monarchs arising from marriage to a Catholic was removed by the Succession of the Crown Act 2013 which was brought into force in 2015.
17. *Daily Telegraph*, 2 September 1958.
18. Accessed via www.britishpathe.com [date accessed: 11.04.2017].
19. The child, Kwame Anthony Appiah, would go on to become an internationally renowned Professor of Philosophy, including at Princeton and New York Universities.

20. *Daily Mirror*, 30 January 1957.
21. See, for example, *Daily Mail*, 4 January 1957; *Daily Mirror*, 16 March 1956; *Daily Mail*, 29 May 1961; *Daily Mail*, 16 September 1968.
22. *Daily Mail*, 15 May 1967.
23. *The Times*, 31 December 1963.
24. *The Times*, 11 April 1966.
25. *Daily Mail*, 4 January 1957.
26. *Yorkshire Post* and *Leeds Intelligencer*, 2 May 1955.
27. *The Times*, 31 December 1963.
28. *Daily Express*, 19 July 1956.
29. *Daily Express*, 12 October 1954.
30. A similar unveiling of the deep-rooted prejudice against interracial marriage by seemingly open-minded and educated middle-class commentators was also exposed in *The Negro Next Door* (1965), an episode of the television documentary series *This Week* which explored the reactions of white Britons in Leeds to their West Indian neighbours. The programme's lofty positioning of the 'obvious fears and myths' held by two white working-class women interviewees 'still perhaps confused and uncertain' even after meeting their black neighbour is upended by one of the women suddenly turning to Desmond Wilcox, the interviewer, at the end of programme and asking him, 'would you like to see your oldest daughter marry a coloured man?'. As the camera remained on the woman's face, Wilcox's expression was not visible but she interprets his silence for the audience. 'You would not,' she says. 'I'm reading your face like a book. No, you would not.' See Malik (2002).
31. *The Times*, 28 April 1954.
32. *The Times*, 31 December 1963.
33. See, for example, *The Colour Bar*, BBC Radio, 30 May 1950; *The Scotsman*, 4 December 1950; Beware of Strangers! BBC Radio, 30 March and 24 May 1958; *The Observer*, 20 September 1959; and *Colour in Britain*, a six part BBC Radio series broadcast from 29 December 1964 to 30 April 1965.
34. *The Times*, 13 October 1958.
35. *Daily Telegraph*, 3 May 1960.
36. See Chaps. 4 and 5.
37. *Daily Express*, 14 April 1959; 15 April 1959; 16 April 1959. Merrick Wynn had previously written an article in the *Daily Express* (2 September 1958) highly sympathetic to West Indians targeted during the 1958 race riots in Britain, where he angrily denounced the violence and ignorance of white jobs as well as their accusations about black men molest-

ing white women and pimping them out—given as one of the reasons for the violence—as ‘an old race war lie’.

38. *Daily Express*, 20 July 1956.
39. *Daily Express*, 20 July 1956.
40. *Aberdeen Express*, 21 October 1953.
41. *Daily Express*, 10 March 1950.
42. Their nonchalance and positivity in the face of Farson’s repeated questioning on ‘problems’ and ‘prejudice’ provided a distinct counterpoint both to the testimony of Helen, a white British mother whose marriage to a Nigerian man had broken down due, she said, to cultural differences and societal prejudice, and to the oppositional views of Wentworth Day, a white English guest introduced as having been an advisor to the Egyptian government and who was firmly opposed to mixed marriages seeing them being ‘caused purely by downright sex or sloppy sentimentality’ and which produced ‘coffee-coloured imp[s]’ with an ‘inferiority complex’.
43. *The Stage* and *Television Today*, 14 May 1964.
44. For positive reviews see, for example, *The Daily Mail*, 30 April 1964 and *The Telegraph*, 30 April 1964. Morley is cited in *The Stage* and *Television Today*, 14 May 1964, which also provides viewing figures.
45. *Daily Mail*, 8 June 1960.
46. *Illustrated London News*, 8 October 1966.
47. *Daily Mirror*, 23 July 1964.
48. *Daily Mail*, 12 November 1963.
49. Sumuru initially started life as an eight-part BBC radio series, first broadcast in December 1945. The book series consisted of the following: *The Sins of Sumuru* (1950), *Slaves of Sumuru* (1952), *Virgin in Flames* (1953), *Sand and Satin* (1955), and *Sinister Madonna* (1956) and were reprinted multiple times in America and England (Seshagiri 2006: 187). The character also appeared in the British-made films *The Million Eyes of Sumuru* (1967) and *The Girl From Rio* (1970).
50. Waugh’s work was, at the time, the recipient of the largest sum then paid by Hollywood for a novel. The film was banned in Memphis, Tennessee, due to its ‘frank depiction of miscegenation’ and various campaigns to halt its screening were launched in New Orleans and Minneapolis, while the white Hollywood star, Joan Fontaine, received a flood of hate mail due to her character’s desire for the character played by her black American co-star, the singer and actor Harry Belafonte. See the *Telegraph*, 9 January 2016 and Maltin (2005).
51. *Daily Mirror*, 22 October 1962.

52. See Cowans (2015) for a breakdown of the success or failure of what he calls 'miscegenation' films in the post-war period.
53. In 1958, the novel was turned into a play that was staged on both Broadway and in the West End before becoming a hugely popular Hollywood film of the same name in 1960, starring the mixed race Chinese actress Nancy Kwan. The film's more ambiguous ending differed from that of the novel, removing the couple's visit to England and the financial security brought about by Lomax's artistic success.
54. Scott (2015: 58) reveals that Breen instructed Ealing Studios to 'eliminate' the pair's mutual attraction and avoid showing any physical intimacy between them, as well as to cut other brief scenes of interracial interaction between black men and white women that the original script contained. Scott also argues that while Breen was happy to allow 'agonized, blackface miscegenation' in a number of American films, he resisted the depiction of 'modern, normalised interracial relationships', a tendency that, as we also argue later in this chapter, was frequently repeated throughout the twentieth century.
55. Many thanks to Jonathan Bygraves of Twentieth Century Flicks for providing copies of Dearden's films, amongst many others from this period.
56. With thanks to Ros Edwards for alerting us to the mixed race presence in the novel.
57. *Asian Culture Vulture* (2015).
58. The character of Mr Chumley, however, did not appear in the 1960 film adaptation of the same name.
59. *Daily Mirror*, 3 April 1967.
60. *Daily Mail*, 10 August 1967.
61. As with all the works cited here, Beaton's plays were well received by critics but some of the attitudes critiqued onstage were only too well-reinforced in real life: Cathy Alger, who worked at the Everyman Theatre in Liverpool where *Jack of Spades* was staged, recalled that 'some shower of idiots smashed up all the publicity boxes at the front of the theatre because of the pictures of a white guy and a black girl'. Everyman Theatre Archive www.everymantheatrearchive.ac.uk/time-line.htm [date accessed 02.05.2017].
62. *Associated Press* (2016).
63. *Daily Mail*, 24 October 1960.
64. *London Illustrated News*, 8 July 1961.
65. *Daily Express*, 12 October 1954.

66. *Daily Telegraph*, 23 July 1959.
67. See Pines (1992); also *Daily Telegraph*, 15 & 18 July 1964 and Joan Hooley, interviewed for *BBC World Service*, 29 July 2015.
68. *Aberdeen Evening Express*, 20 August 1951; *Dundee Courier*, 21 August 1951. Grant cited in King-Dorset (2014: 131).
69. See Richmond (1954); also King, cited in Olusoga (2016: 502).
70. *Daily Express*, 7 July 1969.
71. *Daily Mirror*, 29 March 1951.
72. *Daily Mirror*, 9 June 1960.
73. *Daily Express*, 7 July 1969.
74. Following the broadcast, a Commons Motion deploring the statement and calling on Sandys to withdraw it was signed by 28 Labour and Liberal MPs, while the West Indian Standing Conference called for Sandys to be prosecuted for inciting racial hatred under the Race Relations Act. *Daily Telegraph*, 27 July 1967; *Daily Express*, 11 August 1967.
75. See, for example: 'Marriage Against the Odds,' *Daily Express*, 28 February 1968.
76. *Daily Mirror*, 16 March 1956.
77. See for example *The Yorkshire Post* and *Leeds Mercury*, 3 March 1951 and the *Daily Telegraph*, 3 March 1951.
78. *Aberdeen Express*, 9 December 1954.
79. *Daily Telegraph*, 16 May 1967.
80. Elizabeth Omar, *Wages Clerk*. <http://spitalfieldslife.com/2011/11/21/elizabeth-omar-wages-clerk/> [date accessed 09.05.2017].
81. *Daily Mail*, 5 February 2016.
82. *Jet*, 29 June 1961.
83. 15 April 1959. Their son, Mike Lindup, became well-known in the 1980s as part of the successful music band Level 42.
84. *Berwickshire News and General Advertiser*, 16 September 1952.
85. See, for example, *Daily Mirror*, 6 March 1951; *Daily Express*, 6 and 8 March 1951; *Daily Telegraph*, 2 April 1951; *Northern Daily Mail*, 8 March 1951; *Dundee Courier*, 29 September 1952.
86. *Daily Express*, 14 November 1960.
87. We are grateful to Sandra Courtman's work in bringing these accounts to our attention.
88. See Charles Jenkins, *Millennium Memory Bank*, 10 October 1998; Christian (2000: 63), Clay (2009) remarks that though those of mixed race themselves used the term, it was obviously intended as a derogatory remark 'and was fitting with the racist Scouse humour of the time.

Here's an example: Question—Where is the cleanest street in Liverpool?—Answer: Upper Parliament Street where there is a Shine on every corner!'

89. *The Sphere*, 22 July 1961.
90. *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 22 October 1954. The article 'Negro immigrants—a vast problem' also appeared across numerous other publications.
91. *The Afro-American*, 22 February 1955.
92. *Daily Mail*, 10 February 1960.
93. *Socialist Worker*, 21 August 2004.
94. *Daily Express*, 29 February 1968.
95. See for example, Mary and Vijay, *Daily Express*, 28 February 1968.
96. *Aberdeen Express*, 21 October 1953.
97. *Daily Mirror*, 23 March 1968.
98. *Daily Mirror*, 23 March 1968; *Daily Telegraph*, 4 September 2006.
99. Interview, white mother, born Birmingham 1933, Guess Who Is Coming To Dinner? An Oral History Documenting the Stories of Black Mixed Race Families in Birmingham during the 1950s and 1960s, The Inheritance Project.
100. Speech to London Rotary Club, Eastbourne, 16 November 1968.
101. *Liverpool Echo*, 3 September 2016.
102. *Daily Mail*, 5 November 1975.
103. For excellent scholarship on the unique history of the Liverpool-born Black community see, for example, Costello (2007) and Belcham (2014).
104. *Guardian*, 6 April 2000.
105. *Daily Mirror*, 1 February 1978.
106. *HC Deb* 14 December 1972, vol 848 cc764–774; *Daily Express*, 14 December 1972; *The Times*, 14 December 1972; *Daily Express*, 30 December 1972; *Guardian*, 23 January 1973.
107. *Daily Mirror*, 10 March 1978; *Daily Mail*, 11 March 1978. Similarly, in 1968 Powell stated that 'The West Indian or Indian does not, by being born in England, become an Englishman. In law he becomes a United Kingdom Citizen by birth; in fact, he is a West Indian or Asian still'. Speech to London Rotary Club, Eastbourne, 16 November 1968. <http://www.enochpowell.net/fr-83.html> [date accessed 02.02.2018]
108. The lyrics include the lines 'what we need is a great big melting pot/ keep it stirring for a hundred years or more/and turn out coffee coloured people by the score'.

109. *Daily Mail*, 11 March 1978.
110. *Daily Mail*, 11 March 1978.
111. *Guardian*, 12 December 2014.
112. *Daily Mail*, 22 January 1977.
113. *Daily Express*, 7 November 1973. See also *Daily Mirror*, 20 June 1973; *Times*, 20 June 1973.
114. *Daily Mirror*, 11 April 1973.
115. *Daily Telegraph*, 6 February 1974.
116. *The Stage*, 9 March 1978. In the soap's episode, the well-to-do middle class Chaudris were outraged to discover their daughter Meena was dating David, a white garage mechanic. Contrary to how such stories usually unfolded, the episode ended with the pair defying Meena's family and going off to live together (Lambert 2004).
117. *Daily Mail*, 13 January 1978.
118. It is interesting to note that in Cronin's ethnographic study of an inner city London comprehensive in the late 1970s, a mixed race secondary school pupil in inner London, who had watched *Somebody's Daughter* in his social study class, thought that though the programme was 'over-dramatised' he also felt that the 'general content was correct' and that 'perhaps [he was] the product of one of those situations' (Cronin 1991: 160).
119. *The Daily Telegraph*, 23 June 1970; *Coventry Evening Telegraph*, 22 June 1970. In its review the following day, the *Coventry Evening Telegraph* also criticised the production for its clichéd handling of the subject as did *The Stage* (25 June 1970), though the *Aberdeen Evening Express* (22 June 1970) found the story 'sensitive and moving'.
120. *Bellecroix and Roath*. <http://spyguysandgals.com/sgShowChar.aspx?id=394> [date accessed 19.05.2017].
121. *Daily Mail*, 9 December 1980.
122. *Sunday Express*, 19 November 1978. Bourne (2001: 149) notes that though the film was well-received at various international film festivals, including London and Cannes, it failed to secure a cinematic release and was sold to television where it was broadcast in 1980.
123. *Daily Mail*, 13 April 1976; *Daily Express*, 29 April 1976.
124. See, for example, *Daily Express*, 21 July 1973; *Daily Mirror*, 13 April and 2 October 1976; *Daily Mail*, 27 March 1976.
125. *Daily Mail*, 29 October 1977.
126. Frost and Phillips 2011: 32. See also Moody 2014: 81–82.

127. Though McClain is talking about this acceptance in terms of the USA, the same holds true for the UK.
128. *Daily Mirror*, 19 July 1971.
129. *Daily Express*, 17 June 1976. Many thanks to Val Hoskins of People In Harmony for providing access to the organisation's archives.
130. *Daily Telegraph*, 10 December 1977.

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Part IV

1980–2000: The Move to Social and Official Acceptance and Recognition

The last two decades of the twentieth century were transformational with respect to the demography and social position of those in and from interracial relationships as discussed in Chap. 12. While reliable estimates of the mixed population are sparse, their numbers increased by almost threefold from around 232,000 in 1985 to 670,000 in 2001. As Black and Asian people began to come together in more gender-balanced and specific geographic communities, births to those in mixed unions appear to have declined as a proportion of all ‘non-white’ births, but increased as a proportion of all births. There was a commensurate increase in interethnic union formation. While interethnic unions accounted for around 1% of people living as couples in the early 1980s, the proportion had increased to 7% by the time of the 2001 Census. Thus, in demographic terms, mixing and mixedness had moved from the niche to the mainstream by the end of the century.

A further important change described in this chapter was the shift in attitudes towards mixed marriages. The measure of racial prejudice—defined as objection to a close relative marrying someone black or Asian—declined sharply over the years 1983–1996 and especially in the 1990s, nearly halving after 1989 and with levels of strong opposition falling more steeply. Generation (cohort) was the main driver of the declining trend in prejudice; those who had grown up since mass migration began expressing progressively more tolerant attitudes. This change in

attitudes and the wider social climate created a need in government for a new terminology that would enable the counting of this population. Up to this time the mixed population had been encompassed by terms that described the person's minority ethnic status (such as 'Coloured' and 'New Commonwealth Ethnic Origin'). Further, by this time the term 'half-caste' and its assumptions had been delegitimised by government as they were regarded as pejorative. New data collections from the late 1970s and census tests broke with the past by privileging conceptualisations of origin or descent, including mixed origins/descent, leading to limited recognition (in the question instruction) in the 1991 Census and full recognition in the 2001 Census. These changes contributed to a process that has been described as an unplanned, incremental multicultural drift rather than a policy of purposeful change.

As the 1980s dawned, though interracial couples, people and families were both firmly entrenched as an increasingly ordinary part of the British landscape, they also remained largely invisible in public discourse unless forming part of a 'problem' narrative, whether in the generalised terms of the issues attached to minority ethnic populations as a whole or in the specific terms of their mixedness. As we show in Chap. 12, this, too, was to change. A 'new wave' of insider-led studies on interraciality was occurring in scholarly fields that normalised racial mixing and mixedness and redressed the 'deficit' based literature that had been so prevalent in earlier decades. While debates in the social work profession and around transracial adoption continued to privilege the 'black' component of a 'mixed' child's identity, these discourses, too, were gradually subsumed by those that prioritised the child's interests, including the right to self-identification in ethnic/racial terms. Moreover, from the 1980s, representation in the arts and the media not only increasingly reflected the minority ethnic presence generally but began once more to portray interraciality and to separate mixedness out as a distinct identity and experience.

While structured racism or deep-seated prejudice did not disappear from Britain during these decades, a national story of a more tolerant multi-ethnic and multicultural Britain began to unfold in the 1990s and by the end of the twentieth century, racially mixed families and people were firmly posited as both mainstream and celebratory. However, as the

postscript chapter discusses, these and continuing twenty-first century positive and congratulatory conceptualisations are often at variance with lived experiences and statistical data suggesting that the realities of inter-raciality are more multifarious than often suggested or portrayed. Nevertheless, while contemporary racial mixing and mixedness continues to be made of complex and diverse patterns and experiences, racial mixing and mixedness strongly remain, as they did for so many throughout the twentieth century and earlier, simply another ordinary aspect of British life.



12

The Emergence of the ‘New Wave’: Insider-Led Studies and Multifaceted Perceptions

As the 1980s dawned, the racial climate continued to take a toxic bent. While in 1979, immigrants counted for a mere 4% of the population (Olusoga 2016: 515), post-war anxiety about and hostility to black and Asian immigration continued to escalate, often stoked rather than allayed by politicians: in 1978, the Conservative Leader of the Opposition, Margaret Thatcher, fuelled the debate by stating in a television interview that British people feared being ‘swamped’ by those of a different culture, causing her and the Conservative Party’s popularity to soar and subsequently go on to win the following year’s General Election.¹ As Trilling (2013) remarks, the hardline stance taken by the Thatcherite government on race and immigration co-opted the discourse of Powell and the National Front into mainstream politics to great success, grasping the narrative of imperial decline—the ‘postcolonial melancholia’ identified by Paul Gilroy (2004)—as part of a wider nationalist project that promised to make Britain great again. By 1981, the potent combination of institutional racism, heavy-handed police tactics and harassment, and urban deprivation saw riots break out across London, Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool, predominantly led by the black youth of these inner-cities, British children of the Windrush generation (and earlier), who

refused to be systematically marginalized and persecuted in their own country simply due to the colour of their skin. Against this backdrop, the type of intense focus and discourse on interraciality that had occurred at earlier points in the century continued to fall further down the public agenda. While there was recognition that interracial couples, people and families were certainly a part of the British landscape—as their representation in the arts, for example, indicated—they attracted minimal specific attention in public discourse which focused more predominantly on the immigration and presence of non-white peoples.

The one area in which the subject of racial mixing and mixedness became a clear focus at this time was in the field of adoption and fostering. As discussed in Chap. 11, the racial and social climate of the post-war decades saw not only a disproportionate number of mixed race children placed in care but, along with older children, those with disabilities and those from minority ethnic backgrounds more widely, they were also labelled as ‘unadoptable’, both from the perspective of authorities and from that of white adopters who were generally loathe to attract social opprobrium by having a ‘coloured’ child in the family. Following concern amongst social workers about the high numbers of cared-for minority ethnic children in the system, in the mid-1960s active recruitment of adoptive parents for this group began to occur, most notably through the specific remit of the British Adoption Project (BAP) which targeted white prospective parents from the educated and ‘liberal middle class’ (Kirton 2000: 9). Studies reporting the success of the placements that occurred through BAP combined with the continuing high numbers of minority ethnic children in care meant that by the 1970s, previous official opposition to transracial adoption (TRA) had been eroded and TRA increasingly became an increasingly common practice, one held to be of particular relevance to those from mixed racial backgrounds who were ‘generally taken to be the victims of both social deprivation and likely alienation resulting from prejudice and lack of clear identity’ (Kirton 2000: 16). Indeed, in their study of mixed race transracially adopted children in 1979, Bagley and Young concluded that those who had been adopted by two white parents had excellent adjustment when compared with mixed race children brought up by single mothers where material disadvantage wrought serious effects on their behaviour, adjustment and school achievement.

In the 1980s, however, the acceptance and assumed benefits of TRA practices came under fierce critique from the newly formed Association of Black Social Workers and Allied Professionals (ABSWAP). As Kirton (2000) notes, just as in the USA, Britain's racially charged climate saw the place and effect of race and racism within social work come under increasing scrutiny from black professionals concerned about a range of issues, including bias towards and the pathologising of minority ethnic birth families and would-be adopters, as well as the lack of consideration of racial prejudice in white adoptive families, the ability of such families to help minority ethnic children deal with racism, and the effect of TRA on the psychological needs and identity formation of minority ethnic children. Those studies that had pointed to the success of TRA were criticised for their narrow definition of what constituted a positive outcome as issues of support and racism and the importance of racial and cultural identity were ignored or downplayed; indeed, as Kirton observes, the findings of Gill and Jackson (1983) that the children in the BAP project displayed high self-esteem but had become 'white in all but skin colour', only added fuel to the fire, as did the growing number of studies that reported harrowing and disturbing patterns of the negative experiences, racial confusion and psychological trauma displayed by TRA adults and children or those predominantly in the supervision of white care home staff, including skin scrubbing and bleaching, rejection of and discomfort around black people, denial of their own blackness, and low self-esteem or self-loathing (e.g. Small 1984; Mullender and Miller 1985; Maximé 1986). Understandably, members of ABSWAP were incensed and, in line with the wider anti-racist activism of the period, promoted the reclamation of positive black identities in the face of a predominantly white society (Barn and Kirton 2012), launching a scathing critique on TRA policy and practices to the House of Commons Select Committee, including the accusation that transracial placements—which only took the form of white people adopting black children and not vice versa—were a form of 'internal colonialism' and a 'new slave trade' (Kirton 2000: 21). Within this discourse, it was argued that no distinction should be made between those with one or two black parents. As Tizard and Phoenix have noted (2002/1993: 4), the success of the Black Power Movement in raising black self-esteem also led to a renewed insistence on the 'one drop rule', this time

from a black perspective. John Small (1984: 133), a leading black social worker, argued that the term 'mixed race' should not be used due to its 'misleading' and 'dangerous' effects:

Many black people find the term derogatory and racist. Furthermore, most blacks feel that it is a conscious and hypocritical [sic] way of denying the reality of the child's blackness. The element of conscious act is derived from the suggestion that the children are regarded as 'mixed race' for the purpose of securing a placement in a white family. While the element of hypocrisy seems to be derived from the suggestion that society generally see these children as black and eventually the majority of such children will identify with blacks, except in instances where reality and self-image have not merged.

In response, a number of local authorities, particularly in London boroughs, began to establish policies in support of 'same race' adoption and fostering. Such practices drew fierce opposition themselves, not only from within the social work community but also in social life more widely. The mainstream media regularly attacked what it called 'black militants' for not only preventing minority ethnic children from being given a home but also for ripping families apart—'How Black Activists Demanding Apartheid In Britain Want To Break Up Mixed Race Families' stated the *Daily Mail* in 1984.² Apart from a few instances in the press, black social workers' concerns around the capacity of white families to help minority ethnic children deal with racism and racial identity development alongside their reports on some of the disturbing behaviours identified amongst such children in white care were largely dismissed or ignored;³ rather, coverage tended to focus on the proportion of minority children languishing in care or accounts of children placed with white families being suddenly and distressingly removed.⁴ Within the press, the dominant social perspective that love was 'colour-blind' overshadowed any complexity of debate and the views of happy and successful transracial adoptees and their white parents outnumbered unhappy or failed accounts.⁵ Some of the strongest opposition came in relation to the situation of mixed race adoptees for whom, as Alan Holden, the Chairman of the group National Foster Care argued in the *Daily Mail*, it was disingenuous to claim they would be more 'at home' in a black family given that many grew up with white mothers. 'Such children have the right to belong to both

communities,' he argued, 'and should not be treated as possessions of either'. Nevertheless despite the ongoing debate and dissent, by the end of the 1980s the preference for same-race placements, including the practice of identifying mixed race children as black, was firmly established (Ali 2014: 69), with the UK's Children's Act (1989) requiring local authorities to attend to the racial and cultural background of potential adoptees when considering placement.

Social Science Research

While the growing practice within social work predominantly saw mixed race children identified—or the argument made that they needed to be identified as black—as the best means of ensuring the development of a healthy racial identity, debates and experiences outside this sphere were beginning to indicate that, for many, the identification and acceptance issues via the claiming of a black identity were rather more multilayered. Bauer (2010: 219) has argued that while the British Black Power movement in the 1970s and 1980s provided a sense of pride, identity and solidarity for many black Britons, including those from or in mixed racial families, it was not always easy or unproblematic. In addition to longstanding issues related to colourism-linked privilege or disadvantage in global black communities, the rising sense of black solidarity and affirmation in Britain also influenced disapproving attitudes towards mixed marriages and families from within some quarters of the black community. Bauer remarks how, within her study, some African-Caribbean women in mixed race families during this period 'spoke of disapproval they experienced from African-Caribbean men in the form of comments such as 'Sell out' or 'You are diluting your race/community/culture"', while 'some white women experienced verbal abuse from African-Caribbean women such as 'Have someone of your own"'; such attitudes were also mentioned by Susan Benson (1981: 12–13) in her study of interracial families in London in the early 1970s. Moreover, as Stephen Small has noted, those from mixed racial black and white backgrounds in Britain during this period could find their own 'blackness' questioned. Citing his own experiences of the longstanding Liverpool-born black community, Small recalls how Caribbean-based

assumptions that lighter skinned British mixed race people received preferential treatment were often ill-founded, particularly in the case of racially mixed Liverpoolians who, as we have seen, had been labelled as black for generations and ill-treated as a result. But, Small remarked, 'when light-skinned people from Liverpool go to London and say they're black, they tell many of us: no you're not, you're a half-caste, you're a half-breed.' (Gabriel 2006). Nevertheless, while the claiming and acceptance of mixedness within black communities was thus not as simplistic as social work placement practice would like to suggest, on the whole interraciality continued to be accepted: Brown (1984) noted that 15% of Caribbean heads of household with partners had a mixed marriage while surveys in the 1980s and 1990s repeatedly showed that—similarly to the Chinese group and unlike Pakistani, Indian and Bangladeshi groups—the overwhelming majority of black Caribbeans would not mind a close relative marrying a white person (Modood et al. 1997). Indeed, as Bauer (2010) notes, many black radicals of the 1980s themselves formed mixed families.

Unlike in earlier decades when sociologists such as Collins, Hill, Little, Richmond, Banton and Patterson explored the experiences and patterns of racially mixed families and their children, interest in the patterns of acceptance, conviviality, hostility and marginalisation towards interracial families in the 1970s and 1980s attracted little academic attention outside the sphere of social work which, as we have seen in some cases, found serious personality and identity issues in the mixed race children in their samples. Benson's early 1970s' study of interracial families living in Brixton, London, is one of a handful of works to touch on the subject from a non-clinical perspective though her findings also paint a rather sombre picture of interraciality. The 'ambiguous ethnicity' Benson attributed to the 20 couples in the study, alongside their 'ambivalent attitudes' towards race, ethnicity and colour was seen to position them on the margins of society with resulting 'social costs and benefits' that were 'reflected especially clearly in the problems faced by the children of these interracial couples' (133). These included the same types of 'identity problems'—denial of blackness, racial self-loathing, skin-scrubbing and so on—reported in social work as well as earlier 'marginal man' studies. Such experiences were clearly a sad and damaging reality for numerous mixed race families. Yet, as Bauer also points out, Benson's data warrant some caution: focusing

heavily on the interaction between the couples, Benson quite firmly aligns herself with the 'problem' perspective of many of the earlier studies, with scant attention played to the role of regional and class distinctions or the wider racial and social context of the 1970s—Benson herself noting that the research does not concern itself with 'critical issues' of employment and housing discrimination (149). Moreover, her conclusions on the children—aged from a few months to into their twenties—came not from their own accounts, but from incidents she observed or accounts provided by their parents which frequently appeared to express their own anxieties about their identity, friendships and potential life courses rather than the views of the children. As Bauer (2010: 29) notes, 'given the unsystematic and second-hand nature of Benson's information'—and we would add, the suspicion and difficulties she faced in recruiting participants—'it is questionable whether her findings and conclusions accurately reflect the views of the children in her study in a small area of London, let alone children of similar parentage in all of London.' Certainly, Benson's conclusions, including her statement that the future lives of mixed race children 'must, inevitably, be fraught with difficulties' (144) is very much in the vein of the middle-class outsider researcher of previous decades than reflective of the more complex and multidimensional patterns of experience we have found in first-hand accounts as well as those indicated by other contemporary studies. In a study of friendship choices in a primary school in Manchester, Durojaiye (1970: 198), for example, wrote that the findings 'would appear to contradict the fears often expressed about children of mixed parents belonging to neither "camp"', while similarly the sociologist Ann Baker Cottrell (1979) in her research on Asian-Western couples in 1970s' Britain noted high levels of integration and adjustment.

While academic investigations into the topic of interraciality remained minimal throughout much of the 1980s, the beginnings of a resurgence of interest in non-clinical mixed race families in Britain were spearheaded by the sociologist Anne Wilson in 1987 with the publication of her book *Mixed Race Children: A Study of Identity*. Using 'snowball' methods of recruitment, this pioneering research was the first British study that specifically focused on the identity development and social position of mixed race children who lived with their own parents (one black African or black Caribbean parent and one white parent). Wilson found that the majority of the 51 primary school children in the study expressed a positive and secure identity which was neither 'black' nor 'white' but very clearly

between the two: 'brown', 'coloured', 'half-and-half' or 'half-caste'. Those with this positive 'intermediate identification' were usually children living in multiracial areas, whilst children who saw themselves as white or with inconsistent identities were more likely to reside in mainly white localities. While racism was certainly a feature in the lives of the children and their families, Wilson's research critically showed that—unlike Benson's gloomy prognosis about the inevitability of fraught lives—it was not necessarily a defining nor a constraining feature. Such conclusions were further built on by Tizard and Phoenix who, in the early 1990s, carried out research into the racialised identities of 58 mixed race youngsters living in London with one or both parents. The study, made up mostly of 15- and 16-year-olds, was similarly groundbreaking, with Tizard and Phoenix concluding in their 1993 publication *Black, White or Mixed Race?* that, far from their lives being 'inevitably fraught with difficulties' as Benson claimed of her sample, generally the young people did not only have a lack of identity problems, but also displayed positive, plural and dynamic racial identities, ones that acknowledged and found pride in being 'mixed' as well as being 'black' and, like other social identities, could shift depending on social circumstances and influences. Furthermore—and similarly to Collins' 1957 study—while some level of racism ran across most of their accounts, the research pointed to the wide diversity of their experiences depending on their class, gender, neighbourhood, schooling, family dynamics, appearance, stage of life and individual personalities as well the effect of media and societal attitudes on race and ethnicity. Such multilayered findings, Tizard and Phoenix argued, had significant implications for 'same race' adoption and fostering policy and practices for mixed race children where an insistence on the 'one drop rule' was overlooking the complexity and diversity of their identities, histories and needs.

As the 1990s unfolded, an increasing slew of work emerged that reinforced the focus and tone of the two benchmark studies, including the stable and positive 'mixed race' identity development and socialisation of young mixed race people living with their parents (e.g. Katz 1996) alongside the effect of neighbourhood (e.g. Fatimilehin 1999); the potential and actual capability of white parents to possess what Twine (1999, 2004, 2010) called 'racial literacy' (that is, those cultural strategies and practices

parents use to instil a positive sense of identity and belonging in their children and to help them counter racism and prejudice); and the influence of other social factors, such as gender, class and age on the development of mixed racial identities as explored in Jayne Ifekwunigwe's (1998) influential work where the voices of mixed race adults, rather than children, were placed at the heart of the study, thereby deinfantilising the concept of mixedness and contextualising it as part of a person's life course rather than a static childhood state.

This body of work not only built on and was located in the wider post-modern re-examination of concepts of race, ethnicity, identity, racism and anti-racism in Britain as exemplified by writers such as Stuart Hall (1992, 1997) and Paul Gilroy (1987, 2002), but was also heavily influenced by the exploding body of work on identity politics and development that was occurring in the States. There, in a racial climate where the 'one-drop rule'—from both white and black perspectives—had been dominant for centuries (see Davis 2002), 'biracial' or 'multiracial' identities were being explored and embraced by 'insider-led' research. Mostly composed of psychologists and sociologists, the majority of whom were from mixed racial backgrounds themselves, this work firmly placed the 'mixed race voice' at the centre of the discussion, using personal experiences and the collected accounts of others to contest the 'essentialism' of racial categorisation and argue for the recognition and acceptance of racially mixed identities (see, for example Spickard (1989), Root (1992, 1996), Funderburg (1994), Gaskins (1995) and Zack (1993, 1995)). The impact of the scholarship was further bolstered by the emergence of what Small called 'multiracial activists' on both sides of Atlantic: in the USA, such activist groups included the Association of Multi-Ethnic Americans (AMEA) (founded 1986), Project RACE (Reclassify All Children Equally) (founded 1991), Hapa Issues Forum (HIF) (founded 1992), Mavin Foundation (founded 1998), Swirl (founded 1999), while in the UK there appeared Mosaic (founded 1990), Starlight Black Heritage Mixed Race Child (founded 1994) and Intermix (founded 1999). In the vein of Harmony (known from 1983 as People in Harmony), these American and British grassroots support groups offered a variety of resources and support, such as information, networking, workshops and conferences, as well as drew heavily on the new technology of the internet to transcend isolation (Image 12.1).



Image 12.1 Harmony AGM at Maria Assumpta College, Kensington, London, 1981. Members planting a tree to commemorate 100 years since the death of the pioneering Jamaican nurse Mary Seacole, who was of mixed racial heritage. Copyright and courtesy of People in Harmony

Indeed, the internet both propelled and shaped discussions of racially mixed identities, with online-based organisations providing spaces to discuss mixed race issues generally and specifically via blogs and forums (Caballero 2005), while in the States some also acted as campaign groups for the inclusion of a multiracial category in official categorisation such as the Census. While much of this activity was centred on black/white mixing, it also illuminated other mixed experiences: in the States, the organisation Hapa Issues Forum was initially founded to create a voice and space for mixed race Japanese American movement—though increasingly the term ‘hapa’ began to refer to any East Asian mixes more generally—while terms representing overlooked mixing between non-white groups—such as ‘Blasian’ (Black and Asian), ‘Blaxican’ (Black and Mexican), ‘Blackanese’ (Black and Japanese) and ‘Blatina’ (Black and Latino)—became familiar in online discussions (see Caballero 2005).

Like Wilson’s and Tizard and Phoenix’s earlier studies, this ‘new wave’ of studies and accounts of mixed race couples, families and people did not shy away from acknowledging and locating the more negative aspects of interracial family life, including experiences of racism within and outside the extended family and its damaging effects, including low

self-esteem and marginalisation. It was clear that parents—black as well as white—did not always possess 'racial literacy', nor did being in a mixed race relationship inherently prevent the expression or exhibiting of racist behaviours, while children could also express self-loathing and racism, both towards themselves and others. Such behaviours, however, were firmly located in the 'new wave' literature as the behaviours of *some*, rather than all, as well as rooted in multifaceted frameworks that were far removed from the race-centric 'problem studies' that had dominated accounts of interraciality throughout the twentieth century. The diversity of experience and the voices of those of mixed race, which highlighted both the salience of race but not always its dominance, thus challenged the 'colour blind approach' which dismissed race entirely, as well as the modernist anti-racist texts that had shaped social work literature, policy and practice⁶ where, Katz (1996: 191) argued, 'mixed race children are either ignored [or] totalised, that is seen as black with the same problems and issues to confront as every black child, or pathologised'. Thus, while social work continued to highlight troubling issues, often continuing to draw on small samples of those in care to extrapolate, the varied and diverse international body of work and activism were increasingly presenting an alternative narrative.

Popular Representation

This shifting narrative was not just to be found in academia. From the 1980s, representation in the arts and the media not only increasingly reflected the minority ethnic presence generally but began once more to portray interraciality and to separate mixedness out as a distinct identity and experience. As ever, familiar tropes of troubled interracial relationships and marginalised mixed race individuals still formed part of the narrative, featuring heavily in numerous expensive, lavish and exotic period dramas popular in the 1980s such as the Singapore-based *Tanamera* (1984, based on Noel Barber's 1981 book of the same name), the Japan-set *The Ginger Tree* (1989) and the India-located 'Raj Revival' productions such as *Heat and Dust* (1982), *The Jewel in The Crown* (1984) and *The Far Pavilions*

(1984). Contrary to the interracial orthodoxy, not all the romances ended in tragedy—the white British and Chinese couple of *Tanamera* and the white British and mixed race Indian lovers of *The Far Pavilions* both gained a happy ending—but modern sensibilities that did not flinch at showing often quite explicit interracial intimacy between real life actors of different backgrounds were still assailed by traditional habits; unlike the other productions, the native partner of *The Far Pavilions*, Princess Anjuli, was played by the white American actress Amy Irving, leading the British Indian writer Salman Rushdie to ‘excoriate the production, calling it a “blackface minstrel-show” and the purest “bilge.”’ (Angelini n.d.)

Yet, there was also a clear and increasing turn to acknowledging and portraying the growing levels of interraciality occurring at home and, within the arts and the media, mixed race people, couples and families began once more to become increasingly visible in the public eye and, moreover, centred as part of the everyday British landscape. In their coverage, the press still had more than a whiff of prurience in their focus on interraciality as well as deep-rooted ignorance: in a 1982 interview with Cleo Laine, for example, the *Daily Express*’s premier columnist Jean Rook cannot stop pouring over the singer’s mixed physicality, dubbing Laine an ‘exotic blackbird’ with her ‘exotic, huge-mouthed face’ and ‘Zulu-hair’ that ‘doesn’t feel like a Brillo pad, but more like a feather duster.’ Yet, such coverage also so often went hand in hand with a recognition that the seemingly exotic exterior had roots that were as British as they were ‘other’. ‘Cleo,’ noted Rook, ‘is much blacker than TV lights paint her. Proud of it. And of the Middlesex accent as broad as her celebrated nose.’⁷ Similarly, the success of other mixed race entertainers and sportspeople, such as the singer Sade, the actor David Yip, the fashion designer Bruce Oldfield and the actor Ben Kingsley, brought their very British interraciality into the public eye via media profiles about their backgrounds which revealed both their very mixed and very British roots and upbringings. Like so many of those in and from mixed race families across Britain who were increasingly highlighted in social science research, these were diverse in both make up and experience: Sade, the daughter of a white English mother and a Nigerian father spent her early childhood with her single mother and brother on a council estate in East Anglia village she described as ‘as white as the driven snow’ but, she recalls, ‘we were accepted and there were no problems, no questions of conflicts because we were different’;

David Yip, whose mother was English and father Chinese, grew up in a working-class area of Liverpool in a family of eight children, regarding himself as an 'ordinary Scouse kid in Liverpool' until his teens when 'he began to notice the odd remark and realised there were two me's'; Bruce Oldfield, whose mother was white and father West Indian was brought up by a white foster mother in rural Durham with four other fostered mixed race children until the age of 13 when he was sent to a Barnardo's children's home—his foster home life was chaotic but happy: he remembers his foster mother 'whacked a woman across the bum for saying kids like me should be sent back to where we came from'; and Ben Kingsley—born Krishna Pandit Bhanji - whose father was a doctor of Gujarati descent and mother a British model and actress of Russian Jewish descent, who was brought up in Pendlebury and attended Manchester grammar school and has spoken about a loveless upbringing but feeling part of the 'exotic, cosmopolitan' Manchester area he was raised in. From such accounts it was evident, even if it was not established, that the 'mixed race condition' (Olumide 2002) was a diverse one.⁸

The arts more widely also began to reflect this rooted, ordinary presence glimpsed in the lives and families of those mixed race entertainers and sportspeople who were often the gateway to the British public on the presence of racial mixing and mixedness. Interracial relationships were increasingly a part of rather than the central tenet of dramas: David Yip's character, the lead of the eponymous 1980s' drama series *The Chinese Detective*, was given a white divorcee girlfriend—'a pretty little Cockney slag' as described by Carrie Jones, the actress who played her—and though the casting decision was featured in the press, no fuss was made about the fact the relationship was racially mixed.⁹ Indeed, by the 1986 revival of *A Taste of Honey* at the Theatre Royal, Brighton, *The Stage* noted that the themes of the play, including interracial sex, 'no longer make headlines'.¹⁰ The presence of mixed race people as part of the British landscape was also becoming more common: in 1982, an episode of *Coronation Street* featured two Liverpoolian brothers—one white and one mixed race—as guests at an engagement party; taken with the characters, Granada TV placed them at the centre of their own sitcom, *The Brothers McGregor*, in 1985. Hugely popular, the show pointed not only to the type of interracial intimacy often found in extended mixed race families but to the longstanding history of mixing in Liverpool. The

grounding of contemporary racial mixing in an older history was directly highlighted in the multilayered BBC drama series *The File On Jill Hatch* (1983) which commenced with a white detective during the 1981 London riots under question for inappropriately helping his niece, Jill Hatch, who is revealed to be an American of mixed race. Over the course of the drama, the story is told of Jill's parents, a black university educated GI and a white working-class woman who met in Bristol during World War II. With the narrative moving between America and the UK, as well as the past and the present, the series unusually highlighted the global patterns and context of interraciality, race relations and prejudice.¹¹

While *The File On Jill Hatch* was directly concerned with the issue of racial mixing, like *The Brothers McGregor* other depictions of interraciality as an additional or even insignificant detail to the plot were increasingly coming into play. The use of 'brownface' to depict mixed race characters, especially in British-based productions, was increasingly set aside in preference to using actors from mixed backgrounds themselves. Coming to prominence in the 1980s, the mixed race actress Cathy Tyson starred in several roles in which her racial background was mostly irrelevant, such as *Scully* (1984) and *Rules of Engagement* (1989) (though, as Young (1996) points out, her breakthrough role in Neil Jordan's 1986 hit film *Mona Lisa* firmly pathologises her character Simone into the stereotypical trope of the exotic black prostitute). The relative unimportance of the mixed racial backgrounds of main characters was also evident in *Dream Stuffing* (1984) a Channel 4 sitcom about two young carefree women: Jude, an unemployed punk, and Mo, played by Amanda Symonds, a mixed race factory worker with a Jewish mother, sharing a flat in Bow;¹² and the hugely popular BBC2 sci-fi comedy series *Red Dwarf* (1988-) in which the mixed race Liverpoolian poet and actor Craig Charles played Dave Lister, the last known human alive—throughout the series Lister's racial background is irrelevant to the plot.

Nevertheless, prejudice was also often depicted as a familiar part of interraciality. The hostility of family members towards interracial relationships was the theme of the 1980 hit *Embarrassment* by the ska/pop band Madness, the catchy tune hiding the dark story about the virulent reaction of band member Lee Thompson's extended family to the news that his 17-year-old sister was pregnant by a black man;¹³ similar family

hostility to an interracial relationship was depicted in *Coronation Street* in the mid-1980s when Shirley Armitage, the soap's first regular black character, entered into a relationship with white character Curly Watts to the disapproval of her mother, Mona, and his parents—while Mona came round, Curly's parents never accepted her (Bourne 2001). The experience of racial harassment outside the home was also explored, perhaps most harrowingly by Ngozi Onwurah in her short film *Coffee Coloured Children* which was broadcast by Channel 4 in 1988. This lyrical and tense film presents an unsettling and highly emotional depiction of the childhood traumas experienced by Onwurah and her brother growing up with their white mother as the only children of colour in a white working-class area of Newcastle. In contrast to the images of multiracial harmony that open the film, the lives of the Onwurah's family are beset by racial prejudice and aggression, their front door smeared with excrement, the children taunted and harassed, and the damaging internalised effects of racism leading to skin scrubbing and mental anguish. The short film vividly hammered home the profound emotional and psychological effects of racism as the root cause of any confusion or marginalisation experienced by mixed race children, rather than their being born from an inherent racial condition. Indeed, though Onwurah's film was set on a working-class estate, other media accounts made it increasingly clear that poisonous racism cut across all classes; from its outset in the early 1980s, the interracial marriage of the popular comedians Lenny Henry, a black British man, and Dawn French, who is white British, and their subsequent adoption of a mixed race child attracted considerable attention, not only from the press but from National Front and other racists who harassed the pair in their homes in affluent West London and the Home Counties in several incidents, including smearing excrement on their front door, scratching racist epithets on their car, and posting a petrol-soaked rag through their letterbox, alongside the regular stream of hate mail the couple frequently received.¹⁴

As in the social sciences, such accounts of racism and prejudice were not only beginning to come to the fore but were frequently being presented not as a monolithic and all-encompassing experience but as part of a larger, more multifaceted one. Television documentaries provided a forum for such voices to be spotlighted, such as in the BBC's

documentary series on feminism *Sisters Under The Skin* (1989) which featured an episode on working-class white women in Birmingham, many of whom had mixed race children. The arts further explored a growing gamut of racially mixed experiences, such as in the BBC drama series *Shalom Salaam* (1989) set in Leicester: centred on the evolving interracial relationship between a Jewish man and a Muslim woman who meet at college, the drama explored the tensions their relationship provokes in their respective families. Moreover, increasingly these accounts were told by those of and in mixed relationships themselves. As Young (1996: 120) notes, racial unrest and demands for greater equality in the 1970s and 1980s helped usher in a period of greater arts and cultural funding as well as a more inclusive platform for the minority ethnic population, an opportunity that was gladly seized by the new wave of minority ethnic artists, writers, playwrights and filmmakers. Real shifts in representation thus began to emerge from 'insider'-authored work such as Tunde Ikoli's 1980 play *Scrape Off The Black*. Born to a Cornish mother and a Nigerian father, Ikoli's drama depicts the mixed race Trevor's fraught relationship with his morose, bitter and racially prejudiced white mother who rails against all black men, particularly Trevor's father from whom she is separated, and who saves her little affection for his brother Andy (also mixed race) who has just got out of Borstal. While the play covers similar terrain of damaging emotional behaviour as reported in social work case studies of mixed families headed by lone white mothers, Ikoli locates these experiences of marginality and prejudice within a more complex story of family relationships that, despite their brittleness, also contain warmth, humour and understanding of the motivations and attitudes of all sides. Ikoli also contributed to the 1985 drama series *Black Silk*, which centred on the cases and personal life of a black Caribbean barrister in London who was separated from his Jamaican wife and in an interracial relationship with a white woman: Angelini (n.d.) notes that the episode penned by Ikoli—about a knife attack committed by an illiterate mixed race youth brought up in multiple foster homes—also touches sympathetically on the emotional complexity that social circumstances and stigma could engender for young people from racially mixed backgrounds caught in the care system.

A vividly differing world of interraciality, however, was put forward by Hanif Kureishi whose screenplays presented interraciality from a range of gendered, sexuality and class perspectives via the London-based romance between a young British Pakistani man and his old punk schoolfriend in *My Beautiful Laundrette* (1985), and a host of diverse and intricate interracial relationships in middle-class London in *Sammy and Rosie Get Laid* (1987). Similarly removed from gritty representations of race and mixedness, issues of femininity and desirability as experienced by black women formed the basis of the short film *Perfect Image* (1989), including the privileges and disadvantages of being a light-skinned mixed race woman as Amanda Symonds (of *Dream Stuffing*) portrayed. Through these accounts thus began to emerge a challenge to the static and fixed model of interraciality and the acknowledgment of a plurality of experiences. Such diversity of representation did not go unnoticed: Caballero (2014) recalls as a teenager in the 1980s experiencing the dichotomy between those two polar representations of mixedness—an endemic institutional pathologisation of mixed race people and its effects on individuals on the one hand, a celebration of hybridity on the other—via seeing the broadcast of the harrowing *Coffee Coloured Children* followed that same year by a performance of the mixed race singer Neneh Cherry performing her single, 'Buffalo Stance', on the television show *Top of the Pops* and the resulting popular admiration and celebration of her beauty and 'global' mixedness,¹⁵ a far cry from the acknowledgement of racial prejudice on an estate in the North East of England.

As the 1990s unfolded, these shifting patterns in acknowledgement and representation began to develop even further. Ford (2008, 2014) has noted that while the levels of prejudice regarding interracial marriage among white Britons were very high in the 1980s, the 1990s saw a significant shift in attitudes with levels of opposition declining sharply, falling from over 50% in 1989 to around 35% in 1996, which Ford attributes to two powerful long term social trends: generational shifts in attitudes—young white Britons who had grown after mass migration in the 1950s being more familiar with diversity—and rising educational levels (see also Chap. 13). Furthermore, as Ford—citing Gilroy (2002)—also notes, the types of arguments made by the likes of Powell that ethnic minority groups were not truly British were diminished by the increasing visibility of black,

Asian and other minority ethnic Britons in the fields of entertainment, sport and the arts. Many of these, particularly high profile 'A' list couples such as the singer David Bowie and the Somalian model Iman, and U2 band member Adam Clayton and supermodel Naomi Campbell, attracted significant press attention though perhaps none so much as the romance between Diana, Princess of Wales, and Dodi Fayed, the son of Egyptian billionaire and owner of Harrods Mohamed Al-Fayed, until their deaths alongside each other in a car crash in Paris in 1997.¹⁶ Such couples were not only being seen as examples of racial mixing but also as trailblazers: a 1993 *Daily Express* article entitled 'Mixed Doubles' discussing the now 'commonplace' nature of mixed racial relationships in Britain glibly argued that the visibility of interracial celebrity relationships had 'set a trend in mixed couples'.¹⁷ Though such arguments about racial mixing and mixedness overlooked the longstanding history of racial mixing in Britain, the increasing visibility of such couples and the mostly favourable attitudes towards them were certainly in tune with the 'new wave' of approaches to interraciality in scholarly fields and cultural awareness and representation which were beginning to normalise and even celebrate interraciality, including people of mixed race. Singers from white and black Caribbean backgrounds such as Craig David and Melanie Brown, aka Scary Spice of the Spice Girls, became recognisable to not only a British but a global audience, while in 1997 Oona King, the daughter of an African-American father and a Jewish mother, became the second woman of black heritage to be elected a Member of Parliament. In their media interviews, it was clear that being in or of a mixed relationship was not a one-dimensional experience; in addition to the racial prejudice they and their families had encountered, such stars also frequently spoke of their clear integration into British life, including often their very British national and localised identities as well as a frequent embracing of mixedness: the *Guardian* reported that, in response to a line of questioning on her racial identity, Melanie Brown sternly asserted 'I'm not black, I'm mixed-race' [*Guardian*, 9 July 1999].

The growing identification of or with a 'mixed' identity was further reflected in the arts, spearheaded by a cohort of writers and artists who were not only themselves mixed race but who drew often on their own backgrounds to provide semi-autobiographical accounts of growing up in

an interracial family in Britain. As previously, these works covered a plurality of experiences: Hanif Kureishi's novel *The Buddha of Suburbia* (1990)—adapted in 1993 into a popular BBC series of the same name—focused on the coming of age of a mixed Pakistani and white British teenager in the South London suburbs of the 1970, while in *Lara* (1997) and *Lady Moses* (1998) Bernadine Evaristo and Lucinda Roy respectively portray the histories and journeys of identity for young women of mixed black African and white heritages. Adoption was tackled by Jackie Kay who dramatised her complex experience of growing up in Scotland as a mixed race child in a white adoptive family in *The Adoption Papers* (1991), while harrowing experiences of care homes and foster families were depicted by Joanna Traynor in *Sister Josephine* (1998). The diversity of the mixed experience also formed the focus of Clement Cooper's acclaimed oral history photographic project of mixed race people in port cities across the UK, *DEEP: People of Mixed Race* (1996)—'the very thing they tried to destroy in me I now photograph', he told *Intermix* (Hall n.d.). The complexity of mixed race families—as well as their longstanding history—was also captured in SuAndi's monodrama *The Story of M* (2017/1994) that powerfully reflected on both the life and death of her own white Irish Liverpoolian mother who had raised mixed race children of African descent against the frequent racism of the 1950s and 1960s, and her own experiences of growing up as the daughter of a white father and a black mother. Critically acclaimed, the work epitomises Weeks et al.'s (2001: preface) concept of 'ordinary lives made extraordinary by the circumstances in which they find themselves', the ending sticking two fingers up at the 'tragic mulatto' experience:

Then there's the media,
desperate for a story,
Headlining,
The Mixed Heritage, confused shows.
They can F***
I know exactly who I am (55)¹⁸

Such diversity was also being represented on screen. Soaps were not only beginning to include interracial couples and people but to give them

significant and complex plots in which their interraciality was considered but not a defining feature. In 1993, BBC1's popular soap *EastEnders* saw the Jacksons, an interracial blended family made up of Alan, a black father, Carole, a white mother, their mixed race child and his three white half-siblings, move into Albert Square, followed a year later by Blossom, Alan's grandmother, coming to live with the family—thus unusually providing at that time one of the most detailed screen depictions of an extended interracial family: Blossom herself would go on to have her own interracial relationship with a white Jewish character. Meanwhile in ITV's competing soap *Coronation Street*, a mixed race character was introduced in the form of the hairdresser Fiona Middleton who was featured in prominent storylines, including numerous romances with white male characters. Played by Angela Griffin, the character was highly popular with audiences and praised for being a positive representation of a character of black heritage, though some quarters of the black press began to query Fiona's 'deracination' and the colour-blindness shown to the character as, unlike other significant characters, her parents were never shown let alone mentioned; similarly, despite living in a predominantly white area and shown in numerous relationships with white men, the subject of race or racism never reared its head. As Bourne (2001: 172) notes, while the producers initially insisted that Fiona's was a 'colour blind' role, by 1996 not only had her parents made a couple of appearances but the issue of racism was introduced when Fiona's white police officer fiancé admitted he was reluctant to take her to a social event due to fears about being seen in an interracial relationship. While the producers were hesitant to introduce the issue of race into the series via Fiona's character, they had willingly touched on the subject during the interracial relationship of the characters Amy Nelson, a black supermarket cashier, and Andy McDonald, a white student, who were depicted as dating in numerous episodes throughout 1993 as well as experiencing prejudice due to Amy's colour. Reportedly, the intention of the writers was that the couple would marry in what would be a groundbreaking interracial wedding for the soap, but actress Louise Duprey who played Amy found the pressures of fame too demanding and left the show in early October 1993 (Corrie.net n.d.). The short-lived Welsh soap *Tiger Bay* (1997), set in the eponymous area of Cardiff, also featured an interracial family within its diverse cast.

Outside of soaps, depictions of interraciality were flourishing even more widely and covering a wide range of social and geographical worlds. In some instances, the issue of racial mixing was explicit or integral to the drama such as Mike Leigh's award-winning *Secrets and Lies* (1996) in which a successful middle-class black optometrist traces her birth mother only to find that she is a white, downwardly mobile working-class woman;¹⁹ ITV's expensive dramatisation of Catherine Cookson's *Colour Blind* (1998), updated to present a more loving and sympathetic portrayal of the white heroine towards her black husband; and Ayub Khan Din's hit comedy drama *East Is East* (1999) (adapted from his 1996 play of the same name) based on his childhood memories of his and his siblings' lives with their Pakistani father and white working-class mother in 1970s' Salford, including rebelling against their father's traditions. Other works touched on racism from white society, such as in a 1996 episode of the popular ITV drama series *Solider, Soldier*, which depicted a white soldier dealing with reactions within the Army to his black wife; and the often overlooked attitudes of minority ethnic communities towards racial mixing—partly explored in *East Is East*—such as *Bhaji On The Beach* (1993) which featured a sub-plot highlighting the attitudes of an Asian family and community to interracial relationships, here between an Indian woman and a black man, and Isaac Julien's *Young Soul Rebels* (1991) which, alongside its exploration of white racism and the social, political and cultural tensions between various youth cultures in 1970s' London, also highlighted how the black community could hold complex attitudes towards mixedness, a black character in one scene proclaiming that you 'can't trust dem 'alf caste bwoy ye no. Ye don't know which side dem on.'

Elsewhere, interraciality was entwined with other issues. With echoes of *My Beautiful Laundrette*, *Young Soul Rebels* prominently featured an interracial gay relationship (between a black soulboy and a white punk), while *The Girl With Brains in Her Feet* (1997) set in a working-class community in 1970s' Leicester echoed the *Buddha of Suburbia* by depicting a coming-of-age journey with a mixed race protagonist, this time a talented mixed race teenage athlete whose edgy relationship with her white mother—who refuses to even show her daughter a picture of her black father—is one strand in a wider representation of the turmoils of adolescence. Similarly in Shane Meadow's *A Room For Romeo Brass* (1999), the mixed and intricate family background and relationships of the eponymous Romeo—who lives with his mixed race mother and white

sister and has a difficult relationships with his previously absent white father—is presented not only as part of ordinary complex family dynamics but again as one piece of a larger story of friendship and family. This matter-of-fact approach to mixedness could also be seen in the BBC2's dark comedy television series *Nice Town* (1992): the interracial make up of a middle-class couple—a high-powered black working mother (Josette Simon) and her white stay-at-home husband (Paul McGann)—are irrelevant to the story's wider themes of role reversal and suburban suffocation. Such 'normalised' portrayals of interraciality were also occurring on stage where minority ethnic actors starred in roles usually played by white actors, thus giving the characters' relationships a racially mixed dimension, such as Don Warrington in Watford Palace Theatre's revival of the 1970s' comedy *Middle Age Spread* and Lennie James as Valentine in The Globe's 1996 production of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*. Such depictions were not only important for playing a role in shifting attitudes of white Britons (Gilroy 2002) but also of those from mixed racial and ethnic backgrounds themselves. The writer Zadie Smith—herself from a mixed racial background and who would go on to feature interraciality highly in her own work—has remarked on the thrilling effect Kureishi's *Buddha of Suburbia*, and particularly his mixed race protagonist Karim, had on her and her teenage peers who were not used to seeing people like themselves represented in literature:

I had no idea you could start a book like that. In school we were reading—per the syllabus—Austen, Milton, Shakespeare, Keats, Iris Murdoch.... Karim was different, I knew him; I recognised the way class worked in his family, the complex mix of working- and lower-middle-class realities, and all the strange gradations that can exist between these two states. And of course he was one of the 'new-breed', like me, like so many kids in our school, although the only other mentions of us I'd ever come across before were all of the 'tragic mulatto' variety. But the kids I knew were not tragic. They were like Karim: pushy, wild, charismatic, street-smart, impudent, often hilarious. Despite their relatively lowly position in the British class system they suspected they were cool, and knew they had talent and brains. They felt special, even if the rest of the world thought they were marginal. 'Although I hated inequality', explains Karim, 'it didn't mean I wanted to be treated like everyone else' (ch. 10). Yes, exactly that. But how did he know so much about us, this Kureishi person, born in south London, 20 years earlier? Yet he knew.²⁰

While these significant shifts in representation began to move the discourse on mixedness towards more multidimensional understandings, longstanding perceptions nevertheless proved to have deep roots. While research pointed to the overlooked middle-class dimension of mixed race families (Tizard and Phoenix 1993), the image of white women 'of a low type' partnering feckless black men endured: in the popular BBC comedy sketch show *Harry Enfield and Chums* (1997), the popular Waynetta Slob character railed to her husband Wayne Slob:

Oh Wayne, I'm the only married woman on the estate—it's not fair on our kids, they get teased at school: 'You've got a daddy! You've got a daddy!' they all shout. I wanna be a single mum, Wayne—and I want a brown baby—all the other mums have got at least one brown baby and I want one—and for that I need a big black man, and that ain't you.

The exoticisation of women of colour, particularly those from East Asian backgrounds as an idealised sexual and feminine partner also held firmly—in his article 'Pretty Ethnic: The Death of the White Woman', the journalist Tony Parsons (1991) asked, 'Why do most men prefer—either in their lives or in their fantasies—the comfort of brown-eyed girls rather than big brood mares with dyed hair and sagging tits? Why? Are you kidding?'—though this was also tempered by their alternative stereotype as ruthless, cunning gold-diggers, as per the media coverage of Wendy Deng who married newspaper mogul Rupert Murdoch in 1999 (Hu 2016). The notion of the troubled and marginalised 'hybrid' also continued to surface. In 'Men Will Weep', an episode of Jimmy McGovern's hit crime drama *Cracker* (1994), a rapist is revealed to be a Liverpudlian mixed race man named Floyd who is consumed with racial loathing and resentment; despising the colour of his own skin as a child to the extent of scarring his body with bleach in an attempt to become white, Floyd now rapes the wives of white men who have wronged him as revenge on white society. As McNeil (2010) points out, McGovern's presentation of the Liverpool-born black community taps into the enduring narrative that reduces it to a multiracial ghetto of either victims or perpetrators. Recent scholarship has worked to overturn such stereotypes and illustrate the history of Liverpool's black cultural and political

pioneers (Costello 2007), a rebuttal to comments such as those made by the British black Caribbean writer Caryl Phillips who had earlier pronounced there wasn't anything in the city of Liverpool that could inspire pride in a black identity (McNeil 2010: 86). In McGovern's screenplay, the complex and multifaceted damaging experiences faced by numerous mixed race children, and particularly those in care—of which race is just one significant factor (Peters 2016)—are simplistically reduced to the age old trope of the confused and consequently dangerous 'half-caste'. Such tropes explaining the motivations of those of mixed race came easily to the fore. In 1993, a controversial decision to implant a white woman's egg into a black woman to ensure the mother's request that the child resembled its white father—and thus escape the stigma of 'mixedness'—was taken by specialists in Italy. When asked whether such requests would be honoured in Britain, Peter Brinsden, the director of a British fertility clinic in Cambridge replied:

We would seriously think about it. There are merits in having an all-white or all-black child. In my view it is not right, but it is a fact of life that being half-caste is not as easy as being white or black, and I believe this couple may well have been acting in the child's interests.²¹

Similarly, despite the singer Melanie Brown having frequently mentioned in the press that her childhood was a happy one, in a *Guardian* interview where Brown discusses how keeping a diary helps her get out her negativity, the interviewer pushing further on its source suspects that it must be deeper than the 'crap ... PMT' days that Brown mentions, but 'if the negativity has the roots in her mixed race childhood in Leeds ... she isn't saying.'²²

These two frameworks—traditional pathologisations and understandings on the one hand and a 'new wave' that posited more positive, multi-dimensional experiences on the other—thus jostled alongside as the century drew to a close, often overlapping or bleeding into one another, such as in the contrasting perspectives aired in an episode of the BBC's morning chat show *Kilroy* (1996),²³ or highlighted in continuing heated discussions on the TRA and 'correct' identities of mixed race children as prompted by accounts such as the Lawrences—a mixed Asian/White couple from Norfolk—who were initially reported as being turned

down from adopting a mixed race child due to not having enough experience of dealing with racism (later accounts suggested the rejection was due to the couple's general unsuitability to meet the needs of a child).²⁴ By the time Tony Blair and the Labour party were ushered into power in 1997, great swathes of media were increasingly heralding and celebrating multiracial Britain—and the growing visibility of racial mixing and mixedness—as evidence of the nation's tolerance, creativity and rebirth as 'Cool Britannia' in which immigration and multiculturalism were enhancing rather than destroying Britain's identity. 'Mixed Race Love: Has Britain Grown Up At Last?' asked the *Daily Express* in 1998, commenting on the country's rising rates of interracial relationships and 'new found tolerance' for those crossing the colour line.²⁵ However, in the midst of such celebratory attitudes, not only persisting pathologisation but old antagonisms also endured. In 1996, police uncovered a letter bomb plot by Combat 18—a violent neo-Nazi offshoot of the far-right British National Party organisation—whose targets were socialists, liberals in favour of immigration and sportspeople in mixed race marriages, and later intercepted an explosive device hidden in a video cassette that had been sent to former Olympians Sharron Davies, who is white British, and her then husband, Derek Redmond, who is black British. Like the black British former world heavyweight boxer Frank Bruno and his white wife Laura, the couple had also received targeted hate mail, while former black British Olympic athlete Kriss Akabusi was warned he and his white German wife were also potential targets.²⁶ The British press heavily denounced these attacks on 'British sport stars', the *Daily Express* cartoonist lampooning the neo-Nazi campaign and their attitudes to mixed marriage as the mindset of stupid, illiterate, easily-led goons: showing a group of unattractive bomber-jacketed neo-Nazis scrawling letters on a table with their leader shouting 'No, no, no, Malcolm. Mixed marriage means mixed RACE not mixed sex!'²⁷ Such tensions between acceptance and hostility were explored in the BBC documentary *Love in Black and White* (1998) which charted the change in public attitudes towards racial mixing through first-hand accounts, unusually focusing on lives prior to the 'new wave' of interest in the subject. As the century drew to a close, it was clear that while the topic may erroneously have been considered a modern phenomenon, it was one that was not going to fade from the public eye any time soon.

Notes

1. The journalist Matthew Parris who was working as the clerk handling Margaret Thatcher's general correspondence in 1978 recalled that after the speech, the average 500–700 letters a week received in the office increased to 5000, almost all supportive. 'We were swamped indeed: swamped by racist bilge.' *The Times*, 29 October 2014.
2. *Daily Mail*, 15 October 1984.
3. A sympathetic article exploring the complexities of TRA and the reasons behind the stance of black social workers appeared in the *Guardian*, 26 January 1983.
4. See for example, *Daily Mail*, 15 February 1984 and 16 October 1984; *The Times*, 24 August 1989; *Guardian*, 24 August 1989.
5. See for example, *The Times*, 18 May 1983 and 7 July 1986; *Daily Mail*, 15 and 28 February and 16 October 1984; *Daily Express*, 25 August 1989. A number of letters from adult black adoptees discussing their more complex feelings and experiences of TRA can be found in the *Guardian*, 28 and 31 August 1989.
6. See, for example, Banks (1992a, b), Maximé (1993) and Owusu-Bempah (1994)
7. *Daily Express*, 9 January 1982.
8. On Sade, see Gozanles 2015; on David Yip, *Daily Mail*, 2 May 1981 and Lee (2004); on Bruce Oldfield, *The Daily Express*, 27 November 2013 and Oldfield (2004); on Ben Kingsley, the *Daily Mail*, 21 May 2010, *The Manchester Evening News*, 19 October 2003 and *The Telegraph*, 14 April 2003.
9. *Daily Express*, 10 September 1982; *Daily Mail*, 10 September 1982.
10. *The Stage*, 13 April 1986.
11. *New York Times*, 15 February 1983.
12. Acknowledgement of Mo's racial background was included in the show: mention was made of how Mo was conceived due to her mother having had a fling with a black man.
13. Discussing the circumstances behind the song, Thompson recalled that 'It was just not accepted in those days. [My sister] was shunned by a few people in the family.' 'My father tried to talk her into getting it terminated,' says Lee. 'My sister dug her heels in and I was caught in the middle, wanting everyone to be happy.' However, in line with the research findings of Collins and others, Thompson later stated that when his sister's child Hayley was born, the antipathy of his family disappeared (Duffy 2005).

14. See the *Daily Express*, 6 March 1991; 24 November 1993 as well as French's autobiography *Dear Fatty* (2008) and *The Telegraph*, 17 September 2017, where French speaks of the couple hiring security as a safeguard from the racist attacks. It should also be noted that in a separate interview with the *Express* (29 September 1993), Henry remarked that the attacks on their property were one-off incidents rather than the constant stream of abuse or campaign that the press had made it out to be.
15. Born to a Swedish mother and a Sierra Leonean father, Cherry spent her early years in Stockholm before moving to the USA and then London as a teenager.
16. It is reported that, prior to her relationship with Fayed, Diana had been in a secret two-year relationship with Haznat Khan, a Pakistani heart surgeon resident in London. See, *The Telegraph*, 13 January 2008; *Vanity Fair*, September 2013.
17. *Daily Express*, 29 September 1993.
18. *The Story of 'M'* was added to the A-levels English Literature list offered by EdExcel Examination Board in 2017.
19. Despite its critical plaudits by the mainstream press, the film's depiction of TRA and mixed race birth families has regularly been interrogated in other quarters for its 'lack of vision', as well as the 'authenticity' of the actress Marianne-Jean Baptiste's phenotypical appearance as a woman of mixed race. See for example, McLeod (2015) and Alexander (1999).
20. Smith (2015).
21. *The Independent*, 1 January 1994.
22. *Guardian*, 9 July 1999.
23. *Broadcast*, 1 May 1996.
24. See for example *The Times*, 9 July 1993 and 19 February 1997; *Daily Express*, 10 July 1993 and 25 August 1998.
25. *Daily Express*, 24 August 1998.
26. See *Daily Express*, 20 January 1997; *Guardian*, 25 March 2000.
27. *Express*, 21 January 1997.

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13

Social Acceptance, Official Recognition, and Membership of the British Collectivity

In Chap. 2 we described how the processes of racial mixing and mixedness were denigrated by those opposed to ‘race crossing’, most notably by the eugenics movement. In Britain there was largely an absence amongst geneticists and anthropologists of intellectual support for these views and some of the country’s leading practitioners in these fields actively warned against nationalist claims of white racial superiority in books and tracts published in the late 1930s. The anthropometricists active in Britain either maintained a neutral stance on arguments about the dangers or benefits of interracial unions or took the view that such unions posed no biological risks. However, the growing threat of Nazi fascism throughout the decade and the resulting Holocaust led to a progressive dissociation from such biological and cultural theories of white racial superiority. While international bodies and activists had tried to mobilise support for a conference on race before the outbreak of the Second World War, such initiatives did not come about till the 1950s, led by the newly formed UNESCO. Its statement on race comprehensively debunked intellectual claims that racial mixing posed biological risks and marked a turning point in the credibility and public acceptability of the claims of the eugenics movement.

However, as Chap. 9 shows, while most natural and social scientists in both Britain and the USA accepted the UNESCO view that there was no evidence that race mixture produced disadvantageous results from a biological point of view, the removal of the intellectual legitimacy of such biological theories did not have an immediate effect on the level of white racial prejudice in Britain. A decline in such prejudice would take decades to gain momentum. From the late 1940s through to the 1970s Britain witnessed mass immigration from its former colonial territories. This rapid rise in the size of the ethnic minority population—and the perceived increased competition for jobs and housing associated with it—gave rise to a wave of support for politicians, such as Enoch Powell, who chose to express openly racially discriminatory policies. This was also the time of the extreme right National Front and of racist violence in the towns and cities of Britain. As we discussed in Chap. 12, reports in the popular press bear testimony to the high level of racial prejudice borne by those who entered interracial unions and their children at this time.

Not until the 1980s was there a marked political shift in attitudes. Some commentators have argued that changes in immigration law and policy in this decade helped to allay public fears about the scale of immigration. This was accompanied by a shift in attitude to how the government viewed the growing mixed race population. No longer was this population viewed as part of the ‘coloured’ collectivity but as a community of descent born and brought up in Britain. It no longer became acceptable for politicians to voice racially prejudiced arguments. Moreover, by the 1980s, Britain’s ethnic minority population was beginning to disperse across the country, increasing the exposure of the white population to these new communities in their neighbourhoods. Accompanying this trend was evidence of increasing rates of interethnic union formation, especially from the early 1980s. However, it was the 1990s that was the truly transformative decade in terms of changes in public attitudes, with levels of racial prejudice as recorded in surveys falling by 5 to 10 percentage points between the 1980s and 1990s.

Social Acceptance of Mixing and Mixedness

How the wider society viewed mixing and mixedness changed dramatically during the 1990s. The evidence for the scale of this change has been provided by Robert Ford in his analysis of the British Social Attitudes

(BSA) surveys, a series of national surveys carried out in most years since 1983 (Ford 2008). Ford uses the surveys conducted between 1983 and 1996 which contained a module of items about immigration and ethnic minorities. Those Ford selects were asked repeatedly over a 13-year run of data. One item in particular deals with how comfortable respondents feel about a particularly interpersonal form of social contact:

- (a) Do you think that most white people in Britain would mind or not mind if one of their close relatives were to marry a person of black or West Indian/Asian origin? (If mind) A lot or a little?
- (b) And you personally? Would you mind or not mind? (If mind) A lot or a little?

In collecting the data the samples were randomly split such that half white respondents were asked about their views on black/West Indian people and half were asked about Asians. While concealing much heterogeneity, these broad categories nevertheless enable levels of hostility to racial minorities to be measured over a significant run of data and to focus on systematic variations with respect to education and cohort. Ford comments, 'The social distance measures employed here have a high level of theoretical and empirical validity. Such items provide concrete examples of the kind of irrational hostility towards a group that is considered to be the essence of prejudice, but are also rooted in social situations that are easy for respondents to comprehend'.

Ford provides a number of analyses: trends in this social distance item over time and the cohort structure of the attitudes; a comparison of attitudes towards black and Asian minority groups to identify any differences between the groups; and a multivariate statistical analysis of the item. The data for this period (1983–1996, $N = 11,729$) show significant hostility to contact with ethnic minority populations, with between 30% and 50% objecting to a close relative marrying someone black or Asian, around half registering strong objections. However, this measure of racial prejudice declines sharply over the period and especially in the 1990s, nearly halving after 1989 and with levels of strong opposition falling more steeply. Moreover, attitudes to racial intermarriage are almost identical for both the black and Asian groups, except amongst Britons born in the 1930s who tend to express more hostility to black people.

When the data are broken down by birth cohort, large generational differences in levels of prejudice are apparent. Hostility to racial intermarriage is fairly uniform amongst the oldest generations (born before 1930). However, amongst cohorts born after the mid-1930s, such hostility falls rapidly. For example, opposition to racial intermarriage falls from over 60% in the oldest cohort (1910) to around 25% in the 1970 cohort, and under 20% in the youngest, with strong opposition falling from 40% to 10%. Ford's multivariate analysis shows that generation (cohort) is the main driver of the declining trend in prejudice. He reasons, 'Generations brought up in an ethnically homogeneous Britain express high levels of prejudice, while those who have come up since mass migration began expressing progressively more tolerant attitudes...older generations have adopted the discriminatory views about race which were prevalent when they grew up and retained them despite their declining legitimacy and social unacceptability'.

With respect to the influence of a wider range of factors on levels of prejudice, Ford's multivariate analysis reveals that more highly educated individuals express significantly less prejudice towards racial intermarriage, 5 to 15 percentage points lower than the unqualified. Similarly, the 'salaried' are less prejudiced than other social classes. The models reveal some important interaction effects. For example, opposition to racial intermarriage among degree-holding women falls from over 60% amongst the oldest cohorts to under 10% among the youngest. By contrast, unqualified male opposition remains flat at around 50% for most of the cohort birth years, only beginning to decline for the youngest cohorts born from the 1960s.

This analysis, then, shows that it was primarily a major generational shift in white attitudes that was responsible for the decline in prejudice between the 1980s and 1990s, that is, a process of cohort replacement. There is some evidence that generational change is also the driver of change in prejudicial attitudes in the nations of Europe and the USA. Ford also postulates some 'period effects' that might explain some of the change that took place between the 1980s and 1990s, but these seem less plausible: a shift from the divisive Margaret Thatcher to the more conciliatory John Major, the deep economic recession of 1990–1991 (focusing minds on economic issues), and events such as the *Satanic Verses* controversy in

1989 and the first Gulf War, providing a focus on religious (rather than racial) divisions. However, he found little evidence to support the idea that race-based discrimination is being replaced by new barriers based on perceived cultural discrimination (which might have manifested itself in greater hostility towards Asian minority groups).

While this series examined by Ford is limited to the period 1983–1996, he does speculate that, ‘the generational basis to the trend means it is also likely to have continued beyond the end of the survey series examined here, as younger and more tolerant cohorts replace the ageing and highly prejudiced pre-immigration cohorts’. Indeed, this is confirmed by Ford in a more recent commentary. Amongst those born in the 1980s, those comfortable with mixed race marriages outnumber those opposed by 4:1. In a survey undertaken by the organisation BritainThinks, views about intermarriage were explored amongst a representative sample of 2149 adults aged 18 plus across Great Britain interviewed in November 2012 (Ford et al. 2012). Participants were asked, ‘how would you feel if your child or grandchild were to have a serious relationship or marriage with any of the following...?’ For ‘someone of a different race or ethnicity to their own’, 62% said that they would be comfortable and 15% uncomfortable, a higher percentage of comfort than ‘someone who practices a different faith’ (58% and 16%, respectively).

The series of national BSA surveys is the most robust evidence for the increasing social acceptance of racial intermarriage in the last decades of the twentieth century. However, there are other sources that corroborate this picture.

Hybridity Comes of Age: The Era of Official Categorisation in Government Commissioned Surveys and Census Tests and Trials

By 1980, information on Britain’s black population—let alone the ‘mixed’ group—was described as ‘in some areas, a complete “statistical vacuum” and, in others, a “partial” vacuum’. Yet Drew’s (1980: 120) controversial statement that, ‘As the immigrant population from the Caribbean and

the Indian sub-continent have remained separately endogamous, their children tend to share their parents' physical characteristics' would have surprised many. Smith (1977: 94) had estimated from the Political and Economic Planning (PEP) survey that among married Asians, 5% of men and 2% of women were married to a white person in 1974, these figures being 8% of men and 1% of women among West Indians. The increasing visibility of the mixed race population in Britain's provincial cities and locally collected statistics had created a need for an official terminology. The first attempts to collect ethnicity data in government commissioned surveys began in the mid-1970s and gave recognition to a 'mixed' group. Around this time, too, the census agency in Britain (the Office for Population Censuses and Surveys—OPCS) began its first field trials and tests for an ethnicity question in the decennial census.

The introduction of this official terminology marked an important turning point. Up to this time the 'mixed' population had been encompassed by terms that described the person's minority ethnic status (such as 'Coloured' and 'New Commonwealth Ethnic Origin'). By the 1970s the term 'half-caste' and its assumptions had been delegitimised by government as it was regarded as pejorative, its wider use varying regionally in terms of acceptability. According to Bentley (1977: 17), reporting on a conference on 'Children of Mixed Marriages' in 1976, 'to call someone a half-caste now in Liverpool was tantamount to offering oneself up for lynching whilst on the other hand two North London sisters calmly embraced the term to describe themselves'. However, 'coloured', too, had become problematic, seen as synonymous with skin colour, ambiguous in terms of its coverage, and as offensive by some. A language was needed that eschewed such contentious labels and also gave recognition to the reality that the 'mixed' population also encompassed a white heritage. Moreover, while 'race' was used in legislation and the 'race relations' context, it was burdened by a fraught past and condemnation by international bodies, which made problematic the use of mixed race in official contexts. Where 'race' was used it was nearly always palliated by inclusion in a 'race or ethnic group/ancestry' label or similar wording.

These new data collections and tests also broke with the past by privileging conceptualisations of *origin* or *descent*. Following several decades of substantial immigration to Britain, many of these Afro-Caribbean and

Asian residents had started families: it was estimated that 35% of the 'black' (New Commonwealth and Pakistani origin) population in 1971 were born in the UK, rising to 40% in 1976. Consequently, some measure of descent was needed to encompass the second generation as well as those who had migrated. The first field trials for a census ethnicity question were undertaken in 1975–1977, the recommended question on 'race or ethnic group/descent' listing ten categories including a final free-text option 'Any other race or ethnic group, or if of mixed racial or ethnic descent' (Sillitoe and White 1992). A modified version of this design—treating 'mixed' in the same way—was used in the April 1979 census test, 'White' being replaced with two national origin categories. However, as a result of a campaign by organisations which urged the public not to participate in the tests, the decision was taken not to ask an ethnic group question in the 1981 Census.¹

Nevertheless, the National Dwelling and Housing Survey, a large-scale one-off survey into Britain's housing commissioned by the Department of the Environment, was carried out in 1976, following the cancellation of the 1976 mid-term Census. The first official survey to include ethnicity, the 'ethnic group' question asked respondents 'To which of the groups listed on this card do you consider... (person) belongs', the set including 'Mixed Origin (please state)'.² Further, the Labour Force Survey (LFS) also introduced a direct ethnicity question in 1979 (similar to the one based on the 1975–1977 census trials): 'From which of these groups listed on this card do you consider you are descended?', 'Any other racial or ethnic group or of mixed racial descent' being one of the response options.³ The biennial LFS quickly established itself as one of the Government's main social surveys and in the next (1981) survey the 'Mixed' and 'Other' categories were separated. In the 1983 survey the free text 'Mixed' responses were coded into 13 'mixed' sub-groups,⁴ two of which were redolent of the old terminology ('miscellaneous "partly coloured"' and 'miscellaneous "coloured"').

Efforts to find a suitable ethnicity question for the decennial census were reinvigorated by the second report of the House of Commons Home Affairs Sub-Committee on Race Relations and Immigration that proposed that OPCS carry out further tests. The report indicated that it was acceptable to use the terms 'black' and 'white' and suggested a possible

question design that incorporated both terms and also a ‘mixed race’ tick box (the only design to specify *mixed race* and, notably, originating in a parliamentary committee) (House of Commons 1983). However, given the term’s contentious history, OPCS was guarded about using it for official purposes and especially the census, the key tool in the state’s statistical governmentality, and therefore eschewed it in the search for a question.

In the second series of field trials (1985–1986), the first design tested (1985) again included a final open response category for any other ethnic group or mixed descent. However, the next test (January 1986) heralded a downgrading of the ‘mixed descent’ group, it being removed from the ‘Any other’ category and now accommodated in the question instruction: ‘If the person is descended from more than one group, please tick the one to which the person considers he or she belongs, or tick box 13 (Any other race or ethnic group) and describe the person’s ancestry in the space provided’. According to ONS (1993: 10, quoting Sillitoe 1987), ‘Up to the mid-1980s, various field trials had shown that people of mixed descent often preferred not to be distinguished as a separate group; instead they usually identified with the ethnic group of one of their parents—usually the father’. This seemed an odd conclusion to draw as the 1985 LFS counted 232,000 ‘mixed’ persons (OPCS 1986). Nevertheless, in further field trials in 1986, in the April 1989 Census Test, and in the 1991 Census (the first to ask about ethnic group), ‘mixed’ continued to be accommodated in the instruction. The belief about identification with a single parental ethnicity was shown to have been misplaced when around 230,000 persons gave a mixed descent description in the Census question free-text fields, perhaps two-thirds of those of mixed descent (Office of Population Censuses and Surveys/General Register Office (Scotland) 1993).

Official Recognition of the ‘Mixed’ Group in UK Censuses

It is perhaps not surprising that the decision to officially recognize the ‘Mixed’ group came in the 1990s, the decade during which there was a marked reduction in the level of prejudice against racial intermarriage.

Indeed, the history of recognition for the 'mixed' group can be viewed from two perspectives. Firstly, we can locate that decision in the wider political and social climate in the 1990s which became propitious for official recognition. This, in turn, links to what Taylor and Gutmann (1992) have called the 'politics of recognition'. Secondly, within this broader context, there were the specific triggers that resulted in the inclusion of the 'mixed' group in the census, routed in institutional processes. It would be easy to conclude that the country's drift into unofficial multiculturalism at this time was the key driver but this would be mistaken as trials for a census question had considered a 'mixed' option as early as the late 1970s. Such circumstances clearly favoured official recognition but were probably not a *sufficient* condition for it to take place.

The decision amongst the census agencies of the three countries of USA, Canada and Britain to contemporaneously include capture of the 'mixed race' population in their decennial censuses is likely to be linked to the prevailing circumstances at the time but which circumstances were influential and how they intersected with institutional processes are probably specific to each country. Prewitt (2013) has referred to 'multiraciality/multiculturalism' as one of the mounting pressures on the US 'statistical races' from the 1980s and especially in the 1990s. Similarly, Thompson has written of 'the emergence of multiracial multiculturalism' (Thompson 2012) in the USA, Great Britain and Canada at this time. In 2000 the Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain commented that the movement towards a multi-ethnic, multicultural Britain 'has evolved as an unplanned, incremental process—a matter of multicultural drift, not of conscious policy'.

In developing ethnic group questions for the decennial census, question formats had first been tested in the late 1970s which included a residual 'other' group that explicitly included persons of 'mixed descent'. The only version to include a specific category ('Mixed race') was the untested 1983 Home Affairs Sub-Committee question. The OPCS controversially took the view that people from racially mixed backgrounds preferred to identify with a single group. This resulted in an instruction to those of 'mixed' descent in the 1991 Census to tick one of the census single ethnic group options or to write in a description in one of the open response options.

However, the governmental framework⁵ set up to develop questions for the 2001 Census was faced with the finding in the 1991 Census that 230,000 persons had indicated that they were 'mixed', clearly too large a number to continue to be contained within residual 'other' categories at a time of growing interraciality. Moreover, given the much higher propensity to tick a box rather than write-in a description, this was clearly an undercount. The first phase of the 2001 Census Development Programme (July 1995–December 1996) commenced with a baseline consultation on how the ethnic group question should be revised, undertaken by Aspinall (1995) via a questionnaire survey with census users, against the background of a suggested 'no change' question initially favoured by the census agency. The resulting consultation report identified three possible changes to the 1991 question: subdividing the 'White' category, enabling people to describe themselves as 'Black British', and introducing an explicit category for 'Mixed ethnic group', the last being the only suggested change that received unanimous support from Census Advisory Group members. Unlike the USA, there was no 'mixed race' movement in the UK that lobbied the census agencies for the change on the grounds of civil rights. Indeed, there was no pressure at the time from either mixed race organisations (of which there were only one or two in the mid-1990s) or from mixed race individuals acting independently, to introduce 'mixed' categorisation. Instead, the impetus came from users of census data who saw the urgency of aligning census categorisation with population realities. In the USA, by comparison, it was multiracial activists that initiated efforts to change census practice, while the census agency decided the best way to respond to that demand.

Once the need for these changes had been accepted by the UK Census Offices, the challenge became one of identifying appropriate methods of capture. Census development programmes have traditionally encompassed extensive consultation exercises, focus group and cognitive research, small-scale question testing, and large-scale trials, with reporting back to the UK Census Offices as the process proceeds. Small-scale testing work with members of the public, including investigation of the effect of the proposed changes on intercensus comparability, immediately followed. Focus group discussions, each with six to nine persons, were held by ONS's

Social Survey Division (SSD) in 1996 with two 'mixed' groups—mixed Asian-White parentage and mixed Black-White parentage. The self-nominated descriptors used by the mixed Asian group were 'mixed race', 'half Asian-half mixed race', 'mixed parentage', 'mixed black', 'mixed white', 'mixed Asian', and 'half Irish half Indian'. The terms used by the mixed Black group were 'mixed race', 'Black British' and 'British'. Both groups of respondents felt it was very important to identify as being of mixed ethnicity. However, for the Black group in particular, a 'mixed race' category was not enough, participants wanting to be able to include all aspects of their background. Based on these findings, SSD reported that while a mixed ethnic group category would be acceptable it needed to make provision for different mixes.

The second phase of the programme (January 1997–December 1999) was designed to identify appropriate categories to capture the 'mixed' group. It involved further small-scale testing, the 1997 Census Test and scrutiny of its results, and agreement on the questions to be recommended for the 1999 Census Rehearsal, the last major test. In March/April 1997 individual cognitive interviews were held in Glasgow, Midlands, Yorkshire, Southampton and London with 27 people from groups other than White, half the sample being recruited on the basis of being born outside the UK. The aim was to assess the acceptability and understanding of a revised ethnic group question. This subdivided the 'White' category into 'White-British' and a free text 'White-other; added' a 'Black-British' option to the three 'Black' categories used in the 1991 Census, with a feeder to options 'of Caribbean ancestry' and 'of African ancestry'; contributed an 'Asian-British' option to the three Asian options, with a similar feeder to ancestry options (Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi); and included a free-text 'Mixed ethnic group' option. ONS did not wish to lose the ancestral country origins of those choosing 'Black British' and 'Asian British' but this accommodation made for a complex question. With respect to the test's aims (the use/acceptability of an ancestry sub-group and the use of a 'Mixed ethnic group' category), the interviews revealed an ordering effect with respect to 'Black-British' and 'Asian-British' (which followed the 1991 Census pre-designated options). Many preferred these categories but some found difficulty with the length

of the list (18 tick boxes) and the interpretation of ancestry. Respondents liked the 'Mixed' option as they could write in their mix but some chose 'Black-British' in preference to this category.

For the first major trial—the 1997 Census Test—the March/April 1997 question was eschewed for a minimal change version of the 1991 question, the only addition being a free text 'Mixed ethnic group' as the penultimate option. In a split test, two versions of the ethnic group question were used, based on different conceptual bases: 'ethnic group' and 'ancestral origin' (and, similarly 'Mixed ethnic group' and 'Mixed origin'), response rates from households indicating no statistically significant difference. Examples of 'Mixed' write-ins varied from 'mixed race' to detailed descriptions like 'White mother/Indian father' and 'Jamaican/American Indian/English/Irish'. Following this test there was further investigation of a number of different question formats: a single format and a two-tier format (tier one comprising the main pan-ethnicities—'White', 'Black', 'Asian', 'Mixed', and 'Other'—and tier two more detailed group options). With respect to the former, a version of the 'Mixed' option was offered that gave respondents a choice of three 'cultural background' options to tick: 'Black African and White', 'Asian and White', and a free text 'Any other cultural background, e.g. Chinese and Indian, please state below'. This was the first time a question was proposed that used the concept of 'cultural background' and was also notable (as the only example) for not privileging 'White' as the first-named group and acknowledging that 'Mixed' could encompass combinations of groups exclusive of 'White' (that is, 'double minority' groups).

With respect to the two-tier question, four different versions were discussed. The options in tiers one and two differed, the latter encompassing in one version 'Black-African', 'Black-Caribbean', a free text 'Black-other', Bangladeshi, Indian, Pakistani, Chinese, Greek, Turkish, and a free-text 'Any other'. There was some discussion of multi-ticking in tier two but the versions of the two-tier question were not formally tested. The closest they got to acceptance was a vote (against the single tier option) in the 2001 Census Working Group on Content, Classification, and Question Testing. In the event, it was the single tier question that won out: a conceptual base of 'cultural background' options embedded within

pan-ethnic groups'. The question tested in the 1999 Census Rehearsal was that finally accepted for the 2001 Census, 'Mixed' being captured by the four cultural background groups of 'White and Black Caribbean', 'White and Black African', 'White and Asian' and a free-text 'Any other Mixed background'. Indeed, the 1999 Census Test was the only formal assessment of the 'Mixed' options coming at the very end of the development programme. In Scotland and Northern Ireland—where the 'mixed' populations were much smaller, comprising 0.3% and 0.2%, respectively, of the population in the enumeration—generic 'Any mixed background' and 'Mixed ethnic group' open response options were considered appropriate and uncontroversial.

Thus, it had taken around 25 years since the first census field trials in 1975–1977 to secure 'mixed' categorisation on the decennial census form. One reason for the delay may have been the census agency's perception that 'mixed' people were happy to tick a single box, a view that persisted into the early 1990s though clearly challenged by the fact that almost a quarter of a million people had identified as 'mixed' in the LFS in the mid-1980s. Clearly, too, inertia played a role, mutually exclusive categorisation having become embedded in the census programme of field trials and in some general purpose surveys. While a more favourable climate for recognition emerged in the 1990s as objection to population mixing and the formation of interethnic unions fell markedly and the government began its drift into a politics of informal multiculturalism, it was the community of users of census data that precipitated the change on the grounds of aligning census categorisation with the changing demographic realities of the country, and not the self-esteem rationale that drove the US Multiracial Movement.

By virtue of a cross-government consensus to mandate the use of the 2001 Census ethnic group classification in all departmental data collections, this classification rapidly became the standard in all data collections across statutory bodies and local authority organisations, thereby strengthening official recognition, a process that has been consolidated by using the same 'mixed' categorisation in the 2011 Census, under the overarching term 'Mixed/multiple ethnic groups'.

'Mixedness', Multiculturalism and Integration

In common with the USA and many European countries, there has been a marked shift away from multiculturalism and towards integration or assimilation in the last decade. The concept of 'mixed race' has occupied an equivocal position in these debates. Some commentators have argued that population mixing, in itself, is a process that contributes to integration or (to use the US term) assimilation when the mixed population enter into unions with the white population, though the prevalence of this social practice varies across national settings. Such mixing might also be regarded as weakening the need for multicultural policies as the formation of interethnic unions diversifies the ethnic/racial composition of neighbourhoods: however, the prevalence of mixing varies with respect to degree of ethnic/racial homogeneity and is lowest where one minority ethnic group predominates (Feng et al. 2010). Population mixing might also be seen as reinforcing lines based on race/ethnicity when single minority groups fear that mixing will result in transfers of people from their groups into a mixed or multiracial category, though this discourse has been much less evident in the UK compared with the USA. Further, the effect of the increasing size of the 'mixed' population in the UK on government policy in general and on policy relating specifically to multiculturalism and integration has not been particularly strong. Indeed, no jurisdictions or branches of government have explicitly voiced an opinion on how the latter facets of policy might be linked to or influenced by the changing ethnic/racial composition of the population attributable to mixing.

In the USA the demand for a 'multiracial' category on the 2000 Census form became entwined with debates about the position of race in US federal policy and whether the nation should be moving towards colour blind policies. Republican Congressman Newt Gingrich, who was elected to the influential position of Speaker of the House in 1994, argued for a multiracial option on the 2000 US Census form: 'American is too big and too diverse to categorize each and every one of us into four rigid racial categories. [The Census should] stop forcing Americans into inaccurate categories aimed at building divisive subgroups and allow them the option of selecting the category 'multiracial', which I believe will be

an important step toward transcending racial division and reflecting the melting pot which is America' (Prewitt 2013). In taking this view, he was aligning himself with an activist in his congressional district, Susan Graham, the mother of a multiracial child and cofounder of Project RACE who had advocated for a 'multiracial' category in testimony to Congress.

However, it became clear that Gingrich's position undergirded a wider political stance amongst neoconservatives on the position of race in US governance. Joseph (2013: 24) has written, 'A multiracial agenda has...at times, been embraced by neoconservative and neoliberal figures who appear to see the popularity of the issue of mixed-race as an opportunity to argue for color blindness and against race-based measures'. Support for a multiracial category was coupled by neoconservatives with the abandonment of affirmative action programmes. In the words of Williams (2006: 21), 'Democrats wanted multiracial recognition without adverse civil rights consequences; Republicans wanted multiracial recognition with adverse civil rights legislation'.

In Britain the abrupt retreat from an informal politics of multiculturalism in the mid-2000s has not engendered a similar discourse. There has been no advocacy for colour- or race-blind policies and the only association of population mixing with 'post-race' has been by commentators in think tanks. Indeed, several measures of a multiculturalist leaning have strengthened, such as government expenditure on interpreting and translation. Whilst some commentators have chosen to interpret the retreat from or demise of multiculturalism as a 'civic rebalancing' or even an advance of multiculturalism through a stronger focus on the inclusiveness of Britishness (Meer and Modood 2009; Uberoi and Modood 2013), a shift in policy towards restricting migration into the country cannot be denied. Arguments about protecting the 'public purse' have been used to mask a policy of substantially reducing immigration, evident in a whole raft of policy measures, from charging regulations for NHS care to a scrutiny role for private landlords. Moreover, in this shift to a concern about the 'nativity line', a divide has opened up between the rights of EU migrants and those from outside the EU which partly mirrors a division based on race or colour, for example, with respect to the qualifying rights to bring a spouse into the country. These debates have been conducted

largely independently of what happens when migrants settle, including the increasing diversification of the country's population through population mixing.

The Diversity Agenda

If mixing has entered the policy agenda at all, it has been as part of the wider process of the championing of 'diversity' in Britain, including the valuing of diversity as a good thing in its own right. This largely cost-free advocacy of diversity—evident in the proliferation across the public sector of diversity policies, champions and toolkits—also appears to have become detached from considerations of structural inequalities. While the process of 'mixing'—and consequent 'mixedness'—has contributed to processes of population diversification and, in turn, to the diversity agenda, it has not been widely named as such in discourses around 'diversity'.

Several factors may account for this. Firstly, the term now encompasses a very wide variety of social differences. In Britain, the dimensions of difference usually encompass ethnicity/race, gender, age, religion, sexual orientation and disability. As with the other characteristics and attributes, ethnicity and race are identified as 'facets' of diversity but the concepts are not usually disaggregated into separate ethnic/racial identities in discourses about 'diversity'. In that sense, the 'diversity' agenda has not driven or even raised an interest in racial mixing and mixedness.

Indeed, the term has evolved into a corpus with very broad meaning. Vertovec (2012) has argued that 'ambiguity, multivocality and banality are key characteristics of diversity discourse'. Lentin and Titley (2008: 14) have written of diversity as an 'ambiguous transnational signifier' and Cooper as a 'broad, discursive space' (Cooper 2010). Indeed, in the US corporate context, the term now includes a plethora of differences that define people as individuals, including viewpoints, experiences and perspectives. Perhaps only in the area of demographic composition and change—the social diversification of the population—has racial mixing and mixedness been addressed within the wider context of 'diversity' policies.

Notes

1. Sillitoe and White (1992: 146) note that in Haringey, the area used for the main census test, 'co-operation from the public, in both the census test and the social survey field trial, was seriously affected by a campaign conducted by some local organizations which urged people not to answer any questions about their ethnicity, their birthplaces, their parents' countries of birth or their nationality, on the grounds that the collection of this information was linked with proposals to change the nationality laws in a manner that would jeopardize the status of all ethnic minorities in Britain'.
2. The options on the card were as follows: 01 White; 02 West Indian; 03 Indian; 04 Pakistani; 05 Bangladeshi; 06 Chinese; 07 Turkish; 08 Other Asian; 09 African; 10 Arab; 11 Other (please state); 12 Mixed Origin (please state); 13 Refused. See (p. 208): National Dwelling and Housing Survey: (Phase I, 1977–1978) (London: HMSO, 1979).
3. The question was termed 'ethnic origin' in the index of topic mnemonics. The options on the card were as follows: 00 English, Welsh, Scottish or Irish; 01 Polish; 02 Italian; 03 Other European; 04 West Indian or Guyanese; 05 African; 06 Indian; 07 Pakistani; 08 Bangladeshi; 09 Arab; 10 Chinese; 11 Any other racial or ethnic group or of mixed racial descent; 12 No reply. The questionnaire included the instruction, 'If code 03 or 11 please specify'. In the 1981 and 1983 surveys, the 'Mixed' and 'Other' groups were separate free-text categories and the four white categories were replaced by just 'White'.
4. The 'Mixed' subgroups were as follows: white; West Indian or Guyanese/white; Indian/white; Pakistani/white; Bangladeshi/white; Other Asian/white; African/white; Arab/white; Asian mixture; African/West Indian or Guyanese; African/Asian; Miscellaneous 'partly coloured'; Miscellaneous 'coloured'. See *Economic and Social Data Service* (1998).
5. The process was led by the Census, Population and Health Group of ONS's Census Division. The main vehicle for the delivery of new questions—including that for ethnic group—was the 2001 Census Working Group on Content, Classification, and Question Testing and various subgroups that reported to it (that on ethnic group comprising members of the Census Advisory Groups representing the main government departments, NHS, local authorities, and academia, and other co-opted members such as community groups and the Commission for Racial Equality). Peter J. Aspinall was ONS National Convenor for the ethnic group question in the 2001 Census Development Programme, 1994–1999.

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14

A Postscript to the Twentieth Century: Mainstream and Celebrated Limitations, and Counter-narratives

As the twenty-first century unfolds, public attitudes and recognition of racial mixing and mixedness continue to seem a million miles away from the dominant conceptualisations of the twentieth century that saw the stereotype of white women ‘of a very low type’ partnering feckless and hypersexualised black men, with both badly parenting their confused and marginalised children, become ingrained in the popular British psyche. From 2000 onwards, however, the image of racially mixed families and people in Britain has been one firmly coalesced around new dominant understandings, where interraciality is posited as both mainstream and celebratory as well as a ‘new’ phenomenon. In our concluding chapter, we offer some thoughts on the factors propelling this continued shift in perspective and how this is actually often at variance with lived experiences and statistical reality, as well as how the twenty-first century ‘mixed race project’ fits into the wider historical context of racial mixing and mixedness.

Firstly, and perhaps most obviously, in the discussion of twenty-first century understandings of interraciality is the issue of its increased visibility, both in relation to focus and demographics. Without doubt, an immense rise in public and professional interest in racial mixing and

mixedness has occurred in Britain over the last few decades. UK search engine queries for terms such as ‘mixed race’ show an upward trend since the early 2000s, while attention to mixed race families, couples and people in the print and broadcast media has also increased alongside greater representation in the arts and the growth of academic and professional interest, whether in terms of scholarly outputs and conferences or university courses, dissertations and funding applications.¹

To what can this rising interest be attributed? The increase in mixed race relationships and the mixed population has often been cited as a catalyst. Mackintosh (2005) has suggested that the 1.3% of interethnic unions in Britain in 1991 rose to 2.8% in England in 2001. The substantial 230,000 people who wrote in ‘mixed’ descriptions in the 1991 Census (OPCS/GRO(S) 1993) indicated that the residualisation of ‘mixedness’ in ‘other’ categories was no longer acceptable. The 2001 Census revealed that 1.3% (672,000) of the England and Wales population selected one of four new ‘Mixed’ categories, rising in the 2011 Census to 2.2% (1.2 million) (Bradford 2006; ONS 2012). However, it is unlikely that population size alone would have generated this explosive interest. Rather, critical to this momentum was ONS’s mid-1990s decision to include ‘Mixed’ in the 2001 Census categorisation, a decision—as Chap. 13 discussed—propelled by census data users’ desire to better align the ethnicity classification with population realities rather than the self-esteem rationale of the US multiracial recognition movement (Aspinall 2009). By naming the mixed race population, the census provided a point around which community interests could unite in claiming a ‘Mixed’ identity. Indeed, Peterson (1987: 218) has suggested that ‘few things facilitate a category’s coalescence into a group so readily as its designation by an official body’, while ‘making race groups beneficiaries of policy can itself intensify group identities’ (Prewitt 2013: 11). This reliable baseline showed ‘Mixed’ to be larger than the Black Caribbean, Black African and Bangladeshi groups, conferring the critical mass necessary for academic and policy work; moreover, the government’s mandated use of the Census ethnic group classification yielded a new stream of data on the ‘Mixed’ group, a substantially increased mixed population of 1.2 million in 2011 sustaining interest.

The second issue that has been seen as critical to putting issues of racial mixing and mixedness on the national map was the ‘new wave’ surge in scholarly interest (in the UK, see for example, Alibhai-Brown 2001; Tizard and Phoenix 2002; Parker and Song 2001; Olumide 2002; Ali 2003; Tikly et al. 2004; Caballero et al. 2008; Harman 2010; Dewan 2008; Okitikpi 2009; Mckenzie 2010; Bauer 2010; Twine 2010; Williams 2010; Edwards et al. 2012; Aspinall and Song 2013; Peters 2016). As in the USA and at its outset in the early 1990s, the movement was propelled by the wider academic focus on identity as well as the increasing number of scholars of mixed race arriving in the academy whose own backgrounds led them to challenge or interrogate traditional frameworks of mixedness. The census developments too—in both the UK and USA—fed this often transnationally linked body of work,² which also manifested itself not only in the growing number of outputs, but also an increase in university sociology courses encompassing ‘mixed race’, ‘mixed race’ dissertations/theses, and in ‘mixed race’ research funding.³ Far removed from the traditional ‘outsider’ problem approach that shaped social sciences for the majority of the twentieth century, this ‘new wave’ literature continues to be produced distinctly within insider-led frameworks that highlight the complexity and diversity of racial mixing and mixedness; moreover, in later years it has also continued to move away from initially influential US-racial models towards developing ones that locate interraciality in Britain within a specifically British socio-political and geographical framework. In tandem with these academic developments, a host of mixed race support or community groups began to emerge around the country, building on the original grassroots works of People in Harmony, Starlight Black Child Mixed Heritage, Mosaic and Intermix (such as Multiple Heritage Project, MixTogether, Planet Rainbow Project, Sputnik) by providing opportunities for connection, facilitating research access and collaboration to scholars, and seeking to improve the perceptions and well-being of people of mixed race and their families; in 2009, a joint statement by eight of the groups setting out key objectives to achieve a ‘fairer and more equitable society’ for those of mixed race was presented to the Children’s Commission.⁴ These groups have also been accompanied by a rising

online presence in the form of blogs and other websites detailing, recording or commenting on issues of interraciality.⁵

Thirdly, accompanying this scholarly, practitioner and blogger surge in interest has been a plethora of representations by the print and visual media, literary genres and corporate advertisers. In 2002, the BBC, arguably a barometer of social norms, stated that it had coined a new catchall phrase, 'Brown Britain' which it would use to help shape its output 'to reflect an increase in the number of mixed-race couples, families and children' while in 2004 Britain's first black newspaper, *The Voice*, noted that it intended to broaden its readership by appealing to mixed race people. 'We recognise that is the fastest growing youth group,' managing director Colin Reid told *The Observer*.⁶ Certainly interracial couples and mixed race people have become increasingly visible in programming and entertainment, whether as a specific topic of interest (e.g. the BBC's television outputs *The Colour of Love* (2003), *Inside Out* (2009), BBC2's *Mixed Race season* (2011), radio programmes *Between the Ears* (2005) and *The Last Taboo* (2006), and Channel 4's *Love in Oldham* (2001), *Brown Britain* (2001), *Is it Better to be Mixed Race?* (2011)); as mainstream presences in British television (e.g. the Iranian-Ghanaian actress Freema Agyeman as 'the assistant' (2007–2010) to the BBC's *Dr Who*⁷; the self-described 'Jewish-Nigerian Brit' Sophie Okoniedo as Queen Margaret of Anjou in the BBC's 2016 adaptation of Shakespeare's history plays, *The Hollow Crown*)); as public figures (e.g. Lewis Hamilton, Alexa Chung, Chukka Umunna, Leona Lewis, Alesha Dixon, Zayn Malik); and in advertising, with companies such as Halifax Bank, DFS, and Marks and Spencer making routine use of mixed race people and couples as representative of modern Britain. Representation has also been shaped by insider as much as outsider perspectives with a new wave of authors—themselves in or from mixed race families—continuing to draw on their own experiences (e.g. John Agard, Zadie Smith, Diana Evans, Andrea Levy, Monica Ali, Jackie Kay, Gus Nwanokwu) or bring forgotten or overlooked stories of mixedness in Britain to the fore on stage and screen (e.g. *Belle* (2013), *The Marvellous Adventure of Mary Seacole* (2009), *A United Kingdom* 2016).

Such shifts are also accompanied by a shift in public attitudes. British Future states that in 2012 opposition to mixed race marriage had fallen

even further than the 40% that the British Social Attitudes survey reported in 1990s: in their poll, only 15% of the public reported discomfort with the idea. Moreover, such opposition drops even further by age as for those under 25, interracial marriage ranked last out of ten as a possible source of concern; indeed marrying somebody much richer was rated more highly as a worry (Ford et al. 2012). Indeed, in the 'Is your family the face of Birmingham?' project initiated in 2011, out of the 372 families who nominated themselves to be the 'face of Birmingham'—the designated model for a bronze sculpture by Gillian Wearing to be positioned outside the iconic new Library of Birmingham—the family chosen whose sculpture was erected in 2014 comprised two mixed race single parent sisters and their sons, while three of the four families shortlisted were also mixed race families (Aspinall 2015). The curator of the Ikon art gallery which led the project highlighted desired family characteristics: 'it was a unanimous decision to select the Jones family. Their story is compelling and says much about contemporary Birmingham: two mixed-race sisters, both single-parents with happy, lively young boys, who identify themselves strongly with the city of their birth'.⁸ This public embrace and celebration of racially mixed families, particularly those headed by single mothers, is certainly far removed from their position during most of the last century when they were frequently condemned, vilified and even ripped apart. In contrast, the statistical data along with the social shifts we outlined above would suggest that racial mixing is no longer an issue but, in fact, mainstream: 'the new normal' as Sunder Katwala (2012: introduction), the director of British Future, has stated.

In some quarters however, mixed race has even become positioned as more than mainstream. An ascendant representation of the mixed race individual as extraordinary, exceptional and more attractive can be found across popular culture and thinking, melding the idea of the new 'transition generation' of today's youth (Prewitt 2013: 206) with notions of 'new', 'gifted' and 'special' people (a similar exceptionalism has been reported in the USA) (Aspinall 2015). The frequent claim of this representation is that such exceptional individuals are overrepresented in the mixed race population, an argument invoking statistical proportionality. Similarly, those from mixed racial backgrounds are frequently represented as more attractive, the so-called 'biracial beauty stereotype' as it has been dubbed in the USA, in which 'mixed race

aesthetics are now atop the hierarchy' (Sims 2012). Following on from the 1993 *Newsweek* magazine article in which the face of a racially mixed model was held up as the 'global face of beauty',⁹ Rhodes et al. (2005) reported empirical evidence using facial composites that supported this stereotype. In a similar vein, Lewis (2010), a Cardiff University psychologist, reported mixed race faces, on average, being perceived as more attractive. Such findings have been rapidly taken up and embraced by the press in articles headlined 'Mixed race people are "more attractive" and successful'¹⁰ while the 2009 Channel 4 broadcast *Is it Better to be Mixed Race?*, belongs to the same genre: the programme opened with the statement that mixed race 'special' people 'are coming to dominate music, modelling and sport ... in England ... they make up 30 per cent of the national football team. Many mixed race people seem to be so gifted'.¹¹

In many ways, it would be both easy and tempting to conclude the story of racial mixing and mixedness in twentieth century Britain here, with a postscripted highlighting of a simplistic journey: from pathologisation to acceptance to celebration, an endpoint encapsulated by the comments of the American comedian Sandra Bernhard who lamented to the *Observer* in 2003 that she wished she were 'mixed race and beautiful and had everything happening for me'.¹²

The story, however, is not so one-dimensional or straightforward. Our in-depth look at the mixed race projects of the twentieth century points to the importance of history in locating racial mixing and mixedness not as a contemporary phenomenon but one that is part of a wider framework that recognises the ebbs and flows of discourse. As such, it leads us to ask to what extent are these new ubiquitous conceptualisations of interraciality actually representative of lived experiences and statistical realities and, in response, to present a more complex picture than is often realised.

Demographic Realities

Perhaps the most ubiquitous representation of contemporary interraciality in Britain is that of a burgeoning mixed race population, the 'fastest growing ethnic group' that will dominate most or all other minority

groups by 2020.¹³ In 2007, the *Daily Mail*, for example, asserted that ‘with [mixed race] numbers growing at a rate of 4.9% a year, they will outstrip Indians, who currently number about 1.1 million, within 13 years’; while in 2008 *The Independent*, maintained that ‘by 2020, Britain’s largest ethnic minority will be of mixed-race origin’, a myth reiterated in 2009 by the BBC amongst many others.¹⁴ Its repeated assertion, newsworthiness, and absence of refutation has given it staying power and made it an adept entry point for features on the exceptionalism of mixed race people.

Yet, growth rates of this group have been somewhat sensationalised. The 230,000 people who wrote in a ‘mixed’ description in the 1991 Census has been used to claim a threefold increase in numbers by the 2001 Census, even though ‘write-ins’ substantially undercount groups. Indeed, those writing in a ‘mixed’ descriptor had attained 235,000 by the mid-1980s (Diamond and Clarke 1989). The label ‘the fastest growing’ has stuck, yet during 2001–2011 the ‘Other Black’ group grew substantially faster (191.9%) than the ‘Mixed’ group (85.2%) (‘White and Black Africans’, 110.3%, ‘Other Mixed’, 86.3%, ‘White and Asians’, 81.0%, ‘White and Black Caribbeans’, 79.7%). ‘Other White’ (84.8%), ‘Black Africans’ (75.5%) and ‘Chinese’ (73.2%) were not far behind, making the ‘Mixed’ growth rate only notable.

These inflated predictions have become rooted in the absence of easy access to scholarly work on demographic predictions by ethnic group, which are themselves uncertain but reveal a reality gap (see Aspinall 2015). Leeds demographers have indicated a 40% growth rate in the ‘Mixed’ group during 2001–2010, to reach almost one million, and 30% over 2010–2020 to achieve 1.2 million (already exceeded in 2011), though still smaller than the pan-ethnic Asian (3.5 million) and black (1.6 million) groups (Rees 2008). They project a ‘Mixed’ population of 1.6 million by 2031 rising to 2.1 million by 2051, but still smaller than the ‘Other White’ (3.3 million) and Indian (2.2 million) groups (Wohland et al. 2010). The Oxford Centre for Population Research predicts that the ‘Mixed’ group will increase strongly to 2.2 million by 2031 and 4.2 million by 2054, though still smaller than the ‘Indian’ and ‘Other White’ groups (Coleman 2010), and not becoming the largest minority ethnic group until 2071.

These models unsurprisingly show marked differences in the projected size of the 'Mixed' group, given that, as in the USA, this population has only been measured in two censuses. Linked responses in the ONS Longitudinal Study reveal that over 40% of those choosing 'Mixed White and Asian' or 'Mixed White and Black African' in 2001 moved to a different category in 2011 (Simpson 2014). Instability might arise for many reasons, including fluidity associated with the exercise of ethnic options, a conscious change of identity, or even a change in the census form-filler. These models are based on respondents' own self-ascribed rather than parental ethnicity, yet do not handle identity shifts in ethnic group membership. Little is known about how media discourses and the legitimating role of official recognition will affect identification as 'Mixed' and how patterns of mixing and union formation will change with increasing population diversity (Aspinall 2015). However, projections estimated with a range of uncertainty are still much superior to media speculations.

For now though, mixed race families are still a notable minority in Britain. One proxy is the Census measure of multi-ethnic households: two or more person households comprising people from different census ethnic groups living together. In 2011 multi-ethnic households numbered 2.0 million or 12%, an increase over the 1.4 million in 2001 (Simpson 2012). However, they could be a mix of, say, 'White Irish' and 'White British' and only half have mixed ethnicity partnerships, others having different ethnicities only between generations or unrelated people. The percentage of multi-ethnic households is highest in Inner London (39%), falling to 15–27% in large provincial cities like Manchester and Birmingham. This proxy substantially overcounts mixed race families.

Interethnic unions (with/without child(ren)) provide an alternative measure, though this would undercount or exclude other family types, such as 'blended' mixed families and mixed one-parent families with child(ren). In 2001 interethnic marriages comprised only 2% of all marriages (where ethnic background is defined as White, Mixed, Asian, Black, Chinese, or Other) (ONS 2005). A broader 2001 Census measure—comprising both cohabiting and married couple unions across pairs of all 16 Census categories—yields 7.1% of all 10.8 million unions in England (Mackintosh 2005). Clearly, mixed race families are a long

way from being the 'statistical' face of modern Britain, though clearly symbolic of an important emerging family form that encompasses Britain's growing diversity and its future.

The Celebration of Hybridity

While the promotion of the 'exceptional multiracial' has been eagerly embraced and promoted, particularly in some sections of the media, the scientific evidence base for the operation of such theories of heterosis in human populations is close to non-existent, the handful of such investigators arguing that such evidence is very weak/small or not detected (Aspinall 2015). For example, while Lewis (2010: 136) initially acknowledges that 'it is possible that humans are also subject to its influence' and 'if present in human populations' would predict greater exceptionalism in mixed race offspring, the claims for heterosis are quickly and boldly assumed as fact. What limited population-level measures of meritocratic achievement we have suggests a more mundane reality. Amongst Youth Cohort Study and Longitudinal Study of Young People in England members aged 19, 'Mixed' respondents had next to the lowest proportion (55%) with level 3 qualifications (2+ A-levels or equivalent) across ethnic groups (range, 52–82%) in 2010 (Department for Education 2011). With respect to attainment of first class honours degrees amongst UK-domiciled students in 2011/12, those of 'Mixed' ethnicity in England had the third highest proportion (15.0%) after the White (19.1%) and Chinese (15.2%) groups (Equality Challenge Unit 2013).

Against such a longstanding history of pathologisation and anti-miscegenation, the tendency to invoke or promote exceptionality—the claimed disproportionate prevalence of extraordinary, gifted, or attractive mixed race people—is in many ways an understandable one. Nevertheless, this kind of thinking—'betterness'/superiority based on physical attractiveness, facial symmetry, giftedness, psychological resilience, and other dimensions of ostensible 'heterozygote' advantage and assumptions of racial superiority—raises the spectre of recreating a biologically determined racial hierarchy akin to the discredited race pseudo-science and eugenics of the past (Aspinall 2015). A number of scholars (e.g. Parker and Song (2001);

Caballero (2005); Aspinall (2015)) have expressed alarm that emphasis on demonstrating mixed race identity is stable, positive and creative leads at times to a discourse which can sometimes slip into the notion of 'hybrid vigour'. Whilst it might be tempting to see such imaginings as positive pronouncements of mixedness, as we have seen in Chap. 2 the other side of the 'hybrid vigour' coin is hybrid degeneracy. The nineteenth century arguments that racial mixing produced weaker offspring and threatened society as a whole versus the claim that it enhanced and strengthened races were both born of the same pseudo-scientific framework that the races were biologically, physically and intellectually inherently different. Replacing arguments over the degenerative qualities of mixedness by those asserting the strength of hybrid vigour continues the pathological framework explored in Chap. 3. Whilst there are those who view the growing representation of mixedness in marketing arenas as symptomatic of both a greater acceptance of interracialism and freedom to express and celebrate diverse racial identity choices, others have questioned the 'hazards' of the new visibility of mixedness (Streeter 2003). For Streeter, the hazards of the ubiquitous representations of mixed race people in contemporary media are that these images are referenced by a certain multiculturalist ideology which emphasises 'the pleasurable aspects of ethnic diversity without engaging the challenge of cultural differences and the existence of racial hierarchies and racial inequality' (Streeter 2003: 103). The focus on 'beautiful' mixed race people, she argues, does little to challenge the basis for social inclusion, whilst the fixation with mixed race babies and children is itself indicative of the tendency to infantilise the subject of mixedness and steer away from the politics of mixedness, in all its forms. This tendency by the media to focus on the 'superior beauty' and 'trendiness' of mixed race people ignores both the discriminative legacy of traditional pathologisations that many mixed race people continue to experience (see below), and is indeed located within it with its echoes of the 'hybrid vigour' arguments. As we have seen, the embracing of such qualities is incredibly precarious, for the lens that sees the vigour in the hybrid is the same lens that, reversed, sees degeneration in mixedness. The tragic mulatto, it would seem, is mutating in some areas into the 'tragically hip mulatto' (Julme 2003).

Race, Racism and the Continuation of Pathologisation

Indeed, though there has been a turn in recent years to a public discourse in which racial mixing and mixedness is celebrated, even lauded, as desirable and advantageous—both in terms of the individual and society—while such positivity may overshadow the more negative earlier discourses, it does not replace them. In the opening ceremony of the London 2012 Olympics, one segment of the event celebrated British popular music and culture through a focus on everyday suburban family life. The family at the centre of this sequence featured a black father, white mother and their children—alongside what appeared to be other extended family members and friends—interacting happily at home and outside it. The prominence given to a mixed race family, and in particular, their representation as a typical British family, was noted quite widely in media and public debate. The views of Diane Abbott, Britain's first black British female MP, celebrating the family's inclusion—and the multicultural nature of the ceremony overall—as illustrative of 'how far Britain has come in its attitude to race' were echoed in much of the largely positive public commentary. Much but not all.

The day after the ceremony, the *Daily Mail* published an online article attacking the decision to portray the mixed race family as representative of modern life in Britain as 'politically correct' and 'absurdly unrealistic'. In particular, the article was scathing about the make-up of the family, stating that it must have been a 'challenge' for the organisers to find an 'educated white middle-aged mother and black father living together with a happy family in such a set up.' (Caballero 2014).

As exemplified by the *Daily Mail's* article, there still remains a strong and deep-rooted seam of pathologisation when it comes to social perceptions and conceptualisations of racial mixing and mixedness, often expressed through a crudely assumed correlation between racial background, low social class, lifestyles and residential locations. Yet research data strongly show that this persistent monolithic picture of sexually promiscuous white working-class women on council estates partnering feckless, hypersexual black men and producing confused, marginalised children who, as Trevor Phillips infamously

suggested, 'exhibit the highest rates of lone parenthood and family breakdown, in some cases three times the average, [and] grow up marooned between communities' is not evidence-based. While there has been some—justified—criticism that much scholarship on interraciality during the twenty-first century—particularly in the USA—has revolved around the identity issues and concerns of the middle-classes (Small 2001; Christian 2000; McNeil 2010), it must also be recognised that, as statistics and our own work here as well as that of others shows, the long history and social fascination with racial mixing in working class communities has obscured the significant middle-class dimension to interracial family patterns. Muttarak's (2004) analysis of 2002/3 Labour Force Survey data demonstrated that amongst women in the White ethnic group 15.4% were educated to degree level in same-race marriages but 23.2% in mixed ethnicity marriages. Moreover, 27.4% in co-ethnic marital unions were in Social Class I (Professional and Managerial) compared with 38.6% in intermarried unions, while Smith et al.'s (2011) geographical analysis of racially mixed families using 2001 Census data also collaborate and build on Muttarak's findings and thus confirm Tizard and Phoenix's earlier suspicions (1993) that there is a large middle-class dimension to racial mixing in Britain. Indeed, in response to the *Daily Mail's* insidious remark that a mixed race middle-class family must have been hard to find, bloggers and other online commentators were quick to point out that a product of a happy and educated mixed race family was right under the *Daily Mail's* nose in the form of Jessica Ennis, the British 2012 Olympic gold medallist heptathlete. The point was smartly made in the creation of a viral entitled 'Found one!' showing Ennis-Hill and her parents in 2011 collecting her MBE at Buckingham Palace.¹⁵

Furthermore, in relation to racial mixing in working class communities, this deep-rooted history of interraciality has also been misunderstood, popularly reduced down into a monolithic story of animosity and opposition. Yet as we have seen in this book—and as is equally found in other works (e.g. McKenzie 2010)—such areas are frequently made up of more complex patterns, where hostility and aggression is overlaid and interspersed with strands of conviviality and acceptance. Moreover, while as McNeil (2010: 121) notes it has become 'de rigueur' for scholarship on interraciality to note that mixed race does not just mean black/white or non-white/white mixing (despite the scholarly tendency to focus predominantly on

black/white mixing), ‘polyethnic mixing’—where interraciality occurs between diverse often racialised groups who do not necessarily fit neatly into pre-existing understandings of mixedness such as black and white—is also increasingly being recorded. Findings from the London Borough of Newham Young People’s Survey undertaken in 2005/06, which used the 2001 Census ethnic group question to capture respondents’ ethnic group, unusually reported frequency counts for the full range of unique responses in the free-text categories.¹⁶ Many of the descriptions given by the young Newham residents in the heterogeneous ‘Other Mixed’ category would be difficult to locate in the Census pre-designated ‘mixed’ options: such descriptions include, for example, ‘African and Russian’, ‘Bolivian and Filipino’, and ‘Mexican, Bangladeshi’. Indeed, 78% who utilised the write-in option named a specific country/nationality in their descriptions (e.g., ‘Portuguese’, ‘Congolese’, ‘Lebanese’). 25% incorporated the national identity term ‘British’ in their descriptions (e.g., ‘British/Mauritian’, ‘British/Yugoslav/Turkish’), 5% the term ‘English’ and 4% ‘Irish’. Again, a significant proportion in this residual category (11%) named three or more groups. Clearly, these young people more strongly reflect superdiversity than would an older cohort, suggesting that mixes based on categories such as those in the census that have historical (including colonial) links with Britain may be of diminishing efficacy as a way of capturing mixed self-descriptions for young persons in areas of substantial ethno-cultural diversity. As we have seen throughout the history of the twentieth century, social attitudes and preoccupations with mixedness frequently ebb and flow, not just in terms of interraciality as a subject but also in terms of who was mixing. For example, the dominance of ‘Anglo-Chinese’ mixing in the first decades of the century had disappeared towards the final decades as attitudes to the Chinese transformed from seeing them as a dangerous ‘Yellow Peril’ to a ‘model minority’ (Aspinall and Caballero 2013). Thus even though in 2011, 39% of Chinese women living as a couple were in interethnic unions (and 20% in the case of Chinese men) (ONS 2015), gendered and racial positioning means that they infrequently register in public discourse or representation.

Modern demographics and discourse about the extent and mainstreaming of racial mixing in Britain have also obscured issues of racism.

As celebratory discussion and representation has increased in public discussion, less apparent have been accounts of prejudice and racism, particularly the types of overt hostility and aggression that have commonly been associated with much of the twentieth century. Yet, as recent research shows, such incidents still feature in the lives of numerous mixed race couples and people, within and outside the family, and in diverse forms: name-calling, stereotyping, violence and aggression (see, for example: Harman 2010; Mckenzie 2010; Williams 2010; Caballero and Edwards 2010; Caballero et al. 2012; Morley and Street 2014).¹⁷ Moreover, such expressions are also only one part of deeper—and interlinked—structural inequalities facing minority ethnic peoples in Britain in the twenty-first century. Despite the fact that the ‘Mixed’ groups are now concentrated in the more advantaged socio-economic categories, children from particular mixed racial and ethnic backgrounds—namely White and Black Caribbean, and White and Black African—are significantly overrepresented in the care system as well as within school exclusions and are underachieving educationally, while young people and adults from these backgrounds are both overrepresented in some mental health care settings and are more likely to be a victim of crime (see, for example, Tikly et al. 2004; Owen and Statham 2009; Care Quality Commission 2011; Ministry of Justice 2011; Peters 2016; Aspinall 2017). Yet despite these overrepresentations, Morley and Street (2014) found those of mixed race to be ‘invisible’ in public service practice and policy. Indeed, though what the media has dubbed ‘Brown Britain’ is more likely to be heralded as ‘Britain’s beautiful future’ than its problem, it is clear that forms of racism—both explicit and institutional—still continue to inform and affect the lives of mixed race people, couples and families. ‘Beware this new mixed race love in’ wrote the journalist Joseph Harker, himself of mixed race parentage, in *The Guardian* in 2011.¹⁸ While the article’s title points to longstanding concerns within sections of the black community about a ‘fractioning’ of black identity and solidarity—as articulated by Darcus Howe who spoke of the ‘mischief’ making term ‘mixed race’ in 2008¹⁹—it also highlights what Harker rightly notes as the myth that ‘the quality of life for Britain’s minorities can be measured by the number of interracial relationships’. Certainly, during periods of increased racial mixing in Britain—and her colonies—racial harmony was not an automatic result, as our own studies of the 1930s and 1960s show.²⁰

In *The Guardian*, Camacho argues that ‘instead of reducing mixed people to being inevitable harbingers of a post-racial future, there needs to be an acknowledgment of agency in how mixed people choose to relate to the problem of racism and how society, in turn, chooses to receive mixed people’,²¹ which also echoes in some sections of contemporary scholarly work on racial mixing and mixedness—what Caballero (2005) has called the ‘third wave’ but what is increasingly known as Critical Mixed Race Studies—where academics such as Christian (2000), Small (2001) and McNeil (2010) have critiqued elements of the ‘new wave’s’ fixation on ‘personal choice’ to the exclusion of an understanding of wider social contexts which prevents a deeper comprehension of interraciality (Small 2001: 126). This personal choice approach has been seen as part of what has been labelled ‘I amism’ (cited in Ifekwunigwe 2004: xx), that is, the prioritising of identity rights for the mixed race individual to be ‘who I am’—as exemplified by Maria Root’s ‘Bill of Rights For the Racially Mixed Individual’ (Root (1996: 7)—which has been critiqued as limiting insights into interraciality to ‘artsy’, ‘avant-garde’ personal understandings of a ‘new people’, rather than ‘the structural contexts, institutional patterns and ideological articulations as they are expressed in the light of local histories’ (Small 2001: 129; Christian 2000: 5). For Christian, interraciality must be approached not by celebrating hybridity *per se* but through a model which allows it to be understood as a social construct that has particular social consequences for certain groups that are defined as such. It is thus within this framework that choices—or impositions—around racial identities are made. Over the twentieth century—and also earlier—particular forms of racialisation and racism have firmly rooted the concept of racial mixing in Britain as predominantly between black and white groups, with earlier concepts that featured highly in social discourses at the time—such as Anglo-Chinese mixing and ‘Eurasian’ people—increasingly sidelined in the conversation. Thus while a ‘mixed’ identity has been increasingly embraced by a younger cohort of racially mixed black and white people in a social climate where hybridity is seen as mainstream and celebratory, earlier generations who frequently experienced their backgrounds being cast as undesirable and troubled may be less inclined to do so.²² Similarly, such shifts may occur again in the future. Nomenclature relates to those self-identifying as ‘Mixed’, the Census measure of choice, but not those who are ‘mixed’ by parentage or more distant ancestry but

do not claim their ‘mixedness’. Only 30% of people of ‘mixed’ parentage in the Understanding Society cohort identify as ‘Mixed’, 35% as ‘White British’, and 7% as ‘Any other White background’ (McFall 2012). We do not know if those identifying monoracially do so exclusively, or identify both monoracially and as ‘mixed’, or use ‘mixed’ to qualify their single race (redolent of Joseph’s 2013 use of ‘mixed-race African American’) and in what circumstances, for example, for political reasons or strategic essentialism. This creates uncertainty about how the ‘Mixed’ group might draw as a preferred identity from the single groups over time, particularly depending on the social climate and personal journey, as captured by the poet SuAndi:

I speak in English.
 Think in English.
 Read in English.
 Live beside the English.
 Survive the English.
 Appear English.
 But my soul is African
 I was born coloured
 I grew up half-caste and then with wisdom I matured Black
 And that is how I remained until I became an artist
 Suddenly I discovered I was a 4% (or maybe it was 14% either way it
 was too mean for me to remember)
 Then I became multicultural and for a time I was even an AEMS (Arts
 Education in a Multicultural Society)
 Just as I was getting almost comfortable in this weird pigeon hole
 I was upgraded—I think it was an upgrade
 To Cultural Diversity
 This was an odd location in a residence that seemed to place me further
 away from the non-diverse
 The normal—You
 But I rested here on my underfunded laurels when one day without any
 warning I became a BME and then I was elevated to a
 BAME.

Who I am is the Liverpool daughter of a Nigerian father a Black woman
 of mixed race heritage.²³

Thus, as Caballero (2012) has also previously noted, though the contemporary approach to racial mixing and mixedness may be new, the subject itself has been repeatedly dealt with before, often to great social effect and consequence. In this book, we have attempted to trace the ebb and flow of key debates during the twentieth century around racially mixed people, couples and families as well as highlight the all too often overlooked complexity and diversity of their lives and experiences. Much more remains to be uncovered—including the historical experiences of minority ethnic women in interracial relationships, working-class voices—and the lives and accounts of those in interracial LGBT relationships, and we look forward to seeing emerging scholarship work to fill in these gaps in knowledge. In the meantime, we hope that our work here has gone some way to addressing the gaps highlighted by scholars such as Laura Tabili (1996) and Lucy Bland (2005) whose own excellent work pointed to the need to balance official accounts of racial mixing and mixedness with first-hand experiences. In doing so, we also hope that we have provided further insight into the multifaceted and multilayered nature of racial mixing in Britain and helped illustrate how racially mixed people, couples and families are ‘neither pathological nor perfect’²⁴ but rather simply another complex, varied and longstanding group of British residents, subjects and citizens.

Notes

1. For example, the SCOPUS corpus of literature reflects scholarly attention, UK-attributed articles including the lemmatised term ‘mixed race’ increasing from 9 articles (1993–1999) to 21 (2000–2006) and 49 (2007–2013). Commensurate counts (for England) in Web of Knowledge increased from 14 articles (1993–1999) to 26 (2000–2006) and 40 (2007–2013). Two-thirds of the key British ‘foundation texts’ on ‘mixed race’ show an upward or stable trend in citations till 2010 (Aspinall 2015).
2. For example, between 2008 and 2010, an Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC)-funded seminar series ‘Thinking About Mixedness and Mixing: International and Interdisciplinary Dialogue’, held at London South Bank University, brought together speakers from Britain, Europe, North America and Australasia; similarly the Critical Mixed Race Studies journal launched in 2011 has an international board.

3. See: Aspinall 2015.
4. http://www.pih.org.uk/images/documents/mr_js_09.pdf [date accessed 19.06.2017].
5. For example, Intermix's online forums having attracted around 25,000 posts by 8000 members. The Mix-d Museum website has received over 116,000 views from 180 countries, and the UK blog www.mixedrace-family.com has registered 70,000 page views (see Aspinall 2015).
6. See *Mail on Sunday*, 8 December 2002; *The Observer*, 11 July 2004.
7. Through Agyeman's character, the time travelling series has explored the longstanding black presence in Britain several times, including in Elizabethan and Edwardian England.
8. <https://ikon-gallery.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Gillian-Wearing-chosen-family-PR-FINAL.pdf> [date accessed 19.06.2017] (see Aspinall 2015). Criticism of the statue seems mostly to have centred on the fact that it represents single mothers as a 'real Birmingham family' rather than the fact that the mothers are of mixed race. See *Birmingham Post*, 6 November 2014.
9. *Newsweek*, 9 November 2003.
10. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/wales/8618606.stm> [date accessed 19.06.2017].
11. *Broadcast*, 2 November 2009.
12. *The Observer*, 23 July 2003.
13. Channel 4 announced that 'today mixed race is the fastest growing demographic predicted to become Britain's largest ethnic group by 2020' (Channel 4 Corporation, 2009).
14. See Aspinall (2015).
15. www.mix-d.org/museum/timeline/london-2012-olympics [date accessed 19.06.2017].
16. The dataset had 130 'Other Mixed Heritage' verbatim descriptions (81.3% of those who selected 'Other Mixed'). These were individuals who eschewed the census pre-designated 'mixed' categories to provide a write-in response and so were a residual group (see Aspinall 2015).
17. For some accounts of abuse suffered by interracial couples in the UK, see also *The Sunday Express*, 12 May 2002; *The Sunday Times*, 9 April 2000; *The Herald*, 7 December 2000; *The Mirror*, 2 September 1998. Also, the BBC2 documentary *Love Thy Neighbour*, aired 13 August 2003.
18. *Guardian*, 4 October 2011.
19. *The Voice*, 28 November 2008.
20. Similarly, as Camacho points out, if more racially mixed people equals greater tolerance, then Brazil—and most of Latin America—should be a

racial paradise. [Yet] Indigenous and Afro-descendent people in Latin America remain disproportionately poor, discriminated against, and locked out. *The Guardian*, 1 April 2017.

21. *The Guardian*, 1 April 2017.
22. See for example, Bellos (2007) and Lewis (2009: 21).
23. SuAndi, 'The Truth in Knowing/Now: A Conversation across the African Diaspora', University of Hull, 12 October 2007, cited in McNeil (2010: 144). With thanks to SuAndi for the full quotation.
24. Like Donnette Francis (2015) we co-opt this phrase from Thompson's (2009) discussion of African American middle-class sexuality.

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