

*Colonialism in comparative perspective:
Tianjin under Nine Flags, 1860-1949*

'Colonial Circulations: Colonialism in Comparative Perspective'

ABSTRACTS

and

PARTICIPANTS

4-5 July 2011

School of Humanities, University of Bristol



'Colonial Circulations: Colonialism in Comparative Perspective**ABSTRACTS and PARTICIPANTS****Contents**

Page 3: Programme

Page 5: Abstracts and speaker biographies

Page 16: Biographies of panel chairs and other participants

Page 17: 'Colonialism in comparative perspective: Tianjin under Nine Flags 1860-1949'

This conference is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council award Grant number RES-062-23-1057 'Colonialism in comparative perspective: Tianjin under Nine Flags, 1860-1949' (2008-12). It has also been supported by the University of Bristol Vice-Chancellor's East Asian Studies Initiative, and we are also grateful to those participants who were able to secure funding themselves in order to participate.

Programme**Monday 4th July**

9.00 Coffee & registration

9.15 Welcome

9.30-11.00 Panel 1: The circulation of knowledge. Chair: Simon Potter

Stacie Hanneman, University of Chicago

'Problems of Circulation in the Treaty Port System, 1866-1869'

Chris Manias, University of Bristol

'International Science and the Limits of Transmission: French Palaeontological Expeditions in China, 1921-1928'

11.00 Break**11.30-1.00 Panel 2: Settler identity and display. Chair: Clare Anderson**

Robert Bickers, University of Bristol

'Moving stories: Memorialisation and identity in treaty port China'

Jean P. Smith, University of California

'Post-war European Settlement and Return: Placing British Africa in Context'

1.00-2.00 Lunch ALL WELCOME**2.00-4.00 Panel 3: Policing and confrontation across empire and empires. Chair:****Robert Bickers**

Jim Hevia, University of Chicago

'British military intelligence and Asia'

Martin Thomas, University of Exeter

'Coolies, Communists and Capital: Policing the Rubber Crash in Malaya and Indochina'

Christina Wu, L'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris

'Colonial Tensions at Post-Colonial Transitions'

4.00 Break**4.30-6.00 Panel 4: Southeast Asia. Chair: Matthew Brown**

Alastair Wilson,

'The "Entangled Histories" of British and Spanish Imperialism in Asia: Nicholas Loney, José Lemery and Reform in the Spanish Philippines, 1861-1869'

Vincent Houben, Humboldt University, Berlin

'Native States in Colonial Southeast Asia: Genealogies, Circulations and Comparisons'

6.00 Reception**7.30 Conference dinner for speakers: Goldbrick House, 69 Park Street**

Tuesday 5th July**9.00-10.30 Panel 5. Chair: Nikki Cooper**

Berny Sèbe, University of Birmingham

‘Imperial dialogues: British and French conceptions and interpretations of Empire’

Satoshi Mizutani, Doshisha University

‘The British-Indian experience of education and the politics of comparison in the Japanese Empire: Minoru Tōgō’s theory of colonial governance and its trans-imperial genealogies’

10.30 Break**11.00-1.00 Panel 6: Global lives in the age of empires. Chair: John Darwin**

Matthew Brown, University of Bristol

‘After Empire, Before Nation: The Lives of the Veterans of the Battle of El Santuario,’

Maya Jasanoff, Harvard University,

‘The Kaleidoscope of Empire: Reflections on Transcontinental Lives’

Clare Anderson, University of Warwick,

‘Subaltern Lives: Convicts and Colonialism in the Indian Ocean’

1.00-2.00 Lunch ALL WELCOME**2.00-3.30 Roundtable. Chair: Maya Jasanoff**

Clare Anderson, Robert Bickers, Nikki Cooper, John Darwin, Simon Potter

3.30 Close

7.30 Dinner for speakers: Zizzi’s, Clifton Village

Abstracts

Clare Anderson

‘Subaltern Lives: Convicts and Colonialism in the Indian Ocean’

This paper will introduce my new book *Subaltern Lives*. It explores fragments from the lives of socially marginal men and women who were associated with Indian Ocean penal settlements and colonies in the nineteenth century. It interrogates colonialism from a subaltern history perspective, and places penal transportation in a broad global context. It takes a life-writing approach, weaving together biographical snapshots of convicts – ordinary Indians and Eurasians; African slaves, apprentices and ex-slaves; indentured labourers; soldiers and rebels – with the lives of sailors, indigenous peoples and the ‘poor whites’ of Empire. *Subaltern Lives* brings into focus convict experiences of transportation and penal settlements and colonies, as well as the relationship between convictism, punishment and colonial labour regimes. It also cuts a slice into society and social transformation in the nineteenth century, analysing the making of colonial identities, the nature of social capital in the colonial context, and networks of Empire across the Indian Ocean and beyond.

Clare Anderson has a range of research interests that centre on the British colonial Indian Ocean, and has published work on prisons, penal colonies, and plantations, and the history of anthropology, vagrancy, policing, photography and voyaging. Clare held an ESRC Research Fellowship between 2002-6, working on nineteenth-century British penal settlements in the Indian Ocean. Subsequently, she was awarded the one-year Caird Senior Research Fellowship and the inaugural two-year Sackler-Caird Research Fellowship at the National Maritime Museum to examine subaltern experiences and biographies of the Indian Ocean (2007-09). Clare is currently engaged in the ESRC-funded interdisciplinary and collaborative project Integrated Histories of the Andaman Islands (2009-12), through which she is developing work on the interface between 'academic' and 'family' history, and the relationship between history, sociology and anthropology. She is also the editor of the Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History, and serves on the editorial advisory board of Cultural and Social History. She is a member of the executive committee of the British Association for South Asian Studies.

<http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/sociology/staff/academicstaff/anderson/>

Robert Bickers

‘Moving stories: Memorialisation and identity in treaty port China’

This paper explores how the expatriate/settler communities in Shanghai used monuments to try and insert themselves into global circuits of imperial culture through the practice of memorialization, through the styles and artists chosen, and through unveiling ceremonies, which also provided opportunities to secure association with imperial celebrity (artistic, military, royal). China stood outside mainstream empire, whether French, German or British, yet nationals of those states sought to draw attention to themselves this way through stone. They stood at the intersection of different private initiatives, diplomatic or military concerns, and the actions and interests of the foreign-run Shanghai Municipal Council (in the International settlement), and the French Municipal Council, but these interests also overlapped. These interests fixed in stone, as they fixed in the histories they sponsored or wrote, a specific set of tales about the foreign role and predicament in China, and about their triumphs, as they saw them. New power holders in the city brought new concerns and built new monuments, and waged a symbolic warfare against those they found already in place.

Running through this discussion is a further important factor, which is that most of these monuments were moved at least once during their careers, the longest journey being the voyage the oldest of them took from Java to Shanghai. They were monuments in motion, discursively, and literally.

Robert Bickers is Professor of History at the University of Bristol, and a Co-Director of the British Inter-university China Centre. He is the author of Britain in China: Community, Culture and Colonialism, 1900-49 (1999), Empire Made Me: An Englishman Adrift in Shanghai (2003), and The Scramble for China: Foreign Devils in the Qing Empire, 1832-1914 (2011), and has edited or co-edited six further volumes. He has led the 'Tianjin under Nine Flags' project since 2010, and directs the 'Historical Photographs of China' project.

Matthew Brown

'After Empire, Before Nation: The Lives of the Veterans of the Battle of El Santuario, Colombia, 1829-1854'

The paper uses the untold stories of ordinary lives to examine the history of the imperial conflicts that shaped politics and society in Colombia and Venezuela after independence from colonial rule. Structured around the Battle of El Santuario in 1829, the paper analyses the lives, travels and writings of soldiers, lovers, diplomats, explorers, slaves, librarians and murderers (all of whom were present at the Battle of El Santuario) to uncover the history of nation-building and imperial expansion in Latin America's nineteenth-century.

Dr. Matthew Brown is the Director of the Centre for the Study of Colonial and Postcolonial Societies at the University of Bristol. He is the editor of Informal Empire in Latin America: Culture, Commerce and Capital (2009), the author of Adventuring through Spanish Colonies: Simon Bolivar, Foreign Mercenaries and the Birth of New Nations (2006) and the translator/editor of Simon Bolivar, The Bolivarian Revolution introduced by Hugo Chavez (2009).

Stacie Hanneman

'Problems of Circulation in the Treaty Port System, 1866-1869'

Colonial circulations are not only those people, goods, and ideas traveling the routes of empire, but those new circulations begot by new systems of regulation and administration born of the colonial project itself. This paper studies one such colonial project -- the treaty port system in China. It is interested in how the project to reform practices of commercial administration in China produced new forms and circulations of knowledge. Viewed as a regulatory and administrative apparatus, the treaty port system existed to effectively coordinate and monitor circulations of foreign goods. It did so through a network of agencies and offices that developed unique forms and circulations of information, novel both in their scope and content. By focusing on the process of knowledge production, paths upon which that knowledge travelled, and sites at which it was coalesced an analyzed, this paper will offer a new reading of the nature and consequences of the treaty port era.

Specifically the paper will analyze the regulatory efforts of the Ningbo British consul and Ningbo office of the Imperial Maritime Customs in conjunction with the British Legation and Zongli Yamen in Beijing. Ningbo was selected because of the availability of overlapping archives. Consular documents available at the UK National Archives can be compared with IMC primary source material made available through the Chinese Maritime Customs Service Project. Through these archives, the paper will reconstruct the knowledge production activities of the offices in Ningbo and demonstrate the paths of circulation this knowledge took, showing how locally produced information was aggregated and deployed in Beijing. The importance of the analysis is twofold. First, it will demonstrate the role knowledge production practices played in producing new fields for regulatory action by the British in China. Second, it will demonstrate the new practices of governance the treaty port system modeled for the Qing state. Within the context of treaty relations, this modeling should be read as attempts to reconfigure the content and modes of Qing governance.

The problems of governance created by the activities of the treaty port system expose a tension between the British and the treaty port system on one hand, and existing practices of Qing governance on the other. This reconstruction of some of the daily practices administering the treaty port system will demonstrate how this tension was the product of differing sets of concepts, categories, and social forms, which informed radically different goals and projects for governance. It is at the level of these concepts, categories, and social forms, that we can propose the treaty port system introduced new modes of governance historically particular to capitalist modernity. By exploring the problem of governance in relation to the circulations that produced it, the paper will show how, in very concrete terms, the Qing Empire was brought into a global system of capitalist modernity as expressed at the level of state practice.

Stacie Hanneman is currently working on her PhD dissertation, which works to marry a critique of modern society with the history of British interaction with China. The result is a set of historical research questions that attempt to make sense of the British colonial project in China with reference to political economy and through a critical grounding of political economy in the social forms of capitalist society. She received her MA in History from the University of Chicago in 2007.

James L. Hevia

‘Indian Army Intelligence and China Reconnaissance, 1884-1910’

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, a new security regime was introduced in colonial India. It centered on an intelligence unit whose task was to organize strategic and tactical information on areas where Indian Army forces might be deployed. The officers in the unit were highly trained engineering and artillery officers and the information system they produced involved generating data concerning overland routes and military statistics of the regions in question. Beginning in the mid-1880s, parts of China, including the north China plain, the areas around Shanghai and the Yangzi Valley, the Hong Kong-Canton region, and the Burma-Yunnan border region were incorporated into the Indian Army security system. This paper explores the processes by which China was incorporated into a geo-strategic Asia that centered on India.

*Jim Hevia is Director of the International Studies program in the College of the University of Chicago. Current project entitled *Imperial Security: Colonial Knowledge and the Construction of Geo-strategic Asia*, forthcoming from Cambridge University Press.*

Vincent J.H. Houben

'Native States in Colonial Southeast Asia: Genealogies, Circulations and Comparisons'

Systems of indirect rule were widespread in colonial Southeast Asia. The reasons for this were obvious: it saved administrative costs and it produced legitimacy since the semblance of own rule was maintained in the eyes of the majority of the population, thus reducing the risk of revolt. Although many good historical studies of individual native states exist, there have been hardly any attempts to link these histories beyond the notion of the "invention of tradition". This paper will attempt to close the gap, by, firstly, showing that the sequence in which native states were incorporated into the British, French and Dutch colonial domains in Southeast Asia give clues about their genealogical interconnectedness. These genealogies might even transgress the boundaries of Southeast Asia, because it is not unlikely that experiences with indirect rule in India and Africa influenced the formats adopted in Southeast Asia.

A second focus of the paper will be on circulation. In the course of time, colonial specialists in dealing with indigenous rulers emerged, who were transferred from one locality to the other and thus introduced standardized notions of how a native state should look like. It is conceivable that, as a consequence of this circulation, European representations of indigenous rule seriously modified the realities of indirect rule in separate local settings.

The final section of this paper will address the problem of comparison when addressing the politics of indirect rule. To what extent were indigenous polities, as these were incorporated in colonial empires of different European provenience, becoming more similar or more distinct?

Vincent Houben (1957) studied history and Indonesian languages at Leiden University. He received his Ph.D. in 1987 on the basis of a dissertation on the Principalities of Central Java in the mid-nineteenth century. Since then he has published widely on various aspects of Southeast Asian history, with an increasing interest in comparative and theoretical issues. His latest book, co-edited with Cynthia Chou, carries the title Southeast Asian Studies. Debates and New Directions (Singapore: ISEAS 2006) and one recent article is "Boundaries of Race: Representations of Indisch in Colonial Indonesia Revisited", in : Harald Fischer-Tine and Susanne Gehrmann (eds.), Empires and Boundaries. Rethinking Race, Class, and Gender in Colonial Settings (London/New York: Routledge 2009) 66-85. Contact: vincent.houben@staff.hu-berlin.de

Maya Jasanoff

'The Kaleidoscope of Empire: Reflections on Transcontinental Lives'

The turn toward global history has animated a number of historiographical approaches and questions, perhaps most paradoxically the practice of biography and life-writing. Despite the enormous disparities in scale between the individual and global, numerous historians have recognized the enormous potential of life stories as a way of animating the transnational past. Yet time and again, scholars are forced to answer the same questions of how "representative" or how "exceptional" any given life story may be; and to explain the significance of small stories for understanding big contexts. How can we continue to explore such rich biographies while at the same time moving beyond these recurring debates over their broader value? Drawing on examples of modern British imperial lives, this talk attempts to develop a framework or typology for life stories that would allow them to carry greater

analytical weight in understanding global history.

*Maya Jasanoff is a professor of British imperial history at Harvard University. Her first book, *Edge of Empire: Conquest and Collecting in the East, 1750-1850* (2005), explores British expansion in India and Egypt through the lives of art collectors on imperial frontiers. Her new book, *Liberty's Exiles: The Loss of America and the Remaking of the British Empire* (2011), offers the first global history of the exodus of loyalist refugees who fled revolutionary America and resettled across the British Empire, in Canada, the Caribbean, Sierra Leone, and beyond. Her current research investigates "The Worlds of Joseph Conrad." Jasanoff is a frequent contributor to publications including the *London Review of Books*, *The New York Review of Books*, and *The Guardian*.*

Chris Manias

'International Science and The Limits of Transmission: French Palaeontological Expeditions in China, 1921-1928'

The French paleontological missions in China in the interwar period highlight the variety of drives and agendas towards the establishment of global connections in early-twentieth century science, but also many of the tensions, obstacles and barriers which could beset them. As a series of expeditions to Inner Mongolia conducted by a small group of Jesuit scholars linked with the recently established Institut de paléontologie humaine in Paris, they operated within a complex series of local, national and international relationships. On the one hand, they were part of a general trend of increased global interest in palaeontology in Asia, which was seen as potentially offering the keys to understandings of human and mammalian evolution. Necessarily interacting with others working in this field, they engaged in significant cooperation and competition with scientists from a range of other countries, and aimed to be part of wider international debates. However, they were also marked by significant internal divergences. Situated within a French prehistoric and palaeontological community which had shifted from commitments to radical secularism and republicanism to a more conciliatory approach towards Catholic priests and scholars, they were emblematic of significant changes within the French human sciences. Yet working through Jesuit organizations, missionaries, converts and locally-rooted experts, with a long history of work in China and agendas and global interconnections of their own, there was frequently a degree of tension and ambivalence within this scientific alliance. On the one hand, the expeditions reflected a prolonged circulation of ideas, theories and material. Finds, specimens, books and news relating to the expeditions were relayed between China and Europe, and the discoveries they made were integrated into visions of geological and climatic similarity across prehistoric Eurasia, and the transfer of organisms and early human cultures in the distant past. However, as the expeditions continued, and became marred by a lack of funds and inability to find or publicize spectacular results, tensions and jealousies between the various interest groups became strained to breaking point. This paper will therefore use this to examine the processes and dynamics of transmission and circulation in colonial science in this period, but also the ways in which institutional difficulties and diverging interests could block and undermine these processes.

Chris Manias is a specialist in the modern history of the human and biological sciences in a transnational and comparative perspective. He has previously worked on the history of British, French and German anthropology and prehistory in the "long nineteenth century," and is presently researching the activities of European and North American scientists in

China in the 1890-1940 period, with a particular focus on palaeontology and palaeoanthropology.

Satoshi Mizutani

'The British-Indian experience of education and the politics of comparison in the Japanese Empire: Minoru Tōgō's theory of colonial governance and its trans-imperial genealogies'

Minoru Tōgō's theory of colonial governance and its trans-imperial genealogies'

This paper explores how British educational policy in colonial India was made an object of comparison at the beginning of the twentieth century by Japanese theorists of colonial policy, particularly Minoru Tōgō (1881-1959)—a high-ranking administrator / scholar who had a distinguished career in Taiwan under Japanese rule. Through an examination of Tōgō's theory of colonial governance as a case study, the paper seeks to demonstrate that colonial rulers of the emerging Japanese Empire selectively absorbed certain strands of 'comparative studies of colonialism' that had already been in circulation across different Euro-American empires.

Tōgō's works, particularly his widely-read magnum opus *Shokuminchiseisaku to Minzokushinri* (1925) [*Colonial Policy and Ethno Psychology*], are notable in their extensive borrowings—as well as critiques—of various ideas and practices concerning the colonial policies implemented by such European powers as Britain, France, and Holland. It is not simply for its comparative frame but also for the characteristically 'trans-imperial' genealogies of such frame that Tōgō's theory is significant for my discussion. Tōgō argued that the British-Indian experience of education was an exemplary case of failed colonial policy. In his view, the British-style higher education given to the so-called 'Babus' (Hindu elites in Bengal) had created sources of discount among the colonized, ultimately imperiling the political stability of the Raj. This assessment was closely linked to his 'politics of comparison', whereby he warned Japanese colonial-policy makers not to formulate any 'dangerous' educational policies for Taiwan and Korea. (Taiwan and Korea had become Japan's colonies in 1895 and 1910 respectively.) What is particularly interesting is how Tōgō arrived at his conclusion on British-Indian education through an engagement with the works of such French theorists as Gustave Le Bon and Joseph Chailley-Bert. His kind of politics of comparison concerning British-Indian education was hardly original: it had originated in the French Empire and already been globally circulating. Tōgō not only studied these 'comparative studies' on British rule but augmented his own through extensively referencing them as indisputable international authorities.

Minoru Tōgō's theory of colonial governance can be examined by present scholars of modern empires—not just that of Japan but also that of Britain, France, or else—as a vivid example of how comparison was fundamental to policy formulations in the various colonial contexts across imperial boundaries. This paper argues that the quintessential 'trans-imperiality' that characterized the genealogies of Tōgō's comparative theory is highly suggestive of the nature of 'colonial comparison' from the late nineteenth century onwards. Tōgō's work can be taken as pointing to a possibility that the 'comparative studies' produced in such a period of rapid globalization may be better understood in terms not simply of comparison but of its *resurgence* and *reconfiguration*. Agents of colonialism did not just compare one colonial context with another, but often applied certain 'models of comparison' which they produced and shared in the context of global circulations and exchanges of knowledge / skills on colonial governance.

Satoshi Mizutani was educated at Sophia University (Japan), the University of Warwick, and St. Antony's College, Oxford before obtaining a DPhil from the History Faculty at Oxford in 2004. His D.Phil thesis is soon to be published as The Meaning of White: Race, Class, and the 'Domiciled Community' in British India 1858-1930 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). Since 2005, he has taught at Doshisha University (Kyoto, Japan) and in 2007 co-founded DOSC (Doshisha Studies in Colonialism), a research group devoted to critical comparative studies of European and Japanese colonialisms.

Berny Sèbe

'Imperial dialogues: British and French conceptions and interpretations of Empire'

Although the British and the French empires shared a similar *modus operandi* based upon maritime power, they have tended to develop against each other over the centuries. Such rivalry ultimately attests the similarity of their tantamount goals: after all, the Seven Years War was a conflict over global mastery, which reflected comparable worldwide ambitions. It was not until the Entente Cordiale, put to the test by the First World War, that these two empires started to co-exist peacefully and their rulers appeased their relations. Forged by centuries of antagonism, each colonial model still honed its own traditions of government, beliefs, practices and aims which very often seemed to retain distinctive features. This was reflected in the historiographical fields of 'imperial history' and '*histoire coloniale*' which developed on the two sides of the Channel either ignoring each other or even in open opposition.

Setting aside potent yet inaccurate clichés, this paper argues that the differences between British and French colonial practices were less fundamental than has been previously assumed. Based on empirical and theoretical evidence drawn from the two countries in the last century and a half, this paper explores several key themes: ideological premises, role of commercial and financial interests, decision-making processes, patterns of conquest, ruling practices, reactions to indigenous resistance, particular place of the settler colonies (Dominions, Algeria), role of the Europeanised elites, political freedom (or lack of), path to decolonisation and independence. The ways in which major historiographical trends developed in one case can be applied to the other will be considered, with particular reference to key concepts such as 'gentlemanly capitalism', 'ecological imperialism', 'resistance and collaborative bargains', 'direct and indirect rule', the role of the 'official mind' and 'the man on the spot' in the expansion process, 'popular imperialism', the 'invention of tradition' and lastly 'colonial memory' and 'repentance'.

This joint historical examination of the British and French empires highlights strong conceptual and practical links that have all too often been overlooked and it allows scholars to make a step further towards a genuinely 'cosmopolitan history of imperialism' (A. G. Hopkins). Drawing upon the wealth of existing historiographies which lend themselves to useful comparisons when linguistic barriers can be overcome, this chapter gives the reader a better understanding of a phenomenon which had clear national undertones but ultimately paved the way for the international process of globalization. Inspired by M. Werner's conceptual approach of '*histoire croisée*', it calls for the development of an 'entangled history' of British and French imperialisms.

Berny Sèbe (D.Phil Oxon., FRGS) is a Lecturer in Colonial and Postcolonial Studies at the University of Birmingham (UK), with research interests in the cultural history of the French and British empires. His doctoral thesis analysed the making of British and French heroes

who acted in Africa between 1870 and 1939, looking at the ways in which explorers, missionaries, officers or administrators were promoted, manufactured and 'packaged' for home consumption in the context of the wave of 'New Imperialism'. He has published several articles and book chapters on popular imperialism, exploration and decolonization. He is currently revising his thesis for publication (under the title 'Heroic imperialists') and is co-editing (with Kalypso Nicolaidis) a volume on the 'Echoes of Empire'.

Jean P. Smith

'European Migrants to Africa after the Second World War'

This paper will examine European migration to Africa after the Second World War, comparing migration to Portuguese, French and British colonies as well as return migration to Europe. Immediately after the war, all three governments promoted European migration to their African colonies. Though some scholars have isolated this as a Portuguese phenomenon, others have shown that both the French and British governments promoted European migration to Algeria, Senegal, Kenya, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa.

However, the trajectory of migrants after independence was quite different. Both the *pieds noirs* from Algeria and the *retornados* from Mozambique and Angola returned to Europe en masse, their presence serving either as point of imperial nostalgia or an embarrassing reminder of the colonial past. Much of the literature on Portuguese settler colonialism reflects this phenomenon and is concerned with the re-integration of *retornados* into Portuguese society.¹ Although many Britons who migrated to Africa after the war did return to Britain, they were not as visible as the *pieds noirs*, many of whom moved to Marseilles and initially lived in refugee camps as did the *retornados*. In the British case, many postwar migrants moved to apartheid South Africa from Kenya and Rhodesia, many stayed in independent Zimbabwe and Kenya, others moved to Australia and other parts of the British Commonwealth. These subsequent migrations took place more gradually, although European immigration from former British Africa increased at certain key moments such as Kenyan independence in 1964, the Rhodesian Universal Declaration of Independence in 1965, Zimbabwean independence in 1980, the end of apartheid in South Africa in 1994 and after the Mugabe administration accelerated the seizure of white-owned land in 2000. Despite these differences, based on both oral history and archival research, I argue that British return migrants experienced a similar sense of dislocation and exile to both the *retornados* and the *pieds noirs*.

Jean Smith is a doctoral candidate in history at the University of California, Santa Barbara and is currently researching her dissertation, "Race and the Politics of British Migration to Southern Africa, 1939-1965." The recipient of fellowships and grants from the Institute of Historical Research, the American Historical Association, and the University of California, she has presented her work at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies in London, the "Children and War" Past and Present Conference in Salzburg, the Conference on Modern British History in Glasgow, the Western Association of Women Historians in Vancouver and the Rocky Mountain Interdisciplinary History Conference in Boulder.

Martin Thomas

‘Coolies, Communists and Capital: Policing the Rubber Crash in Malaya and Indochina’

This paper compares the triangular relationship between colonial business, imperial bureaucracy and colonial security forces in two Southeast Asian colonial federations during the most protracted economic crisis of the early twentieth century. It does so by focusing on a key export industry – rubber production - whose importance to the British and French colonial states in Malaya and Indochina ensured it privileged treatment throughout the depression years of the early 1930s. The core argument is this: colonial security policing in both Malaya and Indochina was, first and foremost, a matter of political economy. The point is important insofar as historians have tended to interpret patterns of colonial policing rather differently, placing official threat perceptions about anti-colonial groups and inter-communal frictions within individual territories at the heart of their analysis. Nationalist politics and cultural rivalry have thus tended to dominate analyses of colonial police work to the exclusion of economic affairs. Yet during the rubber crash in colonial Southeast Asia, consequent problems of labour control loomed larger.

Martin Thomas is Professor of Colonial History and Director of the Centre for the Study of War, State, and Society at the University of Exeter. He has written extensively on French international policy and colonial politics. His most recent books are Empires of Intelligence: Security Services and Colonial Control after 1914 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), and, with Bob Moore and L.J. Butler, Crises of Empire. Decolonization and Europe's Imperial States, 1918-1975 (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2008).

Alastair Wilson

‘The “Entangled Histories” of Anglo-Spanish Imperialism in Asia: Vice-Consul Nicholas Loney, General José de Lemery and the Campaign for Reform in the Philippine Islands, 1861-1865’

Nicholas Loney was a British merchant and a Vice-Consul for Iloilo with a remarkable track-record of commercial success in his adopted Philippine home. José Lemery was similarly distinguished in his military and political career as he struggled for justice, equality and fair government in each of his colonial postings from Cuba to the Philippine Islands. Meeting in Madrid in the early 1860s, both men would fight to bring about reform for the Philippine Islands in areas such as foreign trade, property, transport and telecommunications. This collaboration was unheard of in Anglo-Spanish imperial relations, and one that privileged British commercial interests through the political energy and ambition of Loney and the “free trade” liberalism of Lemery and his compatriots in Madrid. However, this partnership was not isolated. It drew on a history of Anglo-Spanish imperial collaboration in the Asia-Pacific during the nineteenth-century, from partnerships between financial institutions in Manila and Hong Kong to Philippine support for the British fleet during the 1st Opium War and British military backing for Spanish wars against Muslim piracy in the southern Philippine Islands. This paper will argue that Loney and Lemery’s brief intercourse in Madrid in support of reforms to the Philippine colonial system typified the intimacy and objectives of the Anglo-Spanish inter-imperial relationship in the Asia-Pacific. With commerce and politics in the region dominated by Britain, this relationship helped to maintain stability and peaceful co-existence in the congested political space of the South China Sea by helping to occasionally interlock Spanish interests with those of Great Britain.

Christina Wu

'Colonial Pressures at Post-Colonial Transitions: British and Dutch Interventions in the Maria Hertogh Controversy (1950)'

In 1950, the discrete marriage of a 13 year old Dutch girl, Maria Hertogh, to a 22 year old Malay school teacher in the British colony of Singapore ignited great controversy in Britain and The Netherlands. The controversy of the "Jungle Girl", as Maria came to be known, was exacerbated by the on-going legal battle between her Indonesian-Malay Muslim adoptive mother and her Dutch family over her custody and religious rights. As the affair unfolded before the watchful eyes of British, Dutch and local media, public opinion grew increasingly vociferous over the issues of the colonial family, European child-care in the colonies, imperial authority over colonial subjects and indigenous practices. After three trials in which the child's custody oscillated between the two contending parties, the British Court in Singapore annulled Maria's Muslim marriage and ordered that she be returned to The Netherlands.

The dramatic turn of events and the unprecedented breach of a 200 year old colonial policy, which advocated that British colonials refrain from "interference" into indigenous traditional and religious practices, provoked local Muslims to riot against colonials and led to the most violent riots in the Crown Colony's history. Due to its importance, the riots have been extensively examined as a decisive episode in British Malaya's decolonisation process. However, this paper underlines that extant scholarship has largely neglected the role of the Dutch in the Controversy. It re-contextualises the affair in the specific historical circumstances of 1950, when the Dutch loss of Indonesia in a protracted and violent war of independence a year earlier, followed by the immediate and sensational attempt by a Dutch soldier at a failed *coup d'état* against Indonesian President Sukarno's regime and his subsequent escape (aided by the British) from Indonesian authorities created an already tense situation in decolonisation processes in Southeast Asia. Further, this paper argues that Dutch colonials played a key role in pressurising their British colonial neighbours and manipulating the outcome of the Muslim Dutch girl's fate in a proxy challenge against their former Indonesian colonial subjects.

Through analysing Singaporean, Indonesian, British and Dutch archival material on the Controversy, this paper illustrates the involvement of the different powers in the affair and aims to demonstrate how different colonial powers exerted political, media and moral pressures on each other in their specific historical circumstances. It answers the following questions: how did the loss of a large colony like the Indonesia affect colonial authority and legitimacy in the region? To what extent did British and Dutch colonials cooperate – or not – in the unfolding Controversy? How did colonial subjects in British Malaya and the former Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) react to what was deemed "a united front" of colonial interferences into indigenous religious practices? In unravelling the political complexities of the Controversy, this paper thus aims to contribute towards a greater understanding of the relationships and interplay between colonial political motivations, decisions and pressures from other powers at different periods of transition from the colonial to the post-colonial era.

Christina Wu is a doctoral student at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (Paris) under the supervision of Dr. Laura Lee Downs. Her paper explores Anglo-Dutch colonial rivalries and their conflict of interest over the custody and marriage of Maria Hertogh, a young Dutch girl married at the age of 13 to a Muslim Malay in the British colony of Singapore. In particular, her work re-contextualises this event in its specific historical circumstances in 1950, where both colonial powers were on very different footings in the decolonisation process in Southeast Asia. Her undergraduate work at the National University

of Singapore on the Maria Hertogh Controversy was published by MBRAS (the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society) in 2010 as part of an edited volume entitled Studies in Malaysian & Singapore History. Christina is currently working on her dissertation, tentatively titled "Youth in Movement: Comparative Studies on Scouting and its Re-appropriations in British Malaya and the Dutch East Indies (1910 -1973)". She can be contacted at christina.wu@ehess.fr.

Panel chairs and other participants

Aglaia De Angeli is a Lecturer in East Asian History at Newcastle University. She graduated from Ca' Foscari University in Chinese language and literature. She obtained her PhD in History at Lyon 2 University, France. She did post-doc studies at Yale University and has been working as research assistant at the AHRC project "Tianjin under Nine Flags, 1860-1949" based at Bristol University.

Songchuan Chen, is a Research Associate in the Centre for East Asian Studies at the University of Bristol. His research interests lie in the field of the history the Qing Empire (1636-1911) and Republican China, especially their foreign relations with the Europeans in the context of global history. He is currently (2008-2011) working as part of the team on the "Colonialism in Comparative Perspective: Tianjin under Nine Flags, 1860-1949" project. In autumn 2011 he will take up a Research Fellowship at Singapore Nanyang Technology University.

Professor **Nicola Cooper** FRSA is Chair of Cultural Studies at the University of Swansea, and Director of the Callaghan Centre for the Study of Conflict, Power, Empire (<http://www.swan.ac.uk/artsandhumanities/riah/researchcentres/callaghancentre/>). She has published widely on French colonial ideologies and iconographies, with particular specialisms in SE Asia and North Africa. She is an editor of the journals French Cultural Studies (Sage), and War and Culture Studies (Intellect). She is currently completing a monograph on the French Foreign Legion, and editing two volumes on war and masculinities for Routledge.

Alan Crawford is a postgraduate research student at the University of Bristol. His thesis focuses on the Russian presence in the Chinese city of Tianjin during the first half of the twentieth century. A small Russian population existed in the city from the 1870s, and a territorial concession was established in 1900. Some Russians remained until the return of the last foreign districts to Chinese control in 1945. During this period their situation changed dramatically: subjects of the Romanov empire until 1917; officially under the aegis of the Soviet consulate after 1924; stateless and ambiguous in between. The thesis will examine the reciprocal relationship between policies implemented in the concession and their intellectual context: the contemporary ideas and debates about empire, nation, race and identity that informed policy-making and attitudes towards the Chinese and the other colonial powers in the city. It will explore how these ideas were reflected in practice and how they were modified as a result of experience, and attempt to assess their significance within the broader context of Russian and Soviet foreign policy in East Asia.

John Darwin is Beit University Lecturer in the History of the British Commonwealth in the University of Oxford. His interests include the history of European imperialism, particularly the British empire circa 1880-1970, and the history and politics of decolonization. His books include *The Empire Project: the Rise and Fall of the British World System 1830-1970* (2009) (Winner of the Trevor Reese Prize in Imperial and Commonwealth History 2010), and *After Tamerlane: the Global History of Empire* (Penguin Books 2007) (Winner of the Wolfson Prize in History for 2008).

Simon Potter and will take up the post of Reader in History at the University of Bristol in autumn 2011. He is the author of *News and the British world: the emergence of an imperial press system 1876-1922* (2003), and *Broadcasting empire: the BBC and the British world, 1922-1970* (forthcoming).

Colonialism in comparative perspective: Tianjin under Nine Flags 1860-1949

This ESRC-funded 4-year research project was launched in September 2008, and involves scholars originally based at the University of Bristol and Swansea. The team is led by Robert Bickers at Bristol and Nikki Cooper at Swansea, and was originally directed from Bristol by Maurizio Marinelli (now at University of Technology Sydney).

Between 1860 and 1945, the Chinese port city of Tianjin was the site of up to nine foreign-controlled concessions, as well as, temporarily, a multi-national military government (1900-02), and a series of evolving Chinese municipal administrations. Overshadowed in scholarship by Shanghai, Tianjin is now steadily securing much more attention, and the work of this project also aims to contribute to this refocusing of Chinese urban history.

Our central contention is that Tianjin provides an exemplary model for the study of comparative colonial practices. The city was opened as a treaty port as a consequence of the 18 October 1860 Conventions of Peking. The British, the French, and the American concessions were the earliest to be established. By the mid nineteenth century, Tianjin was opened up to foreign trade, and the importance of the city was later enhanced by the railway system connecting it with Peking on the one hand (after 1897) and with Shanhaiguan and Manchuria on the other. Situated close to the imperial capital, and, crucially, at the crossroads between the advances of European and Japanese imperialisms, Tianjin's economic and strategic importance necessarily drew the attention of all the major international powers: by 1901, nine separate foreign concessions had been established.

The research aims at producing a comparative and transnational analysis of the identities, practices and rivalries of five of the major powers established in Tianjin: Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Russia. The project aims to secure new insights into the understanding of colonial history, as well as the history of China and of Tianjin, through exploring how these countries' concessions were placed within global currents of colonial practice and ideology. How were they placed within wider practice in China, and within British or French empire more widely.

Current project team

Robert Bickers, Bristol

British concessions in China

Songchuan Chen, Bristol (Nanyang Technology University from Autumn 2011)

Chinese responses to the foreign concessions

Nikki Cooper, Swansea

French concession and French colonial practice in China

Alan Crawford, Bristol

Russian concessions in China

Aglia De Angeli, Newcastle

French and Belgian concessions, Italian concession

Cord Eberspächer, Confucius Institute Düsseldorf and University of Düsseldorf

German concession, Gustav Detring

Chris Manias, Bristol

Comparative international science in north China

<http://www.bristol.ac.uk/tianjin-project/>