Panel 1 – Crossing Imperial Boundaries

French imperialism in British political thought, 1830-1870 - Alex Middleton, Wadham College, Oxford

Recent work has usefully re-emphasised the significance of imperial questions in nineteenth- century British political thought and debate. Most of this work, however, has described mindsets that were essentially insular or shaped by classical models: almost no systematic attention has been given to British assessments of other European powers' transoceanic imperial projects. This paper seeks to show that a proper understanding of British imperial attitudes requires serious engagement with such material. It examines the extensive public debate over the most important rival overseas empire between 1830 and 1870, that of France. British discussions of French imperial enterprise in Africa, the Pacific, and Central America illuminate a range of fundamental tensions in British imperial and political thinking, above all that between cosmopolitanism and nationalism. For some the British and French empires faced similar administrative, constitutional, economic, and agrarian issues, the congruities between which could be discussed in a detailed and constructive fashion, and in dialogue with French writers. For others the failings of French colonial enterprise were rather used to underscore the unique imperial capacities of the (liberal, pacific, Protestant) British, and to disparage the (authoritarian, militaristic, Catholic) French. These arguments shifted dramatically in character and relative strength as France progressed from monarchy to republic and back to empire, and as the relationship between politics and imperial issues in Britain underwent major structural changes. The paper thus argues for an intellectual history of British imperialism that asserts the vital significance of European connectedness and comparison, while also recognising how political contingency shaped constructions of those connections in the public sphere.

Beyond Ornamentalism: American and British Elites on Empire - Andrew Priest, Aberystwyth University

This paper focuses on connections between elites in Great Britain and the United States during the late nineteenth century to help explain the development of American ideas about empire. It is particularly interested in how Americans viewed the British Empire, and how they incorporated such ideas into their own conceptions of American power. It stresses the importance of shared notions of civilisation, as well as cultural and racial superiority in these Anglo-American approaches to empireto argue that a group of Republican elites in the United States saw an increasing kinship with Great Britain, rooted in formal and informal contacts, which informed their commentaries and approaches to the development of the American empire. While this group, including politicians such as William Henry Seward, Hamilton Fish and Charles Sumner, and journalists such as E.L. Godkin and Charles Creighton Hazewell, were often sceptical about British imperial rule, they also held a grudging admiration of it, especially itsless formal aspects, and particularly when British imperialism was compared to its French or Spanish counterparts.

The paper utilizes a number of American archival sources, as well as various published papers, letters and diariesto suggest that an emerging American idea about empire was prevalent in elite discoursesfollowing the American Civil War, a generation before the United States went to war with Spain in 1898.

Imperial politics of comparison and anti-colonial nationalism: British and Japanese colonial counterinsurgency during the inter-war period - Satoshi Mizutani, Doshisha University

Taking the case of Anglo-Japanese imperial relations as an example, this paper explores specific historical moments at which both anti-colonialism and imperial counterinsurgency found themselves occupying ambivalent political spaces—imagined and otherwise—that transcended imperial divides. It will try to show the extent to which comparison was significant for both colonial and anti-colonial politics in the early twentieth century. How did the two colonizing nations, Britain and Japan, regard one another at a time when one increasingly recognized the other as its potential enemy, and at a time when both were internally faced with fierce anti-colonial challenges? How did the colonised peoples of the Japanese empire see the independence struggles by the colonised peoples of the British empire, and v i s e v e r s a ? And what were the implications of such cross-imperial linkages among colonised peoples for the counter-revolutionary concerns of both British and Japanese colonialism? To address the aforementioned questions, this essay focuses on Japanese rule in Korea in the inter-war years, exploring how both the colonizing and colonized peoples in the two empires related it, in their comparative imaginations, to British rule in Egypt, India, and Ireland. The essay asks what Japanese imperialism meant for both Koreans and the colonial subjects of the British empire, particularly the Indians. It discusses what the Japanese challenge to British imperialism meant for the anti-British cause of Indian nationalists, whilst simultaneously exploring what the experience of anti-colonial movements in British India meant for Koreans in their struggle against Japanese imperialism. Finally, the essay examines how such anti-colonial politics of comparison which were played out across imperial borders were to be responded to by the counterinsurgency operations of both British and Japanese colonial authorities.

Panel 2 – Mobility and Migration 1

Chair: Robert Bickers, University of Bristol

Rethinking imperial Anglican connections in Britain's settler empire, 1790-1850 - Joe Hardwick, Northumbria University

Ecclesiastical historians who consider the networks that connected the branches of the nineteenth-century Anglican Church usually adopt the traditional model of an imperial centre—the Church of England in the mother country—supplying a colonial periphery—Church establishments overseas—with clergy, funds, information and religious ideas. Though this model has some use, this paper argues that the ecclesiastical networks that took shape as the institutional Church established itself as an imperial presence between 1790 and 1850 were multifaceted and intra-colonial. It does this in two ways.

First, the paper draws attention to the flows of people and information between colonial Anglican outposts. By concentrating on the links between Anglicans in Cape Town and the presidencies of British India in the 1840s, this paper suggests that new nodal points were emerging in the imperial Anglican Church. These nodes meant that colonial Anglicanism was, in many cases, shaped as much by churches on the periphery of empire as they were by Anglicans at home.

Second, the paper argues that the idea that the Church had a single metropolitan core is problematic. Connections between the metropolitan Church and its branches in settler communities were more complex than existing anglocentric accounts suggest. The important links that Anglican communities in Ireland and Scotland built with colonial Church establishments ensured that the Scottish Episcopalian and Irish low church strands in Anglicanism left enduring imprints on empire.

Attending to these divergent connections enriches our understanding of how the Church operated as an imperial institution. The paper concludes by considering the difficulties that these multifarious networks posed to Anglicans who wanted to describe the diverse branches of the Church as a single 'colonial Church'.

Characterising and Charting Migration Flows: Passenger Lists, Census Returns and English Emigration to Canada, 1905-1913 - Amy J. Lloyd, University of Edinburgh

Between 1815 and 1930, approximately11.4 million people emigrated from Britain –a large proportion of whom went to destinations within the British Empire. Who were these emigrants? Passenger lists are one of the best sources for exploring this question. However, most studies have focussed on American lists, and no study has examined lists from the early-twentieth century – the period when emigration from Britain reached its zenith and when Canada superseded the decades-long reign of the United States as the most favoured destination. This paper analyses a sample of passenger lists for the years 1905 to 1913, focusing on English emigrants bound for Canada. These lists contain a wealth of information, including passengers' intended destinations, past and intended occupations, previous visits to Canada, and who theywere joining in Canada. Moreover, a proportion of these passengers have been located in the 1911 Canadian census, which has furnished further information regarding these immigrants, including where they actually settled in Canada, who they

joined, and the occupations they eventually took up. While this paper will provide an overview of the main research findings of this study, it will particularly focus on what this data reveals concerning chain and circular migration.How many emigrants were joining relatives and friends in Canada? How important was chain migration in the ever-increasing boom in migration to Canada during this period? How many emigrants had been to Canada before? When, where and in what capacity? What types of emigrants were more likely to become circular migrants? This paper will thus shed light on the density and attributes of the networks and circuits which characterised British emigration during this period.

Connecting Empires: Goans in British East Africa - Margret Frenz, St Cross College, Oxford

This paper explores the connections between rather than within empires, in this case the Portuguese and the British Empires and argues that studying Goans across the lines of different empires shows that connected history is not just about interactions within but also about interactions between empires – and thus is a global history in an imperial context.

Goans played a special role, connecting the British and the Portuguese Empires through their migration not only on the Indian subcontinent, but also to East Africa. These movements became particularly important in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when the British colonial administration and the Uganda Railways recruited Goans to work as staff on the railways and as clerks in the newly established colonial administration. Goans as Portuguese colonial subjects travelled by and large on Portuguese passports, and were perceived as Portuguese citizens. However, whereas in the early colonial days, Goans saw themselves by and large as loyal citizens, by the 1950s/1960s a multitude of novel identities emerged, in which the sense of being part both of the Portuguese Empire and the British world became increasingly blurred.

The transformative processes of Goan self-perception and political orientation – away from the Portuguese towards the British Empire – created a paradoxical situation that was marked by deep tensions between the cultural and political community. These tensions were never resolved from within, but by the integration of Goa, Daman and Diu into the Indian Union in 1961.

Panel 3 – The British Empire between the Wars

Chair: Emily Baughan, University of Bristol

Facing off against the British Empire Delegation: Lord Cecil in Paris 1919 - Phillip Dehne, St. Joseph's College, New York

During the 1920s and 1930s, Lord Robert Cecil became an icon of the world peace and League of Nations movements both in Britain and across the world, receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in 1937. Far from a anti-British knee-jerk internationalist, as he was characterized by his opponents in the 1930s, at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 that ended the First World War, Cecil aspired to create a better world while also upholding the strength and power of Britain and its empire. Yet despite his certain support for the empire, Cecil found himself particularly vexed throughout his months in Paris by his supposed colleagues in the British Empire Delegation, the group of Dominion Prime Ministers who had gained unprecedented significance in British governing circles during the war. This paper describes the actions of this network of British imperial statesmen meeting in Paris 1919. In various conference forums, Cecil jostled with the notoriously uncompromising Prime Minister Billy Hughes of Australia and his antipodean follower Bill Massey of New Zealand, but also with supposed allies like General Smuts, who after the war named Cecil as South Africa's delegate to two League General Assembly meetings, but who in 1919 clashed with Cecil over his lust for annexing former German colonies. This paper exposes how a Peace Conference after a war won in large part by the existence of British imperial unity exposed the very real limits of that togetherness.

Shopping for Empire: Imperial consumer networks in inter-war Britain, Australia and New Zealand - David Thackeray, University of Exeter

The inter-war campaign to popularise the preferential buying of imperial goods has often been viewed through the lens of the 'propaganda' efforts of the Empire Marketing Board (EMB). This paper argues that the influence of the EMB in promoting imperial shopping has been exaggerated, this movement can be better understood within the context of a wider flourishing of civic associational cultures, particularly amongst women, in the aftermath of World War I. Empire shopping drew on the support of a wide range of voluntary organisations and played a significant role in their efforts to define national and imperial identities between the wars, related to, but distinct from, wider attempts at developing a democratic 'internationalism' through the peace movement. Yet despite its supporters' claims that Empire shopping was a non-party, 'national' cause, the movement attracted significant opposition throughout its existence. While the culture of imperial shopping built upon the growing interconnectedness of the Empire as a result of press networks, film, and radio broadcasting, it took distinct forms across the Dominions. In Britain imperial shopping was connected with the project of 'national' government in the 1930s and lost impetus in the decade that followed. Even so, in Australasia the campaign continued into the 1940s and became closely connected to the celebration of Empire Day, providing a feminine counterpoint to Anzac commemorations.

The Government of India, Iraq and the European Disarmament Question, *c*. 1932–1935 - Neil Fleming, University of Worcester

This paper presents an example of how the imperial periphery could work together to weaken the resolve of the metropole on a sensitive political issue. It argues that the British-appointed Government of India influenced the formulation of British foreign policy on disarmament, particularly aerial bombing, in a campaign coordinated with the former League of Nations mandate of Iraq where aerial policing proved highly effective. International history tends to view the League of Nations Disarmament Conference (1932–35) as a European affair. Yet colonial questions had a bearing on the positions taken by the main protagonists. This was especially true of the diversely administered British empire. New Delhi had long practised at its own overseas policy, and possessed its own representatives at the conference. The Government of India opposed calls for aerial disarmament and thereby placed itself at odds with the British government. This reflected what colonial officials regarded as India's strategic interests, as well as their more pronounced empire-mindedness, an outlook which was wary of Britain committing itself to European interests above its 'imperial responsibilities'. They were assisted in this by British officials in Iraq, officially serving an independent kingdom, also represented at Geneva, but in reality preserving British interests in an unstable new state. New Delhi and Baghdad worked with allies in London to shape British policy at Geneva. These links demonstrate the common interests of colonial officials across empire, a reflection of imperial career networks and an accompanying *mentalité* which was increasingly out of favour in the metropole.

Panel 4 – Students, Scholars, Science

Empire of Scholars: academic connections, 1880-1939 - Tamson Pietsch, Brunel University

In the 1960s governments in Britain and the Dominions began to nationalise the institutions of academic knowledge. They supported the foundation of new universities, increased government funding, sponsored academic research, provided state bursaries for students, encouraged the development of local professional societies and charged differential fees to foreign students. The stories universities began to tell about themselves reflected this post-war project of nationalising knowledge. Emphasising their distinctive qualities and presenting their early achievements as key to the emergence of independent national communities, universities in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Britain turned away from the connections that had shaped them. This paper will examine the ways in which intimate and personal long-distance ties underpinned most aspects of academic practice in British and settler universities in the period between 1880 and 1939. Facilitating academic careers that straddled the distances of empire, such ties were crucial not only to institutional policy, but also to the ways ideas were made. Attending to their history is important, becausethey helped establish the uneven lines of global connection and irregular geographies of access that continue to condition higher education today.

East African Students in a (Post) Imperial World - Timothy Nicholson, State University of New York at Delhi

This paper shows how during the late 1950s and early 1960s East African students transformed their world and the world of the British Empire. Using their relatively privileged position in their homeland but denied any further education, students worked to obtain their own educational opportunities and scholarships as they hoped for a better future. These students moved throughout the British world as they attended school in such diverse places as India, other African countries, United States and United Kingdom. Straddling the decolonization divide, young East African men and women established their own transnational networks as they spread word of educational opportunities, helped each other moving within the British world and dealt with British authorities. In addition to this focus, my paper also examines the regulation and limitations places on these students as the British government, concerned about the susceptibility of African youths to communist thought, actively reported on the students and discouraged them from traveling to certain areas. To accomplish such goals, this paper uses documents from the British, American and East African national archives along with oral histories from East African students of the era. This endeavor allows for an important examination of the late colonial and early postcolonial African youth and their relationship with local issues and global paradigms of authority as they attempted to further their educational opportunities within the wider British world.

Gathering the Lost Beasts: Palaeontological Research across networks of Empire, 1880-1940 - Chris Manias, University of Manchester

In the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, palaeontology was a scientific field fundamentally tied to networks of global exchange and empire building. Already institutionalized in major museums in Europe and the United States, these organized large research expeditions in colonial and newly-connected regions – in Africa, the Americas, Asia and Australasia – to unearth and send material back to the collections of the metropole. Utilizing colonial scholarly connections and infrastructure, often relying on the work of local people for excavation and knowledge of sites, and requiring metropolitan authority and exchange for the gathering and interpretation of specimens, palaeontology depended on imperial and international connections on a range of levels. Yet not only was this a field based around movement and circulation in contemporary scientific networks, it was also one which sought to trace the historical dynamics of movement, migration and development, comprehending how ancient creatures had spread and evolved across the globe. This was not only of scientific interest, but was seen as having clear relevance to contemporary imperial issues. Reflections on how prehistoric animals had survived, thrived and became extinct, and how their fates were tied to shifting environments, relationships to one another, and human agency, intersected with highly-charged debates on progress, degeneration, race and environment. This paper will trace some of these developments, paying particular attention to the work of German, British, French and American institutions and figures, as the development of prehistoric life was traced across the connections of empire, and seen to have fundamental relevance to imperial processes.

Panel 5 – Anti-slavery

Chair: Matthew Brown, University of Bristol

The Anti-Slavery Empire, the Atlantic World, and Slave-Trade Suppression - Richard Huzzey, University of Liverpool

The Royal Navy's campaign of slave-trade suppression, from rougly 1808-1865, does not resemble an imperial network so much as a tangled web, encapsulating international treaties with "Great Powers", younger Latin American states, and "uncivilised" African nations, but also espionage, bribery, violence, invasion, labour migration, and legal trickery. By reassessing the place of this effort in popular politics, my paper will argue that the suppression campaign illustrates an important feature of a new imperial history: The Foreign Office directed anti-slave-trade policies, interacting with other sovereign nations, most of which Britain would never formally colonise; the campaign therefore argues for the importance of foreign interactions being studied alongside imperial expansion or colonial rule. At the same time, the conceptual and practical blurring of a hegemon's ambitions and an empire's extension presents problems for "imperial" history as a category, since efforts to reshape the world beyond Britain's borders escaped the boundaries of foreign, domestic and imperial politics.

Frederick E. Forbes and the Imperial Discourse - Alexsander Lemos de Almeida Gebara, Universidade Federal Fluminense, RJ, Brazil.

Frederick E. Forbes made a career in the British Navy between the 1830s and 1850. Having participated in activities in different parts of the empire. He joined the Navy in 1833, allocated in the West Indies, where he remained until 1842 when he was moved to China shortly after the signing of the Treaty of Nanking. In 1847, he moved again, now a lieutenant, to the African Squadron to combat the slave trade in the West African coast, where he remained throughout the following years.

He is famous among Africanists especially for his account of a trip to Dahomey performed in 1850. In this text, the author presents a positive view of the work of containment of the slave trade by the British navy and clearly positions itself alongside the humanitarian ideals of Exeter Hall. However, his other writings such as *Five Years in China* and *Six Months' Service in the African Blockade* has been little explored by historians.

This article seeks to analyze the texts of Forbes diachronically, showing how their experiences in different spaces and times of British empire shaped his conceptions, and how his speech is in constant tension with the imperial policies employed by England in the mid-nineteenth century. Thus, it becomes more clear how it may be possible that the same author that affirmed the effectiveness and humanity of the African squadron to combat the slave trade in 1850, have stated, three years before, that the English action only worsened the state of enslaved African. What are the possible explanations for these diametrically divergent opinions? Surely they pass through the analysis of its imperial experience.

British imperial policies against the slave trade in a “connected” area: the example of the Arabo-Persian Gulf and the north of the Indian Ocean in a long 19th century - Guillemette Crouzet, Sorbonne / Trinity College, Cambridge

Much has been written on slavery, on the Atlantic slave trade or on the abolition process, which was initiated by the British at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Historiography, however, has neglected a vast area that was structured in the 19th century by the flows of the slave trade during a long nineteenth century: the Arabo-Persian Gulf, connected to the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean and the African East Coast through the flows of slave.

This paper aims to study in the *“longue durée”* perspective the building of a "space-network" of the slave trade, which economic integrations varied, focusing on the Gulf, the Sea of Oman and on the northern Indian Ocean. This “space network” was based on the branching of the complex supply routes of slaves, both land and sea. Areas providing captive workers, including the Swahili coast, are valued in this paper, as well as the "relays" distributing the slaves, like the Indian Ocean islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, or the port cities of the sea of Oman, Muscat. The diversity of markets buyers, i.e. the Ottoman Empire and his harems, the societies of the Arabian Peninsula, and the "depth" of this spatial economic system based on regional flows of slaves are enhanced. Moreover this paper adopts a new perspective on the British imperial policy in these spaces. This paper will study how the British, by signing treaties with some of the regional, i.e. Persia, the Ottoman Empire, the Pasha of Egypt, the Sultan of Oman or the shaikhs of the "Trucial Coast”, have gradually built a transnational political territory “unified” by the anti slave trade agreements and by patrols of the Indian Navy and the Royal Navy, responsible for guarding the seas and intercepting vessels involved in the economics of the slave trade.

Panel 6 – Empire and Development in the Twentieth Century

Chair: Rob Skinner, University of Bristol

Youth Against Hunger: the role of young people in humanitarian networks at the end of empire - Anna Bocking-Welch, University of York

This paper is about internationalism, humanitarianism and a 1965 scheme that aimed to involve British young people in aid overseas. Youth Against Hunger was organised by a number of large humanitarian organizations, including Oxfam and Christian Aid. The scheme ran in conjunction with the United Nations Freedom from Hunger Campaign and was also intended to work alongside the UN designated International Cooperation Year. This paper will show that Youth Against Hunger can help us to understand the changing practices and discourses of internationalism and imperialism within 1960s British civil society, offering a case study of one way in which voluntary action was seen to bridge the gap between the local and the global.

For the humanitarian organizations that ran it, Youth Against Hunger was about more than raising money (though many of the activities associated with it did raise funds to support development initiatives). Instead, Youth Against Hunger aimed to use service and education as a way of creating networks that linked young people in Britain with young people in other parts of the world, often within but also beyond the boundaries of the declining empire. This paper will consider the extent to which young people involved in Youth Against Hunger lived up to its objectives and became international actors; it will explore the different ways in which children and teenagers got involved in the scheme; and it will assess the varying success of the tactics employed in order to engage British young people with the decolonising outside world.

Relief, Reconstruction and Civilization: Discourses of Development in interwar Europe and Africa - Emily Baughan, University of Bristol

This paper explores the emergence of the discourse of 'development' in the interwar era. Interrogating the work one Europe's largest humanitarian organizations, the British Save the Children Fund,it contends that notions of social and economic development in Africa in the 1930s owed much to the humanitarian rhetoric of 'reconstruction' in Europe in the 1920s.

In the aftermath of the First World War, a new vogue for internationally focused humanitarian work brought droves of British relief workers to Europe. Fearful that they would render the recipients of relief dependent upon their efforts, they sought rebuild societies, rather than just relieve their inhabitants. With a holistic focus upon economic growth, nutritional standards and bettering state welfare apparatus, humanitarians began to claim that they would raise European society above pre-war standards, and reconstruction was thus supplanted by the notion of development. When the Save the Children Fund came to work in Africa in the 1930s – confining its work predominantly to British colonies – the notion of development continued to frame its beliefs and practices.

Yet, the flow of ideas between the imperial and imperial humanitarian initiatives went both ways. WhereEuropeandiscourses of reconstruction and development impacted uponefforts in colonial Africa, at the same time classically imperial notion of ‘civilization’ underpinned internationally

focused humanitarian work. In both Europe and Africa, the Fund explained societies relativeeconomic and social development in terms of 'civilization', and upheld the British Empire as the champion and exemplar of this ideal. The work of the Save the Children Fund would thus ensure that hierarchical, colonial worldviews underpinned international development discourses well into the mid-twentieth century.

Britain and the 'Three Circles of Destiny': Colonial development from 1945 - Charlotte Riley, UCL/LSE

This paper will explore the colonial development policies of the Attlee government, and the connections between ideologies of reconstruction and development in the post-war period. British post-war colonial development was influenced both by the economic requirements of the metropole and by the ideological conviction, held by many in the Labour Party, that the colonies deserved to see an improvement in their economies and social-welfare services. This paper will begin by examining the connections and contradictions between these two types of development, and the legacies of both types of development within current British humanitarian and economic development programmes overseas.

In the post-war period, after the burden of victory and against increasing Cold War tensions, Britain's colonial development was increasingly enacted not only as imperial policy but also as a key element within British networks of foreign policy. This paper will also explore the international webs, networks and circuits within which colonial development occurred. Sometimes – in the case of pan-European development within the context of the OEEC and the Marshall Plan – these connections were largely fruitless; at other times, these international connections could be extremely productive, as seen in the strong rhetorical, practical and geographical links between British colonial development and the American Point Four aid programme. This paper will place British colonial development within a network of global interaction, exploring the successes, failures, and legacies of this internationalised approach to imperial policy.

Panel 7 – Museums, Representation, Memorialisation

Chair: Sue Giles, Bristol Museums, Galleries & Archives

The journey of a Persian embroidery: How Ellen Tanner's mementoes from the Middle East came to Bristol Museum - Kate Newnham, Bristol Museums

Ellen Tanner from Frenchay travelled to Iraq in 1894, then through Persia on horseback, an arduous, time-consuming but fascinating journey. She left Teheran in 1896 and ten years later when Bristol Museum & Art Gallery opened, she donated some forty textiles and other objects from her travels. Several complete women's outfits are of particular interest to scholars due to their precise provenance.

A copy of Miss Tanner's typescript account of her journey, *By Road and River* fortunately survives through which we can gain detailed information about the logistics of her journey and the imperial phenomena that influenced it. Drawn to Baghdad through her friendship with the wife of the British resident and Consul-General, she chose her route on through Persia and made purchases for her collection on the strength of advice and introductions from friends and imperial officials. She relied also on her treasured copy of Curzon's *Persia and the Persian Question* and on the location of telegraph stations built to consolidate communication with India.

Miss Tanner's diary, her museum donations, as well as her successful application to become one of the first female members of the Royal Geographical Society, serve to consolidate her status as a serious traveller and memorialise her adventures. Miss Tanner documented many meaningful encounters with Persian people from a wide social spectrum ranging from nomadic women to the son of a former Prime Minister. Her diary can therefore also be read as a memorial, if partial, of the Qajar dynasty of the late Persian Empire.

Reclaiming Indigenous histories at sites of colonial memorialisation: Blackfoot Crossing, Treaty 7 and the Siksika Nation - Bryony Onciul,, University of Exeter

My paper considers the ways in which sites of colonial memorialisation can be reclaimed by indigenous communities and used as platforms to present counter-narratives. The paper will explore these issues by focusing on a river valley known as Blackfoot Crossing, in Alberta, Canada. It is a site that has long held strong spiritual significance for the Blackfoot First Nations and has been a traditional location for ceremonies and encampments. The place entered into Canadian national history as the site where Treaty 7 was signed in 1877, and has since become a site of colonial memorialisation. The place is located on the Siksika Blackfoot Reserve, and as such this memorialisation has been problematic. The interpretive panels commemorating the signing located on site have gunshot wounds, emphasising the on-going emotional connection to this period felt within the indigenous community. Interestingly the site has recently been reinterpreted and reclaimed by the Siksika Blackfoot Nation who have built a museum and heritage park on the site to tell their own history and decolonise and reinterpret this landscape that is still sacred to them. This paper will explore these issues, considering how (pre/post)colonial historical narratives are interwoven within the landscape, and the potential for public history to unpick national narratives and open up new understanding of colonial places.

Legacies of Empire in North America: A View from the Western Great Lake - Linda Naunappe, Independent Scholar, Wisconsin and Illinois Archaeological Surveys

For Midwestern and Great Lakes archaeologists, study of sites dating to the protohistoric, early and middle historic periods of the region (circa approximately A.D. 1600-1760, terminating around the fall of New France to the British) has focused upon determination of a site's cultural affiliation based on material culture types recovered from below-ground contexts. Sites are assigned ethnic affiliation into one of two major categories, French Colonial or Native American Indian, and those that do not fit neatly into those categories are classified as 'contact', meaning sites of Euro-indigenous cultural contact. Because this framework does not provide for a more liberal interpretation of sociocultural interrelationships, it upholds the established division of sites into classification categories of "European" or "Indian", thereby perpetuating the teleological view of empire's lasting effects through time (conqueror and conquered). Viewing the region as a geographically remote participant in the latter European early modern period, however, places archaeological sites as markers (or nodes) within an extremely complex global social network of alliances, betrayals and race for imperial power amongst indigenous groups and the British, French, Dutch and other European empires, whose final fate was yet unknown. In such a light, sites whose former occupants remain questionable to this day might best be considered as comprising a unique form of colonialism culture. This paper provides a brief overview of the interconnected nature of regional social relationships during the 17th and 18th centuries, and how the notion of empire pervades 19th-21st century historical narratives and archaeological representations of the period.

Panel 8 – Culture and Empire

Chair: Jo Crow, University of Bristol

French Presence in Canada today as understood in the context of French presence in the global British Empire in the 18th and 19th centuries - Srilata Ravi and Claude Couture, University of Alberta

Student strikes, civil disturbances, anti-corruption protests in Québec in 2012 and the election of a left-wing independentist party at the provincial level in 2012, while fuelling mainstream media into repeating the usual clichés about Québec and the French presence in Canada, have also left several questions unanswered about the ambiguities that characterize French Canada/British Canada relations. This paper is based on the idea that the complex nature of French presence in Canada today is the legacy of a global French presence within the British world since the 18th century. It is an attempt to link global history and imperial history as well as to explore the connections between imperial audiences and public spheres using the Canadian context as a starting point for discussions. Just as the 2012 protest movements in Québec can be seen as connected to movements of social unrest elsewhere in the world, French Canadian history should be understood in the context of a network or web of complex imperial cultural dimensions in which the French within the British Empire often played a key role. Two types of individuals marked this 'French' presence: a) mercenaries who became prominent business leaders in the British Empire; b) missionaries who also doubled up as anthropologists and scientists, and who provided crucial studies of native cultures and landscapes colonized by the British. The French individuals that we have studied in a wider project include Abbé Dubois (1765-848), Claude Martin (1735-1800) and Benoit de Boigne (1751-1830) in India; Bishop Pompallier (1802-1871) in New Zealand; Père Laval (1803-1864) in Mauritius; Joseph Masson (1791-1847), Father Émile Petitot (1838-1916) and Father Albert Lacombe (1827-1916) in Canada. For the purposes of this paper, we will focus on Father Petitot and Abbé Dubois.

Rorke's Drift and the Khassi Hills: Bringing the Empire home to Wales - Gethin Matthews, Swansea University

It is generally acknowledged that the British Empire became a significant element in British culture during the mid- to late- Victorian era. The spread of the idea of 'empire' can be traced in the newspapers of Wales, where references to the British Empire become steadily more common in the period 1860-1890. However, whereas many analyses of the English press have noted how various military officers (most notably General Gordon) were raised to the status of imperial heroes in the late Victorian era, a study of the Welsh-language press reveals a rather different picture. Whereas some military victories were celebrated in similar terms to the English-language press, the dominant Non-conformist ideology (which was deeply engrained in the minds of most Welsh opinion-formers) also meant that some imperial campaigns could be condemned as needless and bloody militarism.

The most interesting examples to be studied are the reactions of the Welsh press to military campaigns where the Welsh contribution was prominent – such as the battle of Rorke's Drift (1879). This is now well-known because of the depiction of the battle (again as a 'Welsh' victory) in the 1964 film *Zulu* – but the Welsh newspapers were reporting it in similar terms at the time. However, in

terms of the presentation of Welsh heroes abroad, the exploits of the Welsh missionaries (in places such as the Khassi Hills in north-east India) received the most publicity in highly favourable terms.

Advertising Empire across Nations - Louise Bergström, European University Institute, Florence

The existence of the above card, advertising soap at the turn of the century, exemplifies how racial stereotypes were used to sell goods in the European metropolis, the "soft-soaping of empire". What is surprising, though, is that this card was found in the archive of Swedish soap manufacturer M. Zadig who used it as inspiration in advertisements for his firm's soap.

In the light of Sweden not having any colonies, why would a Swedish soap manufacturer use colonial themes to sell soap?

The proposed paper is an attempt to answer this question, and in doing so highlighting the trans- national and interactive nature of turn of the century imperial practises. Advertisement was an integral part of empire building and whereas this discourse partly drew on tropes specific to the national context, partly it turned "the colonial" into a generic concept that could be implemented in contexts without any formal links with colonised territories. The paper follows from this conceptual fluidity and intends to compare and contrast how goods were advertised with colonial tropes across European national contexts. Using archival material from Sweden, Great Britain and the German Empire, the paper will be placed within the field of colonialism studies that emphasises the interactive nature of colonialism. Adding the Swedish context to this discourse will open up to a discussion of the extent to which colonial discursive practises spread outside of what we normally talk of as "the colonial context".

Panel 9 - Colonial Film

Chair - Colin MacCabe, University of Pittsburgh

The Visual Vernacular: amateur film and colonial vision in the British Empire - Francis Gooding, Birkbeck

Centering on amateur film of the British Empire from the collection of the Bristol Museum (formerly in the collections of the British Empire and Commonwealth Museum [BECM]), this paper will explore the problems inherent in the critical and historical analysis of amateur film, and discuss the author's experience of working with the amateur collections at the BECM during the Colonial Film Project. It will argue that the privileged viewpoint that is preserved by amateur film of the colonial period provides a vital counterpoint to the official and professional film record. The paper will also suggest that such films also contain evidence regarding the everyday visual sensibility of the colonial classes, a sensibility that is itself an important and complementary pendant to the visual order that can be discerned within official colonial film. The paper will also address more general problems in the study of amateur film. Film extracts from the Bristol collections will be shown.

Traveling Producer: William Sellers and the Movement of Colonial Film - Tom Rice, University of St. Andrews

In 1955, as moves towards decolonisation gathered pace across Britain's Empire, the London-based Colonial Film Unit finally closed its doors. Over the previous 16 years, the CFU had produced more than 200 short films specifically for colonial audiences, established a network of mobile cinema vans that traveled across the Empire, and provided training schools and materials for a first generation of local filmmakers. This expansion and literal movement of colonial film was overseen by the CFU's founding producer, William Sellers. Sellers' career in film spanned more than thirty years, from his pioneering work as a Public Health Official producing instructional films in inter-war Nigeria, to his final days in London as a film advisor in the Colonial Office. In this paper, I will explore the ways in which Sellers sought to transport colonial film, ideologies and practices across the British Empire. While film historians have carried out some critical work on Sellers' writings (almost exclusively his influential work on the cognitive capabilities of African audiences, presented in 'Films for Primitive People'), there has been little consideration of *how* Sellers sought to standardise colonial film practice. Sellers issued directives from London, disseminated these through the CFU's quarterly magazine *Colonial Cinema* (a forum for 'men in the field'), and travelled extensively around the colonies – from the Gold Coast to Cyprus to Jamaica to Hong Kong. The challenges he encountered, both ideological and practical, in transporting his ideas across the colonies reveal the broader complexities of controlling, containing and administering a vast, rapidly disintegrating Empire.

Films with a mission: cinema and evangelism in the British Empire - Emma Sandon, Birkbeck

This paper will address the way in which missionary films were produced and circulated within the British Empire during the first half of the twentieth century. Using a comparative analysis of British missionary societies' activities in Africa and India, particularly of those operating on both continents, the paper will discuss how those Protestant and Anglo-Catholic organisations that adopted film were able to compete strategically with other British and foreign churches in recruiting, converting and raising funds for the spread of the Christian faith. This coincided with a period in which the nature of

governance was changing in Britain and throughout its empire, as well as in territories controlled by other imperial states. Whilst many missions did not approve of the use of the popular medium of film, societies such as the Church Missionary Society, the Church of Scotland missions, the London Missionary Society, the Methodist Missionary Society, the Salvation Army, and St. Joseph's Missionary Society, promoted the use of film for the purposes of evangelism across the globe. Furthermore missionaries from these organisations participated in Protestant interdenominational collaborations and networks, such as the International Missionary Council, as key advisors developing the use of film for instruction through colonial government and industry-related educational initiatives in the empire. The production and consumption of film for Christian religious conversion has been considered marginal to other forms of instruction in colonial and missionary histories. By centralising cinema in histories of empire, the paper concludes that the uptake of film by specific missions significantly advanced the shift to evangelism that was taking place within Christian organisations and was influential within secular government of the British empire throughout this period of the twentieth century.

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Panel 10 – Latin America and Empire

Chair: Jo Crow, University of Bristol

From Frontiers to Football: Latin America and the World from Independence to the 2014 FIFA World Cup - Matthew Brown, University of Bristol

This paper will reflect on Latin America's engagement with the rest of the world from 1800 to the present day, linking independence from colonial rule to the 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil via the history of the intervening two centuries. Often Latin America's engagement with the rest of the world has been presented as a simple narrative of Latin American victimhood at the hands of predatory empires . Twenty-first century stories that show Brazil, Mexico and other countries confidently asserting themselves in the international arena suggest that these centuries of subordination are now being cast behind into history on the basis of new democracies, optimism and sound economic mismanagement. Historians of Latin America, however, have documented so many false dawns, that they offer more sceptical interpretations. The continent has never been solely defined by its poverty or its 'coloniality', the in-vogue phrase to describe the lingering social and cultural legacies of colonialism.This paper will argue that viewing Latin America as an integral part of connected histories of empire provides a more accurate way of understanding the continent's place in global networks and histories.

Britain and Chile in the 1820s: Global Connections or Neo-colonialism? - Andres Baeza, University of Bristol

This paper aims to characterize the connections between Britain and Chile between 1818 and 1830 (or post-independence). In so doing it will challenge two typical assumptions: 1) that after independence the relation between Britain and Chile (as well as the rest of Latin America) was defined by a sort of 'neo-colonialism' or 'neo-imperialism'. 2) This relation was restricted to the sphere of economy, being 'culture' influenced by other 'cultural models' like France. This paper, in turn, will show that the connection between Chile and Britain during 1820s were much more complex and dynamic. Firstly, in this period Chile inaugurated an era of 'global connections' in which Britain was only one actor amongst others. Alongside Britons, Spanish, French, German, Swedish, North and South American people arrived in Chile carrying different ideas, projects and experiences. The new leaders choose and adopted which they consider most suitable to their interests or adaptable to the new circumstances. Secondly, in this wide range of possibilities Britons did have a cultural significance and not only commercial interests. The later will be demonstrated through some diverse example such as the monitorial system of education, the diplomatic negotiations for political recognition and the birth of the navy in Chile.

Hegel, Empire and America: anti-historicism and connected identities in 20th-century Argentina - Michela Coletta, University of Bristol

The idea of the primitiveness of the American continent with respect to civilised Europe was fully established in the eighteenth century, as European scholars laid the ground for a theory of the inferiority of the natural world in the Americas. The philosophical peak of the debate was reached in

the early nineteenth century, when G.W.F. Hegel gave his famous Lectures on the Philosophy of History placing Europe in the realm of 'history' and America in the realm of 'nature'. This paper seeks to explore the ways in which twentieth-century Latin American intellectuals reformulated the region's identity by reappraising nature as an essential component of modernity. I will analyse the ways in which in the early 1960s Argentine writer and anthropologist Rodolfo Kusch challenged Hegelian historicism by questioning the idea of a dialectical synthesis and incorporating indigenous philosophies in order to propose an 'American' project of modernity.

Panel 11 – Place and Network

Navigating the Nineteenth-Century British Mediterranean - Alex Chase-Levenson, Princeton University / IHR

In 1790, British trade to the Ottoman Empire had dwindled to a trickle, French traders dominated across the Mediterranean, and the Rock of Gibraltar cut a lonely figure as the sole territory under British jurisdiction between the cliffs of Dover and the African cape, between the Caribbean and India. By the end of the Napoleonic Wars, however, not only did Britain gain control over Malta and the Ionian Islands, but British armies lingered in Italy and Spain, British agents vied for influence at the Court of Mohammed Ali in Egypt, and British trade began to outstrip the traditional Mediterranean powers. Britain is not often thought of as a Mediterranean power, but in 1815 it certainly was, and Britons dreamed big: "In Malta," gloated John Davy, "we may be said to possess a fulcrum, on which we might construct engines sufficient to move the whole Mahomedan world." But the complex web of interactions that made Britain a Mediterranean power was hard to mobilize or define. In the end, I will argue, British dominance in the region was often more about potentiality, fear, and fantasy than the extraction of particular trade goods or the consolidation of typical colonial power. Focusing on the period between the Napoleonic and Crimean Wars, I will examine the complex relationships between a network of British consuls across the Mediterranean, colonial governments in Malta and the Ionian Islands, and enterprising travellers, traders, and fantasists who invested themselves in the project of increasing British influence south and eastward. The interaction between these individuals and groups presents a novel instance of British power that does not fit easily into ideas of either simple diplomacy or empire, either formal or informal. In the end, I will suggest, Britons fused novel, post-Napoleonic aims and aspirations with much longer-standing Mediterranean dynamics, becoming a Mediterranean power, in the end, not by upending the chaotic life of the middle sea but by joining wholeheartedly in the jumble.

Djibouti, imperial stop or network node? - Simon Imbert-Vier, Centre d'études des mondes africains

Colonial empires create continuity, beyond the territorial discontinuity, by organising physical networks in order to ensure territories control and circulation of wealth and people. until Second World War, the maritime way is the main of those networks. The French Somaliland is occupied from 1884 for securing imperial connections between France and the eastern part of its empire then in creation : Madagascar and Indochina mainly. The creation of the Djibouti's town in 1888, followed by the realisation of an intercontinental harbour, materialised this project symbolised by the *Messageries maritimes*. From 1896, Djibouti is the first French stop on the road to the eastern parts of the empire. The analysis of nationalities and routes of more than 12.000 steam ships having stopped at Djibouti from 1906 up to 1940 allows to map imperial networks from empirical data in a concrete way. It shows the porosity of those sets since, if half of the transit is done by French ships, 25% are British and 15% Italians. Furthermore, France represents only a quarter of the directs origins or destinations. This research, still in progress, allows to interrogate the topological imperial constructions, showing their realities. Djibouti appears then not so as a simple stop on French imperial routes, but as an international exchange network node. From a story of imperial networks we are going toward their insertion in a more global history, the one of territorial connections during the first half of the XXth Century.

British Colonial Architecture in Cyprus 1878-1960 - Costas Georghiou, University of Wolverhampton

Cyprus is at the cross-roads of East and West and has been under the domination of successive Empires. It was part of the British Empire 1878-1960, which left behind a rich legacy of architecture, town planning and infrastructure works. In many ways these represent a microcosm of Empire and Colonial rule. The colonial heritage is recorded, analysed and evaluated to provide an understanding of the nature, ethos and methods of British colonialism, the influences which shaped it and the intentions behind it.

Architecture and the built environment, the printed word, radio broadcasting, cinema and advertising were all part of a continuum of interconnected propaganda forms/agencies designed to win over indigenous hearts and minds by methods, overt and covert, other than by resort to main force. In many ways the architecture and town planning shed light on the British Colonial Administration, the Cypriots living on the island during this period and the connections to other colonies and England as the centre of Empire.

The paper is organised into three ‘watershed’ periods:- 1878 to the First World War, when the architecture reflected Empire at its most confident; The Inter-War period 1918-1939, when doubts about Empire began to creep in and a ‘Representational style’ of architecture combining indigenous with imperial elements became established; and the Post World War Two to Independence period 1945-1960, when the British Empire begun to disintegrate and the ‘Commonwealth style’ was introduced.

Unlike the Roman Empire, there was no uniform British Imperial style imposed, but a variety of styles which varied with time, place and the particular circumstances obtaining, much as the nature of the Empire itself varied. However, it was not the British colonial architectural styles alone which had the greatest influence on Cypriot society. The model of town planning and infrastructure development introduced by the British, of which buildings are a key component, together with the Administrative and Justice systems, profoundly changed the orientation of Cypriots towards the West.

Panel 12 – Networks and Circulation

New Books by Mail: The Anglophone Book Trade in Semi-Colonial Shanghai - Hoi-to Wong, University of Edinburgh

The flow of books and periodicals between the metropole and the periphery was a key element to keep people intellectually updated and culturally connected with the imagined empires, particularly for the western sojourners in semi-colonial Shanghai. After the opening of Shanghai in 1843, the rising number of western residents formed a large reading public, whose need for books and magazines was largely met by private libraries, auctioneers, mission presses, direct import from London publishers, and the Shanghai Library. From the early 1870s, the reading public experienced a fundamental change in the book trade and market innovated by the Shanghai-based British publishers and booksellers, Kelly & Walsh. It frequently imported new books by English, American, and French mails, and regularly published popular language textbooks and dictionaries of various East Asian languages, guidebooks and scholarly books on China and East Asia. The book market was joined by several competitors but it remained the largest and most influential important book importer and publisher because of its various branches across East Asia, its networks with British and American publishers and local literary and social institutions. Drawing extensively on the archives, publications, catalogues, and advertisements of Kelly & Walsh and British publishers, and its personnel's frequent involvement in and close connection to various literary and social establishments, this paper attempts to examine the formation and development in the Anglophone book trade in Shanghai from 1840s to 1920s. It also analyzes the changing marketplace for western literature consumed and shared by the Anglophone readers among the foreign communities.

Deaf connections and global conversations: debating deafness in and beyond the British Empire - Esme Cleall, University of Sheffield

Nineteenth-century ideas about deafness provide an excellent example of how webs and networks facilitated the flow of information, ideas and practices across the globe. In Britain, institutions, asylums and missions for deaf people, newly founded in this period, brought together deaf people in large numbers for the first time, facilitating the spread of sign languages and operating as hubs of deaf identity and culture. Questions about specialist education, the use of sign-language, and the 'problem' of deaf reproduction were delineated and deliberated at a transnational level. Missionary societies, themselves, highly networked entities, sought out deaf people overseas. Deaf emigrants carried with them language practices to new locations. This paper explores these networks both of deaf people and of ideas about deafness. Networks of and about deafness criss-crossed Britain and its Empire but also stretched beyond it: the US and France were also crucial contributors to these debates, thus complicating the extent to which global conversations can be understood solely within a colonial context. Besides illuminating lives often marginalised and issues underexplored, I argue in this paper that looking at networks and webs through the framework of disability, not only adds another example to existing work on colonial networks, but draws attention to questions about the embodied nature of movement, connection, and conversation, that can be missed when looking at the able-bodied 'normative'.

Tackling “the problems of an isolated overseas museum”: professional networks and curatorial challenges in the Zanzibar Museum, 1935 – 1942 - Sarah Longair, British Museum

In 1935, Ailsa Nicol Smith was appointed by the Colonial Office as the Curator of the Zanzibar Museum. Arriving on the island with experience of museum work and an academic interest in anthropology and education, she was well-placed to develop the work of the Museum, an institution opened in 1925 as an imperial monument commemorating the Great War and an educational institution for the whole community.

Typical of a solitary curator, she undertook multiple responsibilities beyond care of the collections and presenting them to the public, and was dependent upon the local staff in maintaining the Museum. She established professional links across the region, for example lobbying for an East African museums federation and leading the design and training in the new museum in Dar es Salaam in 1939. In spite of the limited Museum budget, her pioneering work in the field of education drew particular praise in 1940 from the Colonial Office who considered it a model of good practice. However, her turbulent relationship with the Protectorate Government led to her resignation in 1942.

This paper will examine Nicol Smith’s tenure in Zanzibar to reveal the multiple pressures upon a curator in a colonial museum in the interwar period. Tracing the history of her decision to resign draws attention to the intersecting professional spheres of museums and the Colonial Office, at a time when both were becoming increasingly specialised. The debates over the definition of the Museum’s role offer telling insights into the contradictions within the imperial mission in Zanzibar and the critical role of the international museum network in Nicol Smith’s struggle to assert her expertise.

Panel 13 - Migrated Archives

‘Migrated archives’: an overview - Mandy Banton, Institute of Commonwealth Studies

Ongoing interest in ‘migrated archives’, whether the sale of private papers to overseas libraries, or the deposit of official documentation in metropolitan record offices, was boosted by the deposit in the UK of the Rhodesian Army Archive, and more recently by the release of records of colonial governments concealed for decades in official UK custody. This paper examines arguments for and against the retention of documentation in its place of creation, outlining the concerns both of historians and of those concerned with the importance of such material to support good governance and accountability and the rights of citizens. It outlines international efforts to outlaw ‘migrations’, and to secure mechanisms for the return or copying of ‘migrated’ material. It poses many questions. Does the removal of documents cut across existing archival legislation? Does the assertion that the Foreign and Commonwealth Office ‘migrated archive’ is the property of the British Government not chime oddly with the official historical stance that colonial governments were separate entities and not part of a wider UK administration? Does digitisation provide a universal panacea or does the removal of source material from its country of origin deprive local institutions of funding as international visits decline, and even create a brain drain by tempting local scholars to move abroad? How can the notion that records created by a metropolitan overlord, and always held in the metropolis, properly belong to the former dependencies to which they refer, and should be ‘returned’, possibly be addressed?

‘Apply the flame more searingly’: a South East Asia case study in the destruction and migration of records of British colonial administration - Edward Hampshire, Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst

In 2011 the Foreign and Commonwealth Office formally acknowledged that it held records of local colonial administration that had been removed from their repositories prior to independence and eventually transferred to the United Kingdom. These records are in the process of transfer to the National Archives and caused some controversy when their existence came to light. Using records released as part of the transfer so far, this paper analyses of the process of assessment, destruction and removal of local administrative records in Malaya prior to independence in 1957, and North Borneo and Sarawak prior to their incorporation into Malaysia in 1963. It assesses the extent to which this process was managed from the metropole or locally, how the process changed over time, and how the colonial officials who undertook this work understood, justified and rationalised what they were doing. Due to the survival of unusually detailed lists of the records held in the North Borneo and Sarawak registries and their fates a comparative analysis of two parallel processes can be undertaken that sheds light on the physical practicalities of the selection, removal and destruction process: in short what survived and why. Finally, this case study not only reveals differences in attitudes towards this process amongst local officials, it also shows what was admitted to the potential successor governments and what it was considered important to keep from locally employed officials and the local inhabitants and why.

‘Migrated personal papers are one thing; looted or misappropriated national archives another’: the role of personal papers in the history of Empire - John Pinfold, formerly Rhodes House Library, Oxford

When they returned to Britain, many former colonial politicians, administrators and other public servants brought their papers with them, including, as territories gained independence, papers which in former times might or probably would have been handed over to their successors or to the national archive of the appropriate jurisdiction. In some, perhaps many, cases this included material of a sensitive or confidential nature which they had been instructed to destroy, but which they chose to retain, either out of a sense of duty towards ensuring the historical record was as complete as possible, or potentially in order to justify their own conduct at some future date. Much of this material is unique and forms an important additional source to that available in national or local government archives.

Using the examples of Sir Roy Welensky, Lord Devlin, and others, this paper will consider the nature of these collections, how they came to survive and how they can be used to supplement the official record. Their ‘grey’ nature raises questions of title, and, being regarded as private papers, the terms under which they have been deposited in libraries and archives can both assist and hinder historical research. Moreover, in some cases questions of provenance bring with them questions of reliability too. Can digitisation help resolve some of these questions, or does it bring its own problems of selection and accessibility?

Panel 14 – Networks and their Limits

Australian soldiers in imperial India - Richard Gehrmann, University of Southern Queensland

This paper explores the three-way linkage between Australia, British India and Great Britain, and the positioning of Australia and India as interconnected and subordinate elements of empire. For many Australians, India is a forgotten part of Asia despite a shared history under the auspices of the British Empire. While Indian and Australian history have become disconnected since 1947, in the colonial era strong ties existed between these two subordinate components of the Empire. This was particularly significant when the military relationship between the two countries is examined. Australian soldier-adventurers served in imperial India from the 1870s onwards, and following the Federation of the Australian colonies in 1901, hundreds of Australian officers were sent to India, both to gain real-world military experience and to study at the Indian Army Staff College. Other Australian soldiers made careers within Imperial India, and larger numbers of Australians were stationed in India in both world wars. This paper specifically considers the Australian soldiers' perceptions of India and Indians, and the extent to which Australians in India saw themselves as having different identities to their British counterparts.

Friendly Societies in the English-speaking World - Arthur Downing, All Souls College, Oxford

British clubs and societies spread around the English-speaking world in the long nineteenth century. Many historians and contemporaries commented on this. However few historians have examined the role of these associations in binding together distant regions. Whilst trade unions, the Freemasons and ethnic associations have received some attention there are no comparative or transnational studies of friendly societies. Friendly societies were by far the largest voluntary organizations in North America, Australasia and the British Isles. The Manchester Unity Independent Order of Oddfellows had more than a million members and over a thousand lodges in 1913. The American IOOF was even larger with 1.8 million members in 1920. Friendly societies were particularly influential in the settler dominions and this paper focuses on these regions. The first part of the paper explains how and why friendly societies spread from the British Isles and grew so large. The second part examines transfers of members, funds, and information between different districts, and argues that such transfers smoothed long-distance migrations. The third part offers a critique of the existing focus on networks, arguing that historians have used this concept too loosely without taking seriously the conceptual and methodological implications of network theory. In some ways friendly society lodges formed a dense network, which migrants could hop between. Using records from multiple levels of the Manchester Unity I am able to quantify 'clearances' within the order. However transfers of members, funds and information were a constant source of tension and network connections often counted for little.

Imperial Webs, Racial Geographies, and the British World Frame: Situating Canadian Expansionism in the British Caribbean in the History of Empire, 1870-1919 - Paula Hastings, University of Toronto

From the late 1870s to the months immediately following the First World War, Canadian merchants, bankers and politicians campaigned vigorously for Canada's annexation of the British West Indies. This paper interrogates the implications of these "sub-imperial" campaigns for the history and

historiography of the British Empire. Drawing from recent studies of the British imperial experience that underscore the centrality of inter-colonial networks in both defining and reconfiguring the empire, it foregrounds the importance of destabilizing the juxtaposition between "white" and "non-white" colonies that has become entrenched and subsequently reified in imperial histories.

To be sure, many contemporaries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century constructed imperial geographies along racial lines. But these divisions are too often accepted uncritically by imperial historians, as well as Dominion historians who situate their work in a broader imperial context. The obfuscating work of this divide is evident in the main thrust of the "British World" historiography, which has emphasized connections across white settler populations in Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Canada, while largely ignoring Dominion interactions with other colonies whose populations were comprised primarily of indigenous or African-descended peoples. This paper suggests that these studies need to be expanded to include not only the linkages between the "white Dominions," but also the circuits of empire that linked them to other areas of the world. Canada's imperial history was constituted not only by the cultural and commercial relations forged with Britain and the other Dominions, but by an elaborate web of exchange that brought many Canadians in contact with Barbadians, Jamaicans, and Bahamians, to name only a few. The specificity and variability of these exchanges in different contexts of empire should remind us to historicize the apparent affinities that bound the "white settlement" Dominions and the metropole together. The transience of colonial subjects, their movements as laborers, tourists, and merchants between Jamaica and Ontario, or Barbados and Nova Scotia, produced geographically expansive networks that confounded the imperial logic of racial difference.

Panel 15 – Law, Punishment and Power

Chair: Jonathan Saha, University of Bristol

The Circulation of 'Rights Talk' in the British Empire - Martin J. Wiener, Rice University

The British Empire, like Britain itself, was saturated in popular ideas about law. Like material goods and persons, ideas about law flowed not only from Britain outward, but back and forth through a multiplicity of circuits in the empire. This paper focuses on notions of the rights of the British subject, a complex of ideas central to how the empire was perceived but ill-defined, or rather, liable to definition in a variety of sometimes incompatible ways by different groups and individuals at different moments of crisis. In developing their often strongly held views of their rights and the rights of others, many settlers, soldiers, civil officials, and members of subject peoples drew upon a variety of influences circulating from metropole to periphery, between parts of the periphery, from periphery back again to the metropole, and from outside the empire as well. This paper will look at some of these links and circuits of influence, and tentatively suggest some fruitful ways of charting the varieties of "rights talk" in the empire and their changes over the span of its life.

Empire of Prisons - Barry Godfrey, Liverpool University

In 1821 the Colonial Office requested every colony in the British Empire to complete statistical returns. As each colony joined the Empire it also had the responsibility of reporting back on, amongst other things, the number of prisoners and gaols in the colony. We are currently hoping to complete a statistical map of the gaol population across every colony of the British Empire from 1821 to 1939. This paper discusses the reasons why the statistical survey came into being; its value to historians of crime,; it provides examples of the scale and growth of the penal population as the Empire expanded into India and Africa. For example the number of colonial subjects imprisoned in East India in the late nineteenth century dwarfs the current prison population in Britain today. Lastly, the paper discusses the race and gendered nature of colonial incarceration. In all, the ‘Empire of Prisons’ project will offer a new and unique perspective on colonial connections and power in the Imperial age, and this initial report on our progress on the project should be of interest to historians of crime, colonial power, and international colonial administration.

Eating People and Selling Taiwan. W. Wykeham Myers, Anglophone Orientalism, and Great Power Politics during the 1890s – Ian Inkster, Nottingham Trent University and Wenzao, Kaohsiung, Taiwan

This paper concerns global connectivities centred on Britain and the Great Powers, China, Japan and Taiwan/Formosa in the late 19th century with especial reference to the 1890s. Based on archival and other sources in Taiwan, Britain and Japan the paper shows how Anglophone interests were involved in the cultural degradation of Qing China as an aspect for support of the rise of Japanese colonialism. Here cultural and commercial factors connected through a series of bicultures and micro-environments which served to inform British policymakers as they adjusted their views of their ‘far eastern’ interests.

What our exemplary case indicates is a style of intervention associated with the triumphal industrialism of Great Britain after the 1830s. More particularly, the claims and assertions of Dr. W. Wykeham Myers as he addressed the world of British diplomacy at a time of Japanese intervention in Taiwan, helps to expose a particular Anglophone intervention into Taiwan that ultimately served as both an attack on Imperial Chinese culture and policy as well as a strong defence of Japanese expansionism against China in particular. Furthermore, the character of Anglophone intervention in the 1890s illustrated, disturbed and coloured the relations between the Chinese majority of western Taiwan and the indigenous minority groups that inhabited the mountainous and forested eastern half of Taiwan. During 1895 Anglophone claims concerning the indigenous peoples became central to a new global viewing of China and of Japan as well.

Panel 16 - Questioning Empire

Chair: Rob Skinner, University of Bristol

Humanitarian governance, Aboriginal people and trans-imperial networks in early 19th century Australia – Alan Lester, University of Sussex

This paper examines the ways in which indigenous and humanitarian agency became mutually constitutive within new colonial assemblages and networks. Focusing on DjadjaWurrung Aboriginal engagements with the colonial humanitarian project of Protection in the Port Phillip District of New South Wales, it argues that both indigenous and humanitarian agency were mediated. Both gave rise to humanitarian spaces that connected Aboriginal communities remaining *in situ* with trans-imperial networks. The figures of Edward Stone Parker, Protector of Aborigines, Munangabum, spiritual leader, Beernbarmin, farmer, and Ellen, teenage girl, are all seen as agents of a new social and spatial formation - the protectorate station - being effected during the rapid and catastrophic invasion of DjadjaWurrung lands. Through their mediated relations these individuals acquired capacity within colonial networks, but to greatly varying extents. The experiences of Munangabum, Beernbarmin and Ellen are analysed in turn to demonstrate how Protection could be deployed for varying agendas: literal protection from violence, the retention of land and household security, and access to trans-imperial governmental networks. The capacity of indigenous peoples within the new social formation of colonial Victoria was, however, excessively limited, and, given the overwhelming dispossession and depopulation entailed by colonization, such agendas could only be taken so far.

Connections and contests: Sol Plaatje's time in the UK 1914-1917 - Brian Willan, Rhodes University

This paper seeks to shed new light on the networks that sustained Sol Plaatje (1876-1932), black South African writer and political leader, during the two and a half years he spent in England from June 1914 to January 1917. He had come as a member of a deputation to protest against the Natives Land Act of 1913 but when the imperial government refused to intervene, he decided to stay on – the outbreak of war notwithstanding – to seek broader support for his cause. Five networks, or communities of interest, would help achieve his ends. First, the interdenominational Brotherhood movement, which provided a nationwide platform and consistent support for his campaign. Second, prior journalistic contacts gave access to sympathetic press organs in London, in particular the *African World*, a key opinion-former on South African issues. Third, a group of well-connected, mainly female liberal sympathizers with strong South African connections who provided moral and financial support. Fourth, a small but significant academic network, encompassing literature, linguistics and anthropology, which enabled Plaatje to make important contributions in these fields. Finally, a black community, permanent and transitory, displaying a growing sense of Pan African identity. Together these networks provided contacts and opportunities which Plaatje exploited to the full – in the face of the active hostility of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society which supported the policies of the South African government. Wartime Britain was thus an important site of 'contest' as well as 'connections' on South African issues, and the experience would significantly shape many aspects of Plaatje's subsequent career.

Representing Insurgency and Counter-Insurgency in the Imperial Public Sphere: The Egyptian and Syrian Revolutions and their International Resonance (1919–1926) – Giorgio Poti, European University Institute

In his *The Wilsonian Moment*, Erez Manela has shown how strongly Woodrow Wilson's rhetoric of self-determination appealed to nationalist elites in the colonial world in the immediate aftermath of WWI, and how far-reaching the consequences of their disappointment with the U.S. president were. Nevertheless, I assume that a 'moment of self-determination' survived in the interwar international arena. First, higher standards of morality and legitimacy for colonial rule were established through the mandates system of the League of Nations (LoN), affecting also the broader colonial world. Second, the institutions and practices of interwar internationalism—having in the League their cornerstone—provided new public arenas in which compliance with such standards had to be proved by imperial powers and could be questioned by anti-colonial campaigners. I will discuss how the international dimension burst into intra-imperial dynamics by focusing on two major uprisings that occurred in the interwar Middle East: the 1919 revolution in the British protectorate of Egypt and the Great Revolt of 1925 in the French mandate of Syria. Both attracted the attention of the international community, the Egyptian situation being discussed at the Paris Peace Conference and the Syrian revolt being the subject of an inquiry by the LoN. Tons of petitions reached the peace conference and the League from, respectively, the Egyptian delegation in Paris and the Geneva-based Syro-Palestinian Congress, while the two revolts stimulated protracted debates in the major British and French newspapers. Basing on diplomatic records, press extracts and petitions, I will examine how insurgency and repression were denounced/justified in the international conversation of the time.

Panel 17 – Mobility and Migration

Company families in the former Danish West Indies, 1917-45: Empire migration through the Danish West Indian Company - Pernille Østergaard Hansen, European University Institute

In 1917 Denmark sold its Caribbean colony to the United States and thus made its final, official break with the islands of St. Thomas, St. John and St. Croix. However, the sale of the islands did not mean that Danish connections to the former colony ceased to exist. In fact, many Danes stayed on and continued to live and work on the islands. Many of the Danes who stayed on, or came to, the islands after the sale were working for the Danish West Indian Company. These were often married men, who brought their families with them to the islands, and worked as bookkeepers, craftsmen or managers of warehouses, shipyards etc. They were not formally tied to the (former) empire, but they could rather be understood as empire migrants with certain expatriate characteristics. Thus, through their socialising practises, their travelling patterns and their notions of 'Danishness', the Danes who were affiliated with the Company reproduced a postcolonial diaspora space on the islands. The diaspora space was postcolonial in the sense that the Danes had inherited the social and cultural status of their colonial Danish predecessors, and now continued their practises. Moreover, they were daily practising in networks based in the Company itself, but first of all based in nationality - and these networks reached beyond one city or one island within the US Virgin Islands. Because of the above, the Danish expatriates of the West Indian Company always had one foot in Denmark, both mentally and physically, and this meant that their identities were somewhat (re)constructed in-between the two 'homes'.

Being an archive: mobility, memory, and relatedness in imperial family history - Laura Ishiguro, University of British Columbia

Since the mid-nineteenth century, my maternal relatives, the Murdochs, have travelled well-worn routes around the British imperial and former imperial world, moving between Britain, Gibraltar, Egypt, India, and Canada as merchants, language teachers, orchardists, and academics. Never considered or remembered as remarkable beyond the edges of the family memory, these middle-class sojourners and settlers have left only a fleeting imprint in official archives—fragmented traces in scattered records at most. Like so many other British families, their imperial trajectories are contained instead in privately held papers, memories, imaginations, and bodies. In this paper, I use the Murdochs as a starting point for a broader exploration of family history and the colonial archive. A growing body of scholarship argues that families were central to the operation of empire in a wide range of ways, while historians increasingly recognise that colonial and postcolonial structures of power have shaped the archives available for such research. However, we have not reflected nearly as much on the important ways in which family mobility, migration, and peripateticism have also shaped our archives and methods. I argue here that if we are to examine the interconnectedness of the British imperial world through the lens of family history, we must grapple more substantively with the mobility of families, the boundaries of so-called 'public' and 'private' archives, and their implications for historical practice. In so doing, I interrogate the possibilities of an imperial family history rooted in analyses of relatedness, affect, and archive that span both space and time.

Histories of Migrations Remembered: 19th Century Canada, a Promised Land within Empire? - Olivette Otele, Bath Spa University

Canada is known in the history of transatlantic slavery as one of the last stops in the Underground Railroad, an informal network of secret routes in the United States that allowed black slaves to reach Free states and then Southern Ontario. The semantic field used by conductors or abolitionists who guided the Railroad and by passengers (fugitive slaves) often related to Christianity. Black abolitionist James Holly for instance, referred to Canada as "a beacon of hope to the slave, and a rock of terror to the oppressor". In the 19th century, towns and black settlements in Upper Canada such as Buxton, Chatham, Dresden, Dawn and Wilberforce, were perceived by fugitive slaves as the "New Jerusalem" or a "promised land". By regularly preventing slave catchers from illegally taking fugitives back to the United States, the town of Chatham in particular, came to be seen as a feisty, vibrant safe heaven for both poor fugitives from the Deep South and a meeting point for well-known American abolitionists such as John Brown, Frederick Douglass or Martin Delany. Yet, as time went by, Chatham became a crossroad rather than the final stop for most migrants. Through a few portraits, we shall examine the type of connections that existed between fugitive slaves, American abolitionists and British settlers. An analysis of the interplay between race, religion, gender and global interaction will shed light on the ways in which Chatham turned out to epitomize disillusion for former slaves and black intellectuals whilst nonetheless providing 19th century English settlers with opportunities for a better life.

Panel 18 – Connected Histories of Decolonisation

Britain's civilising mission in Africa: Donald Swanson's British and African film productions in the 1940s and 1950s - Jacqueline Maingard, University of Bristol

In 1949 Donald Swanson, a British documentary scriptwriter, produced and directed the film *African Jim* in South Africa. It became a celebrated representation of African life in the city, as did his next film *The Magic Garden* (1951). This paper addresses the connected histories between British documentary and colonial film in Africa through a wider range of Swanson's under-researched film productions in the 1940s and 1950s. Swanson worked initially with Gaumont-British Instructional (GBI) on a series on the British Railways that celebrates Britian's thrust towards modernity. GBI subsequently assigned him to script and direct *Chisoko the African* (1949) about copper mining in Northern Rhodesia, where he extends a binary opposition between Britain's civilising colonial mission and Africans as 'barbaric'. In the 1950s he worked on propaganda films for the South African State Information Services with African Film Productions, based in Johannesburg, and was commissioned to write and direct *Mau Mau* for the British colonial authority in Kenya in 1954. In this film he pushes to extremes the representation of Africans as 'barbaric' and 'savage', a move that would have greater resonance for some South African audiences at the point when apartheid was being entrenched, rather than for British audiences at the end of empire. The paper discusses how Swanson's immersion in British documentary and colonial film networks influenced and shaped the content, style and aesthetics of the film productions in Africa with which he was involved. This focus on Swanson represents one example of how British documentary film played a key role in colonial film practices across the empire.

The British World and the globalization of decolonization in the late 1940s and 1950s - Daniel Gorman, University of Waterloo

My proposed paper concerns the connection between imperial and global history in the early years following the Second World War. Specifically, I am interested in assessing how the interconnected nature of the late British Empire influenced the development of various forms of international governance after 1945. One of the striking features of the post-1945 world was the simultaneous and intertwined decline of European empires and the emergence of new and evolving forms of international governance, the latter including but not limited to the United Nations. My proposed paper investigates the historical relationships between these two global phenomena. Decolonization entailed not only the breakup of colonial empires and the apotheosis (or sometimes tragedy) of colonial nationalism; it was also about the invention of new states, and the revolutionary effects which flowed from this mass collective act of political self-invention. How were new states integrated into the international system? To what political venues did they gravitate as means of expressing their new autonomy? What did the evolving process of decolonization do to pre-war ties of "Britishness" throughout the British World? My proposed paper advances some answers to these questions by looking at three issues: 1) British views on the future application to the United Nations of postcolonial states; 2) how debates about decolonization amongst the "British World" nations in the immediate years after 1945 variously strengthened and compromised existing cultural bonds of "Britishness;" and 3) how and why some British colonial officials decided to work for the UN, and how did their colonial experience influence their new international work?

A connected history of decolonisation: France and the end of empire in Rhodesia - Joanna Warson, University of Portsmouth

This paper will explore the decolonisation of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) though the lens of French participation in this region of the British Empire. Although hitherto neglected by scholars, this paper will demonstrate that France had an established economic, cultural, diplomatic and military presence in Rhodesia from 1947 onwards. Strikingly, France continued to participate in the region despite the Unilateral Declaration of Independence by the colony's white settler population in 1965, an act that was condemned by Britain and the International Community. This paper will analyse the nature and extend of France's presence in Rhodesia between 1965 and the colony's independence in 1980. It will argue that France's covert economic, military and moral support contributed directly to the ability of Rhodesia's rebellious white settlers to resist the imposition of majority rule and, consequently, the lateness of decolonisation in the region. As such, although France was not the territory's colonial ruler, it played a significant role in the end of empire in Rhodesia. Moreover, this paper will show that it was the particular nature of the decolonisation process in Francophone Africa, and the subsequent form of Franco-African post-colonial relations, that permitted France, the self-styled champion of decolonisation, to offer support, albeit covertly, to and illegal white-minority regime in Anglophone Africa. This paper will conclude, therefore, that it is not possible to fully understand the decolonisation of Rhodesia without looking beyond the borders of the British Empire and examining these webs of connections that transcend the national boundaries imposed on Africa by European colonialism.