

Department of History Postgraduate Conference 2016



Thursday 26th – Friday 27th May
Wolfson Research Exchange,
University Library

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HISTORY DEPARTMENT
UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK
HISTORY POSTGRADUATE CONFERENCE
2016

Organising Committee

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Hannah Graves
Benjamin Redding

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CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

THURSDAY 26th MAY

Wolfson Research Exchange, University Library

10.15-10.50 Registration and coffee

10.50-11.00 Welcome, Director of Graduate Studies

11.00-12.00

PANEL 1 MOBILITY, EMPIRE, AND THE EMOTIONS, c.1680s-1890s

Chair: TBC

- *Madness, emotional regimes and governance in the Bourbon Mexican missions*
Rebecca Noble
 - *'Easy Chair Geography versus Field Geography': Imperial mobility and the culture of British exploration in the nineteenth century*
Natalie Cox
-

12.00-13.30 Lunch

13.30-15.30

PANEL 2 EARLY MODERN ENGLAND

Chair: Professor Mark Knights

- *The Experimental Nature of Elizabethan Maritime Finance*
Benjamin Redding
 - *The Great Ejection: the impact in Warwickshire of the 1662 Act of Uniformity*
David Fletcher
 - *Anglo-Ottoman Diplomacy during the Seventeenth Century: The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, 1621-8*
Charles Beirouti
 - *Antiquities, Past, and Present: The Tradescant Collection and its Rarities*
Christopher Hunt
-

15.30-16.00 Coffee

18.00 – 19.30 Drinks reception, Wolfson Research Exchange

FRIDAY 27th MAY

9.00 – 9.30 Registration and coffee

09.30-10.30

PANEL 4 HEALTH AND WELL-BEING IN MODERN BRITAIN

Chair: Dr Roberta Bivins

- *The rise of the sunbed industry: 'Tanorexia' among white British females: Liverpool, 2006-2016*
Fabiola Creed
- *From 'Dr Carrot' to 'Concrete in garden making': domestic design, health and the garden in post-war Britain*
Sophie Greenway

10.30-11.00 Coffee

11.00-12.30

PANEL 5 ECONOMICS, TRADE AND EMPIRES

Chair: Professor David Anderson

- *Perceptions of Production and the Retailing and Marketing of Quality Metalware in Eighteenth-Century England*
Rachael Morton
- *Were 'Chinese goods' from China? Issues of product identification, technical transfers and appropriations in the Eighteenth Century*
Sébastien Pautet
- *Using Nineteenth-century African Photography as Evidence of Textile Consumption*
Josephine Tierney

12.30-13.30 Lunch

13.30-15.00

PANEL 6 COLONIAL AND POST-COLONIAL EAST AFRICA

Chair: Professor Daniel Branch

- *Connecting histories on the margins of empires: colonialisms, trade and transformations of territoriality in the Somalia-Kenya borderlands, c. 1925-1930*
Anna Bruzzone
- *In search of a revolution: A. M. Babu, Tanzanian politics, and the global Marxist struggle*
George Roberts
- *Financing colonial Kenya: The banking system during the last decades of colonial rule*
Christian Velasco

15.00-15.30 Coffee

15.30-17.00

PANEL 7 EMPIRE IN NINETEENTH CENTURY INDIA

Chair: Dr Robert Fletcher

- *Notions of empire on East India Company coins, 1770-1840*
David Molyneux
- *'An English gentleman should always be dressed so that suddenly dropped into Bond Street, he would pass unnoticed': Material Culture and Ideas of Masculinity in Nineteenth Century India*
- *Holly Winter Child Marriage and Female Education: Hindu and Muslim Women's Social Reform in Late Colonial India, 1885-1940*
Sabera Kara

17.00 Conference closing remarks, Director of Graduate Studies

ABSTRACTS

THURSDAY 26th MAY

PANEL 1 MOBILITY, EMPIRE, AND THE EMOTIONS, c.1680s-1890s

Kimberly Thomas - In search of 'white gold': Negotiating space and mobility on the 'salt islands' of the British Caribbean, c. 1680s-1810s.

Islands are elusive spaces. On the one hand, they appear closed and bounded with definable, self-evident, natural boundaries. Yet, at the same time, the rich maritime connections that connect their shores with others defy capture (Rod Edmond and Vanessa Smith, *Islands in History and Representation*, 2003). These connections – multifarious exchanges of people, goods and ideas – make studying boundaries in the early modern Atlantic world fascinating but complex.

In a case study centering on the Turks and Caicos Islands (TCI), I adopt a cis-Atlantic framework in order to reveal not only how these islands were initially settled and worked by migrating Bermudian seafarers, but also how after a century of *de facto* Bermudian rule they became highly contested ground. Though foreign predations consistently leered, the real battleground cracked open within the British Empire as a diplomatic war raged between the Bahamas and Bermuda for sovereignty over these saline spaces. Who had rights to the natural resources of these salt-rich islands? Through a close analysis of the plans and colonial petitions that erupted around this situation in the late 1780s, I will show how actors on the 'margins' framed arguments around sovereignty, with London consistently playing catch-up before ruling in favour of TCI annexation to the Bahamas in 1799. Yet, despite this political change towards *de jure* Bahamian rule, socio-economic ties persisted between Bermuda and the TCI. As such, this paper will argue that, during the early modern period, the TCI were a good example of how boundaries were both drawn and defied.

Rebecca Noble - Madness, emotional regimes and governance in the Bourbon Mexican missions

Historical analysis of cases of 'mad' missionaries in eighteenth-century Mexico provides an opportunity to consider understanding and expression of emotions often hidden in the historical record. Fear, sadness, anger and other kinds of mental distress can be found in the personal and bureaucratic correspondence of missionaries and other religious and medical authorities regarding the mental states of 'mad' missionaries.

This paper examines correspondence found in missionary records in order to place discourses on madness in their religious and medical context. It explores the importance of the senses in individual and communal perceptions of 'mad' individuals and considers the importance of specific historically situated emotional regimes in understanding what madness was understood as in Bourbon Mexico, how it was labelled, and the consequences of this process for governance of missionaries and society more broadly.

Particular attention is paid to the spatial and environmental factors which were central to understandings of emotional and mental imbalance in Bourbon Mexico. The sources discussed are used to ask the following questions: how did historical actors draw on humoral models of the mind and body in order to conceptualise illness and spiritual isolation experienced by some missionaries? In what ways did missionaries adapt longstanding religious and medical traditions to the new circumstances of their work? How were mental and emotional distress perceived in spaces of cultural contact and exchange? These questions address developments in religious and scientific knowledge in this period and their implications for communal understandings of individual behaviour.

Natalie Cox - 'Easy Chair Geography versus Field Geography': Imperial mobility and the culture of British exploration in the nineteenth century

Nineteenth-century projects of exploration came to be defined by the practical experience of moving across unknown spaces. The 'explorer' emerged in this period as the missionary of this purportedly manly pursuit, travelling to extend the frontiers of European geographical knowledge. However, the place of exploratory travel within the newly emerging science of geography was the focus of heated debates throughout the nineteenth century. This paper engages with these discussions to examine the different practices of mobility apparent in making geographical knowledge. It introduces the 'easy chair geographer' as an overlooked, yet important aspect of the Victorian culture of exploration. Despite not physically going to the places they wrote about, these sedentary practitioners explored by reading, collating and, synthesising texts. Drawing on recent work in mobility studies and historical geographies of science, this paper moves beyond looking at the spatial boundary between the explorer in the field and the scholar in the study, to focus on the bodily comportment of geographers within these spaces. It addresses the experiences of imperial mobility through a critical study of the movement of two, seemingly, contrasting geographical practitioners: sedentary geographer, William Desborough Cooley and missionary explorer, David Livingstone. In reconstructing their experiences, it is shown how their bodies became bound up with meanings of both action and stasis. These discussions are animated by the personal dispute between Cooley and

Livingstone, expressed in Livingstone's 1856 letter, titled 'Easy Chair Geography versus Field Geography'.

In tracing the physical contours of this debate, this paper unravels a complex tale of exploratory movement and exposes the fabricated dichotomy of mobility/immobility that has simplified the history of geography as an active science of Empire.

PANEL 2 EARLY MODERN ENGLAND

Benjamin Redding - The Experimental Nature of Elizabethan Maritime Finance

Although the English victory over the Spanish Armada, and the celebrated seadogs such as Francis Drake, and Walter Raleigh, are well known, the attention that the Elizabethan navy receives both in academic circles, and in popular culture, is often misrepresented. The great Elizabethan navy is somewhat of a myth; in size and strength, English naval resources in 1603 were not too dissimilar from that of the early Elizabethan regime. Moreover, the navy's decline under James I serves to almost oust Elizabeth I from her throne as the mother of English sea power. With this said about the navy, the Elizabethan desperation to sustain a permanent military force at sea, resulted in a number of atypical economic reforms, which does allow Elizabeth's reign to stand out from the crowd. This paper will explore three *extraordinary* methods used during Elizabeth I's reign to raise revenue for the kingdom's ambitious maritime policy. Firstly, it will trace William Cecil's scheme for a National Lottery in the late 1560s. This will be followed by a broader consideration of privateering, which will apply particular attention to the expeditions that were not officially state endorsed. Finally, the late Elizabethan ship money levy will be explored. Through doing so, it will be argued that the Elizabethan state was conscious of the importance of a navy to national defence from the very onset of Elizabeth's reign. Moreover, although the supremacy of the Elizabethan navy is often overstated, Elizabeth and her council's ambition to retain a strong navy is represented in a willingness to advance the English fiscal system through trial and error. Although failing at almost every turn to accumulate sufficient income for the navy, the experimental nature of the late sixteenth century English state, introduced far earlier than is often asserted, the idea of a fiscal-naval system.

David Fletcher - The Great Ejection: the impact in Warwickshire of the 1662 Act of Uniformity

The entanglement of religious intolerance with power and high politics continues to be a potent issue in the modern world. In late 17th century England this hazardous cocktail resulted in a programme of aggressive legislation and an

atmosphere of intense religious conflict. While negotiating his return, Charles II had promised 'a liberty to tender consciences'. But, after the Restoration, the new MPs and Church leaders were not interested in tender consciences. Their priority was universal conformity with the doctrines and practices of the restored Church of England - and they turned to the law as their weapon for enforcing this. One of these laws, the 1662 Act of Uniformity, required all clergy to swear to uphold the Book of Common Prayer. This became a matter of conscience for many clergy across the country, particularly those who were appointed during the Interregnum. Almost two thousand men were not prepared to take the oath and so lost their positions in what became known as the Great Ejection.

This paper will explore the impact in Warwickshire of the Act of Uniformity. Thirty-three clergy were ejected from parishes in the county in 1662. But beneath this apparent success for the regime, there lies a more complex picture. Legislation created in Parliament would only be effective if it was enforced at the local level. In Warwickshire, many of the ejected clergy continued to preach in the county and, on the occasions when the regulations were relaxed, dissenting meeting houses quickly sprang up. If a culture of nonconformity and dissent could endure as an important element of the religious life of an unexceptional county such as Warwickshire, this top-down attempt to enforce uniformity and prevent religious schism had clearly failed.

Charles Beirouti - Anglo-Ottoman Diplomacy during the Seventeenth Century: The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, 1621-8

Over the last few decades, historians have dramatically expanded and transformed the historiography of European-Ottoman relations. They have increasingly acknowledged that Europeans and Ottomans were consistently linked by more than simply conflict and hostility – that they also co-operated commercially, diplomatically and intellectually; and that cultural, religious and linguistic barriers were not as distinct or sustained as once thought. Much of their work has focused on so-called 'intermediaries'; individuals or groups whose professions or simply ways of life kept them in constant contact with both Europe *and* the Ottoman Empire.

The most obvious or visible of these intermediaries were diplomats. Indeed, European ambassadors naturally played a critical role in establishing and then sustaining multifaceted relations between Europe and the Ottoman Empire. My dissertation, which examines the diplomatic correspondence of Sir Thomas Roe (1581-1644) – the English ambassador to Istanbul from 1621 to 1628 – explores one aspect of this process. Early modern Anglo-Ottoman diplomacy remains relatively understudied, despite the almost continuous interaction that occurred between England and the Ottoman territories after diplomatic relations were first formally established in 1580.

This paper will shed much-needed light on exactly how early modern connections – be they commercial, diplomatic, or cultural – manifested themselves, among ‘ordinary’ people as well as diplomats and other state officials. How did people construct, navigate, transcend, or sometimes break down connections, and what impact did this have? Crucially, this analysis will consider how information travelled across Ottoman territories. This subject has received only scant attention among scholars, who have long assumed – wrongly, this author believes – that because the Ottomans mostly lacked printing technologies before the nineteenth century, they were somehow unaware or uninterested in the world outside their borders.

Christopher Hunt - Antiquities, Past, and Present: The Tradescant Collection and its Rarities

This paper explores the phenomena of early modern collecting, focusing on the Cabinet of Curiosities owned by the Tradescant family now housed in the Ashmolean Museum. Paying particular attention to the antiquities in the collection, this paper explores early modern ways of seeing in relation to these artefacts, as well as how these objects influenced ideas of identity. Beyond this, the paper will examine the relationship between antiquities and relics; they share common qualities and could be seen as similar objects despite the historic and religious properties of each, and as such were often viewed in lights.

The paper uses the collection of the Tradescant family, as well as its inventory produced by John Tradescant the Younger in the seventeenth century to explore ideas of antiquity, past, and present, and how these artefacts from the past actively shaped ideas of English identity in the period. This paper does not use grand narratives of nation building or a comprehensive, shared idea of England, but aims to reconstruct views of heritage and nature in view of objects from the distant past. The nature of *Wunderkammern* will be discussed here, with the order of things they possessed relating to the ordering of early modern cosmology and ideas of the world and indeed universe. Attention will be given to ideas of history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Cabinets of Curiosities and collections more widely, and the Tradescant collection in particular to discuss how antiquities and artefacts interacted with texts to form ideas of English identity and heritage in the seventeenth century.

PANEL 3 WORDS, SOUNDS, AND VISIONS: HISTORICIZING POPULAR CULTURE

Hannah Graves - Writing at the Margins: Recovering Jane White's *Pinky* (1949)

A hybridised courtroom drama, maternal melodrama and social problem film, *Pinky* (Elia Kazan, 1949) has received no shortage of critical attention for its exploration of the identity crisis of Patricia “Pinky” Johnson (Jeanne Crain), a light-skinned woman of ambiguous mixed race ancestry. As one of the first offerings to a cluster of Hollywood films released across 1949 that took African-American racial discrimination as a central theme, film scholars have thoroughly documented *Pinky's* production history. Yet, the influence of script consultant Jane White, a Smith graduate and emerging actress, remains underexplored.

The daughter of the NAACP's Executive Secretary, Walter White, Jane's contributions have often been minimised as unheeded suggestions on how to avoid racial caricature and an extension of her father's advice to producer Darryl F. Zanuck. Yet, as the only ‘race year’ film the NAACP decided not to endorse - finding it too ‘sentimental’ to be taken seriously - Jane's suggestions about how to make *Pinky* an important woman's picture differed significantly from her father's conception of what a good ‘race year’ film should look like. As a young, light-skinned African American actress, Jane found herself working to improve the depiction of a heroine that Hollywood's casting colour-line would never consider for her. Meanwhile, as Zanuck doggedly pursued her father's unforthcoming endorsement, her own contributions to the film remain uncredited. Recovering the NAACP's often overlooked and highly gendered criticisms of *Pinky*, this paper analyses Jane White's unique contributions to the film's production while recalling the double burdens that she suffered while working in Hollywood.

Esther Wright - The ‘complete western experience’: *Red Dead Redemption*, Cinema and History

This paper considers 2010 video game release *Red Dead Redemption*, as a self-conscious attempt by Rockstar Games to recreate the Western cinematic genre in digital game form, as well as represent the ‘reality’ of life on the southwestern American Frontier in the early twentieth-century. *Redemption's* linear narrative and open-world gameplay were marketed against a backdrop of the history of Western cinema—and deeply indebted to a specific kind of Western film— as well as more traditional ‘historical research’. *Redemption* is thus promoted as a game grounded in both public and academic perceptions of America's western history. Furthermore, through its overarching, meticulously created narrative structure, a specific portrayal of America's past is retold and can be experienced

by players, who control and play as a particular kind of Westerner. Moreover, it was marketed as a game that actively recreates many 'classic western situations', promising to immerse players within, and allow them to enact the 'complete Western experience' in its virtual game environment. This paper considers which specific cinematic and historical elements are incorporated into the game itself, its narrative and gameplay options, and the subsequent vision of 'history' that is, as a result, privileged. Ultimately, it will question what kind of historical narrative is being preserved through this game and from where it draws its main inspirations, exploring the historical legacy of 'the West' that has been preserved in contemporary entertainment media.

David Toulson - The Activists' Playlist: The Shifting Relationship Between Popular Music and Political Activism

In the Autumn of 2012 I began a PhD project considering the links between popular music and popular political activism in relation to anti-apartheid campaigning in Britain. From the outset the overwhelming majority of the literature on the political potential of popular music suggested a growing distance between the two. That ultimately attempts to harness popular music for explicitly political campaigning lost out to the distinctly less political platitudes of Live Aid.

This was a model that appeared to be confirmed by my own research. Attempts by the UK Anti-Apartheid Movement to enforce a complete cultural boycott of South Africa were undermined by increasing amounts of controversy throughout the 1980s. Growing disputes about whether 'progressive' South African artists should be allowed exemption from the boycott, appeared to signal the inability of politics and popular music to exist in harmony. This coupled with popular music's seeming ambivalence to political issues throughout the duration of the 1990s and 2000s appeared to confirm this narrative.

Yet as I wrote the conclusion to my PhD in the summer of 2015 events appeared to suggest that this distance was not as insurmountable as had been suggested by many. The election of Jeremy Corbyn as leader of the Labour Party and the rising prominence of Bernie Sanders in America, both flanked by supportive voices in popular music, raised questions about the way in which dialogue between popular politics and popular music could not only continue to exist but also flourish.

In this paper I will consider the ways in which this apparent shift in the relationship between popular music and popular politics presents challenges and opportunities to historians. In particular whether these recent events help to recapture forgotten stories which show continuity rather than change in the relationship between popular music and popular politics.

James Bennett - 'The most trusted voice in music': comparing two leading music reviewing websites

The emergence of the internet has totally changed the landscape of the music industry, with music far easier to obtain, listen to and store. Music criticism is one of many aspects to have been transformed. The popularity of hard copy music magazine has declined as the music website rose to prominence and popularity. Today, publications such as the *NME* fight to survive while business is booming for websites such as *Pitchfork* and *AllMusic*; the ways in which music fans can read criticism in the mid-2010s are now radically different to that prior to the dot-com boom. While the old publications have attempted to jump on the bandwagon and retain a presence in what is now a crowded marketplace, few have managed it as successfully as the start-up websites.

This paper will compare two American websites which have established themselves as leaders amongst the new generation of sources of criticism. *Pitchfork* was founded in 1995 as the personal reviewing website of Ryan Schreiber, but has since grown into one of the most influential websites in the industry, in particular due to its focus on indie rock. *AllMusic* was established in 1991 as an attempt to review and compile information on every album ever released. It has grown into a lucrative business, selling its reviews and information on to third parties such as Microsoft, Apple and Amazon. Both websites have achieved their success in very different ways, with radically different audiences and styles, and yet are part of the same movement towards online reviewing.

END OF DAY ONE

FRIDAY 27th MAY

PANEL 4 HEALTH AND WELL-BEING IN MODERN BRITAIN

Fabiola Creed - The rise of the sunbed industry: 'Tanorexia' among white British females: Liverpool, 2006-2016

The indoor tanning industry, established by Friedrich Wolff in 1978, proliferated in Britain during the 1980s. My developing dissertation will explore why particular regions, such as Liverpool, have more deeply embedded a tanned complexion into their culture compared to other British regions, and how this has continued despite the increasing awareness of Melanoma.

First, this paper will use quantitative data to assess an orthodox belief, supported by health officials such as *Cancer Research UK*, that higher concentrations of sunbeds are present in deprived urban, as opposed to affluent rural regions. I will also evaluate a statement quoted by many British newspapers in-between 2010-2015, which reported that Liverpool 'has six times the national average of tanning salons per city'.

The second part will utilise Michel Foucault's 'toolbox' of power to explore how the increasing measures of control within the sunbed industry - such as the mass advertising, panoptic setting, monitoring and fingerprinting technologies - has contributed to the prevailing popularity of a tanned complexion. This will evaluate the relations of power between sunbed operators and their most common users: white, adolescent females. Drawing on medical journals and newspapers that feature personal testimonies, I will argue that this misconstrued sense of pleasure and empowerment felt by sunbed users leads to a dependent and addictive nature towards artificial tanning. This demonstrates how commercial drivers can challenge medical authorities, undermining health-promoting interventions from public health and medical experts.

Sophie Greenway - From 'Dr Carrot' to 'Concrete in garden making': domestic design, health and the garden in post-war Britain

At a time when the relationship between health, nutrition and the environment is of increasing concern, this paper will explore how attitudes to the environment on our back doorstep were shaped in mid-twentieth-century Britain. During the post-war period, government, campaign groups and the media paid a great deal of attention to the design of the healthy home, seeking to reduce the numbers living in insanitary slums, and to improve the working conditions of the recently enfranchised housewife. My paper looks at the ways in which this focus on the domestic realm extended outdoors to the relationship between British people and their gardens. Specifically it examines changes in the

way domestic food growing was represented in magazines after the Second World War. Whilst during the emergency of war the benefits of home growing for health were widely extolled, by the 1960s the garden was portrayed as a site of leisure and consumption. I will examine the portrayal of homes and gardens, in the context of health, in a varied range of magazines, such as the Co-operative's *Woman's Outlook* and *Vogue's House and Garden*. Were homes shown with gardens? Was the garden shown as a healthy place? Was it a place of rest and leisure, or a place of home production? Or did it appear to be a source of potential infection, carried in on the knees of children and the boots of men?

PANEL 5 ECONOMICS, TRADE AND EMPIRES

Rachael Morton - Perceptions of Production and the Retailing and Marketing of Quality Metalware in Eighteenth-Century England

The expansion of the metalware trade in England in the eighteenth century, and the rise of regional manufacturing towns such as Birmingham and Sheffield, challenged the perception of quality metalware. In particular, the introduction of new products and materials and the utilization of flexible organizations of production gave the consumer greater choice and enhanced the public curiosity in manufacturing and innovation. These changes in production therefore impacted on the marketing, and consequently the retailing and consumption, of metalware. Recent historiography has explored how individual retailers constructed their reputations for trustworthiness, as brokers of quality and taste. However, within the metalware trade in particular, the producer-retailer maintained an important role, a conspicuous presence in advertisements, and a crucial influence in the perception of quality. By looking more closely at marketing strategies, this article sheds light on the metalware trade, and how consumer goods were marketed in the eighteenth century. Not only did the marketing of metalware involve the utilization of language and imagery in increasingly sophisticated methods of advertising in print, from newspaper advertisements and trade cards to trade directories, but also the design of shop spaces, networks of personal relationships and patronage from the social elite, and the objects themselves.

Sébastien Pautet - Were 'Chinese goods' from China? Issues of product identification, technical transfers and appropriations in the Eighteenth Century

The dissemination of so-called 'Chinese goods,' 'Indian goods' or 'Japanese goods' on European markets reveals the rise of consumerism and its connections to global trades during the eighteenth-century. But does the name reflect the

product? Between commercial strategies, market rhetoric and product identification, names of products can be seen as a quality label or a wonderful tool for counterfeiting. And for historians, product origin constitutes a puzzling problem. This paper thus examines how product names constitute a distorting mirror of the global dissemination of technical knowledge, adapted and reinterpreted locally by artisans and manufacturers in European context. By focusing on name issues, I will explain how the classification of products helps historians to understand the links between global trades and product innovation in Europe during industrialization.

Josephine Tierney - Using Nineteenth-century African Photography as Evidence of Textile Consumption

In tracing the consumption of British textiles in Africa during the nineteenth century the historian encounters a number of obstacles, most notably a lack of remaining documentary and object sources. Despite the transient nature of the textiles themselves, evidence of their consumption can be found in the many visual records made by numerous photographers in Africa during the nineteenth century. Photographing the landscape, people and diverse cultures of the continent became a preoccupation for Colonial administrators, missionaries, ethnographers, anthropologists and all kinds of amateur photographers. The collections of photographs they left behind indicate the material and geographical diversity of dress and textile consumption in Africa during this period, providing a vital source for historians of material culture. However, as historians, theoreticians and philosophers have emphasised photographs pose a number of challenges. It has been argued that photographs are more a reflection of the photographer than the subject, bringing into question important notions regarding power relations, voyeurism and the gaze. These issues of authority are reinforced when considering photographs taken within a colonial context, where the photographic subject is also the colonial subject. With these challenges in mind, is it possible to use African photography as a primary source for examining material culture during the British Empire? And if so, how can the complex relationships, between master and subordinate, photographer and subject, coloniser and colonised, be negotiated in order to unpack the layers of representation. This paper will present work in progress and explore the difficulties and potential of using nineteenth-century photography as a source. Drawing on the work of Roland Barthes, Raphael Samuel and others, it will outline the theoretical context of using photography as a historical source and interrogate the merits of current methodologies. It will also examine a number of nineteenth-century photographs in depth to illustrate these themes.

PANEL 6 COLONIAL AND POST-COLONIAL EAST AFRICA

Anna Bruzzone - Connecting histories on the margins of empires: colonialisms, trade and transformations of territoriality in the Somalia-Kenya borderlands, c. 1925-1930

Situated at the crossroads of the British, Italian and Ethiopian empires and lapped by the Indian Ocean trade routes, the Somalia-Kenya borderlands experienced structural transformations in the second half of the 1920s. With the transfer of the Jubaland Province from the British Empire to Italy in 1925, the cleavages, interconnections and interdependencies that European imperialism had created in the Somalia-Kenya borderlands since the 1890s were profoundly reconfigured. The new imperial border cut through a complex social universe which had been a *locus* of migrations, wars and local re-compositions of power since the mid nineteenth century. British and Italian colonial authorities inserted themselves and were accommodated into a social fabric which had been shaped, and was constantly being transformed, by conflict and assimilation, domination and collusion. Colonial sources drawn from various archives in the UK, Italy and Kenya are used along with oral sources to explore this history, tracing the interactions between inter-imperial rivalries, colonial practices of exclusion and inclusion, and localised socio-political dynamics. These interactions reveal how power and customary authority were transformed, negotiated and institutionalised on the margins of the colonial state. This paper seeks to examine the social construction of sovereignty in trans-national perspective, by focusing on the modalities of political power and the distribution of resources, both material and immaterial, between competing social groups. It is argued that the colonial reconfiguration of socio-economic space transformed territoriality and thereby played a crucial role in the production of political orders in the Somalia-Kenya borderlands.

George Roberts - In search of a revolution: A. M. Babu, Tanzanian politics, and the global Marxist struggle

In recent years, historians have identified in the end of empire an anti-colonial 'moment': a time of multiple, competing, and contested imaginations of a 'world after empire'. The Zanzibari intellectual Abdulrahman Mohammed Babu (1924-96) entered political life at the height of these debates. However, like many of his contemporaries, Babu saw his hopes of a Marxist and pan-African future fade in the years after independence. Anxious to preserve their fragile sovereignty against a backdrop of Cold War pressures, Africa's post-colonial regimes became increasingly inward-looking. As both a minister within the Tanzanian government of Julius Nyerere and a dissenter forced into exile, Babu clung to his Marxist standpoint to criticise African states for failure to cut their ties of

economic dependency with the West. But the African Left was also forced to adapt its arguments to changing global circumstances: the rise of human rights as a new language of dissent in the 1970s, the structural adjustment programmes of the 1980s, the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, and the return of multiparty democracy to much of Africa in the post-Cold War era. In addition, this paper sets Babu's written work in a more complex world of intra-elite competition in Tanzania, which included his imprisonment without trial after being implicated in the assassination of the president of Zanzibar in 1972. Drawing upon Babu's published writings and a range of archival sources, it argues that ideological politics must be understood in the context of messy realpolitik developments, to offer a sweeping view of left-wing dissent in Africa.

Christian Velasco - Financing colonial Kenya: The banking system during the last decades of colonial rule

Since the moment that Schumpeter and Opie established a relation between financial and economic development, the literature studying this field has seen an exponential proliferation. However, it has been unable to establish the causality of the relation and recent studies prove that the direction tends to be defined by case and specific time of analysis. Because of that, the number of studies focused in one country or economic region has been prolific, particularly for cases in Africa and Latin America. Nevertheless, as the main parts of these studies are quantitative focused, a long range of regions and periods of time have been neglected owing to a lack of data. This is the case of the Kenyan financial system during the colonial period and the first years of independence. The literature has been concentrated on the effects of the financial reforms of the 1980s and has disregarded the period where the foundations of the system were established, assuming that it remained just in a role of trade and agricultural financing. Through analysis of new investment opportunities, interbank correspondence and business petitions for credit, I will test the validity and the extension of this commonly and easily assumed premise. This paper hypothesizes there was a more dynamic banking system during the colonial era than has been assumed, willing to invest but at the same time detained by the poor conditions of local business. In that sense, the last years of colonial Kenya could be an example of financial development stopped by poor economic conditions.

PANEL 7 EMPIRE IN NINETEENTH CENTURY INDIA

David Molyneux - Notions of empire on East India Company coins, 1770-1840

This project wishes to assess the importance of coinage, and the broader subject of numismatics, to notions of empire between Britain/East India Company (EIC) and India (1770-1840). An extensive amount of literature already exists on empire developments, however most overlooks the usefulness of numismatics. March Bloch's statement, that numismatics is 'a penalty out of the cabinet of curiosities', epitomising this problem, but, by analysing symbolism on EIC coins (1770-1840), notions of consumption and conceptions of weights and measures, as well as the minting process itself, one can begin to appreciate that coins are pertinent to empire studies.

The main section of this project considers imagery on the coins. In the eighteenth-century, most mints in Britain (Soho) and in India (Bombay, Calcutta and Madras etc.), minted coins for the India market in Arabic and Persian. The nineteenth-century experienced a shift, with words replaced by pictures, and indigenous languages replaced by English. British monarchs heads, lions and British flags all became commonplace, with this essay considering whether this transference reflects changing conceptions of empire. Whether the Indian public consumed the concept of empire from a coin and whether different districts experienced shifts at different rates will also be analysed. Coins from the Museum Victoria, the British Museum, the Fitzwilliam Museum and the Ashmolean will all be analysed in this section.

Additionally, the minting process will also be evaluated, in particular, Matthew Boulton's Soho Mint. Boulton's Company manufactured the vast majority of EIC coins destined for India. Boulton adapted steam-power production from his button company into coins, with this technological advancement replicated in India. This essay questions, amongst other minting concepts, whether this should be seen as a technological transfer within empire construction, or a trans-national cultural assimilation between two countries.

Holly Winter - 'An English gentleman should always be dressed so that suddenly dropped into Bond Street, he would pass unnoticed': Material Culture and Ideas of Masculinity in Nineteenth Century India

White, British men and their performances of masculinity in India are widely recognised as having transformed between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As they established themselves more firmly as rulers of India, British colonisers increasingly sought to separate themselves from the Indian population. The flamboyant 'Indianised' eighteenth century Nabob was gradually

replaced by the 'Burra Sahib', who was defined by his honour, restraint, militarism and, crucially, Britishness.

This paper will question the extent to which this 'British' masculine ideal was translated into the material lives of British men. The existing historiography suggests it did so un-problematically; historians of fashion have shown that the black suit became the definitive symbols of masculinity and civilisation in nineteenth century India. However, these accounts do not consider material culture more broadly, and confine themselves to civil, rather than military dress. Drawing on examples including the consumption of Indian furniture and the 'orientalisation' of British military dress from the 1820s, I will argue that many Indian and Anglo-Indian objects and sartorial practices remained significant in the lives of British men. I will consider how these elements may have been reconciled with contemporary masculine ideals, and how examining the materiality of white, British men's lives complicates our understandings of imperial masculinity.

Sabera Kara - Child Marriage and Female Education: Hindu and Muslim Women's Social Reform in Late Colonial India, 1885-1940

Child marriage and the lack of female education were social problems common for both Hindu and Muslim women. In the nineteenth century British criticisms of Indian society pointed to the condition of Indian women and their social customs as an indicator of the nation's backwardness. Missionaries also played a role in highlighting India's social 'ills', prompting social reform amongst the indigenous population. Indian reformers attempted to demonstrate the progressiveness of their nation, whilst also preserving their religion and culture. These reformers identified child marriage and female education as Indian social conditions in need of reform, due to what were perceived as 'backward' customs. Yet religious communities in India chose to focus on different aspects of their women's social conditions as subjects for their reform campaigns in the late nineteenth century. Hindu reformers focused on matters of conjugality, particularly child marriage, while Muslim reformers chose to work towards reforming female education.

This dissertation explores the specifics of these two religiously segregated reform agendas in order to examine what accounts for the apparently selective embrace of reform campaigns for Hindu and Muslim women. This paper will examine both reform agendas and their trajectories as they were initiated by men and later taken up by the women in each religious community. It will then consider the emergence of the All India Women's Movement in light of these two streams of women's activism, in an attempt to understand the religious character of social reform campaigns in late colonial India.