

#### A NEW IMPERIAL HISTORY

Culture, Identity, and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660–1840

This pioneering collection of essays charts, for the first time, the emergent terrain of an exciting new field in British studies, the "new imperial history." Leading scholars from history, literature, and cultural studies take on the problems of identity, modernity, and difference in eighteenth-century Britain and the empire. They examine, from interdisciplinary perspectives, the reciprocal influences of empire and culture, the movements of peoples, practices, and ideas effected by slavery, diaspora and British dominance, and ways in which subaltern, non-western, and non-elite people shaped British power and knowledge. Creating a colorful and original colonial landscape, the essays move through Britain, America, India, Africa, and the South Pacific in testament to the networks of people, commodities, and entangled pasts forged by Britain's imperial adventures.

Highly readable and based on ground-breaking research, the analyses of the imperial dimensions of British culture and identities in global contexts will challenge the notion that empire was something that happened "out there" and demonstrate its far-reaching implications for British identity and everyday life in the eighteenth century, and perhaps even today. This cutting-edge collection displays the pleasures and potential enabled by thinking a new imperial history that investigates new kinds of evidence and subjects, and is not always written by imperial historians, or even by historians.

KATHLEEN WILSON is Professor of History at the State University of New York, Stony Brook. Her first book, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in Britain, 1715–1785* (Cambridge, 1995), won the Royal Historical Society's Whitbread Prize and the Jon Ben Snow Prize from the North American Conference on British Studies. Her most recent book, *An Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century*, was published in 2003.



# A NEW IMPERIAL HISTORY

Culture, Identity, and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660–1840

EDITED BY
KATHLEEN WILSON



#### CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo

> Cambridge University Press The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521810272

© Cambridge University Press 2004

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2004

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

 ${\it Library~of~Congress~Cataloguing~in~Publication~data} \label{library} A new imperial history: culture, identity, and modernity in Britain and the Empire, $1660-1840 / edited by Kathleen Wilson.$ 

p. cm. Includes bibliographical references and index. ISBN 0 521 81027 2 – ISBN 0 521 00796 8 (pbk.)

Great Britain - Colonies - History - 18th century.
 Great Britain - Colonies - History - 17th century.
 Great Britain - Colonies - History - 19th century.
 National characteristics, British - History.
 Great Britain - Colonies - Civilization.
 Great Britain - Civilization.
 Imperialism - History.
 Wilson, Kathleen.
 DA16.N49 2004 909'.0917241 - dc22 2003049545

ISBN 978-0-521-81027-2 Hardback ISBN 978-0-521-00796-2 Paperback

Transferred to digital printing 2010

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate. Information regarding prices, travel timetables and other factual information given in this work are correct at the time of first printing but Cambridge University Press does not guarantee the accuracy of such information thereafter.



For Nick and Hannah



## Contents

List of illustrations List of contributors Acknowledgments	<i>page</i> x xi xv
Introduction: histories, empires, modernities Kathleen Wilson	I
PART I EMPIRE AT HOME: DIFFERENCE, REPRESENTATION, EXPERIENCE	
Women and the fiscal-imperial state in late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries Margaret Hunt	d 29
2 An "entertainment of oddities": fashionable sociability and the Pacific in the 1770s <i>Gillian Russell</i>	48
The theatre of empire: racial counterfeit, racial realism Felicity A. Nussbaum	71
Asians in Britain: negotiations of identity through self-representation  Michael H. Fisher	91
PART II PROMISED LANDS: IMPERIAL ASPIRATIONS AND PRACTICE	
"Rescuing the age from a charge of ignorance": gentility, knowledge, and the British exploration of Africa in the late eighteenth century  Philip J. Stern	r 115

vii



viii	Contents	
6	Liberal government and illiberal trade: the political economy of "responsible government" in early British India Sudipta Sen	136
7	"Green and pleasant lands": England and the Holy Land in plebeian millenarian culture, c. 1790–1820  Eitan Bar-Yosef	155
8	Protestant evangelicalism, British imperialism, and Crusonian identity Hans Turley	176
PAF	RT III TIME, IDENTITY, AND ATLANTIC INTERCULTURE	
9	Time and revolution in African America: temporality and the history of Atlantic slavery Walter Johnson	197
Ю	The Green Atlantic: radical reciprocities between Ireland and America in the long eighteenth century  Kevin Whelan	216
II	Brave Wolfe: the making of a hero Nicholas Rogers	239
12	Ethnicity in the British Atlantic world, 1688–1830 Colin Kidd	260
	RT IV ENGLISHNESS, GENDER, AND THE ARTS DISCOVERY	
13	Writing home and crossing cultures: George Bogle in Bengal and Tibet, 1770–1775 <i>Kate Teltscher</i>	281
14	Decoding the nameless: gender, subjectivity, and historical methodologies in reading the archives of colonial India <i>Durba Ghosh</i>	297
15	Ornament and use: Mai and Cook in London Harriet Guest	317



	Contents	ix
16	Thinking back: gender misrecognition and Polynesian subversions aboard the Cook voyages <i>Kathleen Wilson</i>	345
Fur Ina	rther reading lex	363 374



## Illustrations

I.	Benjamin West, Joseph Banks, 1773	page 55
2.	Official return of "black servants" and lascars from	1 0
	Britain to India, cumulative total by year, 1748–68	95
3.	Portrait of Emin, attributed to Arthur Pond, 1756/8	102
4.	William Hogarth, Marriage A-la-Mode, 1743–5	318
5.	Joshua Reynolds, <i>Omai</i> , 1775	325
6.	William Hodges, Omai, a Polynesian	327
7.	Royce after Dodd, "Omai's Public Entry on his first	
	landing at Otaheite"	333
8.	John Webber, Captain James Cook, RN, 1782	338
9.	William Hodges, Captain James Cook, ?1775	339
10.	Wedgwood plaque bearing portrait of Cook, by	
	John Flaxman after William Hodges	341
II.	Nathaniel Dance, James Cook	342
12.	John Hamilton Mortimer, Group Portrait representing	
	Captain Cook, Sir Joseph Banks, and others, c. 1777	343



### Contributors

- EITAN BAR-YOSEF is a Lecturer in the Department of Foreign Literatures and Linguistics, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel. Exploring the effects of empire on metropolitan literature and culture, his work has appeared in *Journal of Contemporary History*, *Dickens Quarterly* and *English Literature in Transition*, 1880–1920. His book *Images of the Holy Land in English Culture*, 1799–1917 is forthcoming with Oxford University Press.
- MICHAEL H. FISHER is Danforth Professor of History at Oberlin College and has published widely on relations between Indians and Britons, both in India and Britain, during the early colonial period. He focuses his research on the circulation of people and ideas within the expanding arena of the British empire. His most recent books include *The First Indian Author in English: Dean Mahomet in India, Ireland and England* (2000) and *Counterflows to Colonialism: Indians in Britain, c. 1600–1857* (2003).
- DURBA GHOSH is Assistant Professor of History at Mount Holyoke College, and a former Mellon postdoctoral fellow in Women Studies at Wellesley College. She is working on a manuscript entitled *Colonial Companions: Sexual Transgressions, Racial Mixing and Gendered Order in Early Colonial India*, which examines conjugal relationships between native women and European men *c.* 1760–1840.
- HARRIET GUEST is Professor of English and Director of the Centre for Eighteenth Century Studies at the University of York. Her most recent book is *Small Change: Women, Learning and Patriotism 1750–1810* (2000). Her next book will be a study of William Hodges and Captain James Cook.



xii

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-81027-2 - A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity, and Modernity in Britain
and the Empire, 1660-1840
Edited by Kathleen Wilson
Frontmatter
More information

List of contributors

MARGARET HUNT, Professor of History at Amherst College, is attached to the University of Massachusetts-Five College Ph.D. program in History. Her book *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England 1680–1780* (1996) won the Morris D. Forkusch Award from the American Historical Association for the best book in British, British Imperial, and British Commonwealth History. She has written articles or book chapters on violence, women and the law, sexuality, marriage, and the military in the early modern period.

WALTER JOHNSON is Associate Professor of History and American Studies at New York University. The author of Soul by Soul: Life inside the Antebellum Slave Market (1999) and editor of a forthcoming collection entitled The Chattel Principle: Internal Slave Trades in the Americas, 1808–1888, he is at work on a book about capitalism and slavery in the Mississippi Valley.

COLIN KIDD is Professor of History at the University of Glasgow. He is the author of Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British Identity, 1689–c. 1830 (Cambridge, 1993) and British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600–1800 (Cambridge, 1999). Since 1999 he has coedited the Scottish Historical Review. His current interests include the interactions of race and theology in the Protestant Atlantic world and the political theories of the Scots Presbyterian Covenanting tradition.

FELICITY A. NUSSBAUM is Professor of English at UCLA and the author most recently of *The Limits of the Human: Anomaly, Race and Gender in the Long Eighteenth Century* (2003) and editor of *The Global Eighteenth Century* (2003). Among her other publications are *Torrid Zones: Maternity, Sexuality and Empire in Eighteenth-Century English Narrative* (1995) and *The Autobiographical Subject: Gender and Ideology in Eighteenth-Century England* (1989), which won the Louis Gottschalk Prize from the American Society of Eighteenth-Century Studies. Her current work is on the material world of the eighteenth-century theatre.

NICHOLAS ROGERS is Professor of History at York University, Toronto, and co-editor, with James Epstein, of the *Journal of British Studies*. He is the author of two books on popular politics in the eighteenth century and of a textbook entitled *Eighteenth-Century English Society* (1999), co-authored by Douglas Hay. His most recent publication is *Halloween: From Pagan Ritual to Party Night* (2002). He is currently completing a book on naval impressment in the long eighteenth century.



### List of contributors

xiii

- GILLIAN RUSSELL is Senior Lecturer in English, School of Humanities, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia and author of *The Theatres of War: Politics, Performance and Society, 1793–1815* (1995) and co-editor, with Clara Tuite, of *Romantic Sensibility: Social Networks and Literary Culture in Britain, 1770–1840* (2003). She is currently working on a project on sociability, women, and the theatre in London, 1760–80.
- SUDIPTA SEN is Associate Professor of History at Syracuse University. He publishes on British–Indian encounters on the subcontinent. He is the author of two books, *Empire of Free Trade: The English East India Company and the Making of the Colonial Marketplace* (1998) and *Distant Sovereignty: National Imperialism and the Origins of British India* (2002).
- PHILIP STERN is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of History at Columbia University and a graduate fellow in history at the Columbia University Institute for Social and Economic Research and Policy. His current project, "One Body Corporate and Politick: The English East India Company-State in the Later Seventeenth Century," concerns the foundations and impact of Company state-building and claims to sovereignty in Asia and Europe. He is also developing a study of the African Association and British exploration in Africa in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
- KATE TELTSCHER is Senior Lecturer in the School of English and Modern Languages at the University of Surrey Roehampton. She writes on travel writing and colonial discourse on India, and is author of *India Inscribed: European and British Writing on India, 1600–1800* (1995), as well as numerous articles. She is currently working on a biography of George Bogle, the first British envoy to Bhutan and Tibet.
- HANS TURLEY is Associate Professor of English at the University of Connecticut and editor of *Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation*. He is author of *Rum, Sodomy and the Lash: Piracy, Sexuality and Masculine Identity* (1999), as well as many articles about the eighteenth-century novel. He is currently working on a biography of Rochester.
- KEVIN WHELAN is Professor of History and inaugural Michael J. Smurfit Director of the University of Notre Dame's Keough Centre in Dublin. He has published fifteen books and almost a hundred articles on Irish history, and has lectured on Irish topics in a dozen countries. His most recent book is *Fellowship of Freedom: The United Irishmen and the 1798 Rebellion* (1998).



xiv

### List of contributors

KATHLEEN WILSON is Professor of History at Stony Brook University. She publishes on culture, empire, and Englishness in global settings in the eighteenth century. Her book *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715–1785* (Cambridge, 1995) won prizes from the Royal Historical Society and the North American Conference on British Studies. Her most recent book is *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century* (2003). She is currently at work on a study of British theatre and empire, 1720–1840, in sites that range across the Atlantic and Pacific worlds.



# Acknowledgments

The editor would like to thank the following people for offering advice, ideas, and encouragement for this project: Nicholas Mirzoeff (massively), John Brewer, Antoinette Burton, Linda Colley, Harriet Guest, Young-Sun Hong, Lawrence Klein, Ned Landsman, Philippa Levine, Iona Man-Cheong, Gary Marker, Felicity Nussbaum, Mrinalini Sinha, Dror Wahrman, anonymous readers for Cambridge University Press, and all of the contributors. I was given the usual warnings from various wellintentioned colleagues about the travails of editing collections, but it has to be said in this case the warnings were needless: the contributors have been prompt, enthusiastic, and patient, and the editor alone responsible for any delay and recalcitrance. Special thanks go to Roy Ritchie at the Henry E. Huntington Library, for inviting me to organize a conference on the "new imperial history," and to the conference participants for sharpening my ideas and allowing me to survey the path-breaking grounds of a new field; to Iain McCalman and the Humanities Research Centre at the Australian National University, for support and examples of cross-cultural scholarship at its most exciting; to Paul Armstrong, former Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, and Gary Marker, former Chair of the History Department, at Stony Brook University (formerly the State University of New York at Stony Brook, back in the days when public education was esteemed) for research leave; and to William Davis at Cambridge University Press, for taking a risk. I am equally grateful to the National Endowment for the Humanities and the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation for funding that gave me the time off to pursue this and other projects. Warm thanks to Carol Fellingham Webb for careful copyediting, and to Jenise De Pinto and Alex Tolin-Schulz for help with the index. For health, happiness, and domestic felicity I am indebted, as always, to Nick and Hannah: sans les quelles, je ne puis pas être.