

# Notes

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## Introduction

1. Frederick Douglass, 'West India Emancipation, Speech Delivered at Canandaigua, New York, 3 August 1857'. Available at University of Rochester, Frederick Douglass Project, at [rbscp.lib.rochester.edu](http://rbscp.lib.rochester.edu). All other quotations from Douglass refer to this source, unless otherwise stated.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1994), pp. 240–1, emphasis in original.
5. Cited in John Oldfield, *Chords of Freedom: Commemoration, Ritual and British Transatlantic Slavery* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 102.
6. David Cannadine, *In Churchill's Shadow: Confronting the Past in Modern Britain* (London: Penguin, 2002), p.26
7. John Darwin, *The End of the British Empire: The Historical Debate* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), p. 5.
8. Joanna de Groot, *Empire and History Writing in Britain since 1750* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), p. 105.
9. The term is Niall Ferguson's, from his paper 'British Imperialism Revised: The Costs and Benefits of "Anglobalization"', Stern School of Business, New York University: Development Research Institute Working Paper Series 2 (April 2003).
10. Victor G. Kiernan, *The Lords of Human Kind: European Attitudes Towards the Outside World in the Imperial Age* (London: Serif, 1995), p. 2.
11. Many of these are detailed in Antoinette Burton, *The Trouble with Empire: Challenges to Modern British Imperialism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015) and John Newsinger, *The Blood Never Dried: A People's History of the British Empire*, 2nd edn (London: Bookmarks, 2013).
12. Burton, *The Trouble with Empire*, p. 1.
13. Ibid. Burton also notes rightly that 'while imperial blockbusters fly off the shelves, wide-ranging accounts of those who struggled with and against imperial power ... have failed to materialize'. Ibid., p. 2.
14. See Roberto Fernández Retamar, 'Caliban: Notes towards a Discussion of Culture in Our America', in Robert Fernández Retamar, ed., *Caliban and Other Essays* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989).
15. Darwin, *End of the British Empire*, p. 91. As Michael Goebel notes in the French context, this was not always a simple process: French republican slogans – *liberté, égalité, fraternité* – 'graced the entry gates of Indochinese prisons' in which anticolonialists often found themselves interned. They too, however, like many in the British Empire, would address the gap between rhetoric and reality, 'instead of outright dismissing these ideals altogether'. Michael Goebel, *Anti-imperial Metropolis: Interwar Paris and the Seeds of Third World Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 222.
16. Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *Empire and Emancipation: Power and Liberation on a World Scale* (London: Pluto, 1990), p. 361, emphasis in original.
17. 'What happens when, in the spirit of dialectics, we turn the tables, and consider Haiti not as the victim of Europe, but an agent in Europe's construction?' Susan Buck-Morss, *Hegel, Haiti, and Universal History* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009), p. 80.
18. There are presently five substantial historical studies that address British domestic critiques of empire at particular historical moments as their main subject: Stephen Howe, *Anticolonialism in British Politics: The Left and the End of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Gregory Claeys, *Imperial Sceptics: British Critics of Empire, 1850–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Mira Matikkala, *Empire and Imperial Ambition: Liberty, Englishness and Anti-Imperialism in Late Victorian Britain* (London: I. B. Taurus, 2011); Bernard Porter, *Critics of Empire: British Radicals and the Imperial Challenge*, 2nd edn (London: I. B. Taurus, 2008 [1968]); and Nicholas Owen, *The British Left and India: Metropolitan Anti-imperialism 1885–1947* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
19. Newsinger, *Blood Never Dried*, p. 17.
20. Timothy Brennan, *Borrowed Light: Vico, Hegel, and the Colonies* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014), p.

*al-Urabiya sanat 1298 Hijriya was sanat 1881–1882 Miliadiya* (The Urabi Memoirs: Uncovering Secrets of the Egyptian Awakening Commonly Known as the Urabian Revolution 1298 Hijri, 1881–1882 CE) (Cairo: Dar Al-Kutub Al-Misriya, 1925). I am grateful to Dr Heba Youssef for translations from this text.

73. The other term used to refer to Egyptians is *al-wataniyoon*, from *al-watan*, or homeland. So also *onsor* or ‘national race’.
74. Urabi, *Muthakirat Urab*, p. 24.
75. Mounah A. Khouri, *Poetry and the Making of Modern Egypt (1882–1922)* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971), p. 36.
76. Cole, *Colonialism and Revolution*, p. 20.
77. Ibid.
78. Blunt, ‘Egyptian Revolution’, p. 324.
79. Ibid., p. 328.
80. Ibid., p. 344.
81. Ibid.
82. Blunt, *Secret History*, p. 220.
83. Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville, no. 4 in House of Commons Command Papers, *Further Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of Egypt* (London: Harrison, 1882).
84. Blunt, *Secret History*, p. 213.
85. Blunt, ‘Egyptian Revolution’, p. 332.
86. Ibid., p. 345.
87. Mr W. S. Blunt to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, MP, no. 7 in House of Commons Command Papers, *Further Correspondence*.
88. *Annual Register, 1882*, p. 147.
89. See William Gladstone, *Aggression on Egypt and Freedom in the East* (London: National Press Agency, 1884 [first published in *The Nineteenth Century* in 1877]).
90. Blunt, *Secret History*, pp. 181–2, emphasis in original.
91. John Stuart Mill, ‘A Few Words on Non-intervention’, in Mill, *Dissertations and Discussions: Political, Philosophical, and Historical*, vol. 3 (London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1867 [first published in *Fraser’s Magazine*, December 1859]), p. 168.
92. For an illuminating discussion of liberalism’s demand for ‘equivalence’ in the context of empire, see Uday Singh Mehta, *Liberalism and Empire: A Study in Nineteenth-Century British Liberal Thought* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).
93. Edward Dicey, ‘England in Egypt’, *Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review* 12: 67 (November 1882), pp. 807–8.
94. Blunt, *Secret History*, p. 188.
95. ‘Programme of the National Party of Egypt’, *The Times*, 3 January 1882.
96. Ibid.
97. Ibid.
98. See Chapter 5 of Cole, *Colonialism and Revolution*.
99. Blunt, *Secret History*, p. 111.
100. Nikki R. Keddie, *An Islamic Response to Imperialism: Political and Religious Writings of Sayyid Jamal ad-Din ‘al-Afghani’, Including a Translation of the ‘Refutation of the Materialists’ from the Original Persian* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1968), p. 43.
101. Said, *Humanism and Democratic Criticism*, p. 73.
102. Blunt, *Secret History*, pp. 109–10.
103. Ibid., p. 112.
104. Keddie notes that ‘Afghani used to spend long hours holding forth at cafés ... where he would drink tea, smoke cigarettes, and gather around him large groups of disciples and curious onlookers, as he expounded his ideas’. Keddie, *Sayyid Jamal ad-Din ‘al-Afghani’*, p. 84.
105. Ibid., p. 110.
106. Dispatch to *The Times*, 20 August 1879, cited in *ibid.*, p. 117. Elie Kedourie cites an account from M. E. Vauquelin’s articles for the French left-wing newspaper *L’Intransigeant*, which claims that, on 3 August, 1879, Afghani preached at the Hasan Mosque before an audience of 4,000 people. The khedive, he told his audience, was ‘compelled to serve – consciously or not – British ambitions, and ended his speech by a war-cry against the foreigner and by a call for a revolution to save the independence of Egypt and establish its liberty’. *Ibid.*, pp. 29–30. Kedourie also points to claims that this speech directly caused a group of Syrian Christians to band together with some Muslims to form a society, publish a newspaper and submit a plan of reforms to the prime minister. The official reason given for Afghani’s expulsion a few days later was that he had organized a secret

- society aimed at ‘the ruin of religion and rule’. Elie Kedourie, *Afghani and ‘Abduh: an Essay on Religious Unbelief and Political Activism in Modern Islam* (Oxford: Routledge, 2008 [1966]), p. 31.
107. Pankaj Mishra, *From the Ruins of Empire: The Revolt against the West and the Remaking of Asia* (London: Allen Lane, 2012), p. 50.
  108. ‘Afghani’s Egyptian followers continued to be active in politics after his expulsion, and several of them worked for the Urabi government after it took power, being subsequently exiled after the British victory and occupation of Egypt’. Keddie, *Islamic Response*, p. 21.
  109. Keddie, drawing on Rida’s *Tarikh*, in *Sayyid Jamal ad-Din ‘al-Afghani*, p. 101.
  110. *Ibid.*
  111. *Ibid.*, pp. 101–2.
  112. *Ibid.*, p. 106. Keddie describes Afghani as one who ‘in large part expressed a mood and viewpoint that was in any case beginning to come to the fore in the Muslim world ... a mood of many who did not wish simply to continue borrowing from the West or bowing to growing Western domination, but wished rather to find in indigenous traditions, both Islamic and national, precedents for the reforms and self-strengthening they wanted to undertake’. ‘From Afghani to Khomeini: Introduction to the 1983 Edition’, in Keddie, *Islamic Response*, p. xiii.
  113. Afghani, ‘Lecture on Teaching and Learning’, in Keddie, *Islamic Response*, p. 101.
  114. Mishra, *From the Ruins of Empire*, p. 84.
  115. Afghani, ‘Lecture on Teaching and Learning’, p. 104.
  116. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
  117. Afghani, ‘The Benefits of Philosophy’, in Keddie, *Islamic Response*, p. 110.
  118. *Ibid.*
  119. *Ibid.*
  120. *Ibid.*, p. 115.
  121. Afghani, ‘Answer of Jamal ad-Din to Renan, *Journal des débats*, May 18, 1883’, in Keddie, *Islamic Response*, pp. 181–7.
  122. Afghani, ‘Benefits of Philosophy’, p. 113.
  123. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
  124. *Ibid.*, p. 116.
  125. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
  126. *Ibid.*, p. 120.
  127. *Ibid.*, p. 122.
  128. Keddie, ‘Sayyid Jamal ad-Din’s Ideas’, in *Islamic Response*, p. 38.
  129. Blunt, *Secret History*, p. 212.
  130. *Ibid.*, p. 211.
  131. *Ibid.*, p. 190.
  132. *Ibid.*, p. 212.
  133. In his private papers, notebooks titled ‘From Alms to Oblivion’ (Part VI, Chapter 6), Blunt writes: ‘I have been many times on the point of making my public declaration of faith, if only as a protest and proof of my standing on the side of Eastern right against Western wrong’, but what has deterred him is lack of belief in a future life. He also says that, had he actually been in Egypt during the bombardment, he would have ‘proclaimed myself a Moslem’. Blunt Papers, Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge.
  134. Blunt, *Secret History*, p. 243.
  135. *Annual Register, 1882*, p. 139.
  136. Blunt, ‘Egyptian Revolution’, p. 346.
  137. *Ibid.*
  138. Blunt, *Secret History*, p. 225.
  139. *Ibid.*, p. 419; Blunt, ‘Egyptian Revolution’, p. 333.
  140. *Annual Register, 1882*, p. 148.
  141. *Ibid.*, p. 152.
  142. *Ibid.*, pp. 151, 156.
  143. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
  144. HC Deb 12 July 1882, vol. 272, c. 191.
  145. Cole, *Colonialism and Revolution*, p. 3. Cole goes on to observe: ‘The British invaded in order to ensure that a process of state formation did not succeed in creating a new sort of stable order that would end European privileges and threaten the security of European property and investments’. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
  146. Sir Wilfrid Lawson ‘said the time had come when those who felt deeply the position of dishonour in which the

86. *Morning Herald*, 23 November 1865. Cited in Lorimer, *Colour, Class and the Victorians*, pp. 198–9.
87. *JRC2*, p. 993.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 619.
89. *Ibid.*
90. Underhill, *Tragedy of Morant Bay*, p. 23.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
92. *JRC1*, p. 14.
93. Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, MA: Beacon, 1995), p. 24. Sheller points out that by the 1850s ‘there seems to have been a new sense of agency among the less formally educated people that they too could make speeches and “put their hand to paper”’. She notes more petitions ‘written in a local Creole idiom’, and an increasing frequency of anonymous threat letters, all of which were also to be seen in the days leading up to and following the Morant Bay uprising. Sheller, *Democracy after Slavery*, p. 185.
94. Bakan, *Ideology and Class Conflict in Jamaica*, p. 79.
95. *JRC1*, p. 14.
96. Several white witnesses, including many planters, complained in their testimony to the Royal Commission about changed behaviour on the part of the Jamaican blacks they encountered in the months leading up to the rebellion. They speak of a marked difference in bearing, refusal to observe the rights of the road, and threatening comments. See, for instance, the testimony of Wellwood Maxwell Anderson in *JRC2*, p. 566.
97. *JRC2*, p. 619.
98. Edward Bean Underhill, *A Letter Addressed to the Rt Honourable E. Cardwell, with Illustrative Documents on the Condition of Jamaica and an Explanatory Statement* (London: Arthur Miall, 1865).
99. Heuman suggests that the ‘Petition of the Poor people of St Ann’s Parish’ had, in fact, been in preparation before Underhill’s own letter. Heuman, *Killing Time*, p. 48.
100. ‘Petition of the Poor People of St Ann’s Parish, and the Reply Thereto, Entitled “The Queen’s Advice”’, in Harvey and Brewin, *Jamaica in 1866*, pp. 101–2. Another petition, written in September, came from St Thomas-in-the-East, signed by forty persons, speaking of ‘heavy work’ not even experienced when ‘we were slaves’ and of the ‘advantage’ taken of them by estate managers. Cited in Noel, *Case of George William Gordon*, p. 27.
101. Harvey and Brewin, *Jamaica in 1866*, p. 102.
102. *JCI*, p. 9.
103. Writing about the rebellion several decades later, Lord Olivier, himself a governor of Jamaica, would point out that the demand for land was based on ‘the essentially sound fundamental axiom of African law, that land belongs to the King (or Chief) as trustee for his people ... to be held available for ... families for whose support unoccupied land is required’. Olivier, *Myth of Governor Eyre*, p. 176.
104. ‘In 1857 a coloured man of the name of Ripley Edie told the people that the Queen had given them the lands when she gave them freedom’. *JRC2*, p. 566.
105. *Ibid.*, my emphasis.
106. As with the 1857 uprising, rumour could have a galvanizing effect in the organization of resistance. As Scott also observes: ‘As a rumour travels it is altered in a fashion that brings it more closely into line with the hopes, fears, and worldview of those who hear it and retell it’. James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), pp. 147, 145.
107. Jean Besson, cited in Sheller, *Democracy after Slavery*, p. 148.
108. *JRC1*, p. 40.
109. ‘Testimony of W. Anderson’, in *JRC2*, p. 165.
110. The rumour was not without historical foundation: certainly in the decades following Emancipation, planters talked of leaving British rule and joining the United States, which would have meant the re-enslavement of the black population.
111. ‘Testimony of Venerable Archdeacon Rowe’, in *JRC2*, p. 648.
112. *JRC1*, p. 16.
113. ‘Testimony of W. Carr’, in *JRC2*, p. 508.
114. Anonymous, *Jamaica: Who Is to Blame*, p. 24.
115. *The Times*, editorial, 13 November 1865.
116. Cited in Bedford Pim, *The Negro and Jamaica* (London: Trübner & Co., 1866), p. 55.
117. J. Radcliffe, ‘To the Editor of *The Times*’, *The Times*, 18 November 1865.
118. According to *The Times*, editorial, 20 November 1865.

221. Hilda Howsin, *The Significance of Indian Nationalism* (London: A. C. Fifield, 1909), pp. 17–18.
222. V. H. Rutherford, 'Introductory Note by Dr Rutherford', in *ibid.*, p. 7.
223. *Ibid.*, 8.
224. Howsin, *Significance of Indian Nationalism*, p. 96.
225. Dilip M. Menon, 'The Many Spaces and Times of Swadeshi', *Economic and Political Weekly* 47: 42 (2012), available at [epw.in](http://epw.in).

47. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 323.
48. Semmel, *Governor Eyre Controversy*, p. 140.
49. Cited in Sidney Haldane Olivier, *The Myth of Governor Eyre* (London: L. & Virginia Woolf, 1933), p. 305.
50. *The Times*, editorial, 13 November 1865. For a collation of such responses, see Anonymous, *Jamaica; Who Is to Blame, by a Thirty Years' Resident, with an Introduction and Notes by the Editor of the 'Eclectic Review'* (London: E. Wilson, 1866).
51. *JCI*, p. 59.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
53. *Ibid.*
54. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
55. Carlyle, cited in Semmel, *Governor Eyre Controversy*, p. 106.
56. Abigail B. Bakan, *Ideology and Class Conflict in Jamaica: The Politics of Rebellion* (Montreal/London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), p. 79.
57. Underhill, *Tragedy of Morant Bay*, p. 90.
58. Justin McCarthy, *A History of Our Own Times from the Ascension of Queen Victoria to the General Election of 1880*, vol. 3 (London: Chatto & Windus, 1882), p. 269.
59. Cited in Baptist Wriothlesley Noel, *The Case of George William Gordon, Esq. of Jamaica* (London: James Nisbet, 1866), p. 6.
60. *Spectator*, vol. 41, p. 665, emphasis in original.
61. Cited in Noel, *Case of George William Gordon*, p. 7.
62. Gordon, cited in *ibid.*, p. 13.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
64. McCarthy, *History of Our Own Times*, p. 270.
65. *JRC2*, p. 379.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 444.
67. *JCI*, p. 91.
68. The Royal Commission's conclusion was as follows: 'Although, therefore, it appears exceedingly probable that Mr Gordon, by his words and writings, produced a material effect on the minds of Bogle and his followers, and did much to produce that state of excitement and discontent in different parts of the Island, which rendered the spread of the insurrection exceedingly probable, yet we cannot see, in the evidence which has been adduced, any sufficient proof either of his complicity in the outbreak at Morant Bay or of his having been a party to a general conspiracy against the Government.' *JRC1*, p. 38.
69. Geoffrey Dutton, *The Hero as Murderer: The Life of Edward John Eyre, Australian Explorer and Governor of Jamaica, 1815–1901* (Sydney/London: Collins, 1967), p. 293.
70. Cited in Sheller, *Democracy after Slavery*, p. 216.
71. David King, *A Sketch of the Late Mr G. W. Gordon, Jamaica* (Edinburgh: William Oliphant, 1866), p. 9.
72. This is English politician Justin McCarthy's reading of Gordon as a type of man who every 'really sensible politician' likes to have in a legislative assembly. McCarthy, *History of Our Own Times*, p. 269.
73. Thomas Harvey and William Brewin, *Jamaica in 1866: A Narrative of a Tour through the Island; With Remarks on Its Social, Educational and Industrial Condition* (London: A. W. Bennett, 1867), p. 21.
74. *JRC1*, p. 31.
75. *Ibid.*
76. 'Report of W. F. March', in *JRC2*, p. 888.
77. 'Paul Bogle and George William Gordon – Heroes or Idiots?', *Sunday Gleaner*, 17 October 2004. Cited in Howard Johnson, 'From Pariah to Patriot: the Posthumous Career of George William Gordon', *New West Indian Guide* 81: 3–4 (2008), p. 215.
78. Sheller, *Democracy after Slavery*, p. 146.
79. Cited in Johnson, 'From Pariah to Patriot', p. 205.
80. Cited in Sheller, *Democracy after Slavery*, p. 212.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 213.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 204.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 211.
84. The Jamaica Royal Commission, cited in Underhill, *Tragedy of Morant Bay*, p. 136.
85. For a meticulously compiled and useful list of activists, many of whom had ties to Gordon, see Sheller, *Democracy after Slavery*, pp. 214–15. They include, in addition to Bogle and McLaren, Kelly Smith, E. J. Goldson, S. Clarke and W. F. March, as well as several others whose signatures also appear on various documents.

63. Ibid., p. 60.
64. Ibid., pp. 62–3.
65. Ibid., p. 62.
66. Ibid., p. 59.
67. Metcalf, *Aftermath of Revolt*, p. 305.
68. Norton, *Rebellion in India*, p. 62.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid., p. 326.
71. Ibid., p. 62.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid., p. 137.
74. Ibid., p. 173.
75. Ibid., p. 175.
76. Ibid., p. 119.
77. Ibid., p. 146.
78. Ibid., p. 198.
79. Ibid., pp. 195–6.
80. Ibid., p. 197.
81. Ibid., p. 196.
82. John Bruce Norton, *Topics for Indian Statesmen* (London: Richardson Brothers, 1858), p. 35.
83. Ranajit Guha, 'The Prose of Counter-insurgency', in Ranajit Guha, ed., *Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, vol. 2 (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 6.
84. Ibid., p. 28.
85. Tim Pratt, 'Ernest Jones' Mutiny: The People's Paper, English Popular Politics and the Indian Rebellion 1857–58', in Chandrika Kaul, ed., *Media and the British Empire* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2006), p. 89.
86. Ibid., p. 89.
87. The People's Charter demanded 'manhood suffrage, annual parliaments, the secret ballot, equal electoral districts, no property qualifications for MPs, and payment for MPs'. See Hugh Cunningham, *The Challenge of Democracy: Britain 1832–1918* (London: Routledge, 2014), p. 47.
88. Miles Taylor, *Ernest Jones, Chartism, and the Romance of Politics, 1819–1869* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 138.
89. John Belchem also notes 'constitutionalism offered the most successful formula in British politics: patriotism, retrenchment and reform'. John Belchem, *Popular Radicalism in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996), pp. 104–5.
90. Margot C. Finn, *After Chartism: Class and Nation in English Radical Politics, 1848–1874* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 107.
91. Jones famously defended the Irish Fenians. See 'Introduction', in John Saville, *Ernest Jones: Chartist – Selections from the Writings and Speeches of Ernest Jones with Introduction and Notes by John Saville* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1952).
92. Ernest Jones, 'How Our Indian Empire Is Ruled', *People's Paper*, 14 May 1853. Included in Saville, *Ernest Jones: Chartist*, pp. 211, 212.
93. 'The Bengal Mutinies', *People's Paper*, 20 June 1857.
94. 'Whence Shall We Get Our Cotton?', *People's Paper*, 27 June 1857.
95. Ibid.
96. Ernest Jones, 'The British Empire', *People's Paper*, 18 July 1857.
97. Ernest Jones, 'Hindustan', *People's Paper*, 4 July 1857, and 'Hindustan', *People's Paper*, 11 July 1857.
98. The term is Trouillot's.
99. Ernest Jones, 'The Indian War', *People's Paper*, 8 August 1857.
100. Ibid.
101. Ibid.
102. Jones, 'British Empire'.
103. Ernest Jones, 'The Revolt of Hindostan', *People's Paper*, 29 August 1857.
104. Jones, 'Indian War'. It is worth noting that although Jones frequently uses 'Hindhush' to describe the 'nationality' of India, he is not leaving Muslims out of the equation. He notes in this piece, for instance, that although there had been 'Mahommedan invasions', the Muslim 'presence' had not 'dimmed' anything. On the contrary, India's

27. Wilfrid S. Blunt, 'Recent Events in Arabia', *Fortnightly Review*, May 1880, p. 708.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 719.
29. Blunt, *Secret History*, p. 71.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 80.
31. Blunt, 'Recent Events in Arabia', p. 708.
32. Blunt, *Secret History*, p. 22.
33. Blunt, 'The Egyptian Revolution: A Personal Narrative', *Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review*, September 1882, p. 325.
34. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), p. 237.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*, p. 197.
37. For an account of Burton's texts as 'operating different linguistic consciousnesses, enunciative set-ups and forms of authority' towards creating an 'unfixed, nomadic persona', see Frédéric Regard, 'Fieldwork as Self-Harrowing: Richard Burton's Cultural Evolution (1851–56)', in Regard, ed., *British Narratives of Exploration* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009), p. 181. Blunt was keenly attuned to difference without necessarily seeing himself as 'confronted with alterity'. *Ibid.*
38. Blunt, *Secret History*, p. 81.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
40. *Ibid.*
41. Wilfred S. Blunt, *The Future of Islam* (Dublin: Nonsuch, 2007 [1882]).
42. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 191.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 129.
49. 'Medicine and Colonialism', in Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism*, transl. Haakon Chevalier (New York: Grove, 1959), pp. 126, 128.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 126.
51. Blunt, *Future of Islam*, 135.
52. *Ibid.*, pp. 135–6.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 136.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 175.
55. Blunt, 'Egyptian Revolution', p. 333.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 324.
57. *Ibid.*; Blunt, *Secret History*, p. 217.
58. Blunt, *Secret History*, p. 115; Nikki R. Keddie, *Sayyid Jamal Ad-Din 'Al-Afghani': A Political Biography* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1972), p. 101. Newspapers established or edited by Afghani's followers included *Mirat ash-Sharq* and *Misr al-Fatat (Jeune Égypte)*.
59. Blunt, *Secret History*, p. 166.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 167.
61. *Annual Register: A Review of Public Events at Home and Abroad for the Year 1882* (London: Rivington's, 1883), p. 152.
62. Blunt, *Secret History*, p. 178.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 154.
64. *Ibid.*, pp. 177–8.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 178.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 179.
67. Lady Gregory, *Arabi and His Household* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, 1882), p. 6.
68. Blunt, *Secret History*, pp. 148–9.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 159.
70. *Ibid.*
71. Lady Anne Blunt, *Journals and Correspondence*, p. 145.
72. Ahmad Urabi, *Muthakirat Urabi: Kashf Al-sitar 'an sir al-Asrar fi al-nahda al-Masriya al-mashhura bi al-thawra*

- University of Chicago Press, 1999), p. 191.
59. Gurminder K. Bhabra, *Rethinking Modernity: Postcolonialism and the Sociological Imagination* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), p. 146.
  60. Leela Gandhi, *Affective Communities: Anticolonial Thought, Fin-de-Siècle Radicalism, and the Politics of Friendship* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), p. 7.
  61. Ibid.
  62. Ibid., p. 5.
  63. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-colonial Literatures* (London/New York: Routledge, 1989), p. 103.
  64. Gandhi, *Affective Communities*, p. 5.
  65. Ibid., p. 8.
  66. Ibid., p. 2.
  67. Ibid., p. 2–3.
  68. Ibid., p. 6.
  69. Ibid., p. 7.
  70. See David Featherstone, *Solidarity: Hidden Histories and Geographies of Internationalism* (London: Zed, 2012), p. 5.
  71. M. M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. Michael Holquist, transl. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), p. 284.
  72. M. M. Bakhtin, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, ed. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, transl. Vern W. McGee (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), p. 89.
  73. Michael Holquist, *Dialogism: Bakhtin and His World*, 2nd edn (London/New York: Routledge, 1990), p. 29.
  74. Ibid., p. 34.
  75. Satya P. Mohanty, *Literary Theory and the Claims of History: Postmodernism, Objectivity, Multicultural Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), p. 241.
  76. Ibid., p. 240.
  77. Ibid., p. 241.
  78. Ibid., pp. 242, 243.
  79. Ibid., p. 242
  80. Elizabeth Heyrick, *Immediate not Gradual Abolition, or, An Inquiry into the Shortest, Safest, and Most Effectual Means of Getting Rid of West Indian Slavery* (London: J. Hatchard & Son, 1824). For a magnificent discussion of this image and Heyrick's reinterpretation of the Abolition Seal, see Marcus Wood's brilliant work, *The Horrible Gift of Freedom: Atlantic Slavery and the Repression of Emancipation* (Athens/London: University of Georgia Press, 2010), where he notes that the 'tremendous sentence ... in one daring move decimates the interrogative double negative of the original slogan' (pp. 75–7).
  81. Pieterse, *Empire and Emancipation*, p. 368.
  82. Ibid., p. 379.
  83. Abdul R. JanMohamed and David Lloyd, 'Introduction: Minority Discourse: What Is to Be Done?', *Cultural Critique 7: The Nature and Context of Minority Discourse II* (Autumn 1987), p. 14.
  84. Walter D. Mignolo, 'Delinking: The Rhetoric of Modernity, the Logic of Coloniality and the Grammar of De-coloniality', *Cultural Studies* 21: 2 (2007), p. 453.
  85. Ibid.
  86. Edward Said, *Humanism and Democratic Criticism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 23.
  87. Pieterse, *Empire and Emancipation*, p. 380.
  88. Ibid., p. 381.
  89. Paul Gilroy, *Darker than Blue: On the Moral Economies of Black Atlantic Culture* (Cambridge, MA and London: Belknap Press), 2010, p. 59.
  90. Ibid., p. 66
  91. Said, *Humanism and Democratic Criticism*, p. 28.
  92. Ibid.
  93. Pieterse, *Empire and Emancipation*, p. 380.
  94. Ibid., p. 368.
  95. Abdul Janmohamed and David Lloyd, 'Introduction: Towards a Theory of Minority Discourse', *Cultural Critique 6: The Nature and Context of Minority Discourse* (Spring 1987), p. 8.
  96. Bakhtin, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, p. 89, emphasis in original.
  97. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, p. 289.

159. 'Indignation Meeting on the Eyre Southampton Banquet', *RN*, 2 September 1866.
160. *Ibid.*
161. 'Ex-governor Eyre at Southampton', *RN*, 26 August 1866.
162. Northumbrian, 'The Negro Revolt in Jamaica', *RN*, 12 November 1865.
163. 'Indignation Meeting'.
164. *Ibid.*
165. E. S. Beesly, 'Professor Beesly on the Trial of Mr Eyre', *RN*, 4 November 1866.
166. *Ibid.*
167. *Ibid.*
168. *Ibid.*
169. *Ibid.*
170. E. S. Beesly, 'Military Atrocities in Jamaica', *Bee-Hive*, 25 November 1865.
171. *Ibid.*
172. *Ibid.*
173. *Ibid.*
174. *Ibid.*
175. E. S. Beesly, 'The Trial of Mr. Eyre', *Bee-Hive*, 16 August 1866.
176. Plain Dealer, 'The Working Men of Jamaica', *Bee-Hive*, 16 December 1865.
177. Plain Dealer, 'The Next House on Fire', *Bee-Hive*, 1 September 1866.
178. *Ibid.*
179. *Ibid.*
180. *Ibid.*
181. Plain Dealer, 'The Threefold Adversaries of the People', *Bee-Hive*, 15 September 1866.
182. Plain Dealer, 'Next House on Fire'.
183. *Ibid.*
184. *Ibid.*
185. *Ibid.*
186. Goldwin Smith, 'Public Liberty', *Bee-Hive*, 8 September 1866.
187. *Ibid.*
188. Harrison, *Jamaica Papers No. V*, pp. 37, 4.
189. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
190. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
191. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
192. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
193. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
194. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
195. Jennifer Pitts, *A Turn to Empire: The Rise of Imperial Liberalism in Britain and France* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), p. 154.
196. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
197. HC Deb 31 July 1866, vol. 184, c. 1800.
198. *Ibid.*
199. Cited in Pitts, *Turn to Empire*, p. 158.
200. *Ibid.*
201. *Ibid.*, p. 160.
202. Semmel, *Governor Eyre Controversy*, p. 61.
203. Goldwin Smith, *Reminiscences*, ed. Arnold Haultain (New York, Macmillan, 1910), p. 358.
204. *Ibid.*
205. J. M. Ludlow, *Jamaica Papers No. IV: A Quarter Century of Jamaica Legislation* (London: Jamaica Committee, 1866), p. 1.
206. Thomas Henry Huxley, *Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley*, vol. 1 (London: Macmillan, 1903), p. 407.
207. *Ibid.*

### 3. The Accidental Anticolonialist

country was placed should not hold their peace if they were not to be held responsible for a national crime. They had been drifting into war with their eyes open, and he took blame to himself for not having spoken out earlier. Now they were at war, and they had no distinct information for what they were fighting, and there had been no declaration of war ... It was said that the Government wished to maintain the rights of the people of Egypt, but the way they showed their regard was to go out and shoot them down'. Cited in the *Annual Register*, 1882, p. 147.

147. Blunt, *Secret History*, p. 417.
148. *Ibid.*, p. 244.
149. 'Egypt', in Frederic Harrison, *National and Social Problems* (London: Macmillan, 1908), p. 209.
150. *Ibid.*, p. 202.
151. *Ibid.*, p. 200.
152. *Ibid.*, p. 196.
153. *Ibid.*, p. 198.
154. *Ibid.*, p. 200. Harrison summarizes imperialism in Egypt as a series of manoeuvres involving bullying, coaxing and influencing as needed, and setting up the handy device of the Control. The latter allowed Egyptians to pay 'for the luxury of not being allowed to raise or to expend their own taxes as they please', even though half the total revenue was carried out of the country to foreign bondholders. *Ibid.*, 197–8.
155. *Ibid.*, p. 201.
156. *Ibid.*
157. *Ibid.*, p. 203.
158. *Ibid.*
159. *Ibid.*
160. 'An Appeal to Mr Gladstone', 1 July 1882, in Harrison, *National and Social Problems*, pp. 212–13.
161. *Ibid.*, p. 218.
162. *Ibid.*, p. 216.
163. *Ibid.*, p. 222.
164. *Ibid.*, p. 173.
165. John Seymour Keay, *Spoiling the Egyptians: A Tale of Shame, Told from the Blue Books*, 4th edn (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, 1882), p. 33, emphasis in original.
166. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
167. *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 49, 79.
168. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
169. *Ibid.*
170. *Ibid.*
171. 'Empire and Humanity', in Harrison, *National and Social Problems*, p. 261.
172. *Ibid.*, p. 260.
173. *Ibid.*, p. 259.
174. *Ibid.*, p. 193.
175. Harrison, *Autobiographic Memoirs, Vol. II (1870–1910)* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1911), p. 126.
176. Cited in Broadley, *How We Defended Arábi*, p. 349.
177. *Ibid.*
178. *Ibid.*, pp. 350, 349.
179. *Ibid.*, p. 350.
180. Wilfrid S. Blunt, *The New Situation in Egypt* (London: Burns & Oates, 1908), p. 15.
181. Wilfrid S. Blunt, *The Wind and the Whirlwind* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, 1883), p. 5.
182. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
183. *Ibid.*, pp. 11–12, 14.
184. Mohammed Abdu, 'Interview with Sheyk Mohammed Abdu, as published in the "Pall Mall Gazette"', 17 August 1884, Appendix E in Wilfrid S. Blunt, *Gordon at Khartoum: Being a Personal Narrative of Events in Continuation of 'A Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt'* (London: S. Swift, 1911), p. 623.
185. *Ibid.*
186. *Ibid.*, p. 626.
187. Blunt, 'The Shame of the Nineteenth Century: (a Letter Addressed to the "Times")', (S.I., 1900).
188. *Ibid.*, pp.1–2.
189. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

21. Bender, *1857 Indian Uprising*, p. 5.
22. William Cooke Stafford, cited in Donald Featherstone, *Victorian Colonial Warfare: From the Conquest of Sind to the Indian Mutiny* (London: Cassell, 1992), p. 105.
23. See 'Introduction: The Nature of 1857', in Biswamoy Pati, ed., *The 1857 Rebellion* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press India, 2007), p. xxii; Mukherjee, *Spectre of Violence*, 53.
24. Kim A. Wagner, *The Skull of Alum Bheg: The Life and Death of a Rebel of 1857* (London: Hurst, 2017), p. 80.
25. 'Appendix: The Azimgarh Proclamation: 25 August 1857', in Rudrangshu Mukherjee, *The Year of Blood: Essays on the Revolt of 1857* (New Delhi: Social Science Press, 2014), pp. 25–6.
26. Biswamoy Pati, 'Common People, Fuzzy Boundaries and 1857', in Pati, ed., *The Great Rebellion of 1857 in India* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010). Pati also lists many tribal and peasant uprisings that took place in the decades leading up to 1857. He notes that 'the 1857 Rebellion neither started nor ended in 1857–8' (p. 58). The volume as a whole does an excellent job of mapping the multiple sites of insurgency.
27. See Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, *The Great Uprising in India*.
28. Mukherjee, *Spectre of Violence*, p. 58.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
30. Cited in Rebecca Merritt, 'Public Perceptions of 1857: An Overview of British Press Responses to the Indian Uprising', in Major and Bates, *Mutiny at the Margins, Vol. 2*, p. 13.
31. Cited in Mukherjee, *Spectre of Violence*, p. 24.
32. Cited in *ibid.*, p. 43.
33. Quotation used by John Kaye, cited in *ibid.*, p. 32.
34. Cited in Kim A. Wagner, *The Great Fear of 1857: Rumours, Conspiracies and the Making of the Indian Uprising* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2010), p. 230.
35. Major and Bates, 'Introduction', in Major and Bates, *Mutiny at the Margins, Vol 2*, p. xv.
36. See Merritt, 'Public Perceptions of 1857'.
37. House of Commons Debate, 'India – State of Affairs', 27 July 1857, vol. 147 cc. 440–546 (c. 475).
38. Malik, 'Popular British Interpretations of "the Mutiny"', in *Mutiny at the Margins, Vol 2*, pp. 30, 32.
39. Gautam Chakravarty, *The Indian Mutiny and the British Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 33.
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 16.
41. Christopher Herbert, *War of No Pity: The Indian Mutiny and Victorian Trauma* (Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008), pp. 2–3.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 28–9.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 16–17.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
45. Mantena, *Alibis of Empire*, p. 4.
46. John Bruce Norton, *The Rebellion in India: How to Prevent Another* (London: Richardson Brothers, 1857).
47. Michel-Rolph Touillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, MA: Beacon, 1995), p. 88.
48. Norton, *Rebellion in India*, p. 2.
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 95–6. 'Banchat' is an Anglicization of a Hindustani word translating to 'sister-fucker'.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 96. The speech itself, of one rebel Puttawallah, is reported thus: 'Listen, all! *As the English people hurled the Rajah from his throne, in like manner do you drive them out of the country ... Sons of Brahmins, Maharattas, and Musselmen, revolt! Sons of Christians, look to yourselves!*'. *Ibid.* p. 97, emphasis in original.
51. 'Preface', in *ibid.*, p. v.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 4, emphasis in original.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
57. *Ibid.*, pp. 18–19.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
60. *Ibid.*, pp. 55–6.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

- MD/London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), p. 309.
10. Mimi Sheller, *Democracy after Slavery: Black Publics and Peasant Radicalism in Haiti and Jamaica* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2000), p. 199.
  11. Watson, *Caribbean Culture*, p. 157.
  12. Kostal, *Jurisprudence of Power*, p. 468.
  13. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
  14. Edward Bean Underhill, *The Tragedy of Morant Bay: A Narrative of the Disturbances in the Island of Jamaica in 1865* (London: Alexander & Shephard, 1895) – reprinted by Forgotten Books (2012), p. 136.
  15. Holt, *Problem of Freedom*, p. 309.
  16. Hall, ‘Imperial Man’, p. 132.
  17. ‘Indignation Meeting on the Jamaica Atrocities’, *Bee-Hive*, 8 September 1866.
  18. Charles Dickens, ‘Letter to William de Cerjat, 30 November 1865’, in *The Selected Letters of Charles Dickens*, ed. Jenny Hartley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 397.
  19. Douglas A. Lorimer, *Colour, Class and the Victorians* (Teaneck, NJ: Holmes & Maier, 1978), pp. 180–1.
  20. Hall, ‘Imperial Man’, p. 132.
  21. For a fuller account, see Gad Heuman, *The Killing Time: The Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica* (London: Macmillan, 1994).
  22. Jamaica Committee, *Jamaica Papers No. 1: Facts and Documents Relating to the Alleged Rebellion in Jamaica and the Measures of Repression including Notes on the Trial of Mr Gordon* (henceforth *JC1*) (London: Jamaica Committee, 1866), p. 13.
  23. As excerpted from the *Colonial Standard*, 21 October 1865, in *JC1*, p. 13.
  24. *Ibid.*
  25. Heuman, *Killing Time*, p. 13.
  26. *Ibid.*, p. 22, and Jamaica Royal Commission, *Report of the Jamaica Royal Commission 1866, Part 2: Minutes of Evidence and Appendix* (henceforth *JRC2*) (London: George Edward Eyre & William Spottiswoode, 1866), p. 34.
  27. Jamaica Royal Commission, *Report of the Jamaica Royal Commission 1866: Part 1* (henceforth *JRC1*) (London: George Edward Eyre & William Spottiswoode, 1866), p. 41.
  28. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
  29. ‘Despatch from Maj. Gen O’Connor to Eyre’, in *JRC2*, p. 621.
  30. *The Times*, 13 November 1865, cited in Kostal, *Jurisprudence of Power*, pp. 25–6.
  31. Kostal provides a detailed and clear account of the sequence of events. *Ibid.*
  32. ‘Governor Eyre’s Despatch’, in *JC1*, pp. 84, 91.
  33. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
  34. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
  35. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
  36. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
  37. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
  38. Frederic Harrison, *Jamaica Papers No. V – Martial Law: Six Letters to ‘The Daily News’* (London: Jamaica Committee, 1867), p. 37.
  39. Kostal, *Jurisprudence of Power*, p. 37.
  40. For a succinct account of various meetings held and representations undertaken, see *ibid.*, pp. 40–8.
  41. For a full account of the constitution of the Jamaica Committee, see Bernard Semmel’s hugely important early study of the Eyre affair, *The Governor Eyre Controversy* (London: MacGibbon & Lee, 1962). Semmel notes that the membership of the committee included ‘virtually all of the leading figures in the two principal pro-Northern societies’ in relation to the American Civil War (p. 62).
  42. Herbert Spencer, *An Autobiography*, vol. 2 (London: Watts & Co., 1926 [1904]), p. 143.
  43. ‘The Negro Controversy’, *Saturday Review*, 13 October 1866. Cited in Lorimer, *Colour, Class and the Victorians*, p. 178.
  44. Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, p. 48.
  45. Holt argues that during this period ‘British elite ideology and official policy moved from nonracist to racist premises, at the same time that the destruction of slavery cleared the way for that elite’s more robust embrace of imperialist ambitions.’ Revisiting the debate around Eric Williams, Holt notes that even Williams’s critics now admit that ‘the advent of slavery abolition was a function of the rise of capitalism’. Holt, *Problem of Freedom*, pp. xviii, 23.
  46. *Spectator*, vol. 41 (London: John Campbell, 1868), p. 666. Cited in Semmel, *Governor Eyre Controversy*, p. 171.

40. Philip Snowden, 'Foreword to the Second Edition', in Keir Hardie, *India: Impressions and Suggestions* (London: Home Rule for India League [British Auxiliary], 1917), p. xi.
41. Sir Henry Cotton, *New India: Or, India in Transition* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1907), p. 37.
42. Nicholas Owen, *The British Left and India: Metropolitan Anti-imperialism 1885–1947* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 17.
43. I take my descriptive cue in the subheading for this section from Nicholas Owen's 'Edwardian Progressive Visitors to India', Chapter 3 of *The British Left and India*. Owen writes: 'After 1907, four Labour figures – Keir Hardie, Ramsay MacDonald and Sidney and Beatrice Webb, as well as the Radical journalist H. W. Nevinson – visited India in quick succession, and their differing perceptions and recommendations provide a good cross-section of responses to the new Indian nationalism'. The phrase 'the line of most resistance' is used by H. W. Nevinson to describe the 'Extremists' in India. *Ibid.*, pp. 84, 329.
44. Owen, *The British Left and India*, p. 50.
45. *Ibid.*, pp. 61–2.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
48. *Ibid.*
49. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
50. Homi K. Bhabha, 'Sly Civility', *October* 34 (1985), pp. 324–46.
51. Cotton, *New India*, pp. 29, 16.
52. *Ibid.*, p. vi.
53. Cited in D. V. Tahmankar, *Lokamanya Tilak: Father of Indian Unrest and Maker of Modern India* (London: John Murray, 1956), p. 136.
54. See Stanley A. Wolpert, *Tilak and Gokhale: Revolution and Reform in the Making of Modern India* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1962), p. 191.
55. Thompson and Garratt, *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule*, p. 541.
56. Viceroy Curzon, cited in Sumit Sarkar, *The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal, 1903–1908* (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1973), p. 20.
57. *Ibid.*
58. *Ibid.*
59. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
60. Owen, *The British Left and India*, p. 83.
61. Sarkar, *Swadeshi Movement*, p. 23.
62. B. C. Pal, cited in *ibid.*, p. 68.
63. *Ibid.*, 28.
64. Sarkar notes that what is more surprising than the eventual alienation of Muslims is the level of their participation. Mosques offered prayers against partition, and declarations of fraternity and shared national unity were frequently made. A practice appears to have developed of sending out agitators in pairs consisting of a Hindu and a Muslim. The Muslim folk poet Mofiuddin Bayati composed Swadeshi songs. *Ibid.*, pp. 425–6. See Chapter 8, below, for an extended account of the Muslim role in Swadeshi.
65. Rabindranath Tagore, *The Home and the World*, transl. Surendranath Tagore (London: Penguin, 1985).
66. Aurobindo Ghose, 'English Democracy Shown Up', in Haridas Mukherjee and Uma Mukherjee, *Sri Aurobindo and the New Thought in Indian Politics*, 2nd edn (Calcutta: Firma KLM, 1997), p. 178.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 179.
68. *Ibid.*
69. Kenneth O. Morgan, *Keir Hardie: Radical and Socialist* (London: Weidenfield & Nicolson, 1975), p. 192.
70. *Ibid.*
71. Cited in *ibid.*, p. 194.
72. Ghose, 'English Democracy Shown Up', p. 180, emphasis in original.
73. Morgan, *Keir Hardie*, p. 194.
74. Hardie, *India*, p. 42.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 46. The plausible suggestion that Hardie may have been misled with regard to the question of loyalty is Jonathan Hyslop's. See his 'The World Voyage of James Keir Hardie: Indian Nationalism, Zulu Insurgency and the British Labour Diaspora 1907–1908', *Journal of Global History* 1: 3 (November 2006), pp. 343–62.
78. Hardie, *India*, p. 46.

98. Porter, *Critics of Empire*, p. 1.
99. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
100. *Ibid.*, p. 333.
101. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, p. 290.
102. *Ibid.*
103. *Ibid.*, p. 291.
104. *Ibid.*, p. 292.
105. Darwin, *Unfinished Empire*, p. 293.
106. *Ibid.*
107. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, p. 241.
108. Ranajit Guha, 'The Prose of Counter-insurgency', in Guha, ed., *Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, vol. 2 (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 46.
109. *Ibid.*
110. Frederic Harrison, 'Egypt', in *National and Social Problems* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1908), p.201.
111. D. Mackenzie Wallace, *Egypt and the Egyptian Question* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1883), p. 369.
112. Brennan, *Borrowed Light*, pp. 2–3.
113. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
114. See Newsinger for a fairly comprehensive survey of nineteenth-and twentieth-century insurgencies.
115. Burton (*The Trouble with Empire*) has an extended discussion of the years leading up to Indian independence, and Newsinger (*Blood Never Dried*) discusses labour unrest in colonial India, including the famous naval-ratings mutiny.
116. See 'Professionals and Amateurs', in Edward Said, *Representations of the Intellectual* (New York: Vintage, 1996), pp. 73–83. Said defines 'amateurism' here as the desire to be moved not by profit or reward but by love for and unquenchable interest in the larger picture, in making connections across lines and barriers, in refusing to be tied down to a speciality, in caring for ideas and values despite the restrictions of a profession.

## 1. The Spirit of the Sepoy Host

1. Edward Thompson, *The Other Side of the Medal* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1926), p. 10.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 30.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 27–8.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
8. John William Kaye, *A History of the Sepoy War in India, 1857–58*, vol. 3 (London: W. H. Allen, 1876), p. 654.
9. Jill C. Bender, *The 1857 Indian Uprising and the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 132.
10. Karuna Mantena, *Alibis of Empire: Henry Maine and the Ends of Liberal Imperialism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), p. 1, emphasis in original
11. Rudrangshu Mukherjee, *Spectre of Violence: The 1857 Kanpur Massacre* (New Delhi: Penguin India, 2007), p. 37.
12. Thomas R. Metcalf, *The Aftermath of Revolt: India, 1857–1970* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. viii.
13. *Ibid.*, p. ix.
14. Christine Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), p. 179.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
16. Mantena, *Alibis of Empire*, p. 2, emphasis in original.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
18. 'A vast literature has grown up around the Uprising, so vast that the bibliographies themselves have become a book,' writes Rosie Llewellyn-Jones. See *The Great Uprising in India, 1857–58: Untold Stories, Indian and British* (Woodbridge : Boydell, 2007), p. 21.
19. Sabyasachi Bhattacharya, 'Introduction', in Bhattacharya, ed., *Rethinking 1857* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 2007), p. ix. See also Crispin Bates, ed., *Mutiny at the Margins: New Perspectives on the Indian Uprising of 1857, Vol. 5: Muslim, Dalit and Subaltern Narratives* (New Delhi: SAGE Publications India, 2014).
20. *Ibid.*, p. xv.

119. Charles Savile Roundell, *England and her Subject-Races: With Special Reference to Jamaica* (London: Macmillan, 1866), pp. 25–6.
120. Editorial, *The Times*, 20 November 1865.
121. ‘The telegraphic news from Jamaica’, *The Times*, 4 November 1865.
122. Pim, *The Negro and Jamaica*, p. 34.
123. *Ibid.*, pp. 64–5.
124. James Anthony Froude, *The English in the West Indies; Or, The Bow of Ulysses* (London: Longmans, Green, 1888), p. 248.
125. *The Eyre Defence and Aid Fund* (London: Pelican, 1866), p. 4, available at Rhodes House, Oxford (OC) 200.h.126 (1).
126. *Ibid.*, pp. 26–31.
127. John Tyndall, ‘Professor Tyndall’s Reply to the Jamaica Committee’, Appendix B in Hamilton Hume, *The Life of Edward John Eyre, Late Governor of Jamaica* (London: Richard Bentley, 1867), p. 273.
128. *Ibid.*, p. 274.
129. *Ibid.*, p. 275.
130. *Ibid.*, p. 281.
131. John Ruskin, ‘A Letter to the “Daily Telegraph”’, 20 December 1865, in *The Works of John Ruskin*, vol. 18, ed. E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (London: George Allen, 1905), pp. 550–1.
132. John Ruskin, ‘Liberty’, in *ibid.*, pp. 123–4.
133. From ‘A Petition to the House of Commons’, drawn up by Thomas Carlyle. Cited in Gillian Workman, ‘Thomas Carlyle and the Governor Eyre Controversy: An Account with Some New Material’, *Victorian Studies* 18: 1 (1 September 1974), p. 99.
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135. Harrison, *Jamaica Papers No. V*, p. 39.
136. McCarthy, *History of Our Own Times*, p. 274.
137. Semmel, *Governor Eyre Controversy*, p. 64.
138. Dickens, ‘Letter to William de Cerjat, 30 November 1865’, p. 397.
139. ‘Gordon meant only to agitate, as men do here with us, and as men must ever be allowed to do in every free country; but he was unwise in his estimate of the materials with which he had to deal’, wrote the barrister B. T. Williams. B. T. Williams, *The Case of George William Gordon, with Preliminary Observations on the Jamaica Riot of October 11th, 1865* (London: Butterworths, 1866), p. 58.
140. ‘Statement of the Jamaica Committee’, in *Jamaica Committee No. III: Statement of the Jamaica Committee and Other Documents* (London: Jamaica Committee, 1866), p. 3. Also included as Appendix E, ‘Jamaica Committee: Public Documents’, in John Stuart Mill, *Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*, vol. 21, ed. John M. Robson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984).
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147. Northumbrian, ‘The Negro Revolt in Jamaica’, *Reynolds Newspaper* (hereafter *RN*), 12 November 1865.
148. Northumbrian, ‘The British Atrocities in Jamaica’, *RN*, 26 November 1865.
149. *Ibid.*
150. ‘The Blood-Thirsty Butcheries in Jamaica’, *RN*, 3 December 1865.
151. *Ibid.*
152. *Ibid.*, my emphasis.
153. *Ibid.*
154. ‘Reported Negro Insurrection in Jamaica’, *RN*, 12 November 1865.
155. Northumbrian, ‘Jamaica and Its Tyrants’, *RN*, 24 December 1865.
156. *Ibid.*
157. *Ibid.*
158. *Ibid.*

- Conception of History', *Critical Sociology*, 17 November 2017, p. 2.
152. Ibid., p. 3.
  153. Ibid., p. 2.
  154. Ibid.
  155. 'Dispatches from India', in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The First Indian War of Independence 1857–1859* (Moscow/London: Foreign Languages Publishing House/Lawrence & Wishart, 1960), p. 56.
  156. Pranav Jani, 'Karl Marx, Eurocentrism, and the 1857 Revolt in British India', in Crystal Bartolovich and Neil Lazarus, eds, *Marxism, Modernity, and Postcolonial Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 88, 82.
  157. 'The Indian Insurrection', in Marx and Engels, *The First Indian War of Independence*, p. 65.
  158. 'British Incomes in India', in *ibid.*, p. 90.
  159. 'The Indian Revolt', in *ibid.*, p. 91.
  160. Ernest Jones, 'England's Rule in India, and the Cry for Vengeance', *People's Paper*, 31 October 1857.
  161. Ibid.
  162. Ibid.
  163. Richard Congreve, *India [Denying England's Right to Retain Her Possessions], with an Introduction by Shyamaji Krishnavarma* (London: A. Bonner, 1907), pp. 5, 12.
  164. Ibid., p. 12.
  165. Ibid., p. 4.
  166. Ibid., p. 8, my emphasis.
  167. Ibid., p. 8.
  168. I am referring here to Claeys's observation that Positivist anti-imperialism was generally based on these principles and on a respect for 'earlier forms of religious expression'. Gregory Claeys, *Imperial Sceptics: British Critics of Empire, 1850–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 57.
  169. Congreve, *India*, p. 9.
  170. Bernard Porter, *Critics of Empire: British Radicals and the Imperial Challenge*, 2nd edn (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008 [1968]), p. 27.
  171. Ibid., pp. 28–9.
  172. Christopher Kent, *Brains and Numbers: Elitism, Comtism, and Democracy in Mid-Victorian England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), p. 59. Positivism, with its commitment to 'The Religion of Humanity', came to England in the 1840s via the British disciples of Auguste Comte who sought to replace Christianity with a god-free religion rooted instead in morality and natural affections, which would, at the same time, acknowledge the virtues of other religions. Congreve emerged as the leader of a small band of fairly dedicated Comteans who included Frederic Harrison, Edward Beesly and John Henry Bridges.
  173. Ibid.
  174. Congreve, *India*, p. 37.
  175. Ibid., p. 11.
  176. Ibid., p. 15, my emphasis.
  177. Ibid., p. 18.
  178. Ibid., p. 9.
  179. Ibid., p. 8.
  180. Ibid., p. 20.
  181. Ibid., p. 16.
  182. Ibid., p. 22.
  183. Ibid., p. 18.
  184. Ibid., pp. 18, 23.
  185. Ibid.
  186. Ibid., p. 19.
  187. Ibid.
  188. Ibid., p. 24.
  189. Ibid., p. 31.
  190. Ibid.
  191. Ibid., p. 32.
  192. Ibid., p. 34.
  193. Ibid., p. 35.

190. Ibid., p. 5.
191. Ibid.
192. Ibid., p. 1.

#### 4. Passages to Internationalism

1. Wilfred S. Blunt, *India under Ripon: A Private Diary by Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, Continued from His 'Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt'* (London: T. F. Unwin, 1909), pp. 7–8.
2. Wilfrid S. Blunt, *Ideas about India* (London: Kegan Paul, 1885), p. vii.
3. Ibid., p. xi.
4. Annie Besant, *India and the Empire: A Lecture and Various Papers on Indian Grievances* (London: Theosophical Publishing Society, 1914), pp. 3–4.
5. Blunt, *India under Ripon*, p. 1.
6. Ibid., p. 223.
7. Blunt, *Ideas about India*, p. 3.
8. Ibid., p. 7.
9. Ibid., pp. 5–6.
10. Ibid., p. 10.
11. Ibid., p. 74.
12. Ibid., pp. 74–5.
13. Ibid., pp. 26–7.
14. Ibid., p. 174.
15. Ibid., p. 71.
16. Allan Octavian Hume, *Old Man's Hope*, cited in Edward C. Moulton, 'The Early Congress and the British Radical Connection', in D. A. Low, ed., *The Indian National Congress: Centenary Hindsight* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 48.
17. Besant, *India and the Empire*, p. 3.
18. Edward Thompson and G. T. Garratt, *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India* (London: Macmillan, 1934), p. 540.
19. Edward C. Moulton, 'British Radicals and India in the Early Twentieth Century', in A. J. A. Morris, ed., *Edwardian Radicalism 1900–1914* (London/Boston, MA: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), p. 26.
20. Gregory Claeys, *Imperial Sceptics: British Critics of Empire 1850–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 125–6.
21. J. A. Hobson, *The Crisis of Liberalism: New Issues of Democracy* (London: P. S. King, 1909), p. 259.
22. Ibid., p. 259.
23. Ibid., p. 260.
24. Stephen Howe, *Anticolonialism in British Politics: The Left and the End of Empire, 1918–1964* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 30.
25. Ibid., p. 32.
26. Marcus Morris, 'From Anti-colonialism to Anti-imperialism: The Evolution of H. M. Hyndman's Critique of Empire, c.1875–1905', *Historical Research* 87: 236 (May 2014), p. 293. For a full accounting of the ambiguities in how Hyndman was seen in relation to imperial matters, see Claeys, *Imperial Sceptics*.
27. H. M. Hyndman, *The Indian Famine and the Crisis in India* (London: Edward Stanford, 1877), p. 6.
28. H. M. Hyndman, *The Unrest in India* (London: Twentieth-Century Press, 1907), p. 1.
29. Ibid., p. 2.
30. Ibid., p. 7.
31. Ibid., p. 8.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid., p. 9.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid., p. 10.
36. Ibid., p. 11.
37. Stephen Howe, *Anticolonialism in British Politics*, p. 32.
38. Hyndman, *Unrest in India*, p. 15.
39. The term is Owen's.

79. Ibid., p. 72.
80. Ibid., p. 106.
81. Ibid., p. 88.
82. Hyslop, 'World Voyage', p. 348.
83. Hardie, *India*, pp. 125, 120.
84. Ibid., p. 139.
85. Morgan, *Keir Hardie*, p. 193.
86. Hardie, *India*, p. 131; William Stewart, *J. Keir Hardie: A Biography* (London: National Labour Press, 1921), p. 264.
87. Hyslop, 'World Voyage', pp. 352–3.
88. Theodore L. Shay, *The Legacy of the Lokamanya: The Political Philosophy of Bal Gangadhar Tilak* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 103.
89. Cited in D. V. Tahmankar, *Lokamanya Tilak* (London: John Murray, 1956), p. 136.
90. Bal Gangadhar, Tilak, 'Tenets of the New Party' in *Bal Gangadhar Tilak: His Writings and Speeches. Appreciation by Babu Aurobindo Ghose*, 3rd edn (Madras: Ganesh and Co., 1922), p. 56.
91. Ibid., p. 61.
92. Ibid., p. 65.
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid., p. 60.
95. Tilak, 'The Shivaji Festival', in *Tilak: His Writings and Speeches*, p. 77.
96. Tilak, 'Tenets of the New Party', p. 63.
97. Henry W. Nevins, *More Changes, More Chances* (London: Nisbet, 1925), p. 226.
98. Cited in Angela V. John, *War, Journalism and the Shaping of the Twentieth Century: The Life and Times of Henry W. Nevins* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2006), p. 105.
99. Henry W. Nevins, *The New Spirit in India* (London: Harper, 1908).
100. John, *War, Journalism and the Shaping of the Twentieth Century*, p. 119.
101. Owen, *British Left and India*, p. 87.
102. Nevins, *New Spirit of India*, p. 122.
103. Ibid., p. 43.
104. For a brief but heartfelt tribute to their friendship, see E. M. Forster, '“We Speak to India”: “Some Books” – A Backward Glance over 1941', broadcast on 10 December 1941, in *The BBC Talks of E. M. Forster*, ed. Mary Lago, Linda K. Hughes and Elizabeth MacLeod Walls (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2008), pp. 155–6.
105. E. M. Forster, *A Passage to India* (London: Penguin, 2015 [1924]), p. 190, my emphasis.
106. Benita Parry, 'Materiality and Mystification in “A Passage to India”', in *Novel: A Forum on Fiction* 31: 2 (Spring 1998), p. 185.
107. Ibid., p. 180.
108. Ibid., p. 177.
109. Ibid., p. 191.
110. Nevins, *New Spirit of India*, p. 66.
111. Tilak, cited in *ibid.*, p. 72.
112. Cited *ibid.*, p. 74.
113. Ibid., p. 75.
114. Ibid., p. 76.
115. Ibid., p. 69.
116. Ibid., p. 74.
117. Ibid., p. 126.
118. Ibid., pp. 128–9.
119. Ibid., p. 131.
120. Ibid., p. 132.
121. Ibid., pp. 221–2.
122. Ibid., p. 223.
123. Cited in *ibid.*, pp. 223, 221.
124. Ibid., p. 226.
125. Ibid.

'art and science, material prosperity and imperial grandeur were but enhanced by the admixture of the chivalric element that swayed more than half the then known habitable globe'.

105. Ibid.
106. Pratt, 'Ernest Jones' Mutiny', pp. 91, 92.
107. Ibid., p. 95.
108. Pratt, 'Ernest Jones' Mutiny', pp. 90–1.
109. Guha, 'Prose of Counter-insurgency', pp. 76–7.
110. Jones, 'Indian War'.
111. Ernest Jones, 'Palmerston and India', *People's Paper*, 15 August 1857.
112. Ibid.
113. Pratt, 'Ernest Jones' Mutiny', p. 96.
114. Guha, 'Prose of Counter-insurgency', p. 33.
115. Ibid. Taylor argues: 'But of most significance were not so much his views as the forums in which they were being expressed. Jones was now speaking alongside the very parliamentary radical and "middle-class" reformers whom he had dismissed as the enemy for most of the 1850s. Had he moved over to their way of thinking, or had they come round to his?' Taylor, *Ernest Jones, Chartism, and the Romance of Politics*, p. 182.
116. Pratt, 'Ernest Jones' Mutiny', p. 98.
117. Guha, 'Prose of Counter-insurgency', p. 2.
118. Jones, 'Palmerston and India'.
119. Ibid.
120. Ibid.
121. Ernest Jones, 'Progress of the Indian Insurrection', *People's Paper*, 19 September 1857.
122. Ibid.
123. Ibid.
124. Ernest Jones, 'Who Is the Torturer?', *People's Paper*, 12 September 1857, emphasis in original.
125. Ernest Jones, 'Indian Insurrection and British Democracy', *People's Paper*, 26 September 1857.
126. Ernest Jones, 'The Men of New York and the Working Classes' (signed), *People's Paper*, 10 October 1857.
127. Rico Vitz, 'Contagion, Community, and Virtue in Hume's Epistemology', in Jonathan Matheson and Rico Vitz, eds, *The Ethics of Belief: Individual and Social* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 205, emphasis in original.
128. Cited in Bender, *1857 Indian Uprising*, p. 75. This book provides a useful overview of concerns that the Indian uprising might provoke similar rebellions across the colonies, including Jamaica, New Zealand and Ireland.
129. Jones, 'Men of New York and the Working Classes'.
130. Ibid.
131. Ibid.
132. Ernest Jones, 'The Indian Struggle', *People's Paper*, 5 September 1857.
133. Ibid.
134. Ibid.
135. Ibid.
136. Ibid.
137. Ibid.
138. Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 15, 12.
139. Knud Haakonsen, 'Introduction', in *ibid.*, p. xiv.
140. Ernest Jones, 'India', *People's Paper*, 24 October 1857.
141. Ernest Jones, 'How to Secure India', *People's Paper*, 2 January 1858.
142. Syed Abdoolah, 'Importance of the Study of the Indian Language', *People's Paper*, 23 January 1858.
143. Ibid.
144. Ernest Jones, 'The True Position in India', *People's Paper*, 17 October 1857.
145. Pratt, 'Ernest Jones' Mutiny', p. 99.
146. Jones, 'India'.
147. Jones, 'How to Secure India'.
148. Ibid.
149. Ibid.
150. Ernest Jones, 'The Siege of Lucknow', *People's Paper*, 10 April 1858.
151. Thierry Drapeau, ' "Look at Our Colonial Struggles": Ernest Jones and the Anti-colonialist Challenge to Marx's

194. Ibid.
195. Ibid.
196. Ibid.
197. Ibid.
198. Smith, *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, p. 11.
199. Ibid.
200. Congreve, *India*, p. 37.
201. Ibid.
202. Smith, *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, p. 13..
203. Congreve, *India*, p. 37.
204. Ibid. Congreve's language is explicit with regard to this pressure: 'It is time that you should make clear to them the difference of your judgment from theirs. You should enforce on them a total change of policy, a concentration on home questions of the energies now wasted abroad'. Ibid., p. 38.
205. Ibid. p. 37. The ending of the pamphlet feels like a return to a more formulaic Positivism at odds with the tenor of the text as a whole: 'Listen then to no revolutionary appeals, accept no revolutionary doctrines, however time-honoured', suggesting instead a union of working class and philosopher as moderating influences towards social change. Ibid., 34.
206. Frederic Harrison, *Autobiographic Memoirs, Vol. 1, 1831–1870* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 181, emphasis in original.
207. Ibid., p. 173.
208. Ibid., p. 174.
209. Ibid.
210. Ibid., p. 175.
211. Ibid.
212. Ibid., p. 176.
213. Ibid., p. 177.
214. Ibid.
215. Ibid., p. 175.
216. Ibid., p. 181, emphasis in original.
217. Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race*, p. 158.
218. Thompson, *Other Side of the Medal*, p. 86.
219. Ibid., p. 97: 'In January 1872, Deputy Commissioner J. L. Cowan responded to a minor *émeute* among the Kuka Sikhs by summarily executing sixty-eight prisoners by having them blown from cannon in the small principality of Malerkotla in Punjab'. See Kim A. Wagner, '“Calculated to Strike Terror”: The Amritsar Massacre and the Spectacle of Colonial Violence', *Past and Present* 233: 1 (1 November 2016).
220. Ibid., p. 121.

## 2. A Barbaric Independence

1. This cautious bill, which sought to enfranchise some working-men – householders who were earning a minimum of twenty-six shillings a week – would be defeated in 1866. The Representation of the People Act 1867 was an even more limited measure; it doubled the number of enfranchised adult males to 2 million.
2. Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830–1867* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002), p. 48.
3. Marouf Hasian, Jr, 'Colonial Re-characterization and the Discourse Surrounding the Eyre Controversy', *Southern Communication Journal* 66: 1 (Fall 2000), p. 90.
4. Catherine Hall, 'Imperial Man: Edward Eyre in Australasia and the West Indies 1833–66', in Bill Schwarz, ed., *The Expansion of England: Race, Ethnicity and Cultural History* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 132.
5. Tim Watson, *Caribbean Culture and British Fiction in the Atlantic World, 1780–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 156.
6. Ibid., p. 154.
7. R. W. Kostal, *A Jurisprudence of Power: Victorian Empire and the Rule of Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 461.
8. Ibid., p. 25, emphasis in original.
9. Thomas Holt, *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labor, and Politics in Jamaica and Britain, 1832–1938* (Baltimore,

1. I have modernized the English spelling to 'Urabi', which is phonetically closer to the Arabic pronunciation; Victorian writers typically used 'Araby' or 'Arabi'.
2. Cited in John Marlowe, *Anglo-Egyptian Relations, 1800–1953* (London: Cresset, 1954), p. 118.
3. Wilfred [sic] S. Blunt, *The Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt* (Dublin: Nonsuch Publishing, 2007), p. 196.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. The term is Nicholas Owen's.
8. The term 'contact zone' refers to 'the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality and intractable conflict'. See Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 6.
9. Ibid., p. 7.
10. By Urabi's own account, he had given the canal engineer Ferdinand de Lesseps, who had pleaded with him, his personal assurance that he would respect the canal's neutrality. The British forces dispensed with these scruples, claiming that Urabi was planning to attack it. See A. M. Broadley, *How We Defended Arábi and His Friends: A Story of Egypt and the Egyptians*, illustrated by Frederick Villiers (London: Chapman & Hall, 1884), pp. 135–6.
11. The list of charges against Urabi is cited in *ibid.*, p. 51.
12. Newsinger notes that 'Gladstone benefitted financially from the invasion of Egypt'. John Newsinger, *The Blood Never Dried: A People's History of the British Empire* (London: Bookmarks, 2013), p. 104.
13. *The Times* described Urabi thus: 'all kinds of projects are attributed to him, and public opinion invests him with an unnatural kind of importance. English members of Parliament interview him as a political notoriety, distinguished Orientalists make him an object of their study, Mahomedans go so far as to endow him with sacred descent'. 'Egypt: From Our Correspondent', 30 December 1881, p. 6. A few weeks later it would downgrade him to 'nothing more than a colonel of a regiment who has twice broken through all the rules of military discipline in the most flagrant manner'. 'Egypt', 14 January 1882, p. 8.
14. For a useful fuller discussion, see Marlowe, *Anglo-Egyptian Relations*.
15. Juan Cole, *Colonialism and Revolution in the Middle East: Social and Cultural Origins of Egypt's 'Urabi Movement'* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 45.
16. Gregory Claeys, *Imperial Sceptics: British Critics of Empire 1850–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 37.
17. Edward Walter Hamilton, cited in *ibid.* Malet himself would note that he had found it useful to deploy Blunt on missions of mediation.
18. Blunt, *Secret History*, pp. 183–4. Despite the obvious conflict of interest, British officials in Egypt like Auckland Colvin, the financial controller, doubled as correspondents to *The Times* and the *Pall Mall Gazette* – in a capacity we might today conceive of as that of an 'embedded' journalist, in similar contexts.
19. Claeys, *Imperial Sceptics*, p. 38.
20. See Michael D. Berdine, *The Accidental Tourist: Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, and the British Invasion of Egypt in 1882* (New York/London: Routledge, 2005), p. xviii. Blunt gives this description of Gladstone in *Secret History*, p. 52. Blunt briefly joined the Liberal Party, running unsuccessfully as a parliamentary candidate.
21. For a lavishly illustrated account of the Blunts' journeys, drawing extensively on Lady Anne's journals, though with no interest in their political dimensions, see Richard Trench, *Arabian Travellers* (London: Macmillan, 1986), pp. 164–87.
22. Lady Anne Blunt, *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates* (London: J. Murray, 1879); and Lady Anne Blunt, *A Pilgrimage to Nejd, the Cradle of the Arab Race: A Visit to the Court of the Arab Emir and 'Our Persian Campaign'* (London: Cass, 1968 [1881]). For a useful scholarly engagement with this work, see Chapter 5 of Ali Behdad, *Belated Travelers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution* (Durham, NC/London: Duke University Press, 1994). Behdad notes that Wilfrid's authority over his wife also gave the 'discursive authority' of the male orientalist to her work. See also Lady Anne Blunt, *Journals and Correspondence 1878–1917*, ed. Rosemary Archer and James Fleming (Cheltenham: Alexander Heriot, 1986).
23. Dane Kennedy, *The Last Blank Spaces: Exploring Africa and Australia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), p. 230.
24. Edward Said, *Humanism and Democratic Criticism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 26.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
26. Wilfrid S. Blunt, 'The Thoroughbred Horse – English and Arabian', *Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review*, September 1880.

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21. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, p. xxii.
  22. Ibid., p. 240.
  23. Ibid., p. 241.
  24. Ibid., p. 240.
  25. Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, MA: Beacon, 1995), p. 96.
  26. Ibid., p. 27.
  27. Ibid., p. 98.
  28. Ibid.
  29. Ibid., p. 99.
  30. Ibid., p. 95.
  31. As Newsinger notes, ‘the handful of books arguing an anti-imperialist case are completely swamped by the massive sales of the books of Niall Ferguson and company, some of which have been conveniently accompanied by successful television series’. ‘Introduction to the Second Edition’, in *Blood Never Dried*, pp. 7–8.
  32. Despite important contestations, not least from historians of post-colonial politics, the ‘imperial initiative school’ of British imperial history has been influential, with debates about decolonization restricted to which British policy effected it.
  33. Cited in Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery Throughout the British Dominions, *Report of the Committee of the Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery Throughout the British Dominions: Read at the General Meeting of the Society Held on the 25th Day of June 1824, together with an account of the proceedings which took place at that meeting* (London: Richard Taylor, 1824), p. 76.
  34. Darwin, *End of the British Empire*, p. 87.
  35. John Darwin, *Unfinished Empire: The Global Expansion of Britain* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012), p. 1.
  36. Burton, *The Trouble with Empire*, p. 5.
  37. Ibid., p. 2.
  38. Stuart Ward, ‘Introduction’, in Ward, ed., *British Culture and the End of Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 4.
  39. Ibid., p. 5.
  40. Ibid., p. 6.
  41. Ibid., p. 10.
  42. Ibid., p. 12.
  43. Martin Lynn, ‘Introduction’, in Lynn, ed., *The British Empire in the 1950s: Retreat or Revival?* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 1.
  44. John M. Mackenzie, ‘The Persistence of Empire in Metropolitan Culture’, in Ward, ed., *British Culture and the End of Empire*, p. 24.
  45. De Groot, *Empire and History Writing in Britain*, p. 183.
  46. Andrew S. Thompson, *Imperial Britain: The Empire in British Politics, c. 1880–1932* (Harlow: Longman, 2000), p. 10.
  47. Ibid.
  48. Neil Lazarus, *Nationalism and Cultural Practice in the Postcolonial World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 9.
  49. Homi K. Bhabha, ‘Sly Civility’, *October* 34 (1985), p. 75. See also ‘Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree outside Delhi, May 1817’, *Critical Inquiry* 12: 1 (1985), p. 144. In the latter, Bhabha makes the influential case for ‘mimicry’ as marking ‘those moments of civil disobedience within the discipline of civility: signs of spectacular resistance’ (p. 162).
  50. Lazarus, *Nationalism and Cultural Practice*, p. 133.
  51. Lisa Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015), p. 3.
  52. Ibid.
  53. Ibid., p. 12.
  54. Ibid., p. 26.
  55. Buck-Morss, *Hegel, Haiti, and Universal History*, pp. 74–5, 74.
  56. Satya P. Mohanty, ‘Us and Them: On the Philosophical Bases of Political Criticism’, *New Formations* 8 (Summer 1989), p. 73.
  57. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, p. 241.
  58. Uday Singh Mehta, *Liberalism and Empire: A Study in Nineteenth-Century British Liberal Thought* (Chicago:

126. Aurobindo Ghose, 'Look on This Picture, Then on That', in Mukherjee and Mukherjee, *Sri Aurobindo and the New Thought*, p. 51.
127. Aurobindo Ghose, 'The New Thought: Nationalism Not Extremism', in Mukherjee and Mukherjee, *Sri Aurobindo and the New Thought*, p. 19.
128. Ibid., pp. 20, 22.
129. Aurobindo Ghose, 'The New Thought: Shall India be Free? National Development and Foreign Rule', in Mukherjee and Mukherjee, *Sri Aurobindo and the New Thought*, p.25.
130. Aurobindo Ghose, 'The Man of the Past and the Man of the Future', in Mukherjee and Mukherjee, *Sri Aurobindo and the New Thought*, p. 6.
131. Aurobindo Ghose, 'English Obduracy and Its Reason', in Mukherjee and Mukherjee, *Sri Aurobindo and the New Thought*, p. 98.
132. Aurobindo Ghose, 'Morleyism Analysed', in Mukherjee and Mukherjee, *Sri Aurobindo and the New Thought*, p. 94.
133. Aurobindo Ghose, 'English Obduracy', in Mukherjee and Mukherjee, *Sri Aurobindo and the New Thought*, p. 100.
134. Ibid.
135. Aurobindo Ghose, 'The New Thought: Shall India be Free?', p. 33.
136. Ibid., p. 35.
137. Aurobindo Ghose, 'Look on This Picture', p. 52.
138. Ibid., 52.
139. Aurobindo, 'The Old Year', in Mukherjee and Mukherjee, *Sri Aurobindo and the New Thought*, pp. 38, 36.
140. Aurobindo, 'Graduated Boycott', in Mukherjee and Mukherjee, *Sri Aurobindo and the New Thought*, p. 46.
141. Aurobindo, 'Asiatic Democracy', in Mukherjee and Mukherjee, *Sri Aurobindo and the New Thought*, p. 252.
142. Aurobindo, 'Our Rulers and Boycott', in Mukherjee and Mukherjee, *Sri Aurobindo and the New Thought*, p. 123.
143. Ibid.
144. Forster, ' "We Speak to India" ', p. 155; Nevinson, *New Spirit of India*, p. 159.
145. Nevinson, *New Spirit of India*, p. 153.
146. Ibid.
147. Ibid., p. 155.
148. Ibid., p. 156.
149. Ibid.
150. Ibid.
151. Ibid., p. 159.
152. Ibid., p. 157.
153. Ibid., p. 159.
154. Ibid.
155. Nevinson, *More Changes, More Chances*, p. 272.
156. Nevinson, *New Spirit of India*, p. 188.
157. Owen, *British Left and India*, p. 89.
158. Ibid.
159. Nevinson, *New Spirit of India*, pp. 261–2.
160. Ibid., p. 320.
161. Ibid., p. 323.
162. Ibid.
163. Ibid., pp. 326–7.
164. Ibid., p. 327.
165. Ibid., p. 329.
166. Ibid., p. 34.
167. Owen, *British Left and India*, p. 89.
168. Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), p. 28.
169. Nevinson, *New Spirit of India*, p. 330.
170. Ibid., pp. 310, 328.
171. Ibid., p. 321.
172. Ibid., p. 329.
173. Ibid., p. 331.
174. Ibid., p. 335.

175. Ibid.
176. Henry W. Nevinston, 'India's Coral Strand', *Saturday Review of Literature*, New York, 1924, reprinted in Philip Gardner, ed., *E. M Forster: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), pp. 256–7.
177. Ibid., p. 257.
178. John, *War, Journalism and the Shaping of the Twentieth Century*, p. 112.
179. Aurobindo Ghose, 'Mr Macdonald's Visit', *Karmayogin: A Weekly Review*, 27 November 1909, available at [aurobindo.ru](http://aurobindo.ru).
180. Peter Cain writes: 'Despite his close association with Hobson and Robertson through the Rainbow Circle, there is no trace of any attempt to link together a radical analysis of the domestic economy with imperialism; which meant, in effect, that his socialism was a good deal vaguer than their radical liberalism in pointing out the defects of capitalism'. Peter Cain, 'Introduction', in J. Ramsay MacDonald, *Labour and the Empire* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. vi.
181. J. Ramsay MacDonald, *The Awakening of India* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1910), pp. 211, 301.
182. Ibid., p. 119.
183. Ibid., p. 7.
184. Owen, *British Left and India*, p. 89.
185. MacDonald, *Awakening of India*, p. 297.
186. Ibid., pp. 65, 99.
187. Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1993), 214.
188. MacDonald, *Awakening of India*, p. 105.
189. Ibid., p. 215.
190. Ibid., p. 193.
191. Ibid., p. 121.
192. Owen, *British Left and India*, p. 90.
193. Macdonald, *Awakening of India*, p. 100.
194. Ibid., pp. 51, 103.
195. Ibid., p. 226.
196. Ibid., pp. 186, 189.
197. Ibid., p. 74.
198. Ibid., p. 122.
199. Ibid.
200. Ibid., p. 96.
201. Ibid., p. 138.
202. Ibid., p. 168.
203. Ibid., p. 213.
204. Ibid.
205. Ibid., pp. 211–12.
206. Ibid., p. 308.
207. Parry, 'Materiality and Mystification', p. 177; Forster, *A Passage to India*, p. 120.
208. MacDonald, *Awakening of India*, p. 5.
209. Ibid., p. 302.
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215. Ibid., p. 214.
216. J. Ramsay MacDonald, *The Government of India* (London: Swarthmore, 1919), p. 16.
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## 5. The Interpreter of Insurgencies

1. Kris Manjappa, 'Communist Internationalism and Transcolonial Recognition', in Sugata Bose and Kris Manjappa, eds, *Cosmopolitan Thought Zones: South Asia and the Global Circulation of Ideas* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 162.
2. Dilip M. Menon, 'The Many Spaces and Times of Swadeshi', *Economic and Political Weekly* 47: 42 (2012), available at [epw.in](http://epw.in).
3. Shyamaji Krishnavarma, cited in Tilak Raj Sareen, *Indian Revolutionary Movement Abroad (1905–1921)* (New Delhi: Sterling, 1979), p. 4.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
5. For more on this, see Maia Ramnath, *Haj to Utopia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); Kate O'Malley, *Ireland, India and Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009); Ashwini Tambe and Harald Tiné, eds, *The Limits of British Colonial Control in South Asia* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011).
6. Partha Chatterjee, 'Nationalism, Internationalism, and Cosmopolitanism: Some Observations from Modern Indian History', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 36: 2 (August 2016), p. 323.
7. Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 5.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 91. Manela notes that, in a pivotal speech given in Caxton Hall in January 1918, British prime minister David Lloyd George, 'in a promiscuous rhetorical flourish', elided 'the Bolshevik term "self-determination" together with Wilson's favourite phrase, "consent of the governed"'. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
9. Heather Streets-Salter, 'International and Global Anti-colonial Movements', in Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton, eds, *World Histories from Below: Disruption and Dissent from 1750 to the Present* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), p. 48.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
11. For a brief overview of these terms and the relationships between them, see Ali Raza, Franzisca Roy and Benjamin Zachariah, 'Introduction', in Raza, Roy and Zachariah, eds, *The Internationalist Moment: South Asia, Worlds, and World Views, 1917–1939* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2015), p. xi.
12. *Ibid.*, p. xii.
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14. Ian Duffield, cited in Nicholas Owen, 'Critics of Empire in Britain', in J. M. Brown and W. M. R. Louis, eds, *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Vol. IV: The Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 202; Minkah Makalani, *In the Cause of Freedom: Radical Black Internationalism from Harlem to London, 1917–1939* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), p. 194.
15. Marc Matera, *Black London: The Imperial Metropolis and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2015), p. 14.
16. As Maia Ramnath writes of this period, 'The center of activity then shifted to Paris, where prominent socialists and anticolonialists S. R. Rana and Madame Rustomji Cama presided over a well-established political circle.' Maia Ramnath, 'Two Revolutions: The Ghadar Movement and India's Radical Diaspora, 1913–1918', *Radical History Review* 92 (Spring 2005), p. 11.
17. As Timothy Mitchell notes, the principle of self-rule was not necessarily in contradiction with the idea of empire: 'On the contrary, the need for self-government could provide, paradoxically, a new justification for overseas settlement and control, because only the European presence in colonised territories made a form of self-rule possible.' Timothy Mitchell, *Carbon Democracy: Political Power in the Age of Oil* (London: Verso, 2011), p. 71. Later, this would be theorized via the doctrine of 'trusteeship', in which Europe would hold territories 'in trust for civilization'. *New Statesman*, 1916, cited in Mitchell, *Carbon Democracy*, p. 76.
18. Matera, *Black London*, p. 17.
19. Anthony Read and David Fisher, *The Proudest Day: India's Long Road to Independence* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1997), p. 207.
20. Shapurji Saklatvala, HC Deb 17 June 1927 vol. 207, c. 1388.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*
23. HC Deb 23 November 1927 vol. 210, c. 1826.
24. There are three biographical accounts of Saklatvala's personal and political life: Mike Squires, *Saklatvala: A Political Biography* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990); Marc Wadsworth, *Comrade Sak: Shapurji Saklatvala: A Political Biography* (Leeds: Peepal Tree, 1998); and Sehri Saklatvala, *The Fifth Commandment:*

that sometimes alcohol has a remarkable effect on Europeans. But, speaking generally, alcohol seems to bring out all the evil instincts in the African in the most astonishing way. I mention all these points to give the other side of the picture and to show that it is not just stupidity on the part of Europeans which has brought about a colour bar and racial discrimination.’ HC Deb, 1 May 1953 vol. 514 c. 2534.

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79. HC Deb 15 July 1953 vol. 517, c. 2029.
80. Ibid.
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82. Ibid.
83. Fenner Brockway, *Why Mau Mau? An Analysis and Remedy* (London: Congress of Peoples against Imperialism, 1953), p. 1.
84. Ibid., p. 4.
85. Ibid., p. 14.
86. Barbara Castle, ‘What Price Justice?’, *Daily Mirror*, 7 December 1955.
87. Ibid.
88. Barbara Castle, ‘The Truth about the Secret Police’, *Daily Mirror*, 9 December 1955.
89. ‘Barbara Castle’s Articles in “The Mirror” Cause House of Commons Storm’, *Daily Mirror*, 15 December 1955.
90. Cited in Caroline Elkins, *Britain’s Gulag: The Brutal End of Empire in Kenya* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2005), p. 276.
91. Ibid., p. 286.
92. Eileen Fletcher, *Truth about Kenya – An Eye Witness Account*, foreword by Leslie Hale (London: Movement for Colonial Freedom, [n.d.]).
93. Ibid.
94. Joanna Lewis, ‘“Daddy Wouldn’t Buy Me a Mau Mau”: The British Popular Press and the Demoralization of Empire’, in Odhiambo and Lonsdale, eds, *Mau Mau and Nationhood*, pp. 227–50.
95. See *ibid.*, pp. 231–3.
96. *The Times*, cited in Slater, *Trial of Jomo Kenyatta*, pp. 245–6.
97. Ibid., p. 246.
98. Ibid., p. 248.
99. F. D. Corfield, *The Origins and Growth of Mau Mau: An Historical Survey* (Nairobi: Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, 1960), p. 5.
100. Ibid., p. 72.
101. Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged*, p. 281.
102. Ibid., p. 280.
103. Keith Waterhouse, ‘The Newspaper with a Blind Eye’, *Daily Mirror*, 7 September 1955, p. 2, emphasis in original.
104. Ibid., emphasis in original.
105. Ibid.
106. HC Deb 9 March 1955 vol. 538, c.430.
107. HC Deb 6 June 1956 vol. 553, c. 1091.
108. Ibid.
109. Ibid.
110. Ibid.
111. Ibid.
112. Brockway, *Towards Tomorrow*, p. 208.
113. Brockway, ‘Africa’s Year of Destiny: A Political Guide to a Continent in Crisis’, London, Movement for Colonial Freedom, n.d. School of Oriental and African Studies, London (hereafter SOAS), Movement for Colonial Freedom (hereafter MCF) Archives, Box 87.
114. Movement for Colonial Freedom, ‘What Is the Movement for Colonial Freedom?’, in Fletcher, *Truth about Kenya*, n.p.
115. Ibid.
116. MCF, *Young Socialists – Join the MCF*, n.d., SOAS, MCF Archives, Box 87.
117. Fenner Brockway, *The Colonial Revolution* (London: Hart-Davis, MacGibbon, 1973), p. 42.

48. Padmore, *Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers*.
49. George Padmore to Cyril Olivierre, 28 July 1934, Padmore Papers, MG.624.
50. James, *George Padmore and Decolonization from Below*, p. 28.
51. For an extensive discussion of Padmore's collaboration and friendship with Kouyaté, see Edwards, *Practice of Diaspora*, Chapter 5. Edwards writes that the two men developed an internationalist politics enabled by the Comintern in the first instance, but 'one not wholly subsumed in a Comintern agenda, one that emphasizes race-based organizing and anti-colonial alliances among differently positioned revolutionaries of African descent' (p. 264).
52. James, 'Notes on the Life of George Padmore', p. 293.
53. See Hakim Adi, *West Africans in Britain: 1900–1960, Nationalism, Pan-Africanism and Communism* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1998), pp. 24–8.
54. James, 'Notes on the Life of George Padmore', p. 292.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 293.
56. Nancy Cunard to Dorothy Padmore, 'For Dorothy', n.d., HRC 17.10.
57. Dorothy Padmore to Nancy Cunard, in *ibid.*
58. Cited in Nnamdi Azikiwe, *My Odyssey: An Autobiography* (London: C. Hurst, 1970), p. 198.
59. George Padmore, *How Britain Rules Africa* (London: Wishart, 1936), pp. 390–1.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 391.
61. *Times Literary Supplement*, 27 June 1936, cited in Polsgrove, *Ending British Rule*, p. 17.
62. Padmore, *How Britain Rules Africa*, pp. 3–4.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
64. George Padmore to Otto Theis, cited in Polsgrove, *Ending British Rule in Africa*, p. 5.
65. Padmore, *How Britain Rules Africa*, p. 7.
66. *Ibid.*
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68. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
70. *Ibid.*, pp. 15–16.
71. *Ibid.*
72. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 395.
74. C. L. R. James, '“Civilising” the “Blacks”: Why Britain Needs to Maintain Her Colonial Possessions', *New Leader*, 29 May 1936.
75. *Ibid.*
76. *Ibid.*
77. Padmore, *How Britain Rules Africa*, p. 395. Polsgrove notes elegantly: 'Around the act of publication, a political community had formed.' This was, also, 'a collaborative work, an exercise in solidarity'. Polsgrove, *Ending British Rule in Africa*, p. 7.
78. Padmore, *How Britain Rules Africa*, pp. 395–6.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 333.
80. *Ibid.*
81. *Ibid.*, p. 335.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 350.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 360.
84. C. L. R. James, 'The Making of the Caribbean People', in C. L. R. James, *Spheres of Existence: Selected Writings* (London: Allison & Busby, 1980), p. 177.
85. Padmore, *How Britain Rules Africa*, p. 362.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 363.
87. *Ibid.*, pp. 394–5.
88. Arthur Ballard, 'Smash Our Own Imperialism', *New Leader*, 21 April 1939.
89. Gideon Cohen, *The Failure of a Dream: The Independent Labour Party from Disaffiliation to World War II* (London: Tauris Academic, 2007), p. 1.
90. *Ibid.*
91. Christian Høgsbjerg, 'C. L. R. James, George Orwell and “Literary Trotskyism” ', *George Orwell Studies* 1: 2 (2017).

215. Ibid., p. 52.
216. Ibid., p. 26.
217. Ibid., p. 95.
218. Ibid., p. 96.
219. Ibid., pp. 94–5.
220. Ibid., p. 63.
221. Ibid.
222. Ibid.
223. Ibid., p. 62, emphasis in original.
224. Ibid., p. 70.
225. Ibid., p. 79.
226. Ibid., p. 130.
227. Ibid., p. 114.
228. Ibid.
229. Ibid., p. 102.
230. Ibid., p. 113.
231. Ibid., p. 154.
232. Ibid., p. 156.
233. Fenner Brockway, *African Socialism: A Background Book* (London: Bodley Head, 1963), p. 20.
234. Ibid., p. 31.
235. Ibid., p. 14.

## Epilogue

1. The title of the Epilogue is taken from David Harvey, *The New Imperialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003): ‘If we were able to mount that wondrous horse of freedom, where would we seek to ride it?’ (p. 198).
2. ‘Address by Harold Macmillan to Members of both Houses of the Parliament of the Union of South Africa, Cape Town, 3 February 1960’, Appendix One, in Harold Macmillan, *Pointing the Way, 1959–1961* (New York: Harper, 1972), p. 475.
3. Ibid., p. 476.
4. Ibid.
5. ‘Introduction’, in Tony Smith, ed., *The End of the European Empire: Decolonization after World War II* (Massachusetts: D.C. Heath & Co., 1975), p. xi.
6. Ibid., p. xii.
7. Christopher Hale, *Massacre in Malaya: Exposing Britain’s My Lai* (Gloucestershire: History Press, 2013), p. 284. There was evidence that the Batang Kali massacre, the British High Court agreed in 2012, had involved ‘a deliberate execution of 24 civilians’ even as it refused to sanction a public inquiry. Arguably, Malaya caused less of a public outcry in its time than Kenya because of how much was successfully covered up.
8. A. J. Stockwell, ‘Suez 1956 and the Moral Disarmament of the British Empire’, in Simon C. Smith, ed., *Reassessing Suez 1956* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 232.
9. Humphrey Trevelyan, cited in *ibid.*, p. 232.
10. Kenneth O. Morgan, ‘Imperialists at Bay: British Labour and Decolonization’, in Robin D. King and Robin W. Kilson, eds, *The Statecraft of British Imperialism: Essays in Honour of Wm. Roger Lewis* (London: Frank Cass, 1999), p. 238.
11. ‘Dec. 12, 1963, Kenya Gains Independence’, *New York Times* (‘Learning Network’), 12 December 2011.
12. ‘Obama’s Speech to UK Parliament, in Full, with Analysis’, *BBC*, 25 May 2011, available at [bbc.co.uk](http://bbc.co.uk).
13. C. L. R. James, *Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution* (London: Allison & Busby, 1977), p. 214.
14. Cited in Gary Younge, ‘Cruel and Usual: The Outrages at Camp Breadbasket are Consistent with British Colonial Rule – Brutal, Oppressive, and Racist’, *Guardian*, 1 March 2005.
15. Tony Blair, ‘Doctrine of the International Community’, 24 April 1999, available at [webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk](http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk).
16. James, *Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution*, p. 35.
17. Ibid., p. 11.
18. Ibid., p. 14.
19. Ibid., pp. 29–30, emphasis in original.

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60. 'Editorial', *International African Opinion* 1: 1 (July 1938).
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid., emphasis in original.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid., emphases in original.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid.
68. George Padmore, 'Labour Unrest in Jamaica', *International African Opinion* 1: 1 (July 1938).
69. 'The Ethiopian Question', *ibid.*
70. 'The West Indian Royal Commission', *International African Opinion*, vol. 1, no. 2, August 1938.
71. Ibid.
72. 'Politics and the Negro', *International African Opinion* 1: 3 (September 1938).
73. Makalani, *In the Cause of Freedom*, p. 214.
74. H. Jeremy Curtis, 'Correspondence', *International African Opinion* 1: 2 (August 1938), p. 13.
75. The Executive Committee of the International African Service Bureau, 'Rejoinder to a Popular Retort', *International African Opinion* 1: 2 (August 1938), p. 14.
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid.
78. Macdonald, ' "The Wisers Who Are Far Away" ', p. 167.
79. George Padmore, 'Labour Unrest in Jamaica', *International African Opinion* 1: 1 (July 1938).
80. O. Nigel Bolland, *On the March: Labour Rebellions in the British Caribbean, 1934–39* (Kingston, Jamaica/London: I. Randle/J. Currey, 1995), p. 144.
81. Ibid., p. 145.
82. Ken Post, *Arise Ye Starvelings: The Jamaican Labour Rebellion of 1938 and Its Aftermath* (The Hague/Boston: Nijhoff, 1978), p. 296.
83. Bolland, *On the March*, p. 153.
84. Gordon K. Lewis, *The Growth of the Modern West Indies* (Kingston, Jamaica/Miami: Ian Randle Publishers, 2004), p. 82.
85. Butler's agitational methods, labelled 'extremist' and 'communistic' (despite his religious leanings), had unprecedented consequences when oilfield workers staged a stay-in strike for higher wages – actions then spreading across the island involving destruction of property and crowd violence. Black workers were joined by Indian ones demanding recognition of their unions, equal pay with whites, and forty-hour weeks (some suggest a share of the profits was also demanded).
86. C. L. R. James, *A History of Negro Revolt* (New York: Haskell House, 1969), p. 80.
87. Cedric J. Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (London/Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000 [1983]), p. 273.
88. In addition to other works mentioned here, see Robert J. Alexander and Eldon M. Parker, *A History of Organized Labor in the English-Speaking West Indies* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004); O. Nigel Bolland, *The Politics of Labour in the British Caribbean: The Social Origins of Authoritarianism and Democracy in the Labour Movement* (Kingston, Jamaica/Oxford: Ian Randle Publishers/James Currey, 2001); and Richard Hart, *Caribbean Workers' Struggles* (London: Bogle L'Overture, 2012).
89. Richard Hart, *Labour Rebellions of the 1930s in the British Caribbean Region Colonies* (London: Socialist History Society, 2002), p. 24.
90. Post, *Arise Ye Starvelings*, p. 20.
91. Ibid., p. 148.
92. Cited in *ibid.*, p. 193.
93. Cited in *ibid.*, p. 372.
94. Bolland, *On the March*, p. 135.
95. Post, *Arise Ye Starvelings*, p. 206.
96. 'The African World: Barbados', *International African Opinion*, 1: 6 (February–March 1939).
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  80. 'Meerut and the Colonial Struggle,' *Daily Worker*, 20 January 1933.
  81. 'Meerut Sentences Arouse Anger', *Daily Worker*, 18 January 1933.
  82. 'League against Imperialism Active to Release Meerut Prisoners', *Daily Worker*, 21 January 1933.
  83. Petersson, 'The "Colonial Conference"', p. 106.
  84. 'LAI British Section, Report of 2nd Annual Conference Held May 21st and 22nd, Friars Hall, London', p. 1, Bridgeman Papers, Hull University Archives, U DBN25/1.
  85. The LAI's Meerut activities, reported by Bridgeman to the British Section's Second Annual Conference in 1932, included meetings, demonstrations, fundraising for the Prisoner Relief Fund, and publishing pamphlets, petitions and open letters.
  86. Reginald Bridgeman, 'The Meerut Conspiracy Case: Open Letter to Delegates of the 31st Annual Conference of the Labour Party (5–9 October 1931)', dated 29 September 1931, Bridgeman Papers, Hull University Archives, U DBN19/1. The document dwells at some length on the resistance put up by Indian workers through strikes and agitation in the period 1920–29.
  87. Ibid.
  88. 'A Socialist Dandy', *Evening Standard*, 15 January 1929, Saklatvala Papers, D1173/3.
  89. John Saville, 'Reginald Bridgeman', in Joyce M. Bellamy and John Saville, eds, *The Dictionary of Labour Biography* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 1972).
  90. *Daily Star*, 'An Aesthetic Socialist', 23 November 1927; no title, clipping from *Daily Record and Daily Mail*, 25 November 1927, Bridgeman Papers U DBN 6/1.
  91. A recent two-volume history offers a compendious and painstaking account of the inner workings of the LAI over its short lifespan. See Fredrik Petersson, *Willi Münzenberg, the League against Imperialism and the Comintern, 1925–1933*, 2 vols (Lewiston: Queenston Press, 2013).
  92. Stafford Cripps, *Empire* (London: India League, 1938), p. 11, Bridgeman personal copy, Bridgeman Papers U DBN 27/5.
  93. Bridgeman to Noel Baker, 3 December 1938, Bridgeman Papers, U DBN 27/4.
  94. See Bridgeman Papers U DBN/22, which contains papers pertaining to his speaking engagements.
  95. Clemens Dutt, 'The Colonial Policy of the Labour and Socialist International', *Anti-imperialist Review* 1: 1 (July 1928), p. 14.
  96. Ibid., p. 15.
  97. The Covenant of the League of Nations, available at the Avalon Project at the Lillian Goldman Law Library at Yale Law School, at [avalon.law.yale.edu](http://avalon.law.yale.edu).
  98. For an informative account of the Mandates system, see Susan Pedersen, *The Guardians: The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).
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  100. 'League against Imperialism and for National Independence (British Section), Fifth Annual Conference, Saturday and Sunday, January 25th and 26th 1936', Bridgeman Papers, Hull University Archives, U DBN 25/1.
  101. Susan Pedersen, *Guardians*, p. 3.
  102. Ibid., p. 5.
  103. Petersson, *Willi Münzenberg*, vol. 1, p. 88. For another account of the organization's founding moment and subsequent history, see Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World* (New York, London: New Press, 2007).
  104. Willi Münzenberg, 'From Demonstration to Organisation', *Anti-imperialist Review* 1: 1 (July 1928), p. 10.
  105. 'Report of the First Annual Conference of the League against Imperialism (British Section), 1931', Bridgeman Papers, Hull History Centre, U DBN/25/1.
  106. Saville, 'Reginald Bridgeman', in Bellamy and Saville, *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, p. 47.
  107. Michele L. Louro, 'Where National Revolutionary Ends and Communist Begins: The League against Imperialism

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186. Fenner Brockway, 'Socialism Cannot Be Built on a Slave Empire', *New Leader*, 29 December 1945.
187. George Padmore, 'Trusteeship – the New Imperialism', *New Leader*, 2 February 1946.
188. George Padmore, 'The Old Firm under a New Name ...', *New Leader*, 23 February 1946.
189. George Padmore, 'There's No Real Difference', *New Leader*, 9 March 1946.
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192. Brockway, 'Socialism Cannot Be Built on a Slave Empire'.
193. 'World-Wide Link-up against Imperialism', *New Leader*, 2 March 1946.
194. Fenner Brockway, cited in 'If Britain Had Statesmanship', *New Leader*, 9 March 1946.
195. 'World-Wide Link-up against Imperialism'.
196. Ibid.
197. For a pithy but full account of the congress and its context, see Christian Høgsbjerg, 'Remembering the Fifth Pan-African Congress', available at Centre for African Studies (LUCAS – [lucas.leeds.ac.uk](http://lucas.leeds.ac.uk)).
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200. Ibid., 408.
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203. F. R. Kankam-Boadu, 'Reminiscences', in Adi and Sherwood, *The 1945 Manchester Pan-African Congress Revisited*, p. 36.
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206. Cited in *ibid.*
207. 'The Challenge to the Colonial Powers', in Padmore, 'Colonial and ... Coloured Unity', in Adi and Sherwood, *The 1945 Manchester Pan-African Congress Revisited*, p. 55.
208. Ibid. p. 56.
209. G. Ashie Nikoi, chairman of the West African Cocoa Farmers' Delegation, cited in Padmore, 'Colonial ... and Coloured Unity', p. 81. He also notes that the congress should be the occasion when the 'British people and the world' are told.
210. Jomo Kenyatta, cited in *ibid.*, p. 88.
211. Claude Lushington, cited in *ibid.*, p. 95; J. F. F Rojas, cited *ibid.*, p. 95.
212. Ibid., p. 93.
213. I. T. A. Wallace Johnson, cited in *ibid.*, p. 100.
214. Cited in Hakim Adi, 'Pan-Africanism in Britain: Background to the 1945 Manchester Congress', in Adi and Sherwood, *The 1945 Manchester Pan-African Congress Revisited*, p. 21. See also George Padmore, 'The General Strike in Nigeria', in Padmore, ed., *The Voice of Coloured Labour: Speeches and Reports of Colonial Delegates to the World Trade Union Conference* (Manchester: Panaf Service, 1945).
215. Adi, 'Pan-Africanism in Britain', p. 21.
216. See Ahmed Aminu Yusuf, 'The 1945 General Strike and the Struggle for Nigeria', available at [transforma-online.de](http://transforma-online.de).
217. Adi, 'Pan-Africanism in Britain', p. 23.
218. Cited in Geiss, *Pan-African Movement*, p. 386.
219. Adi, 'Pan-Africanism in Britain', p. 12.
220. Geiss, *Pan-African Movement*, p. 387.
221. Pan-African Federation, 'An Open Letter to the Prime Minister', in Padmore, *Pan-Africanism or Communism*, pp. 156–7. Cited also in Adi, 'Pan-Africanism in Britain', pp. 23–4.
222. Carol Polsgrove, 'George Padmore's Use of Periodicals to Build a Movement', in Baptiste and Lewis, *George Padmore*, p. 103.
223. Cunard and Padmore, *White Man's Duty*, p. 133.
224. Ibid., p. 139.
225. Thomas, 'George Padmore', p. 47.

which called for them to be disbanded. For a fuller account, see Wendy Singer, 'Peasants and Peoples of the East: Indians and the Rhetoric of the Comintern', in Tim Rees and Andrew Thorpe, ed., *International Communism and the Communist International, 1919–1943* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 276.

35. *The Meerut Prisoners*, p. 8.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 44–5.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
44. *Meerut: Workers Theatre Movement Play*, available at [wcml.org.uk](http://wcml.org.uk).
45. Charlie Mann, 'How to Produce Meerut (1933)', at *ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*
48. Jimmie Miller, 'Red Megaphones', available at [wcml.org.uk](http://wcml.org.uk).
49. Romain Rolland, 'For the Meerut Prisoners: Against Imperialist Terror', in *Meerut Conspiracy Case, Specially Written by a Barrister-at-Law* (London: Meerut Prisoners' Release Committee, 1933). Published in French as 'Pour les condamnés de Meerut', first published in *L'Humanité*, 18 March 1933.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
53. *Ibid.*, pp. 2–3.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
55. *Ibid.*
56. *Ibid.*
57. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
58. Cited in Ghosh, *Meerut Conspiracy Case*, p. 167.
59. See Muzaffar Ahmad, 'Introduction', in Ahmad, ed., *Communists Challenge Imperialism from the Dock* (Calcutta: National Book Agency, 1967). Other documents pertaining to the case have been digitized and are available at 'Indian Communists and Trade Unions on Trial: The Meerut Conspiracy, 1929–1933', British Online Archives, at [microform.digital](http://microform.digital).
60. Hutchinson, *Conspiracy at Meerut*, p. 81.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 75. See also Ahmad, 'Introduction'.
62. Nicholas Owen, *The British Left and India: Metropolitan Anti-imperialism 1885–1947* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 210.
63. Kevin McDermott and Jeremy Agnew, *The Comintern: A History of International Communism from Lenin to Stalin* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), p. xvii.
64. Nikolai Lenin, 'Left-Wing' Communism: An Infantile Disorder (London: Communist Party of Great Britain, n.d. [1923?]), p. 7.
65. John Riddell, ed., *To See the Dawn: Baku, 1920 – First Congress of the Peoples of the East* (London/New York: Pathfinder, 1993), p. 27.
66. McDermott and Agnew, *Comintern*, p. 217.
67. For an engaging account of the discussion, see John P. Haithcox, 'The Roy–Lenin Debate on Colonial Policy: A New Interpretation', *Journal of Asian Studies* 23: 1 (November 1963), pp. 93–101.
68. 'Minutes of the Second Congress of the Communist International, Fourth Session, July 25', available at [marxists.org](http://marxists.org). Also available in McDermott and Agnew, *Comintern*, pp. 223–4.
69. Pennybacker describes Arthur Creech-Jones, one of many 'cautious critics of empire' who would become the head of the liberal-imperialist Fabian Colonial Bureau, and later colonial secretary, as 'implacably hostile to any notion of Indian agency', insisting that 'unlike their comrades in the West the workers in India are mainly the illiterate, and are dependent almost entirely for their organization ... upon persons who are not themselves workers'. Pennybacker, *From Scottsboro to Munich*, p. 174.
70. Hutchinson, *Conspiracy at Meerut*, p. 188.
71. Lester Hutchinson, *Meerut 1929–1932: Statement Given in His Own Defence at Meerut Court, India, against a*

60. HC Deb 5 July 1923 vol. 166, c. 676.
61. HC Deb 9 July 1925, c. 708.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid., c. 709.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid., cc. 710–11.
67. Ibid., c. 709.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid., c. 712.
70. Ibid., c. 712.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid., c. 714.
74. Ibid., c. 718.
75. Maria Misra, *Vishnu's Crowded Temple: India since the Great Rebellion* (London: Allen Lane, 2007), p. 188.
76. HC Deb 17 June 1927, c. 1398.
77. HC Deb 27 November 1927, cc. 2280, 2282.
78. HC Deb 17 June 1927 vol 207, c. 1388.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid., cc. 1388–9.
82. HC Deb 22 November 1927 vol. 210, c. 1642.
83. Ibid.
84. HC Deb 17 June 1927 vol. 207, cc. 1389–90.
85. HC Deb 23 Nov 1927 vol. 210, c. 1824.
86. Ibid., c. 1823.
87. HC Deb 25 November 1927 vol. 210, c. 2272.
88. Pennybacker, *From Scottsboro to Munich*, p. 159.
89. HC Deb 25 Nov 1927 vol 210, c. 2283.
90. HC Deb, *India Office*, 17 June 1927, c. 1392.
91. HC Deb 25 November 1927, c. 2282.
92. Shapurji Saklatvala, 'India and Britain', *Labour Monthly* 9: 6 (June 1927), available at [marxists.org](http://marxists.org).
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid.
96. Ibid.
97. HC Deb 23 November 1927, c. 1828.
98. Ibid. Saklatvala's rejoinder was: 'The Noble Lord knows all this, and he has reports in his possession showing that hundreds of thousands of the people of India approve of my plans and my policy, and they also approve of what I have been doing for India while residing in this country. If the Noble Lord would make a journey with me to India, I would be quite willing to organise open public meetings – not camouflaged and manoeuvred meetings – and he would then find that 99 people out of every 100 at those meetings would declare in favour of my authority to speak on their behalf.' Ibid., cc. 1843–4.
99. Wadsworth, *Comrade Sak*, p. 59.
100. Cited in Saklatvala, *Fifth Commandment*, p. 332.
101. Wadsworth, *Comrade Sak*, p. 21.
102. Maria Misra notes: 'Amritsar was not in fact the wholly isolated event the British liked to believe. Elsewhere the Punjab disturbances had been met with lethal force ... unarmed market crowds and schoolhouses were strafed with hundreds of rounds of ammunition and then carpet-bombed.' Misra, *Vishnu's Crowded Temple*, p. 152.
103. Rabindranath Tagore, 'Letter to Lord Chelmsford', *Monthly Review* (Calcutta Monthly), July 1919.
104. Owen, *British Left and India*, p. 125.
105. Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India: 1885–1947* (London: Macmillan, 1983), p. 176; see p. 199 for a list of significant strike actions during the period 1919–20.
106. Sumit Sarkar notes correctly that the combination of pressures from below and Gandhian organization acting as a

## 6. The Revolt of the Oppressed World

1. Lester Hutchinson, *Conspiracy at Meerut, with a preface by Harold J. Laski* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1935), p. 41.
2. A useful but brief account of the Meerut Conspiracy Case can be found in A. G. Noorani, *Indian Political Trials 1775–1947* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005).
3. See *ibid.*, p. 238.
4. For an excellent account of revolutionary violence in this period, see Kama Maclean, *A Revolutionary History of Interwar India: Violence, Image, Voice and Text* (London: Hurst, 2015).
5. Political Dept, File 14, June 1927, Government of Bengal, cited in Panchanan Saha, *Shapurji Saklatvala: A Short Biography* (Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1970), p. 28. It continues: 'the peasants are grumbling that there is no reason why they should be forced to pay rent to the zamindar or land revenue to the sarkar; in the towns the labourers are complaining that while richmen [*sic*] live lives of comfort and ease, they are condemned to toil, early and late, to live in miserable hovels, to go clad in rags.' *Ibid.*
6. Hutchinson, *Conspiracy at Meerut*, p. 117.
7. Cited in Fredrik Petersson, 'The "Colonial Conference" and the Dilemma of the Comintern's Colonial Work, 1928–29', in Vijay Prashad, ed., *Communist Histories* (New Delhi: Leftword, 2016), p. 106.
8. Pramita Ghosh, *Meerut Conspiracy Case and the Left Wing in India* (Calcutta: Papyrus, 1998), p. 93.
9. 'The Speech of the Prosecutor in the Meerut Case' (Part 1), *Labour Monthly* 12: 1 (January 1930), available at [marxists.org](http://marxists.org).
10. 'The Speech of the Prosecutor in the Meerut Case' (Part 2), *Labour Monthly* 12: 2 (February 1930), available at [marxists.org](http://marxists.org).
11. 'Speech of the Prosecutor' (Part 1).
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. Cited in Noorani, *Indian Political Trials*, p. 254.
15. Cited in Ghosh, *Meerut Conspiracy Case*, p. 110. For a slightly longer account of Gandhi's relationship with communism as it pertained to this case, see Franziska Roy and Benjamin Zachariah, 'Meerut and a Hanging: "Young India," Popular Socialism, and the Dynamics of Imperialism', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 33: 3 (2013). They describe Hutchinson as 'one of the more coherent and biting critics of Gandhi and of Gandhian politics within youth league circles' (p. 375).
16. Ghosh, *Meerut Conspiracy Case*, p. 111.
17. Hutchinson, *Conspiracy at Meerut*, p. 118.
18. Roy and Zachariah, 'Meerut and a Hanging', p. 360.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 363.
20. HC Deb 25 March 1929 vol. 226, cc. 2041–3.
21. Hutchinson, *Conspiracy at Meerut*, p. 179.
22. Harold J. Laski, 'Preface', in Hutchinson, *Conspiracy at Meerut*, p. 7.
23. Cited in Ghosh, *Meerut Conspiracy Case*, p. 155.
24. 'The Meerut Case', *The Manchester Guardian*, 5 August 1933.
25. *Meerut: Release the Prisoners! A Statement upon the Meerut Trial and Sentences*, London: issued by the National Joint Council, representing the Trades Union Congress, the Labour Party and the Parliamentary Labour Party, 1933.
26. Hutchinson, *Conspiracy at Meerut*, p. 179.
27. Cited in Ghosh, *Meerut Conspiracy Case*, p. 159.
28. Pennybacker, *From Scottsboro to Munich*, p. 147.
29. 'Meerut Conspiracy Prosecution,' *Manchester Guardian*, 10 December 1929.
30. Pennybacker, *From Scottsboro to Munich*, p. 171.
31. *The Meerut Prisoners and the Charge against Them* (London: Modern Books, 1931).
32. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
33. *Ibid.*
34. The provincial Workers and Peasants Parties (a plurality across India although run by the same organisation) were part of a tactic initiated by the Indian communist M. N. Roy. They were legal parties – 'established at a time when the British government of India was arresting anyone remotely connected to communism on charges of an international conspiracy'. They were looked upon askance by both the Comintern and, in particular, the CPGB,

- and the Meerut Conspiracy Case', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 33: 3 (2013), p. 335.
108. Louro argues that, for the British Section of the LAI 'from 1929 to 1933, the Meerut Conspiracy Case consumed nearly all of its time and resources'. *Ibid.*, p. 339.
  109. J. Ayodele Langley, *Pan-Africanism and Nationalism in West Africa, 1900–1945: A Study in Ideology and Social Classes* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), pp. 301–2. For more on Senghor, see also David Murphy, 'Defending the "Negro Race": Lamine Senghor and Black Internationalism in Interwar France', *French Cultural Studies* 24: 2 (2013), pp. 161–73.
  110. *Ibid.*, p. 305.
  111. Cited in Petersson, *Willi Münzenberg*, vol. 1, p. 272.
  112. J. R. Campbell, 'J. R. Campbell, Introducing the Resolution on IMPERIALISM & WAR, Nov 1934', unpublished, Bridgeman Papers, U DBN/25/4, p. 5.
  113. James Maxton, 'Foreword', *Anti-imperialist Review* 1: 1 (July 1928), p. 1.
  114. Münzenberg, 'From Demonstration to Organisation', *Anti-Imperialist Review* 1:1 (July 1928), p. 8.
  115. Petersson, *Willi Münzenberg*, vol. 2, p. 974.
  116. Fenner Brockway, 'The Coloured People's International', *New Leader*, 26 August 1927.
  117. Fenner Brockway, 'At the International', *New Leader*, 16 September 1927.
  118. *Ibid.*
  119. Brockway, 'Coloured People's International'.
  120. Fenner Brockway, 'At Brussels', *New Leader*, 18 February 1927.
  121. Brockway, 'Coloured People's International'.
  122. *Ibid.*
  123. George Lansbury, 'A Great Week-End at Brussels', *Lansbury's Labour Weekly*, 19 February 1927. Reprinted in the *Canton Gazette*, 25 March 1927.
  124. *Ibid.*
  125. *Ibid.*
  126. *Ibid.*
  127. *Ibid.*
  128. *Ibid.*
  129. *Ibid.*
  130. *Ibid.*
  131. Pedersen, *Guardians*, p. 112.
  132. *Ibid.*, p. 78; Dantés Bellegarde, cited in *ibid.*, p. 84.
  133. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
  134. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
  135. Christian Høgsbjerg rightly notes that assumptions about such durability and legitimacy were hegemonic among progressive British intellectuals of the period, and cites Lansbury's own later insistence (in 1934) that there could be no immediate decolonization even under a socialist government. This was, of course, a retreat from the insight Lansbury articulates here, representing his own retrenchment from the LAI into Labour conservatism. But the point still remains: the moment of the LAI represents a fracture in the hegemon. See Christian Høgsbjerg, *C. L. R. James in Imperial Britain* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), p. 201.
  136. 'Report of the National Conference of the League against Imperialism (British Section), February 1931', Bridgeman Papers, Hull University Archives, U DBN25/1.
  137. Conrad Noel, *The Meaning of Imperialism* (London: League against Imperialism, 1928), p. 7.
  138. *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 2.
  139. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
  140. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
  141. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
  142. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
  143. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
  144. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
  145. *Ibid.*
  146. *Ibid.*
  147. Cited in *ibid.*, p. 15.
  148. *Ibid.*

- Biography of Shapurji Saklatvala* (Salford: Miranda, 1991). The last of these is perhaps the fullest account of his personal and family life.
25. Secret Service files, cited in Wadsworth, *Comrade Sak*, p. 53.
  26. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
  27. *Ibid.*
  28. For brief accounts of all these figures and their relationships to each other, see Open University, *Making Britain: Discover How South Asians Shaped the Nation, 1870–1950*, at [open.ac.uk](http://open.ac.uk).
  29. Shapurji Saklatvala, ‘The Second Indian Round Table Conference’, *Labour Monthly* 13: 10 (October 1931), available at [marxists.org](http://marxists.org). The Communist Party was deeply disapproving of Saklatvala’s decision to hold a *navjote* or ‘thread’ ceremony in 1927 for his children. See Wadsworth, *Comrade Sak*, pp. 102–4.
  30. Cited in *ibid.*, p. 106.
  31. Herbert Bryan to Arthur Field, 23 February 1937, typed copy in Saklatvala Papers, MSS.EUR D 1173/4; Saklatvala, *Fifth Commandment*, p. 97.
  32. Herbert Bryan, ‘Saklatvala: An Appreciation’, *Daily Herald*, 24 November 1922 – typed copy in Saklatvala Papers, MSS.EUR D 1173/4.
  33. Cited in Wadsworth, *Comrade Sak*, p. 51.
  34. Susan D. Pennybacker, *From Scottsboro to Munich: Race and Political Culture in 1930s Britain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), p. 149.
  35. Arthur Field to Beram Saklatvala, 7 March 1937, in Saklatvala Papers, MSS.EUR D 1173/4.
  36. Lord Snowden to Beram Saklatvala, 4 February 1937 – typed copy in Saklatvala Papers, MSS.EUR D 1173/4.
  37. Nicholas Owen, *The British Left and India: Metropolitan Anti-imperialism 1885–1947* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 108.
  38. See *ibid.*, pp. 198–9.
  39. Though he made many significant interventions on matters pertaining to trade unions, unemployment, Emergency powers and housing conditions, Wadsworth notes that ‘the bulk of his speeches related to India and other anti-imperialist issues’ – which included Ireland. Wadsworth, *Comrade Sak*, p. 51.
  40. Shapurji Saklatvala with Duncan Carmichael, ‘Statement Submitted to the Joint Committee on Indian Reforms on Behalf of the Workers’ Welfare League of India’, in Saklatvala, *Fifth Commandment*, Chapter 7, Appendix A, p. 115.
  41. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
  42. *Ibid.*
  43. Wadsworth, *Comrade Sak*, p. 61. Tilak had visited Saklatvala at his home in 1910 while a guest at the ILP’s annual conference. British intelligence files on Saklatvala noted in 1911 that he kept in touch with radical nationalists such as Bipin Chandra Pal, ‘showing considerable interest in the extremist movement’ (p. 53).
  44. HC Deb 9 July 1925 vol. 186, c. 711.
  45. Cited in Meerut Prisoners’ Defence Committee, *The Meerut Trial: Facts of the Case* (London: Meerut Prisoners’ Defence Committee, 1929), p. 10.
  46. Gene D. Overstreet and Marshall Windmiller, *Communism in India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959), p. 17.
  47. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
  48. The main contours of the arguments on either side can be found in Marika Sherwood, ‘The Comintern, the CPGB, Colonies and Black Britons, 1920–1938’, *Science and Society* 60: 2 (Summer 1996); and John Callahan, ‘Colonies, Racism, the CPGB and the Comintern in the Inter-war Years’, *Science and Society* 61: 4 (Winter 1997–98). For a sober and fuller assessment, see Neil Redfern, *Class or Nation: Communists, Imperialism, and Two World Wars* (London/New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2005).
  49. James Klugman, cited in Sherwood, ‘The Comintern, the CPGB, Colonies and Black Britons’, p. 144.
  50. Cited in *ibid.*, p. 146.
  51. *Ibid.*, p. 160, emphasis in original.
  52. Shapurji Saklatvala, ‘India in the Labour World’, *Labour Monthly* 1: 5 (November 1921), available at [marxists.org](http://marxists.org).
  53. HC Deb 9 July 1925 vol. 86, c. 706.
  54. HC Deb 23 November 1922 vol. 159, c. 111.
  55. *Ibid.*, c. 114.
  56. *Ibid.*, cc. 113–14.
  57. HD Deb 27 February 1923 vol. 160, c. 1835.
  58. *Ibid.*
  59. *Ibid.*

226. Stephen Howe, *Anticolonialism in British Politics: The Left and the End of Empire, 1918–1964* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 168.

## 10. A Terrible Assertion of Discontent

1. George Padmore, 'Behind the Mau Mau', *Phylon* 14: 4 (1953), p. 355.
2. *Ibid.*, 360.
3. *Ibid.*, 361.
4. *Ibid.*, 365.
5. *Ibid.*, 362.
6. Cited in David Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged: Britain's Dirty War in Kenya and the End of the Empire* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2005), p. 1. Anderson notes that Huxley, who used it in her *No Easy Way* (1957), had borrowed the phrase from Gerald Hanley's *The Year of the Lion* (1956).
7. Robert Chester Ruark, *Something of Value* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1955), p. 7.
8. Frederick Cooper, 'Mau Mau and the Discourses of Decolonization', *Journal of African History* 29: 2 (1988). p. 317.
9. D. A. Maughan-Brown, 'Myth and the "Mau Mau"', *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory* 55 (October 1980), p. 72.
10. Cited in D. A. Maughan Brown, *Land, Freedom and Fiction: History and Ideology in Kenya* (London: Zed, 1985), p. 158.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged*, p. 1.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
14. In his account of his becoming a 'Mau Mau' detainee, Josiah Kariuki suggests that the origins of the term lie in children's anagrams, where the warning 'Go, Go' or 'Uma, Uma' was turned into 'Mau, Mau', to warn those participating in oath-taking ceremonies to escape. Josiah Mwangi Kariuki, *'Mau Mau' Detainee* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 50.
15. See, for example, Daniel Branch, *Defeating Mau Mau, Creating Kenya: Counterinsurgency, Civil War, and Decolonization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Kinuthia Macharia and Muigai Kanyua, *The Social Context of the Mau Mau Movement in Kenya (1952–1960)* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2006); David Throup, *Economic and Social Origins of Mau Mau, 1945–1953* (London: James Currey, 1987); Greet Kershaw, *Mau Mau from Below* (Oxford: James Currey, 1997); Bruce Berman and John Lonsdale, eds, *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa* (Oxford: James Currey, 1992); Atieno Odhiambo and John Lonsdale, eds, *Mau Mau and Nationhood: Arms, Authority and Narration* (Oxford: James Currey, 2003); Carl Gustav Rosberg and John Cato Nottingham, *The Myth of 'Mau Mau': Nationalism in Kenya* (New York: Praeger, 1966); Tabitha Kanogo, *Squatters and the Roots of Mau Mau, 1905–1963* (London: James Currey, 1987).
16. Kanogo, *Squatters and the Roots of Mau Mau*, p. 135–6.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 46, 136.
18. Frank Furedi, *The Mau Mau War in Perspective* (London: James Currey, 1989), p. 78.
19. *Ibid.*, 79.
20. *Ibid.*, 103.
21. *Ibid.*, 105.
22. Cooper, 'Mau Mau and the Discourses of Decolonization', p. 319.
23. *Ibid.*
24. Furedi, *Mau Mau War in Perspective*, p. 118.
25. Kenyatta's co-arrestees included Bildad Kaggia, Fred Kubai, Richard Achieng-Oneko, Paul Negei and Kungu Karamba, all of whom Pritt represented. For a fuller account, see Dennis Nowell Pritt, *The Autobiography of D. N. Pritt* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1965).
26. Montagu Slater, *The Trial of Jomo Kenyatta* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1957), p. 174.
27. Jomo Kenyatta, cited in *ibid.*, pp. 174–5.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 236.
29. Pritt, *Autobiography*, p. 71.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
31. David Goldsworthy, *Colonial Issues in British Politics 1945–1961: From 'Colonial Development' to 'Winds of Change'* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 2.

149. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, 'Black America', in Cunard, *Negro*, p. 149.
150. Ibid., p. 150.
151. Ibid., p. 150.
152. Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon, 1995), p. 104.
153. Nancy Cunard, 'A Reactionary Negro Organisation', in Cunard, *Negro*, p. 146, emphasis in original.
154. James W. Ford, 'Communism and the Negro', in Cunard, *Negro*, p. 281.
155. Ibid., p. 284.
156. Ibid.
157. Ibid.
158. Nancy Cunard, 'Jamaica – the Negro Island', in Cunard, *Negro*, p. 449, emphasis in original.
159. Nancy Cunard, 'The Colour Bar', in Cunard, *Negro*, p. 552.
160. Ibid., p. 554.
161. George Padmore, 'Race Prejudice in England', in Cunard, *Negro*, p. 555.
162. Ibid.
163. George Padmore, 'Ethiopia Today: The Making of a Modern State', in Cunard, *Negro*, p. 612.
164. Ibid., p. 613.
165. Ben. N. Azikiwe, 'Liberia: Slave or Free?', in Cunard, *Negro*, p. 780.
166. Ibid., p. 781.
167. Ibid., p. 783.
168. George S. Schuyler, 'Black Civilisation and White', in Cunard, *Negro*, p. 785.
169. Ibid., p. 785.
170. Johnstone Kenyatta, 'Kenya', in Cunard, *Negro*, p. 805.
171. The Surrealist Group in Paris, 'Murderous Humanitarianism', transl. Samuel Beckett, in Cunard, *Negro*, p. 574. Signatories included André Breton, Roger Caillois and René Crevel.
172. T. K. Utchay, 'White-Manning in West Africa', in Cunard, *Negro*, p. 762.
173. Ibid.
174. Ibid., p. 765.
175. Ibid.
176. Ibid.
177. Raymond Michelet, 'African Empires and Civilisations', in Cunard, *Negro*, p. 598.
178. Michelet, '“Primitive” Life and Mentality', in Cunard, *Negro*, p. 739.
179. Ibid.
180. Ibid.
181. Ibid., p. 740.
182. Ibid.
183. Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, p. 56.
184. Michelet, '“Primitive” Life and Mentality', in Cunard, *Negro*, p. 740.
185. Ibid.
186. Ibid., p. 742.
187. Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, p. 69.
188. Michelet, '“Primitive” Life and Mentality', p. 745, emphasis in original.
189. Ibid., p. 746
190. Ibid., p. 747.
191. Ibid., 761.
192. Frantz Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism*, transl. Haakon Chevalier (New York: Grove, 1965), p. 125.
193. Raymond Michelet, 'The White Man Is Killing Africa', in Cunard, *Negro*, p. 839.
194. For a more extended discussion of the Cunard–McKay exchange on the question of payment, see Kalliney, *Commonwealth of Letters*. It is difficult not to sympathize with both parties in this case: the black writer in straitened circumstances who insisted on his right to remuneration; the disinherited white woman editor who was working with no budget to speak of for what she saw as a vital political project, though also no doubt operating within an aristocratic model of prestige and patronage, as McKay suggested.
195. McKay to Nancy Cunard, 25 January 1933, HRC 17.1.
196. Sylvia Pankhurst, 'The Fascist World War', in Kathryn Dodd, ed., *A Sylvia Pankhurst Reader* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), p. 215. First published in *New Times and Ethiopia News*, 1 August 1936.
197. Cited in Davis, *Sylvia Pankhurst*, 100.

149. J. R. Campbell, 'J. R. Campbell, Introducing a Resolution on Imperialism and War, Nov 1934', unpublished, Bridgeman Papers, U DBN/25/4]
150. *The Colonies and Oppressed Nations in the Struggle for Freedom: Resolutions Adopted by the Executive Committee of the League against Imperialism and for National Independence* (Berlin: International Secretariat of the League against Imperialism, 1931), p. 3, in Bridgeman Papers, U DBN/25/1.
151. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
152. *Ibid.*
153. *Ibid.*, pp. 4–5.
154. *Ibid.*, p. 5. The Special Restriction (Coloured Alien Seamen) Order, 18 March 1925, stated that “coloured” seamen who did not possess documentary proof of their status as British must register as ‘aliens’ in Britain. National Archives, Kew, HO 45/12314.
155. See Petersson, *Willi Münzenberg*, especially vol. 2, for a very thorough if rather cluttered account of the various machinations and movements that brought the organization to its final end in 1937.
156. *Ibid.*, p. 976.
157. Petersson, ‘The “Colonial Conference” ’, p. 75.

## 7. Black Voices Matter

1. Pan-African Association, ‘Address to the Nations of the World by the Pan-African Conference in London, 1900’, in J. Ayodele Langley, ed., *Ideologies of Liberation in Black Africa 1856–1970: Documents on Modern African Political Thought from Colonial Times to the Present* (London: Rex Collins, 1979), pp. 738–9.
2. Owen Charles Mathurin, *Henry Sylvester Williams and the Origins of the Pan-African Movement, 1869–1911* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1976). Mathurin suggests that the first use of the term ‘pan-African’ is to be found in a letter written by Williams in 1899 with reference to the upcoming conference. *Ibid.*, pp. 46, 52.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
4. Jonathan Derrick, *Africa’s Agitators: Militant Anti-colonialism in Africa and the West, 1918–1939* (London: Hurst, 2008), p. 23.
5. ‘Report of the Pan-African Conference’, cited in Mathurin, *Henry Sylvester Williams*, p. 56.
6. W. E. B. Du Bois et al., ‘Address to the Nations of the World by the Pan-African Conference in London, 1900’, in Langley, ed., *Ideologies of Liberation*, p. 738.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*, p. 739.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 738.
10. *Ibid.*, my emphasis.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 738–9.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 739.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Laura A. Winkiel, *Modernism, Race and Manifestos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 34, 27.
16. Pan-African Association, ‘The London Manifesto (29 August 1921)’, in Langley, *Ideologies of Liberation*, p. 748.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 748.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 750.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 749.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*, p. 750.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 749.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 750.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*, p. 751.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*, p. 752.

142. Ibid.
143. Ballard, 'Tyranny in the Empire'.
144. Brockway, 'How to Stop Hitler without War'.
145. Ballard, 'Empire "Sahibs" Bare Their Teeth'.
146. 'India and the War', *New Leader*, 29 September 1939.
147. 'African Workers Ask, "What Can the Blacks Know of Democracy?"', *New Leader*, 24 November 1939.
148. Ibid., emphasis in original.
149. The IASB anti-war Manifesto drafted by Padmore and discussed in Chapter 8 was also carried by the *New Leader*. Executive Committee of the International African Service Bureau, 'A Manifesto from the Colonial Workers', *New Leader*, 23 September 1938.
150. HC Deb, *Colonial Office*, 14 June 1938, vol. 337, cc. 79–189 (c. 165).
151. Ibid.
152. Ibid., c. 157.
153. Ibid., c. 168.
154. Høgsbjerg, 'James, Orwell, and "Literary Trotskyism"', pp. 43–60.
155. George Orwell, 'Not Counting Niggers', in Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus, ed., *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell*, 4 vols, vol. 1 (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968), p. 437. First published in the *Adelphi*, 1939, emphasis in original.
156. It is worth noting that, many decades later, James reflected on the unwitting underplaying of the dangers of Nazism that he and others might have been party to, in a comment on the failure to foresee the Holocaust: 'When it came, we were against it, but none of us really knew how mischievous fascism would be if it came to power. We thought it was merely some development of bourgeois hostility to proletarianism but it was more than that, it was an attempt to strike at everything that Europe had developed since the French Revolution in 1789. It wanted to take Europe back to class, and the subjugation of the people, it was a terrible thing altogether, but we saw it late.' 'Interview with C. L. R. James', in Mackenzie Frank, *C. L. R. James: The Black Jacobin* (London: Hackney Council, 1985). I am grateful to Christian Høgsbjerg for drawing my attention to this.
157. Diana [sic] Stock (Dinah Stock), 'Anti-fascism Begins at Home', *New Leader*, 6 May 1938.
158. Ibid.
159. Dinah Stock, 'An African Describes His Own People', *New Leader*, 1 July 1938.
160. Fenner Brockway, 'Empire Must Be Freed if Britain Is to Lead European Revolution against Nazism', *New Leader*, 18 July 1940, p. 4.
161. George Padmore, 'To Defeat Nazism We Must Free Colonials', *New Leader*, 25 July 1940.
162. J. V. P. de Silva, 'Beaverbrook Thanks Ceylon', *New Leader*, 23 November 1940.
163. Arthur Sudbery, ' "Imperialism" – from Z to A – and Even Further', *New Leader*, 9 May 1940, p. 4.
164. Padmore, 'Not Nazism! Not Imperialism! But Socialism!', *New Leader*, 27 April 1941.
165. Ibid.
166. George Padmore. 'We Gave Them Copper – They Gave Us Lead!' *New Leader*, 18 April 1940.
167. George Padmore, 'Lloyd Suppresses Another Report,' *New Leader*, 7 December 1940.
168. Ibid.
169. Padmore, 'Not Nazism! Not Imperialism! But Socialism!'
170. Fenner Brockway, 'How Far Is the Empire a Dictatorship?', *New Leader*, 30 August 1941.
171. Ibid.
172. Ibid.
173. George Padmore, 'Warning from the West Indies', *New Leader*, 3 May 1941.
174. George Padmore, 'Colonials Demand Britain's War Aims', *New Leader*, 15 February 1941.
175. George Padmore, 'Lifts the Veil of the Censorship over the Colonies', *New Leader*, 5 July 1941.
176. George Padmore, 'No Solution within Empires', *New Leader*, 9 May 1942.
177. Ibid.
178. George Padmore, 'Socialists Can't Bargain for India's Freedom', *New Leader*, 4 July 1942.
179. Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, p. 14.
180. George Padmore, 'Imperialists Treat Blacks like Nazis Treat Jews', *New Leader*, 13 September 1941.
181. George Padmore, 'Imperialists Can't Solve African Question', *New Leader*, 11 July 1942, p. 3.
182. Padmore, 'Imperialists Treat Blacks like Nazis Treat Jews'.
183. 'How Natives Are Robbed of Their Lands', *New Leader*, 20 September 1941.
184. George Padmore, 'The Crisis in the British Empire', *New Leader*, 27 June 1942.

118. Brockway, *Towards Tomorrow*, p. 216.
119. MCF, 'The Movement for Colonial Freedom', n.d. SOAS, MCF Archives, Box 87.
120. Kenneth O. Morgan, 'Imperialists at Bay: British Labour and Decolonization', in Robert D. King and Robin W. Kilson, eds, *The Statecraft of British Imperialism: Essays in Honour of Wm. Roger Lewis* (London: Frank Cass, 1999), p. 240.
121. Fenner Brockway, 'Winds of Change', draft article for *Time Life* magazine, CAC, FEBR 6.10.
122. Ibid.
123. Minutes of Special Central Council Meeting, 23 October 1958, MCF Archives, SOAS, Box 3.
124. MCF, 'Together against Imperialism', n.d. MCF Archives, SOAS, Box 87.
125. MCF, 'A Labour Government, the Colonial Peoples and the New Nations: A Policy Statement Offered for Consideration by the Movement for Colonial Freedom', MCF Archives, SOAS, Box 1.
126. MCF, *Young Socialists – Join the MCF*.
127. MCF, 'What Is Neocolonialism?', n.d. SOAS, MCF Archives, Box 87.
128. MCF, 'The Movement for Colonial Freedom Greet the All-African People's Conference', n.d. SOAS, MCF Archives, Box 87.
129. Brockway, 'What Is the MCF?'
130. MCF, 'Tasks for the Seventies: Based on the Speech of Lord Brockway, President of the MCF at Annual National Delegate Conference 1970', CAC, FEBR, 16.62.
131. Brockway, 'Fenner Brockway's 80th Birthday Celebrations, 1968', p. 3.
132. Ibid.
133. From MCF, 'Tasks for the Seventies'.
134. Ibid., p. 2.
135. Ibid., p. 7.
136. Ibid.
137. Lewis, *Empire State Building*, p. 91.
138. Prudence Smith, 'Margery Perham and Broadcasting: A Personal Reminiscence', in Alison Smith and Mary Bull, eds, *Margery Perham and British Rule in Africa* (New York/Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), p. 199.
139. Lewis, *Empire State-Building*, p. 89.
140. Roland Oliver, 'Prologue: The Two Miss Perhams', in Smith and Bull, *Margery Perham and British Rule in Africa*, p. 23.
141. Ibid. See also Margery Perham, *Colonial Sequence, 1949–1969: A Chronological Commentary upon British Colonial Policy in Africa* (London: Methuen, 1970).
142. Lewis writes that 'the late colonial state faced a crisis of paternalism and found a confusing array of prescriptions with which to read the problem and find a solution'. Lewis, *Empire State-Building*, p. 123.
143. Faught, *Into Africa*, p. 134.
144. Margery Perham, *East African Journey: Kenya and Tanganyika, 1929–30* (London: Faber & Faber, 1976), p. 15.
145. Faught, *Into Africa*, p. viii.
146. 'Newscheck on South Africa and Africa', 12 October 1962, cited in *ibid.*, p. 127.
147. Lewis, *Empire State-Building*, p. 92.
148. Ibid., p. 100.
149. Perham, *East African Journey*, p. 16.
150. Ibid., p. 118.
151. Ibid., p. 32.
152. Ibid., p. 192.
153. Perham, *Colonial Sequence, 1930–1949*, pp. xv, xix.
154. Ibid., p. 42.
155. Ibid., p. 140.
156. Ibid., p. 45.
157. Margery Perham, 'Introduction', in Margery Perham, ed., *Ten Africans: A Collection of Life Stories* (London: Faber & Faber, 1963), p. 9.
158. Ibid.
159. Ibid., p. 12.
160. Elspeth Huxley and Margery Perham, *Race and Politics in Kenya: A Correspondence between Elspeth Huxley and Margery Perham with an Introduction by Lord Lugard*, 2nd edn (London: Faber & Faber, 1956), p. 26.
161. Ibid., p. 120.

198. Ibid., p. 111.
199. Nancy Cunard, untitled, HRC 8.6.
200. Ibid.
201. Ibid.
202. Cited in Gordon, *Nancy Cunard*, p. 374.
203. McKay to Cunard, 20 August 1932, HRC 17.1; Chisholm, *Nancy Cunard*, p. 222.

## 8. Internationalizing African Opinion

1. Kwame Nkrumah, *Ghana: Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah* (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, 1957), p. 27.
2. Ibid.
3. Brent Hayes Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation, and the Rise of Black Internationalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), p. 246.
4. Minkah Makalani, *In the Cause of Freedom: Radical Black Internationalism from Harlem to London, 1917–1939* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), p. 194.
5. Christian Høgsbjerg, *C. L. R. James in Imperial Britain* (London/Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2014), p. 9.
6. Roderick J. Macdonald, ‘“The Wisers Who Are Far Away”: The Role of London’s Black Press in the 1930s and 1940s’, in Jagdish S. Gundara and Ian Duffield, eds, *Essays on the History of Blacks in Britain* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1992), p. 151. Black-run journals included *The Keys*, issued by the moderate organization the League of Coloured Peoples, while the *New Times and Ethiopia News*, edited by Pankhurst, had a significant number of black contributors.
7. James Walvin, *Black and White: The Negro and English Society, 1555–1945* (London: Allen Lane, 1973), p. 212.
8. ‘Editorial: An Open Letter to West Indian Intellectuals’, *International African Opinion* 1: 7 (May–June 1939).
9. Tony Martin, *Amy Ashwood Garvey: Pan-Africanist, Feminist, and Mrs Marcus Garvey No.1; or, a Tale of Two Amys* (Dover, MA: Majority Press, 2007), p. 143.
10. Ibid.
11. Gary Wilder, *Freedom Time: Negritude, Decolonization, and the Future of the World* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015), pp. 9–10.
12. Bill Schwarz, ‘George Padmore’, in Bill Schwarz, ed., *West Indian Intellectuals in Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p. 138. Schwarz’s description here is specifically of Padmore’s work.
13. Wilder is succinct and elegant on this point, noting of Césaire and Senghor among others: ‘These black thinkers also produced important abstract and general propositions about life, humanity, history, and the world’. Wilder, *Freedom Time*, p. 100.
14. To read Haile Selassie’s powerful 1936 speech at the League of Nations, see Haile Selassie, ‘Appeal to the League of Nations’, June 1936, available at [mtholyoke.edu](http://mtholyoke.edu).
15. Ibid.
16. Robbie Shilliam notes that, in December 1935, ‘details of a secret pact were made public wherein Britain and France had proposed to grant Italy significant territories in Ethiopia’. There was a public furore about this, forcing the resignation of Foreign Secretary Samuel Hoare. Robbie Shilliam, ‘Ethiopianism, Englishness, British-ness: Struggles over Imperial Belonging’, *Citizenship Studies* 20: 2 (2016), p. 246.
17. Frank Hardie, *The Abyssinian Crisis* (London: Batsford, 1974), p. 6. Hooker discusses the tendency even of sympathizers ‘to talk of Africa as a European problem, as a piece of territory coveted by some white nations and controlled by others’. James R. Hooker, *Black Revolutionary: George Padmore’s path from Communism to Pan-Africanism* (London: Pall Mall, 1967), p. 45. Padmore, representing the IAFE, apparently rebuked a conference called by the National Peace Council thus: ‘you discuss the redivision of Africa to satisfy discontented nations like Germany and Italy, but the views and opinions of the Africans themselves are not solicited. It may have been nothing more than an oversight on your part, but it certainly does not establish much confidence among the people of Africa’. Ibid.
18. Cited in C. L. R. James, ‘Black Intellectuals in Britain’, in Bhikhu Parekh, ed., *Colour, Culture and Consciousness: Immigrant Intellectuals in Britain* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1974), p. 159.
19. Ibid., p. 161.
20. Makonnen, *Pan-Africanism*, pp. 116–17.
21. C. L. R. James, ‘Abyssinia and the Imperialists’, in Anna Grimshaw, ed., *The C. L. R. James Reader* (London: Wiley-Blackwell, 1992), p. 63.
22. Ibid., p. 64.
23. Ibid., p. 66.

145. Ibid., p. 31.
146. James, *History of Negro Revolt*, p. 52.
147. Ibid., p. 62.
148. Ibid.
149. Ibid.
150. Ibid., p. 69.
151. Ibid., p. 71.
152. Ibid., p. 81.
153. Ibid.
154. Ibid.
155. Ibid., p. 83.
156. Post, *Arise Ye Starvelings*, p. 238.
157. *The Times*, 4 May 1938, cited in *ibid.*, p. 308.
158. Cited in Post, *Arise Ye Starvelings*, 330. 'By the end of August ... it was clear that the main response of the Colonial Office to the Jamaican labour rebellion was to accept it as final proof that some major action had to be taken to revise West Indian policy' (p. 336).
159. See *ibid.*, p. 327.
160. Cited in Post, *Arise Ye Starvelings*, p. 367.
161. Arthur Calder-Marshall, *Glory Dead* (London: M. Joseph, 1939), p. 255. See also W. M. Macmillan, *Warning from the West Indies* (London: Faber & Faber, 1936).
162. W. Arthur Lewis, *Labour in the West Indies: The Birth of a Workers Movement* (London: New Beacon, 1977 [1939]), p. 41.
163. Ibid., pp. 18–19.
164. Ibid., p. 19.
165. Ibid., p. 40.
166. Ibid., my emphasis.
167. C. L. R. James, 'Notes on the Life of George Padmore', in Anna Grimshaw, ed., *The C. L. R. James Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), pp. 294–5.
168. 'Between 1930 and 1945 all of us saw African emancipation as dependent upon the breakdown of imperialist power in Europe. Armed rebellion was sure to be crushed unless the imperialist powers were impotent; and this could only be the result of revolutions within the metropolitan powers themselves ... The need for a political reappraisal rose from the fact that, contrary to our pre-war speculations, nowhere had the proletariat of the metropolitan powers overthrown the imperialist state. The actual struggle of the Africans now had to depend on themselves alone.' Ibid., p. 294.
169. Makonnen, *Pan-Africanism*, p. 147.

## 9. Smash Our Own Imperialism

1. George Padmore to Nancy Cunard, n.d., Harry Ransom Centre, Nancy Cunard Papers (hereafter HRC) 17.10.
2. Nancy Cunard and George Padmore, 'The White Man's Duty: An Analysis of the Colonial Question in Light of the Atlantic Charter', in Maureen Moynagh, ed., *Essays on Race and Empire* (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview, 2002), pp. 127–77.
3. Cunard and Padmore, 'White Man's Duty', p. 138.
4. Ibid., p. 139.
5. Ibid., p. 144.
6. Ibid., p. 160.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid., p. 127.
9. Typescript of 'White Man's Duty', HRC 9.10.
10. Cunard and Padmore, 'White Man's Duty', p. 136.
11. Ibid.
12. Nancy Cunard and George Padmore, *The White Man's Duty* (London: W. H. Allen, 1942), front cover.
13. James R. Hooker, *Black Revolutionary: George Padmore's Path from Communism to Pan-Africanism* (London: Pall Mall, 1967), p. 12.
14. For more on this phase of Padmore's political career, see Imanuel Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement*, transl. Ann

- Race and Class* 9: 1 (1967), pp. 80, 79.
70. Ibid., p. 80.
  71. McKay, *A Long Way from Home*, p. 76.
  72. Ibid.
  73. Ibid., p. 68. He sought refuge in two clubs, one 'for colored soldiers' in a basement in Drury Lane which he felt obliged to withdraw from after describing in print the 'patronizing white maternal attitude toward her colored charges' of the Englishwoman who ran it. Ibid., p. 67–8.
  74. McKay, letter to Nancy Cunard, 30 April 1932, HRC 17.1.
  75. McKay, *A Long Way from Home*, p. 78.
  76. Ibid., p. 77.
  77. Ibid., p. 78.
  78. Ibid., p. 61.
  79. Claude McKay, 'Socialism and the Negro', in Cooper, ed., *Passion of Claude McKay*, p. 54.
  80. Ibid.
  81. Ibid., p. 51.
  82. Ibid.
  83. Ibid., p. 53–4.
  84. Ibid., p. 54.
  85. Leon Lopez, 'The Yellow Peril and the Dockers', *Workers Dreadnought* VII: 30 (16 October 1920).
  86. Ibid.
  87. Jarrett, 'Introduction', in McKay, *A Long Way from Home*, p. xxvii.
  88. Cited in Winston James, 'A Race Outcast from an Outcast Class: Claude McKay's Experience and Analysis of Britain', in Bill Schwarz, ed., *West Indian Intellectuals in Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p. 85, emphasis in original.
  89. Ibid., p. 72.
  90. 'Stabbing Negroes in the London Dock Area', editorial, *Workers Dreadnought* VI: 11 (7 June 1919).
  91. 'The Indian Reform Bill', editorial, *Workers Dreadnought* VI: 12 (14 June 1919).
  92. 'India and Ireland: India Going Sinn Fein', *Workers Dreadnought* VIII: 43 (7 January 1922).
  93. Cited in Mary Davis, *Sylvia Pankhurst: A Life in Radical Politics* (London: Pluto, 1999), p. 106.
  94. Sylvia Pankhurst, *India and the Earthly Paradise* (Bombay: Sunshine, 1926), pp. 637–8.
  95. McKay to Cunard, 1 December 1931, HRC 17.1, emphasis in original. Also cited in Lois Gordon, *Nancy Cunard: Heiress, Muse, Political Idealist* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), p. 164.
  96. Jane Marcus, *Hearts of Darkness: White Women Write Race* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2004). Marcus writes, correctly, that Cunard has too often been dismissed as an eccentric wealthy aristocrat whose sole claim to fame is her bohemianism: 'When the stories of African anticolonial struggles are finally written, perhaps it is here she will find her place in history' (p. 122). She also has a place in the histories of anti-racism in Britain and the United States.
  97. For a fuller picture of the Scottsboro campaign in Britain and key figures associated with it, see Susan D. Pennybacker's excellent detailed study, *From Scottsboro to Munich: Race and Political Culture in 1930s Britain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009). Another LAI figure who was visible in the Scottsboro campaign was Willi Münzenberg, in addition to many other communists including Saklatvala.
  98. For an account of how *Negro* sits within a wider modernist antho-logical culture, see Peter J. Kalliney, *Commonwealth of Letters: British Literary Culture and the Emergence of Postcolonial Aesthetics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), especially Chapter 2, 'Race and Anthologies'.
  99. Brent Hayes Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation, and the Rise of Black Internationalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), p. 310.
  100. Nancy Cunard to Dorothy Padmore, 'For Dorothy', HRC 17.10.
  101. Edwards, *Practice of Diaspora*, p. 310.
  102. Irina Rasmussen Goloubeva, 'Curating Art, Rewriting World History: Nancy Cunard's *Negro: An Anthology* (1934)', in Margrét Gunnarsdóttir Champion and Irina Rasmussen Goloubeva, eds, *Ethics and Poetics: Ethical Recognitions and Social Reconfigurations in Modern Narratives* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2014), p. 283.
  103. Cited in Hugh Ford, ed., *Nancy Cunard: Brave Poet, Indomitable Rebel, 1896–1965* (New York: Chilton Book Company, 1968), p. 114. Cited in Gordon, *Nancy Cunard*, p. 156.
  104. Laura A. Winkiel, 'Nancy Cunard's *Negro* and the Transnational Politics of Race', *Modernism/Modernity* 13: 3 (September 2006), p. 513.
  105. Alain Locke to Cunard, 14 April 1934, HRC 20.10.

24. Ibid.
25. It is worth noting, however, that there was disagreement about how to deal with the situation. James opposed League of Nations sanctions against Italy, calling instead for ‘workers sanctions’.
26. Robert G. Weisbord, ‘British West Indian Reaction to the Italian–Ethiopian War: An Episode in Pan-Africanism’, *Caribbean Studies* 10: 1 (April 1970), p. 34.
27. Marc Matera, *Black London: The Imperial Metropolis and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2015), p. 6.
28. Ibid., p. 3.
29. Ibid., p. 98.
30. Cedric J. Robinson, ‘The African Diaspora and the Italo-Ethiopian Crisis’, *Race and Class* 27: 2 (1985), p. 60.
31. Cited in S. K. B. Asante, *Pan-African Protest: West Africa and the Italo-Ethiopian Crisis, 1934–1941* (London: Longman, 1977), p. 202.
32. C. L. R. James, ‘Is This Worth a War?’, in *At the Rendezvous of Victory: Selected Writings* (London: Allison & Busby, 1984), pp. 15–16.
33. Ibid., p. 16.
34. A report of a speech given by James at the LCP’s 1933 conference, cited Høgsbjerg, *C. L. R. James in Imperial Britain*, p. 66.
35. Cited in *ibid.*, p. 87.
36. Ras Makonnen, *Pan-Africanism from Within* (Nairobi/London: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 114–15.
37. Davarian L. Baldwin, ‘Introduction: New Negroes Forging a New World’, in Davarian L. Baldwin and Minkah Makalani, eds, *Escape from New York: The New Negro Renaissance beyond Harlem* (Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 2013), pp. 4–5.
38. Anthony Bogues, *Caliban’s Freedom: The Early Political Thought of C. L. R. James* (London: Pluto, 1997), p. 80.
39. *International African Opinion* 1: 2 (1938), quoted from back cover.
40. Stafford Cripps, ‘Foreword’, in George Padmore, *Africa and World Peace* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1937), p. ix.
41. Ibid., pp. 117–18.
42. ‘Editorial’, *International African Opinion* 1: 1 (July 1938). For a fuller account of the publishing activities mentioned here, see Carol Polsgrove, *Ending British Rule in Africa: Writers in a Common Cause* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).
43. Cited in Asante, *Pan-African Protest*, p. 205.
44. Eric Williams, *The Negro in the Caribbean*, foreword by George Padmore (Manchester: Panaf Service/International African Service Bureau Publications, 1942). Quoted from back cover.
45. Edwards also lists Peter Milliard, William Harrison, Laminah Sankoh, Chris Jones and Babalola Wilkey as key members. See Edwards, *Practice of Diaspora*, p. 299.
46. Cedric J. Robinson, ‘Black Intellectuals at the British Core: 1920s–1940s’, in Gundara and Duffield, *Essays on the History of Blacks in Britain*, p. 180.
47. C. L. R. James, *Beyond a Boundary*, 50th anniversary edn, with an introduction by Robert Lipsyte (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2013), p. 111.
48. Stephen Howe, ‘C. L. R. James: Visions of History, Visions of Britain’, in Schwarz ed., *West Indian Intellectuals in Britain*, pp. 168, 165.
49. Schwarz, ‘George Padmore’, pp. 145–6.
50. Cited in Makalani, *In the Cause of Freedom*, p. 205.
51. Cited in Høgsbjerg, *James in Imperial Britain*, p. 71.
52. For an interesting account of James’s relationship to labour rebellions of the 1930s, see Christian Høgsbjerg, ‘“A Thorn in the Side of Great Britain”: C. L. R. James and the Caribbean Labour Rebellions of the 1930s’, *Small Axe* 15: 2 (July 2011).
53. *International African Opinion* 1: 1 (July 1938).
54. ‘Why Such a Bureau?’, *IASB Broadsheet*, cited in Asante, *Pan-African Protest*, p. 204.
55. Makalani, *In the Cause of Freedom*, p. 218. The pamphlets that came out formally under the aegis of the IASB include *The West Indies Today*, *Hands off the Protectorates*, *The Negro in the Caribbean* and *Kenya: Land of Conflict*.
56. James, ‘Black Intellectuals in Britain’, p. 161.
57. Macdonald, ‘“The Wisers Who Are Far Away”’, p. 158.
58. Makalani, Matera and Edwards, among others, give enthusiastic praise to *International African Opinion*, but mention only a few highlights from its short run.

100. 'Anti-imperialist Exhibition in Glasgow', *International African Opinion* 1: 1, July 1938.
101. 'The West Indian Royal Commission', *International African Opinion*.
102. 'Editorial: To the Delegates of the Trades Union Congress at Blackpool', *International African Opinion* 1: 3 (September 1938).
103. Ibid.
104. 'An Open Letter to West Indian Intellectuals', *International African Opinion*, 1:7 (May–June 1939).
105. Ibid.
106. Ibid.
107. Ibid.
108. Ibid.
109. 'Notes on the West Indies', *International African Opinion* 1: 1 (July 1938).
110. Ibid.
111. 'Editorial: Africa and World Peace', *International African Opinion* 1: 4 (October 1938).
112. 'Politics and the Negro', *International African Opinion* 1: 4 (October 1938).
113. International African Service Bureau, 'Manifesto against War', September 25, 1938; *International African Opinion* 1:4 (October 1938).
114. 'Politics and the Negro: Africa and the New Diaspora', *International African Opinion* 1: 3 (September 1938).
115. Ibid.
116. Ibid.
117. Makalani, *In the Cause of Freedom*, p. 204.
118. 'Editorial: Hitler and the Colonies', *International African Opinion* 1: 5 (November 1938).
119. Ibid.
120. Ibid.
121. Ibid.
122. Ibid.
123. Eric Williams, *The Negro in the Caribbean*, p. 52.
124. Ibid., p. 53.
125. Ibid., 57: 'At various periods before 1935 there had been labour unrest in the British West Indies and attempts at the formation of Workingmen's Associations. It is significant that one of the most important of these uprisings took place in Trinidad in 1919 during the international unrest which followed the World War.'
126. Ibid., p. 65.
127. George Padmore, 'Fascism in the Colonies', *Controversy* 2: 17 (February 1938).
128. International African Service Bureau, *The West Indies Today* (London: International African Service Bureau, 1956), p. 40.
129. Ibid., p. 41.
130. 'In carrying out this programme, the Bureau will be pleased to supply speakers to Labour Party Branches, Trade Unions, Co-operative Guilds, and other working-class and progressive organisations, in order to explain the present conditions under which the coloured populations in various parts of the Empire live'. Williams, *The Negro in the Caribbean*, quoted from 'What Is the International African Service Bureau', on inside back cover.
131. George Padmore, 'Manifesto against War', *International African Opinion* 1: 4 (October 1938).
132. C. L. R. James, *Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution* (London: Allison & Busby, 1977), p. 69.
133. Edwards, *Practice of Diaspora*, p. 305.
134. Ibid.
135. Williams, *The Negro in the Caribbean*, p. 52.
136. James, *History of Negro Revolt*, pp. 5–6.
137. Ibid., p. 16.
138. Ibid., p. 18.
139. Ibid., p. 27.
140. Ibid., p. 45.
141. Ibid., p. 47.
142. Walter Rodney, 'The African Revolution', in Paul Buhle, ed., *C. L. R. James: His Life and Work* (London: Allison & Busby, 1986), p. 32.
143. For a fuller account of such movements, see Michael Adas, *Prophets of Rebellion: Millenarian Protest Movements against European Colonial Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).
144. Rodney, 'African Revolution', pp. 34–5.

162. Ibid., p. 111.
163. Ibid., p. 192.
164. Ibid., p. 194.
165. Ibid., p. 212, emphasis in original.
166. Ibid., pp. 254–5.
167. Ibid., p. 258.
168. Elspeth Huxley, *A Thing to Love: A Novel* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1954).
169. Huxley and Perham, *Race and Politics in Kenya*, p. 265.
170. Ibid., p. 274.
171. Ibid., p. 268.
172. Ibid, emphasis in original.
173. Ibid.
174. Ibid., p. 276, my emphasis.
175. Perham, *Colonial Sequence 1949–1969*, p. 93.
176. Ibid.
177. Ibid., pp. 93–4.
178. Ibid., p. 94.
179. Ibid., p. 112.
180. Ibid., p. 95.
181. Ibid.
182. Ibid., p. 96.
183. Ibid., p. 97.
184. Ibid., p. 147.
185. Ibid., p. 148.
186. Tom Mboya, *The Kenya Question: An African Answer* (London: Fabian Colonial Bureau, 1956).
187. Cited in David Goldsworthy, *Tom Mboya: The Man Who Kenya Wanted to Forget* (Nairobi/London: Heinemann, 1982), p. 55.
188. Margery Perham, foreword in Mboya, *The Kenya Question*.
189. Ibid., p. 7.
190. Cited in Faught, *Into Africa*, p. 158.
191. Mboya, *The Kenya Question*, p. 13.
192. Ibid., p. 13.
193. Ibid., p. 17.
194. Ibid.
195. Ibid.
196. Ibid.
197. Ibid., p. 16.
198. Ibid., p. 31.
199. Ibid., p. 17.
200. Tom Mboya, *Freedom and After* (London: André Deutsch, 1963), p. 49.
201. Ibid., p. 52.
202. Ibid., p. 51.
203. Margery Perham, *The Colonial Reckoning* (London: Collins, 1961).
204. Ibid., p. 16.
205. Letter to Prudence Smith, cited in Faught, *Into Africa*, p. 140.
206. Perham, *The Colonial Reckoning*, p. 9.
207. Ibid., pp. 14–15.
208. Ibid., p. 13.
209. Ibid., p. 11.
210. Ibid., p. 22.
211. Ibid., p. 38.
212. Ibid., p. 40.
213. Ibid.
214. Ibid., p. 44

32. Ibid.
33. Ibid., p. 751.
34. Ibid.
35. The phrase ‘rebel sojourner’ that appears in the subheading is Wayne F. Cooper’s. See his *Claude McKay, Rebel Sojourner in the Harlem Renaissance* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996).
36. Pan-African Association, ‘London Manifesto’, p. 751.
37. Satnam Virdee, *Racism, Class and the Racialized Outsider* (London: Palgrave, 2014), p. 74.
38. E. D. Morel, ‘Black Scourge in Europe’, *Daily Herald*, 10 April 1920. The subheadings on the front page included: ‘Sexual Horror Let Loose by France on the Rhine’, ‘Disappearance of Young German Girls’ and ‘A Deliberate Policy’.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid., emphasis in original.
42. R. C. Reinders, ‘Racialism on the Left: E. D. Morel and the Black Horror on the Rhine’, *International Review of Social History* 13: 1 (April 1968), p. 4. This is a full – and damning – account of Morel’s pamphlet and its reception.
43. Morel, ‘Black Scourge in Europe’.
44. Ibid.
45. E. D. Morel, ‘Black Scourge in Europe’, *Daily Herald*, 10 April 1920.
46. ‘Black Peril on the Rhine: Wave of Indignation’, *Daily Herald*, 12 April 1920.
47. Morel, ‘Black Scourge in Europe’.
48. ‘Brutes in French Uniform’, *Daily Herald*, 13 April 1920.
49. Reinders, ‘Racialism on the Left’, p. 2.
50. Reinders offers a full list. Ibid., p. 7.
51. As just one example, the entry for Morel in the left-wing encyclopedia *Spartacus Educational* ([spartacus-educational.com](http://spartacus-educational.com)) also fails to refer to the ‘Black Scourge’ affair.
52. ‘Democratic Control, Debate on Labour’s Foreign Policy, the Black Troops’, *Daily Herald*, 26 April 1920.
53. E. D. Morel, *The Horror on the Rhine, with a Preface by Arthur Ponsonby and New Foreword by the Author*, 8th edn (London: Union of Democratic Control, 1921), p. 23.
54. Barbara Foley, cited in Gene Andrew Jarrett, ‘Introduction’, in Claude McKay, *A Long Way from Home* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2007), p. xxv.
55. Claude McKay, ‘A Black Man Replies’, in Wayne Cooper, ed., *The Passion of Claude McKay: Selected Prose and Poetry, 1912–1948* (New York: Schocken Books, 1973), pp. 55–6.
56. Ibid., p. 55.
57. Ibid.
58. Reinders notes that, many years later, McKay explained that he believed the Second International’s fear that French militarism would destroy the German Social Democrats is what may have motivated the turn to race by Morel and others – the knowledge that an appeal to racial solidarity would be the only hope in the face of widespread anti-Germanism in Britain. Reinders, ‘Racialism on the Left’, p. 26.
59. McKay, ‘A Black Man Replies’, p. 56.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
62. For a thorough account of these see Jacqueline Jenkinson, *Black 1919: Riots, Racism and Resistance in Imperial Britain* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009). Jenkinson cites a letter from the African Races Association of Glasgow which condemns ‘the unwarrantable attacks that have been made upon men of colour, without exception, as one common herd of inferior beings’, also asking pertinently: ‘Did not some of these men fight on the same battlefields with white men to defeat the same enemy and make secure the British Empire?’ (p. 8).
63. Ibid., p. 4.
64. Virdee, *Racism, Class, and the Racialized Outsider*, p. 79.
65. McKay, *A Long Way from Home*, pp. 75.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid.
68. Claude McKay, letter to Nancy Cunard, 18 September 1932, Harry Ransom Center Nancy Cunard Papers (hereafter HRC) 17.1.
69. Wayne F. Cooper and Robert C. Reinders, ‘A Black Briton Comes “Home”: Claude McKay in England, 1920’,

106. Marcus, *Hearts of Darkness*, p. 123. Marcus is eloquent on Cunard's centrality to modernism as a 'living network, a one-woman permanent walking demonstration against racism and fascism, and a celebrant of black culture in all its forms. She had a voice in shaping many of the competing and conflicting discourses of modernism, but in their histories there is only the marginal trace of a husky whisper, a streak of kohl across those hooded piercing eyes, remembered in a malicious footnote, and a stunning visual history in photographs, portraits, and sculpture by major and minor modernist artists' (ibid.). Marcus argues that Cunard changed art history by pioneering 'the revaluation of ethnic objects as art for museums and private collectors' (p. 126).
107. Ibid., p. 128.
108. HRC 10.8 contains several of these offensive letters that Cunard kept.
109. Alan Warren Friedman, 'Introduction', in Alan Warren Friedman, ed., *Beckett in Black and Red: The Translations for Nancy Cunard's Negro (1934)* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2014), p. xi.
110. Winkiel, 'Nancy Cunard's Negro', p. 515.
111. Winkiel, *Modernism, Race and Manifestos*, p. 162.
112. Robin D. G. Kelley, '“But a Local Phase of a World Problem”: Black History's Global Vision, 1883–1950', *Journal of American History* 86: 3 (December 1999), *The Nation and Beyond: Transnational Perspectives on United States History – A Special Issue*, p. 1,055.
113. Cunard, 'Review of *Africa Answers Back*', undated typescript, probably 1934 or 1935, HRC 8.6.
114. Cunard to the *Spectator* and Lothrop Stoddard, probably 6 June 1931, HRC 10.6.
115. James (Ford?) to Cunard, 2 April 1934, HRC 20.10.
116. Hughes to Cunard, HRC 15.11.
117. Cited in Anne Chisholm, *Nancy Cunard* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1979), p. 191.
118. McKay to Cunard, 20 August 1932, HRC 17.1.
119. Hugh Ford, 'Introduction', in Cunard, *Negro*, p. xi.
120. A shortened version of the anthology was published in 1970 by Hugh Ford.
121. For more on Beckett's work with the anthology, see Friedman, *Beckett in Black and Red*.
122. Eugene Gordon to Cunard, 7 June 1934, HRC 20.10, emphasis in original.
123. Langston Hughes, 'Always the Same', in Cunard, *Negro*, p. 427.
124. Cunard, 'Black Man and White Ladyship: An Anniversary', in Maureen Moyhagh, ed., *Essays on Race and Empire* (Calgary: Broadview, 2002), p. 195.
125. Cited in Chisholm, *Nancy Cunard*, p. 192, and Hugh Ford, 'Introduction', in Cunard, *Negro*, p. xvii.
126. For a fuller account of the contents of the anthology, see 'Coda', in Edwards, *Practice of Diaspora*.
127. Cited in Robin D. G. Kelley, 'Introduction', in Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, transl. Joan Pinkham, ed. Robin D. G. Kelley (New York: Monthly Review, 2000), pp. 25–6.
128. 'Curating Art, Rewriting World History', in Champion and Goloubeva, *Ethics and Poetics*, p. 275.
129. Ibid., p. 276.
130. Friedman, 'Introduction', in Friedman, ed., *Beckett in Black and Red*, p. xxxi.
131. Raymond Michelet, 'Nancy Cunard', in Hugh Ford, ed., *Nancy Cunard*, p. 128.
132. Kalliney, 'Cunard, Hughes, McKay, Pound', p. 73.
133. Nancy Cunard, foreword to Cunard, *Negro*, p. iv.
134. Ford, 'Introduction', p. xii.
135. Ibid., p. xiii–xiv.
136. Edwards, *Practice of Diaspora*.
137. Cunard, 'Foreword', p. iii.
138. Ibid., p. iii.
139. Ibid., p. iv.
140. Ibid., p. iii.
141. Ibid.
142. Winkiel, *Modernism, Race and Manifestos*, 175.
143. Ibid., p. iv.
144. Langston Hughes, introduction to Cunard, *Negro*, p. 4.
145. Taylor Gordon, 'Malicious Lies Magnifying the Truth', in Cunard, *Negro*, p. 79.
146. Ibid., p. 80.
147. John Frederick Matheus, 'Some Aspects of the Negro Interpreted in Contemporary American and European Literature', in Cunard, *Negro*, p. 108.
148. 'Nat Turner – Revolutionist', in Cunard, *Negro*, p. 14.

20. Ibid., p. 31.
21. Ibid., p. 32.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid., p. 29.
24. Ibid., p. 34.
25. Ibid., p. 35.
26. Ibid., p. 38.
27. Ibid., p. 36.
28. Ibid., p. 35.
29. Ibid., p. 36.
30. Paul Gilroy, *After Empire: Melancholia or Convivial Culture?* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004), p. 2.
31. Ibid., pp. 2, 3.
32. Ibid., p. 3.
33. Some recent works that offer useful insights and accounts include: Michael Goebel, *Anti-imperial Metropolis: Interwar Paris and the Seeds of Third World Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Daniel Brückenhaus, *Policing Transnational Protest: Liberal Imperialism and the Surveillance of Anticolonialists in Europe, 1905–1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Ian Birchall, ed., *European Revolutionaries and Algerian Independence, 1954–1062* (London: Merlin, 2012); Jennifer Anne Boittin, *Colonial Metropolis: The Urban Grounds of Anti-imperialism and Feminism in Interwar Paris* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2010). As is evident, there is much more on France than on other European imperial powers.
34. Robbie Shilliam, *The Black Pacific: Anti-colonial Struggles and Oceanic Connections* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), p.185
35. Runnymede Trust, *The Future of Multi-ethnic Britain: The Parekh Report* (London: Profile, 2000), p. 14.
36. Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994 [1993]), p. 59.
37. Richard J. Evans, ‘The Wonderfulness of Us (the Tory Interpretation of History)’, *London Review of Books* 33:6 (17 March 2011).
38. Jo Littler and Roshi Naidoo, ‘White Past, Multicultural Present: Heritage and National Stories’, in Robert Phillips and Helen Brocklehurst, eds, *History, Identity and the Question of Britain* (London: Palgrave, 2004), p. 338.
39. Jamaica Kincaid, *A Small Place* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2000 [1998]), p. 56.
40. ‘The Meaning of Working through the Past’, in Theodor W. Adorno, *Critical Models: Interventions and Catchwords*, transl. Henry W. Pickford (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), p. 89.
41. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, p. 24.
42. Ibid., p. 19.
43. Ibid., p. 10.
44. E. M. Forster, *A Passage to India* (London: Penguin, 2005 [1924]).
45. Mary Beard, ‘Cecil Rhodes and Oriel College, Oxford’, *Times Literary Supplement* blog, 20 December 2015, [the-tls.co.uk](http://the-tls.co.uk).
46. Goldwin Smith, *Reminiscences*, ed. Arnold Haultain (New York: Macmillan, 1910), p. 369.

- Keep (London: Methuen, 1974).
15. Hooker, *Black Revolutionary*, pp. 17–18.
  16. Leslie James, *George Padmore and Decolonization from Below: Pan-Africanism, the Cold War, and the End of Empire* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 5.
  17. Robin D. G. Kelley, ‘A Poetics of Anticolonialism’, in Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, transl. Joan Pinkham (New York: Monthly Review, 2000), p. 20.
  18. Ibid.
  19. ‘George Padmore: Black Marxist Revolutionary’, in C. L. R. James, *At the Rendezvous of Victory: Selected Writings* (London: Allison & Busby, 1984), p. 257.
  20. James, *George Padmore and Decolonization from Below*, p. 11.
  21. Susan D. Pennybacker, *From Scottsboro to Munich: Race and Political Culture in 1930s Britain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009); Minkah Makalani, *In the Cause of Freedom: Radical Black Internationalism from Harlem to London, 1917–1939* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Carol Polsgrove, *Ending British Rule in Africa: Writers in a Common Cause* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012); Brent Hayes Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation, and the Rise of Black Internationalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003); Fitzroy Baptiste and Rupert Lewis, ed., *George Padmore: Pan-African Revolutionary* (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle, 2008).
  22. C. L. R. James, ‘Notes on the Life of George Padmore’, in Anna Grimshaw, ed., *The C. L. R. James Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), p. 290.
  23. Cited in Anthony Bogues, ‘C. L. R. James and George Padmore: The Ties That Bind – Black Radicalism and Political Friendship’, in Baptiste and Lewis, *George Padmore*, p. 200.
  24. Rupert Lewis, ‘Introduction’, in Baptiste and Lewis, *George Padmore*.
  25. James, *George Padmore and Decolonization from Below*, p. 3.
  26. Matera describes James’s views as going ‘beyond the cautious anti-imperialism of the ILP’. Marc Matera, *Black London: The Imperial Metropolis and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2015), p. 79. My suggestion here is that James Padmore and others contributed to a degree of radicalization where the organization’s engagement with the Empire was concerned.
  27. As Cedric Robinson has noted, left politicians such as William Gallagher (of the Communist Party), Fenner Brockway and Reginald Sorensen were among those associated with the black intelligentsia in Britain, who included, in addition to James and Padmore, Arnold Ward, Chris Jones, Ras Makonnen and Peter Blackman, among others. Cedric Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (London/Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), p. 261.
  28. James, ‘George Padmore: Black Marxist Revolutionary’, in James, *At the Rendezvous of Victory*, p. 256.
  29. Bert J. Thomas, ‘George Padmore’, in Thomas, ed., *The Struggle for Liberation: From Dubois to Nyerere* (New York: Theo Gaus, 1982), pp. 46–7.
  30. George Padmore, ‘Trusteeship – the New Imperialism’, *New Leader*, 2 February 1946.
  31. James, ‘Notes on the Life of George Padmore’, p. 293.
  32. Peter Abrahams, *The Black Experience in the Twentieth Century: An Autobiography and Meditation* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2000), p. 38
  33. Geiss, *Pan-African Movement*, p. 353.
  34. Hooker, *Black Revolutionary*, p. 46.
  35. Arnold Ward, cited in Makalani, *In the Cause of Freedom*, p. 185.
  36. James, citing Padmore, in ‘George Padmore: Black Marxist Revolutionary’, p. 255.
  37. Cited in Polsgrove, *Ending British Rule in Africa*, p. 4.
  38. See James, ‘George Padmore’.
  39. Ibid., p. 254.
  40. Cited in Hooker, *Black Revolutionary*, p. 31.
  41. Ibid., p. 33.
  42. James, ‘George Padmore’, p. 255.
  43. Ibid.
  44. James, ‘Notes on the Life of George Padmore’, p. 292.
  45. George Padmore, *The Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers* (London: Red International Labour Unions Magazine for the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers, 1931), available at [marxists.org](http://marxists.org).
  46. James, *George Padmore and Decolonization from Below*, p. 22.
  47. George Padmore to Cyril Olivierre, 11 December 1945, Padmore Papers, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, MG.624.

- 'brake' to such pressures created a 'peculiar dialectic'. Sumit Sarkar, *'Popular' Movements and 'Middle Class' Leadership in Late Colonial India: Perspectives and Problems of a 'History from Below'* (Calcutta: Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, 1983), p. 44.
107. Cited in Overstreet and Windmiller, *Communism in India*, p. 56.
  108. See Nirode K. Barooah, *Chatto: The Life and Times of an Anti-imperialist in Europe* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004).
  109. Sarkar, *Modern India*, p. 247.
  110. Cited in Panchanan Saha, *Shapurji Saklatvala: A Short Biography* (Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1970), p. 40.
  111. Shapurji Saklatvala, 'Mr Saklatwala's Message to His Countrymen' (message to Sarojini Naidu, president of Indian National Congress), reprinted in *Bombay Chronicle*, 15 January 1997, in Saklatvala Papers, British Library, MSS EUR D 1173/3.
  112. *Ibid.* He continues: 'The old idea of ruling castes in each nation wanting to rule the masses within their nation, has been burnt and charred in the conflagration of the last great war and cannot be revived.'
  113. *Ibid.*
  114. Wadsworth notes that, on the eve of his departure from India, Saklatvala made a 'controversial speech' calling for peasants and workers to rally around the Congress. Roy complained to the CPGB, saying that 'Saklatvala was hobnobbing with all sorts of Indians who were not revolutionaries'. *Ibid.*, p. 61. Another Indian leftist, Hasrat Mohani, claimed that the British Indian MP had become a 'Congress victim'. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
  115. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
  116. 'Saklatvala's Open Letter to Gandhi', *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 12 March 1927. In Wadsworth, *Comrade Sak*, pp. 158–9.
  117. *Ibid.*, p. 159.
  118. 'Saklatvala to Gandhi', 1 July 1927. In Wadsworth, *Comrade Sak*, p. 172.
  119. Wadsworth, Saklatvala to Gandhi, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 12 March 1927, p. 156.
  120. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
  121. *Ibid.*
  122. *Ibid.*, p. 159.
  123. *Ibid.*
  124. 'Mahatma Gandhi's Reply', *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 18 March 1927. Cited in Wadsworth, *Comrade Sak*, p. 162.
  125. *Ibid.*, p. 165.
  126. *Ibid.*, p. 164.
  127. Wadsworth, *Comrade Sak*, p. 65.
  128. 'Saklatvala to Gandhi', 1 July 1927. In Wadsworth, *Comrade Sak*, p. 173.
  129. HC Deb 25 November 1927, c. 2272.
  130. *Ibid.*
  131. *Ibid.*, c. 2273.
  132. *Ibid.*, c. 2275.
  133. *Ibid.*
  134. *Ibid.*, c. 2277.
  135. *Ibid.*, c. 2278.
  136. *Ibid.*, c. 2285.
  137. *Ibid.*
  138. HC Deb 21 March 1928 vol. 215, c. 426.
  139. Shapurji Saklatvala in HC Deb 27 September 1926 vol. 199, cc. 338–9.
  140. HC Deb 20 July 1926 vol. 198, c. 1117.
  141. Sir Charles Wilson, in HC Deb 27 September 1926, cc. 343–4.
  142. Shapurji Saklatvala, *Election Address, Parliamentary By-election, June 1930, Shuttleston Division*, Bridgeman Papers, U DBN/24.
  143. Shapurji Saklatvala, 'The Indian Round Table Conference', *Labour Monthly* 12: 12 (December 1930), pp. 720–4, available at [www.marxists.org](http://www.marxists.org).
  144. Saklatvala, 'Second Indian Round Table Conference'.
  145. *Ibid.*
  146. Shapurji Saklatava, 'The Indian Round-Table Conference: A Danger to World Peace and Socialism', *Labour Monthly* 13: 2 (February 1931), pp. 86–92, available at [www.marxists.org](http://www.marxists.org).
  147. Shapurji Saklatvala, 'To My Countrymen', typescript of pamphlet, Bridgeman Papers, U DBN/24.

92. Sarah Britton, ‘“Come and See the Empire by the All Red Route!”: Anti-imperialism and Exhibitions in Interwar Britain’, *History Workshop Journal* 69: 1 (1 March 2010), p. 82.
93. Satnam Virdee, *Racism, Class, and the Racialised Outsider* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 83.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
95. ‘National Liberation to Be Demanded in Empire’, *New Leader*, 8 November 1941, p. 1.
96. James, *George Padmore and Decolonization from Below*, p. 29.
97. *Ibid.*
98. C. L. R James, ‘Truth about “Peace Plan”’: Britain’s Imperialist Game’, *New Leader*, 20 December 1935.
99. Jomo Kenyatta, ‘Hitler Could Not Improve on Kenya’, *New Leader*, 21 May 1937.
100. *Ibid.*
101. George Padmore, ‘Hands off the Colonies!’, *New Leader*, 25 February 1938.
102. George Padmore, ‘Whither the West Indies?’, *New Leader*, 29 March 1941.
103. George Padmore, ‘The Government’s Betrayal of the Protectorates’, *Controversy* 2: 21 (June 1938).
104. Padmore, ‘Hands off the Colonies!’
105. *Ibid.*
106. *Ibid.*
107. *Ibid.*
108. ‘West Indians Reply to Anglo–US Imperialism’, *New Leader*, 4 January 1941.
109. Padmore, ‘Hands off the Colonies!’.
110. *Ibid.*
111. *Ibid.*
112. George Padmore, ‘Why Moors Help Franco’, *New Leader*, 20 May 1938.
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114. *Ibid.*
115. *Ibid.*
116. George Padmore, ‘Not Nazism! Not Imperialism! But Socialism!’, *New Leader*, 27 December 1941.
117. Trevor Williams, ‘What the Empire Is’, *New Leader*, Empire special supplement, 29 April 1938.
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119. Reginald Reynolds, ‘The Road to Empire: How Britain Won and Keeps India’, *New Leader*, Empire special supplement, 29 April 1938.
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121. Fenner Brockway, ‘Has Hitler Anything to Teach Our Ruling Class?’, *New Leader*, Empire special supplement, 29 April 1938.
122. Jomo Kenyatta, ‘Their Land Was Stolen: Slave Conditions in Kenya’, *New Leader*, Empire special supplement, 29 April 1938; George Padmore, ‘Colonial Fascism in the West Indies’, *New Leader*, Empire special supplement, 29 April 1938.
123. Jon Kimche, ‘How British Empire Got a Hold in China’, *New Leader*, Empire special supplement, 29 April 1938.
124. ‘In the Empire: West Indies to Burma in Revolt’, *New Leader*, 13 January 1939.
125. Councillor W. R. Gault, ‘Red Glasgow’s Empire Exhibition,’ *New Leader*, 6 May 1938.
126. Arthur Ballard, ‘The “Other” Exhibition’, *New Leader*, 12 August 1938.
127. Arthur Ballard, ‘We Are Going to Run an Anti-Empire Exhibition!’, *New Leader*, 3 June 1938.
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134. Arthur Ballard, ‘Warships on the Way to Crush Jamaica Strikers’, *New Leader*, 27 May 1938.
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139. Arthur Ballard, ‘Empire “Sahibs” Bare Their Teeth’, *New Leader*, 9 June 1939.
140. *Ibid.*
141. Fenner Brockway, ‘How to Stop Hitler without War’, *New Leader*, 24 March 1939.

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37. Fenner Brockway, *98 Not Out* (London: Quartet, 1986), p. 124.
38. Fenner Brockway, *Outside the Right: A Sequel to 'Inside the Left'* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1963), p. 169.
39. Fenner Brockway, *Towards Tomorrow: The Autobiography of Fenner Brockway* (London: Hart-Davis, MacGibbon, 1977), p. 161.
40. Ibid.
41. The Seretse Khama and Ruth Williams story is the subject of a 2016 film, *A United Kingdom* (dir. Amma Asante).
42. Greg Rosen, ed., *Dictionary of Labour Biography* (London: Politico's, 2001), p. 85.
43. Brockway, *98 Not Out*, p. 129.
44. Ibid., p. 124.
45. Ibid.
46. Fenner Brockway, 'Visit to Uganda, August/September 1950', Churchill Archives Centre (hereafter CAC), 518 FEBR, no. 48K.
47. Ibid.
48. Fenner Brockway, 'Visit to Kenya, September 1950. Report Presented to the Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs', CAC, 518 FEBR, no. 48K.
49. ' "Big Chief" Brockway Flies Home after 30,000 Mile Tour of Africa', *Windsor, Slough and Eton Express*, 15 September 1950, CAC 22.99.
50. Ibid.
51. Fenner Brockway, 'Fenner Brockway's 80th Birthday Celebrations, 1968: Fenner's Speech', pamphlet, CAC, FEBR 16.62, 3.
52. Fenner Brockway, *African Journeys* (London: Gollancz, 1955), p. 117.
53. Ibid., p. 130.
54. Ibid., p. 120.
55. Ibid., p. 126.
56. Ibid., p. 131.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid., p. 129.
59. Ibid., p. 130.
60. Ibid., p. 144.
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid., p. 169.
64. Ibid., p. 170.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid., pp. 170–1.
67. Ibid., p. 173.
68. Ibid., p. 175.
69. Ibid., p. 179.
70. Ibid.
71. Ibid., 181.
72. HC Deb 4 November 1953 vol. 520 c. 276.
73. Ibid.
74. This is an example of the kind of *parliamentary* (not tabloid) discourse about Kenya that routinely surfaced in Commons Debates: 'Mr Craddock: I cannot give way. If my wife had had a family while we were in East Africa I would certainly not have allowed those children to be in charge of an African nurse because – and here I am going to be brutally frank, because I think these things should be appreciated – it is a common practice among Africans to put children to sleep by the excitation of their uro-genital organs. These are statements of fact and are the sort of things which bring about this situation ... The effect of alcohol upon an African is remarkable. I admit