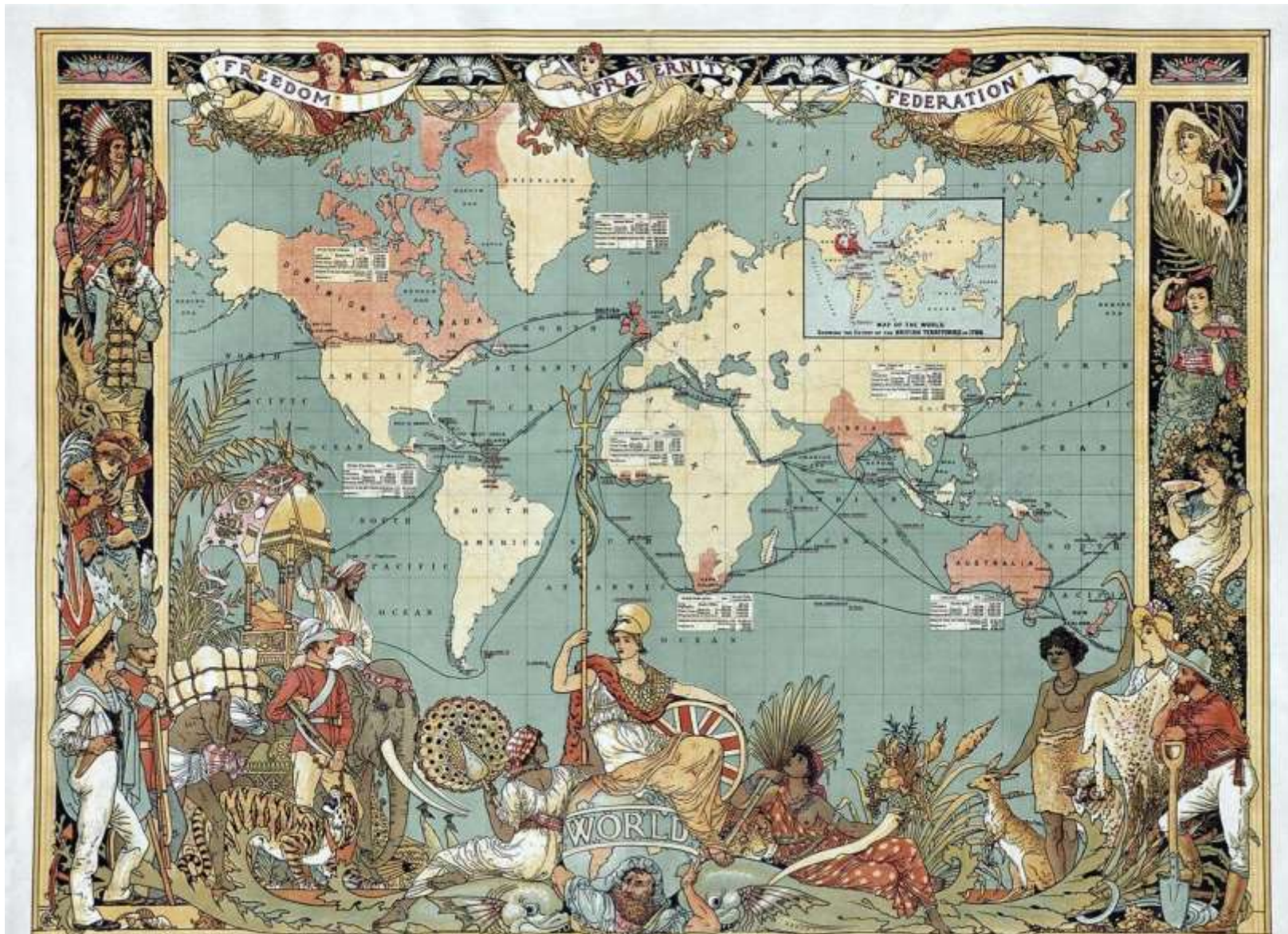




# THE IMPACT OF EMPIRE 1815-1914

---

## 6. COLONY AND METROPOLE: SHERLOCK HOLMES

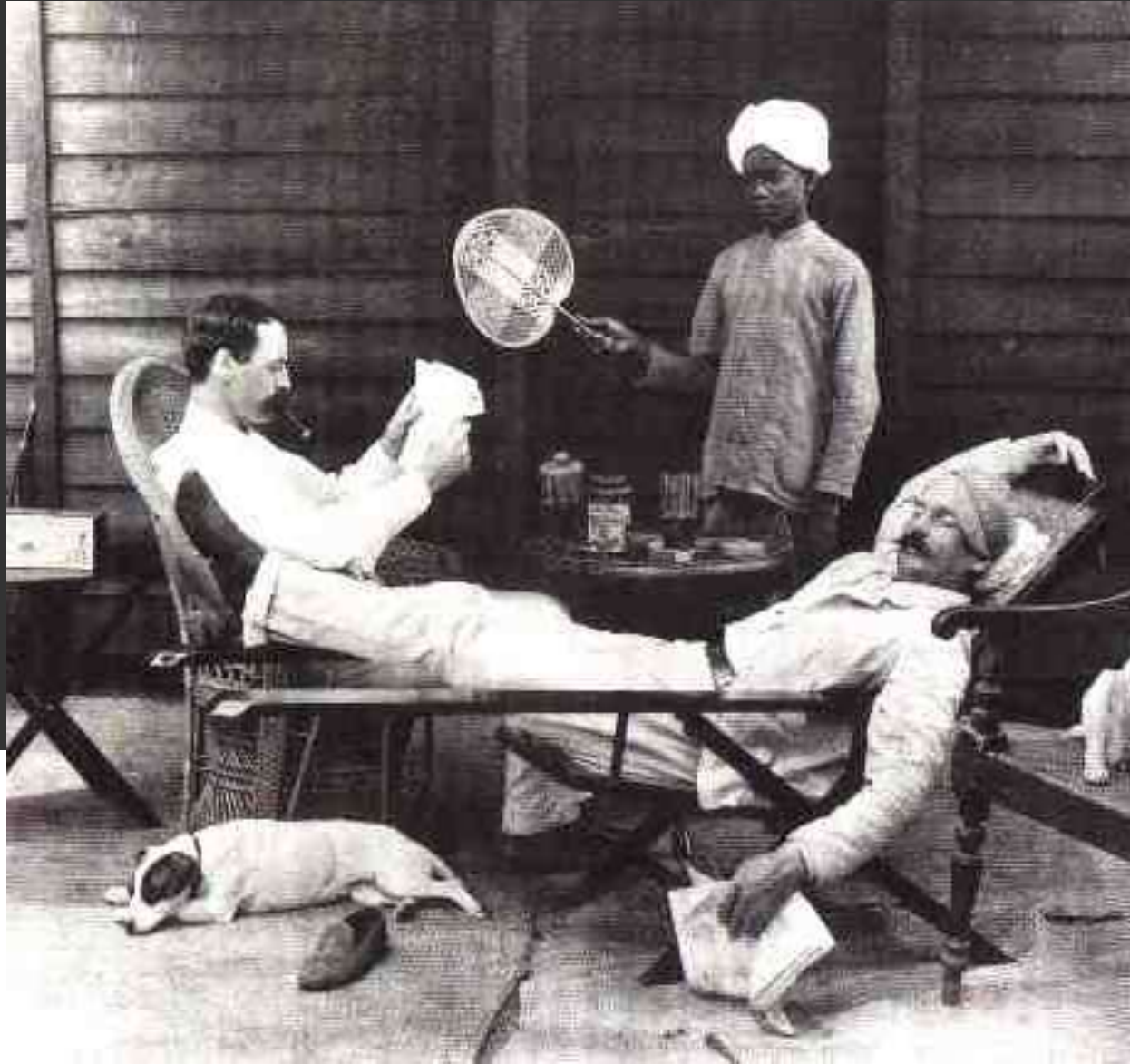




















ST JOHN THE EVANGELIST  
Fitzroy Squ.

Queen's Squa

ST GEORGE  
Bloomsbury

ST ANDREW  
Wells Street

ST GILES IN THE FIELDS

HOLY T  
Lincoln's







## **David Olusoga, *Black and British*:**

‘To fully understand how remarkable the rise of British abolitionism was, both as a political movement and as a popular sentiment, it is important to remember how few voices were raised against slavery in Britain until the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The Church of England was largely silent on the issue as were most of the politicians. To most people in Britain, until the 1770s and 1780s, there seemed to be no way out. Britain was addicted to slave-produced products and therefore addicted to slavery. Too much money, too many livelihoods and too much political power were invested; millions of British people lived lives that were intimately connected to the economics of slavery and the sugar business.

... Yet as the abolitionists discovered, there were many people who tolerated slavery not because they believed it was ordained by God or sanctioned by racial difference but simply because they knew very little about it. Although there were thousands of black people living in Britain in the eighteenth century the plantations of the West Indies, the crucible of their suffering, were an ocean away and the nauseating conditions that prevailed on the lower decks of slave ships were a guilty secret, hidden from public view. For these reasons the abolition movement was as focused on the task of educating the public about the realities of slavery and the trade as it was on campaigning for their abolition.’







**Niall Ferguson, *Empire* (2003):**

‘Today, the principal barriers to an optimal allocation of labour, capital and goods in the world are, on the one hand, civil wars and lawless, corrupt governments – which together have condemned so many countries in sub-Saharan Africa and parts of Asia to decades of impoverishment – and, on the other, the reluctance of the United States and her allies to practise as well as preach free trade, or to devote more than a trifling share of their vast resources to programmes of economic aid.

By contrast, for much (though certainly not all) of its history, the British empire acted as an agency for imposing free markets, the rule of law, investor protection and relatively incorrupt government on a roughly a quarter of the world. The empire also did a good deal to encourage those things in countries which were outside its formal imperial domain but under its economic influence through the ‘imperialism of free trade’. *Prima facie*, there therefore seems a plausible case that empire enhanced global welfare – was, in other words, a Good Thing’.







**Priyamvadha Gopal:** 'Ferguson's 'history' is a fairytale for our times which puts the white man and his burden back at the centre of heroic action.

Colonialism - a tale of slavery, plunder, war, corruption, land-grabbing, famines, exploitation, indentured labour, impoverishment, massacres, genocide and forced resettlement - is rewritten into a benign developmental mission marred by a few unfortunate accidents and excesses'.

**Andrew Porter:** 'Ferguson's own 'on-balance-beneficial' legacy of empire offers no new insight but rather the refurbishment of a much older conventional – some would say Whiggish – wisdom. Far from updating our view of empire, in highlighting the interplay of 'liberty' and 'slavery', Ferguson looks backward to an outdated literature, and at times is consequently wide of the mark'







## **Commercial world-system, John Darwin:**

‘The union of commercial and imperial muscle was the foundation of the British world-system. The vast scale of British trade, the fleets of merchant shipping, the treasure chest of overseas investment and the resources it commanded were widely seen as the real embodiment of British power. They supplied the economic energy to sustain the show of empire and pay for its defence. They formed the invisible chains that bound the visible empire of dependencies and settler states to the far-off metropole.’

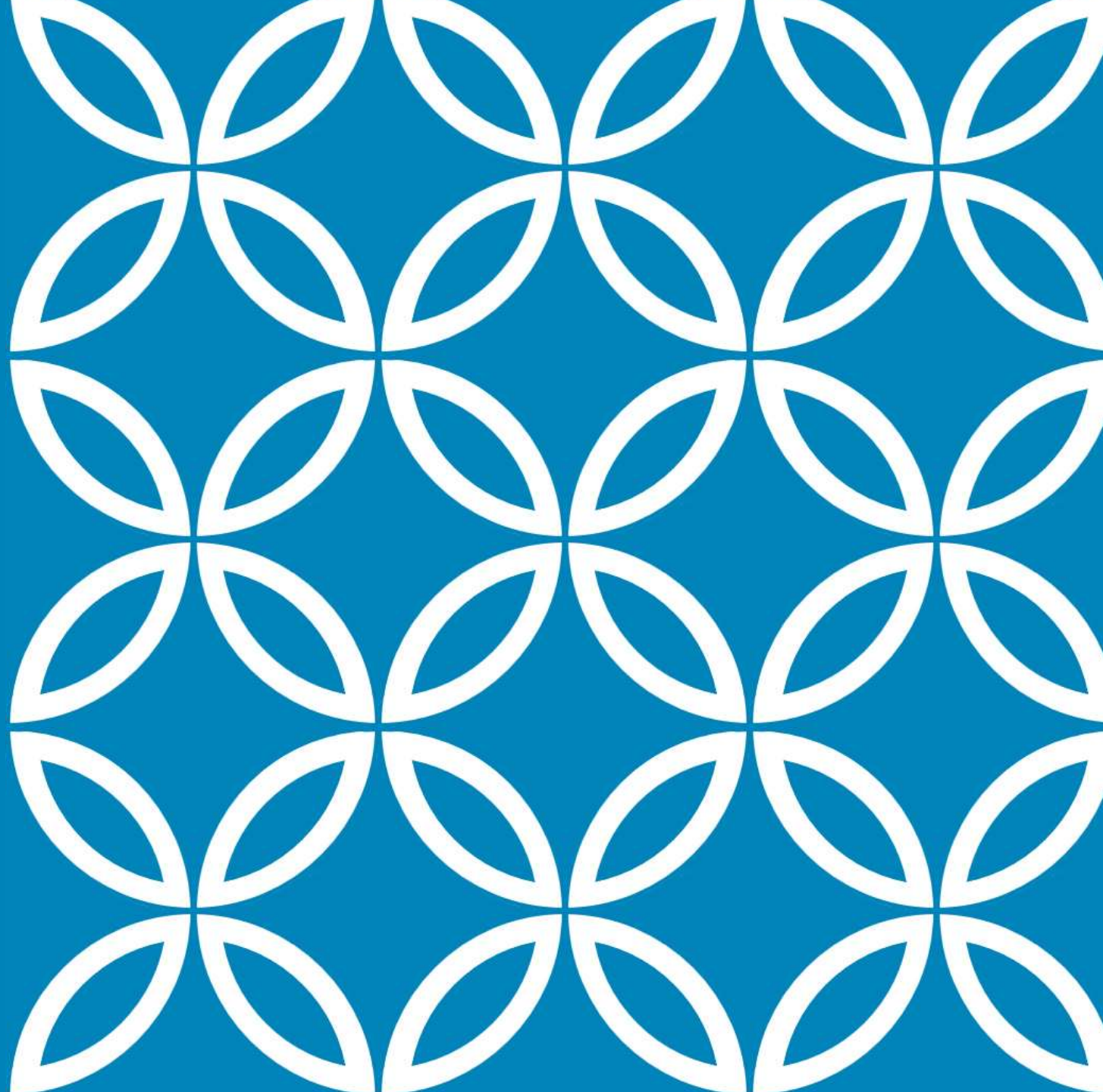
**‘Gentlemanly capitalism’, Cain and Hopkins:** the imperial age reflects the boom of the City’s commercial power which underscored British power in the world, up until its ‘liquidation’ in WW2. Commercial, professional and hereditary elites of London and the South-east – gentlemen and capitalists – drive expansion over the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century

**Local crises, central response: Gallagher and Robinson on Africa**

# *THE SIGN OF THE FOUR* (1890)

---

1. Arthur Conan Doyle
2. The novel
3. India
4. Orientalism and Ornamentalism





*'The Sign of Four* is an unashamedly contemporary novel, written rapidly and designed to be consumed quickly by a new, increasingly urban, physically mobile and technologically sophisticated popular readership.

As such, it reflects the development of popular readers and their concerns by engaging with a number of important domestic issues current in British Society in 1880s and 1890s'.

- Shafquat Towheed (2010)



# 1. ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE





# ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE (1859-1930)

Born in Edinburgh to middle class family: father an artist and alcoholic, disrupted childhood  
Edinburgh University Medical School, 1876-81.

Surgeon on whalers, a steamboat to West Africa; later a GP and eye specialist

1879: “The Mystery of Sasassa Valley”

1880s: Sherlock Holmes stories:

- *A Study in Scarlet*, 1887
- *The Sign of Four*, 1890

Earns enough to stop medical practice, becoming a prolific writer of detective, fantasy, romantic and historical fiction, as well as works on spiritualism





# SHERLOCK HOLMES

Four novels and 56 short stories

Conan Doyle pioneers the detective fiction genre: all-knowing detective, unreliable narrator, misdirection, bungling police, disguise and reveal

‘How often have I said to you that when you have eliminated the impossible, whatever remains, *however improbable*, must be the truth?’

Based on a university teacher, Dr Joseph Bell: ‘It is most certainly to you that I owe Sherlock Holmes ... round the centre of deduction and inference and observation which I have heard you inculcate I have tried to build up a man’

Doyle gets fed up of the character and charges increasingly high fees

Kills Holmes and Moriarty off in 1893, to spend more time on historical novels, but public pressure has him return in 1901





## 2. THE *SIGN OF THE FOUR*

THIS NUMBER CONTAINS  
**THE SIGN OF THE FOUR.**

By A. CONAN DOYLE,

Author of "Sherlock Holmes: his Adventures," etc.

COMPLETE.

*Mrs. Hammon*

FEBRUARY, 1890

**LIPPINCOTT'S**

MONTHLY MAGAZINE

CONTENTS

<b>THE SIGN OF THE FOUR.</b>	<b>A. Conan Doyle</b>	145-223
NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE'S "ELIXIR OF LIFE"—II.	<i>Edited by Julian Hawthorne</i>	224
EVERGREENS	<i>William H. Bayne</i>	225
WHY DO WE MEASURE MANKIND?	<i>Francis Galton, F.R.S.</i>	230
BOMBIN	<i>Daniel L. Dawson</i>	243
THE SALON IDEA IN NEW YORK	<i>C. H. Grundall</i>	245
VALENTINE	<i>Margaret H. Lawless</i>	253
SHELLEY'S WALSH HAUNTS	<i>C. H. Herford</i>	254
THE BLUE-AND-GOLD MAN-CHILD	<i>M. H. Catherine</i>	258
GRACE	<i>Orcha Key Bell</i>	266
THE NEWSPAPER AND THE INDIVIDUAL: A PLEA FOR	<i>A. E. Watrous</i>	267
PRESS CENSORSHIP	<i>Joko Haberton</i>	271
MARRIED GENIUSES	<i>Charles Morris</i>	274
THE FORESTY PROBLEM	<i>Charles McDevine</i>	278
THE DISSIPATION OF READING		280
IMMIGRATION TRADITION	<i>William S. Walsh</i>	
	<i>Melville Phillips</i>	
	<i>Charles Morris</i>	285
	<i>Maurice F. Egan</i>	
	<i>H. C. Walsh</i>	
BOOK-TALK		
NEW BOOKS		290
WITH THE WITS (Illustrated by leading artists)		1-250

PRICE TWENTY-FIVE CENTS

**J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO. PHILADELPHIA:**

LONDON: WARD, LOCK & CO.

PARIS: BREYER, 17 AVENUE DE L'OPÉRA.

Copyright, 1890, by J. B. Lippincott Company. Entered at Philadelphia Post-Office as second-class matter.



# *THE SIGN OF THE FOUR* (1890)

Commission from *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* to write a second Holmes story; paid £100, equivalent to 1/3 his annual medical salary

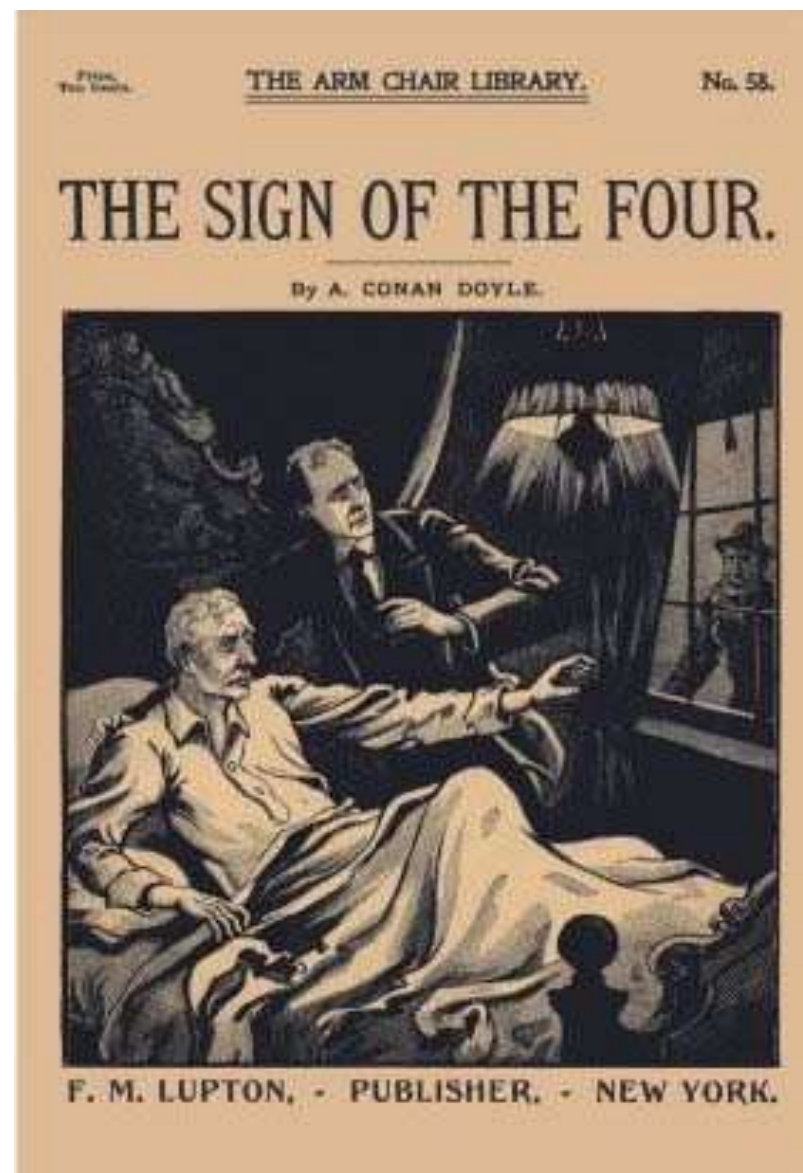
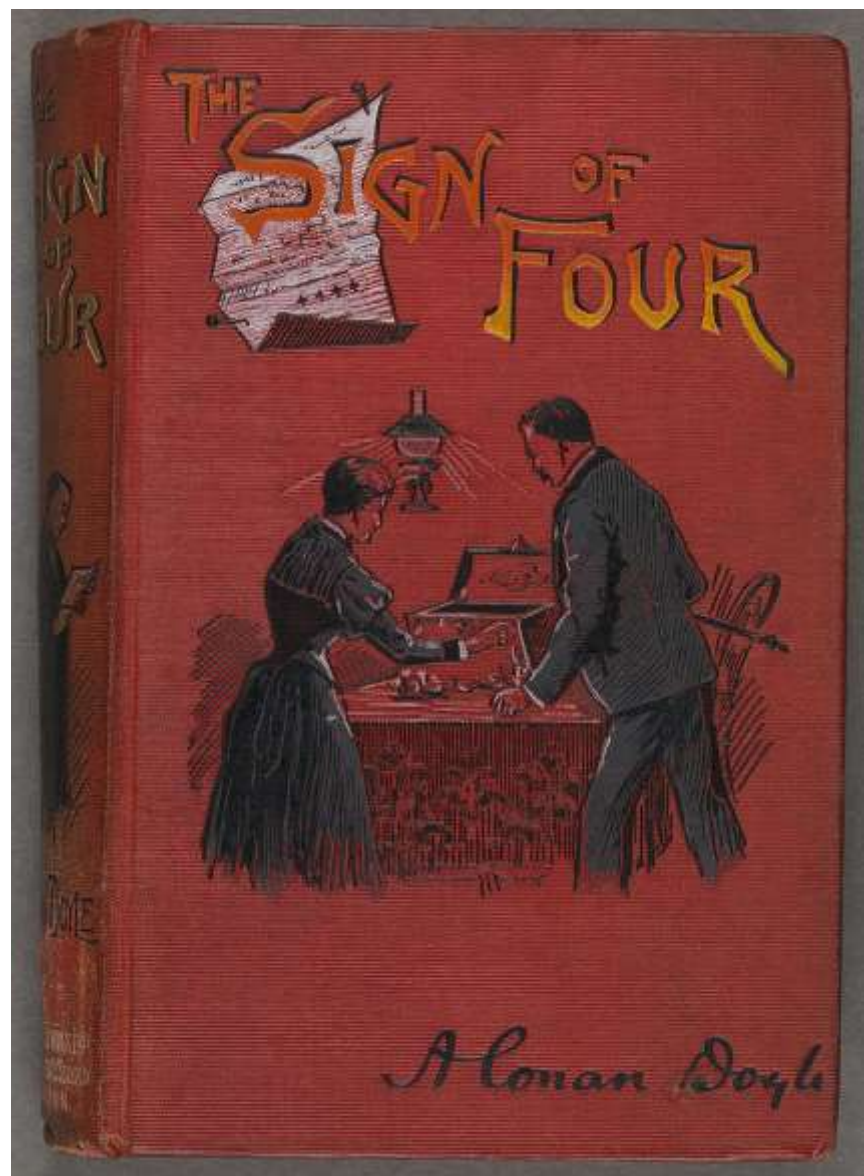
Same edition: first publication of *The Picture of Dorian Gray* by Oscar Wilde

Plot: Holmes and Watson hunt down stolen treasure from India, during the 1857 Rebellion.

Mary Murston contacts them for help after mysteriously receiving pearls related to her late father...

Four men who gain the treasure have kept a pact, but are betrayed by two corrupt prison officers while in captivity on the Andaman Islands, Majors Sholto and Murston.

Over the story, the pursuit of the treasure involves several murders, vivid accounts of London life, and a reflection on the Empire's relationship with India...





# OVER TO YOU

Take a look at the *Evening Standard's* report of the first part of the plot.

What do we learn about the nature of the events?

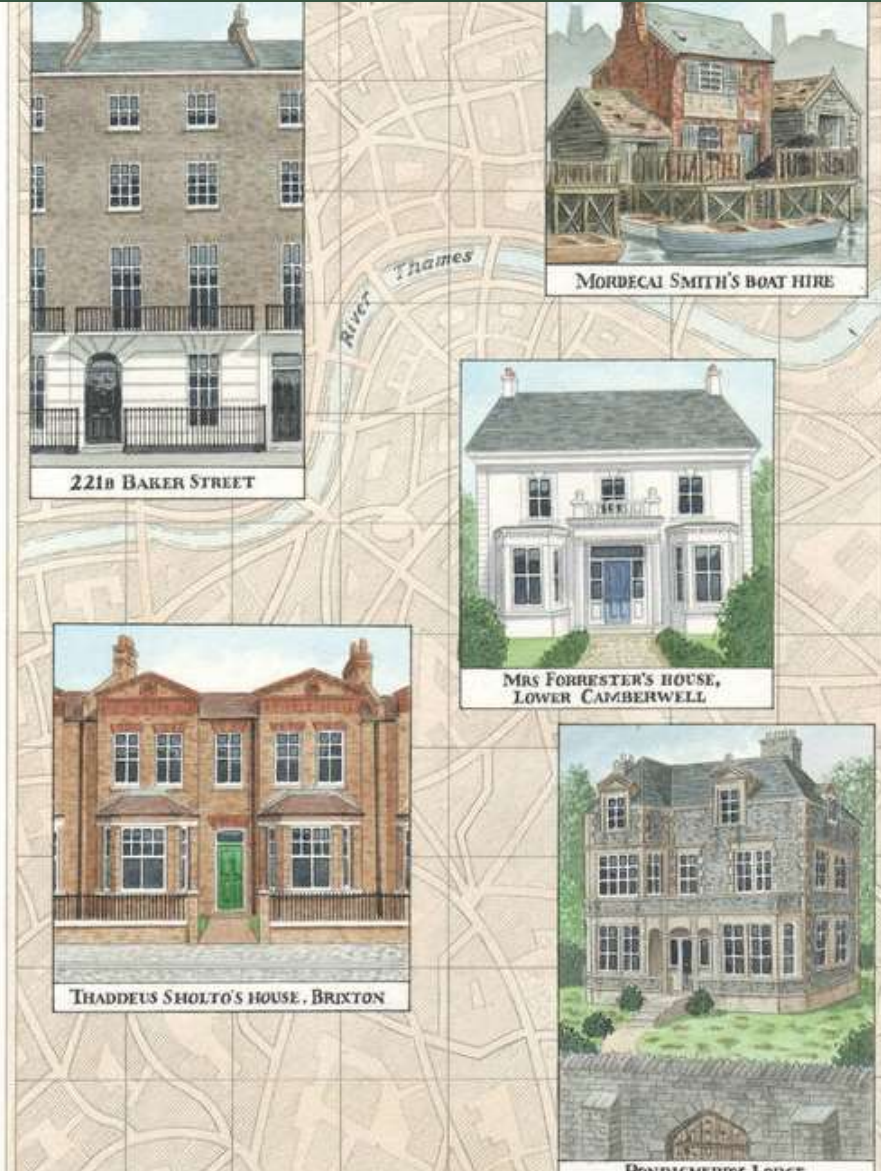
“My father was, as you may have guessed, Major John Sholto, once of the Indian army. He retired some eleven years ago, and came to live at Pondicherry Lodge in Upper Norwood. He had prospered in India, and brought back with him a considerable sum of money, a large collection of valuable curiosities, and a staff of native servants. With these advantages he bought himself a house, and lived in great luxury.’

“Early in 1882 my father received a letter from India which was a great shock to him. He nearly fainted at the breakfast-table when he opened it...

When in India, he and I, through a remarkable chain of circumstances, came into possession of a considerable treasure. I brought it over to England, and on the night of Morstan’s arrival he came straight over here to claim his share. He walked over from the station, and was admitted by my faithful old Lal Chowdar, who is now dead. Morstan and I had a difference of opinion as to the division of the treasure, and we came to heated words.

“‘I was still pondering over the matter, when, looking up, I saw my servant, Lal Chowdar, in the doorway. He stole in and bolted the door behind him. “Do not fear, Sahib,” he said. “No one need know that you have killed him. Let us hide him away, and who is the wiser?” (Ch4)











‘It was a September evening, and not yet seven o’clock, but the day had been a dreary one, and a dense drizzly fog lay low upon the great city. Mud-coloured clouds drooped sadly over the muddy streets. Down the Strand the lamps were but misty splotches of diffused light which threw a feeble circular glimmer upon the slimy pavement. The yellow glare from the shop-windows streamed out into the steamy, vaporous air, and threw a murky, shifting radiance across the crowded thoroughfare. There was, to my mind, something eerie and ghost-like in the endless procession of faces which flitted across these narrow bars of light,—sad faces and glad, haggard and merry.’





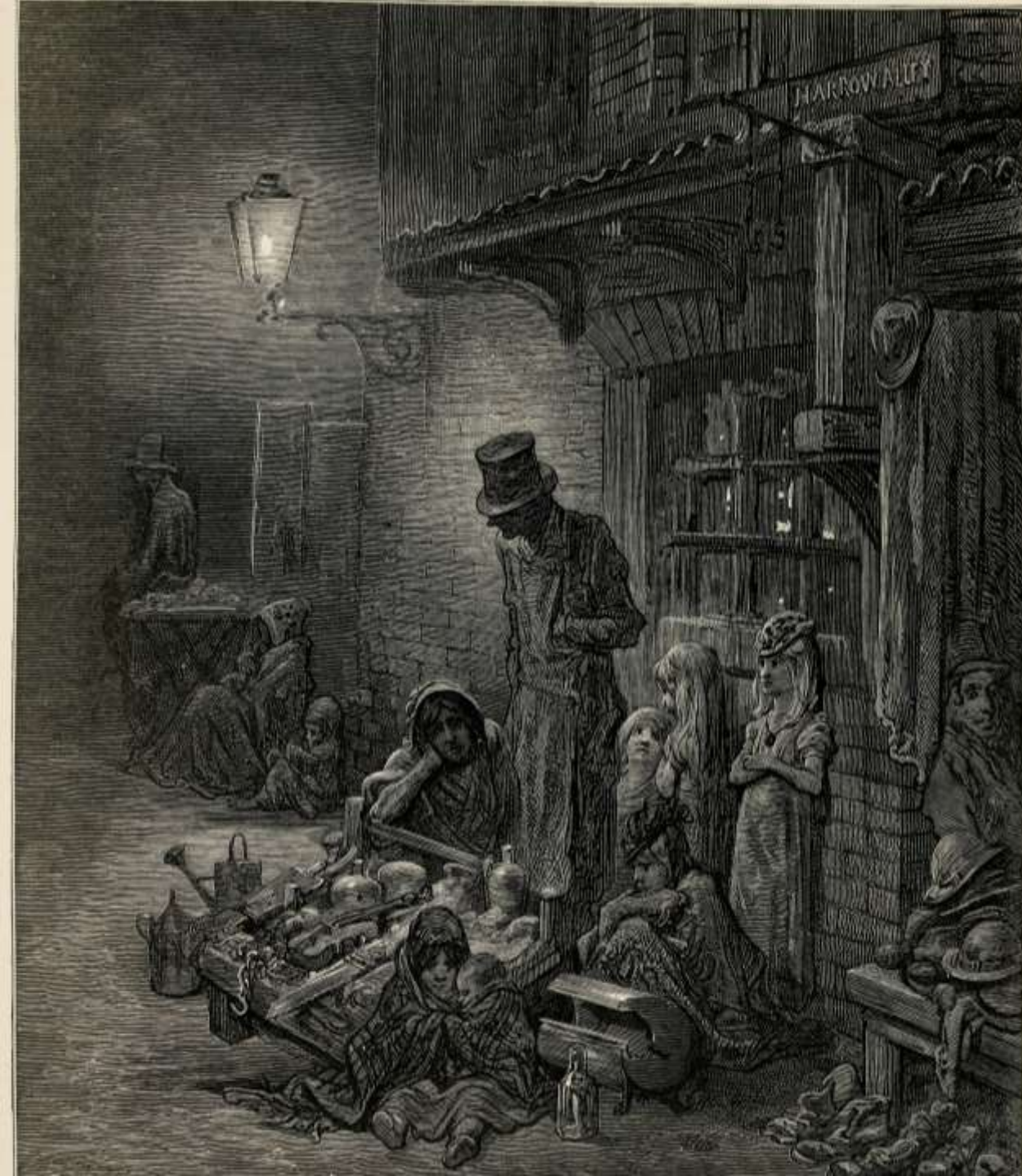
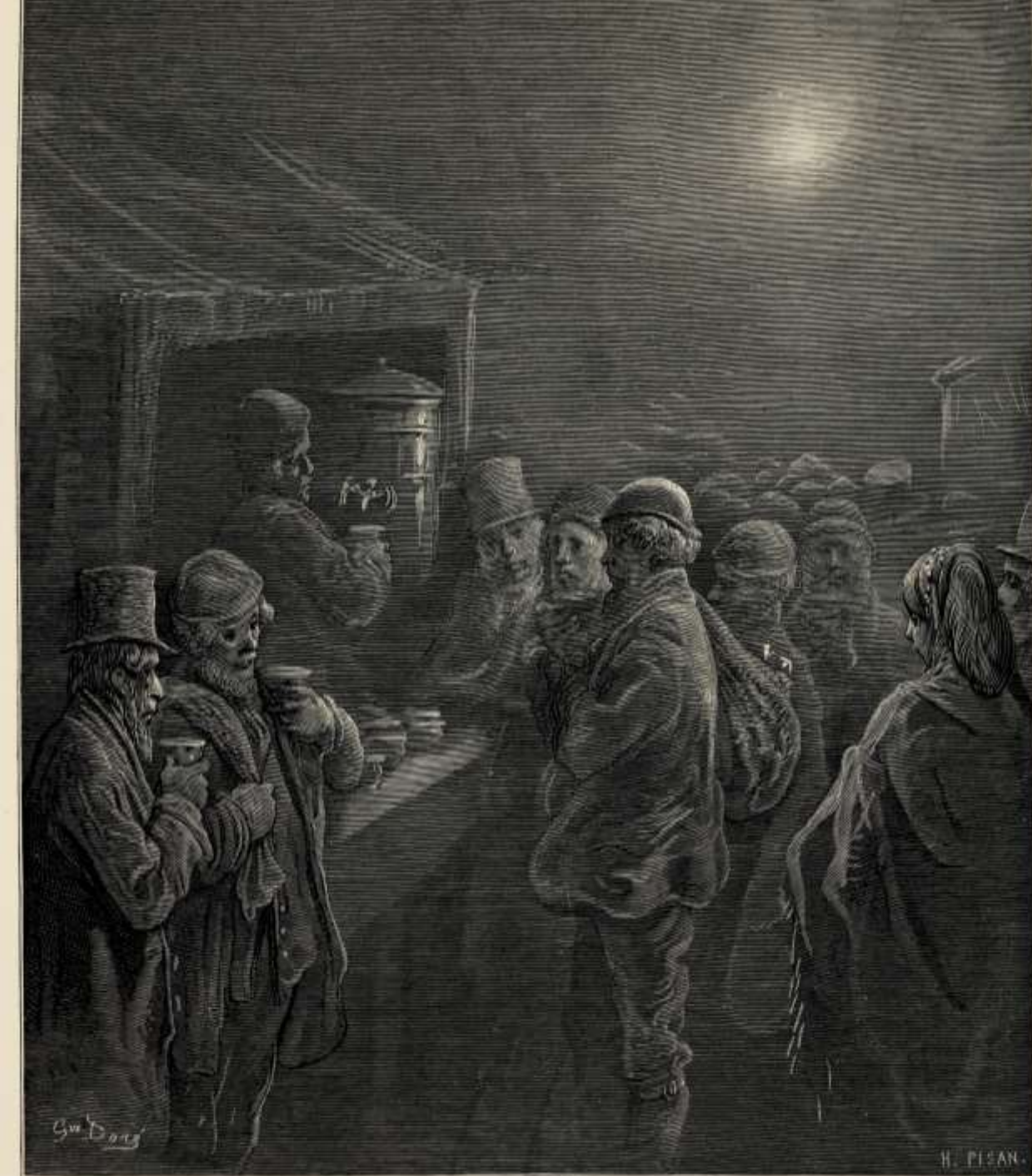


“Wandsworth Road,” said my companion. “Priory Road. Lark Hall Lane. Stockwell Place. Robert Street. Cold Harbor Lane. Our quest does not appear to take us to very fashionable regions.” We had, indeed, reached a questionable and forbidding neighbourhood. Long lines of dull brick houses were only relieved by the coarse glare and tawdry brilliancy of public houses at the corner.

... I reviewed the whole extraordinary sequence of events as I rattled on through the silent gas-lit streets.

... Now, however, we were beginning to come among continuous streets, where labourers and dockmen were already astir, and slatternly women were taking down shutters and brushing door-steps. At the square-topped corner public houses business was just beginning, and rough-looking men were emerging

... We had traversed Streatham, Brixton, Camberwell, and now found ourselves in Kennington Lane, having borne away through the side-streets to the east of the Oval. The men whom we pursued seemed to have taken a curiously zigzag road’





‘As he spoke, there came a swift pattering of naked feet upon the stairs, a clatter of high voices, and in rushed a dozen dirty and ragged little street-Arabs. There was some show of discipline among them, despite their tumultuous entry, for they instantly drew up in line and stood facing us with expectant faces. One of their number, taller and older than the others, stood forward with an air of lounging superiority which was very funny in such a disreputable little scarecrow.’ (Ch8)

‘He was an aged man, clad in seafaring garb, with an old pea-jacket buttoned up to his throat. His back was bowed, his knees were shaky, and his breathing was painfully asthmatic.

... “Ah, You rogue!” cried Jones, highly delighted. “You would have made an actor, and a rare one. You had the proper workhouse cough, and those weak legs of yours are worth ten pounds a week.” (Ch9)







### **3. A TIDE OF DEVILS? INDIA**

## OVER TO YOU

Let's turn to the role of India and the Indian Mutiny in the account, which is central to how the treasure is first acquired by Jonathan Small and the Four

In groups, read either excerpt 2 or 3 and discuss:

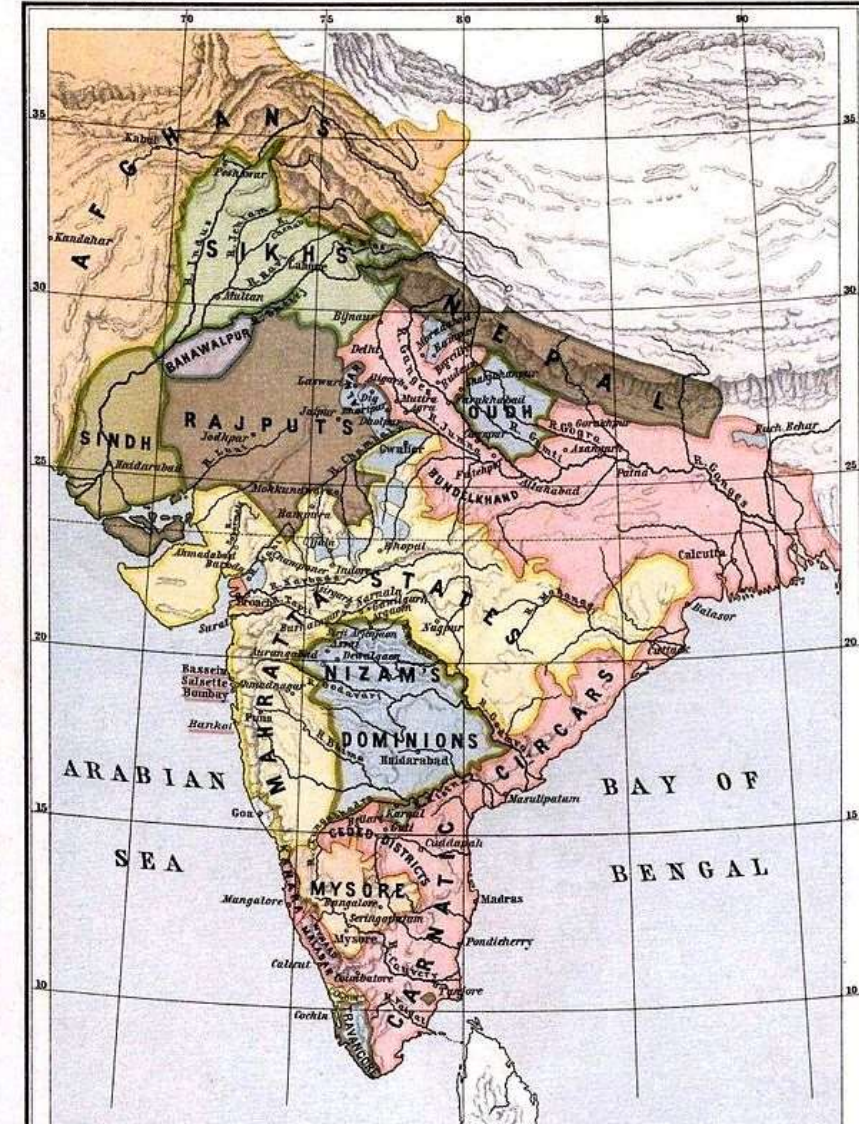
*What is the underlying view of the British involvement in India?*

*To what extent does it reflect our historical understanding of events?*





INDIA in 1805.









“Well, I was never in luck’s way long. Suddenly, without a note of warning, the great mutiny broke upon us. One month India lay as still and peaceful, to all appearance, as Surrey or Kent; the next there were two hundred thousand black devils let loose, and the country was a perfect hell.

‘It was a fight of the millions against the hundreds; and the cruellest part of it was that these men that we fought against, foot, horse, and gunners, were our own picked troops, whom we had taught and trained, handling our own weapons, and blowing our own bugle-calls.

“The city of Agra is a great place, swarming with fanatics and fierce devil-worshippers of all sorts. Our handful of men were lost among the narrow, winding streets.

‘If our door were in the hands of the Sepoys the place must fall, and the women and children be treated as they were in Cawnpore.’



THE BRITISH LION'S VENGEANCE ON THE BENGAL TIGER.











# OVER TO YOU

In groups, take a look at excerpt 4

How does the narrator 'Other' the character?  
How is he defined and dehumanised?

What does this account reflect about late 19<sup>th</sup>  
century ideas about imperialism and British  
duty?

‘They are naturally hideous, having large, misshapen heads, small, fierce eyes, and distorted features. Their feet and hands, however, are remarkably small. So intractable and fierce are they that all the efforts of the British official have failed to win them over in any degree. They have always been a terror to shipwrecked crews, braining the survivors with their stone-headed clubs, or shooting them with their poisoned arrows. These massacres are invariably concluded by a cannibal feast.’  
Nice, amiable people, Watson!’

... Never I seen features so deeply marked with all bestiality and cruelty. His small eyes glowed and burned with a sombre light, and his thick lips were writhed back from his teeth, which grinned and chattered at us with a half animal fury. ... the unhallowed dwarf with his hideous face, and his strong yellow teeth gnashing at us’

‘It was that little hell-hound Tonga who shot one of his cursed darts into him. I had no part in it, sir. I was as grieved as if it had been my blood-relation. I welted the little devil with the slack end of the rope for it, but it was done’.





DOG-HEADED MEN OF ANGAMANAIN.



## 4. ORNAMENTALISM AND ORIENTALISM







HUGHES AND HIS "HYPOCHONDRIAC" WITH DR. WATSON—ACT II



““Which is it to-day?” I asked,—“morphine or cocaine?”

He raised his eyes languidly from the old black-letter volume which he had opened. “It is cocaine,” he said,—“a seven-per-cent. solution. Would you care to try it?”

“No, indeed,” I answered, brusquely. “My constitution has not got over the Afghan campaign yet.

... He smiled at my vehemence. “Perhaps you are right, Watson,” he said. “I suppose that its influence is physically a bad one. I find it, however, so transcendently stimulating and clarifying to the mind that its secondary action is a matter of small moment.”

“But consider!” I said, earnestly. “Count the cost! Your brain may, as you say, be roused and excited, but it is a pathological and morbid process, which involves increased tissue-change and may at last leave a permanent weakness. You know, too, what a black reaction comes upon you. Surely the game is hardly worth the candle.””



The illustration depicts a young girl and a young boy in a garden setting. The girl, on the left, wears a red dress with white trim and a large, wide-brimmed straw hat. She is holding a small tool, possibly a saw or a shovel. The boy, on the right, is wearing a yellow jacket, a brown hat, and dark pants. He is kneeling on the ground, working on a small log cabin structure made of sticks and logs. In the background, there is a white picket fence, a large tree with autumn-colored leaves, and a small white house with a chimney. The scene is framed by a red border.

# COCAINE TOOTHACHE DROPS

Instantaneous Cure!  
PRICE 15 CENTS.  
Prepared by the  
**LLOYD MANUFACTURING CO.**  
219 HUDSON AVE., ALBANY, N. Y.  
For sale by all Druggists.



# POPULAR IMPERIALISM

1815-1914: period of great imperial expansion - 10 million square miles of land and 400 million people encompassed into the British Empire.

John M. MacKenzie – *Propaganda and Empire* (1984), Popular Imperialism:

New type of patriotism constructed from an 'ideological cluster' of elements including: Social Darwinism and racism; militarism; worship of national military heroes

'to regenerate not only the 'backward' world, but also the British themselves, to raise them from the gloom and apprehension of the later nineteenth century, and, by creating a national purpose with a high moral content, lead to class conciliation'



The first step towards lightening

## The White Man's Burden

is through teaching the virtues of cleanliness.

## Pears' Soap

is a potent factor in brightening the dark corners of the earth as civilization advances, while amongst the cultured of all nations it holds the highest place—it is the ideal toilet soap.





# LIPTON'S TEAS

PROCLAIMED

VICTORIOUS OVER ALL OTHERS.

FROM THE TEA GARDENS TO THE TEA POT



1/- & 1/4 PER LB.  
FINEST TEA THE WORLD CAN PRODUCE.

1/7 PER LB.

No higher Price.

SPECIAL NOTICE.—Delivered Carriage Paid for an extra 1d. per lb. to any address in Great Britain on orders of 5 lb. and upwards. Samples sent free on application.

A GUARANTEE.—Money returned in full if Tea does not give perfect satisfaction in every way.

**LIPTON, Tea and Coffee Planter, CEYLON.**

LARGEST TEA, COFFEE, AND PROVISION DEALER IN THE WORLD.

Sole Proprietor of the following celebrated Tea and Coffee Estates in Ceylon:—Dambatenne, Taymashalle, Mousakanda, Mahawakanda, Mousakelle, Poojanalle, Hanagalla, and Garganalle, which cover thousands of acres of the best Tea and Coffee land in Ceylon.

CEYLON TEA AND COFFEE SHIPPING WAREHOUSES: BADDERA HILL, CINNABON GARDENS, COLOMBO.

CEYLON OFFICE: UPPER CRATHAM STREET, COLOMBO.

INDIAN TEA SHIPPING WAREHOUSES AND EXPORT STORES: MARK STREET, STRAND, CALCUTTA.

INDIAN OFFICE: BAMBURGH SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

General Offices: BATH STREET, CITY ROAD, LONDON, E.C.

CHIEF OFFICES AND STORES FOR GERMANY: 12 and 14, GROSSE HIRCHENSTRASSE, HAMBURG.

BRANCHES AND AGENCIES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

# CATHERINE HALL: COLONY AND METROPOLE

*Civilising Subjects* (2002): 'otherness' and race/colour at the heart of the demarcation between metropole and colony.

- English understanding of empire largely stemmed from its slave roots
- Based on racial assumptions of inferiority
- Need for the British colonisers to elevate and civilise the colonised

'The right to colonial rule was built on the gap between metropole and colony: civilisation here, barbarism/savagery there... and constructed through the narratives of anti-slavery and missionary enterprise.'





# NONPAREIL INDIAN RELISH

THE FINEST  
SAUCE  
IN THE  
WORLD



*Delicious Piquant  
Appetizing*

Sole  
Manufacturer

30527262  
**EDWARD MANWARING,**  
**PECKHAM, S.E.**

# DAVID CANNADINE: ORNAMENTALISM (2001)

Class and social hierarchy central to imperialism:

- Retention and consolidating of British social and political hierarchy
- Preservation of a privileged way of life in the colonies so as to influence attitudes in the metropole
- Challenges to the social order in England could be defused through reference to the Empire

‘the British Empire was not primarily about race or colour, but about class and status... ideas about the ordering of Empire continued to be closely connected to ideas about the ordering of Britain itself’



The Game of  
**BRITISH EMPIRE**  
OR  
**TRADING WITH THE COLONIES**

*Each Player starts with a cargo from LONDON  
& has to deliver same and take up from the  
COLONIES what they export.*



BRITISH MANUFACTURE.

"GLEVUM" SERIES.

MADE IN ENGLAND.

'By the end of the century, a stream of imperial bric-a-brac had invaded Victorian homes. Colonial heroes and colonial scenes were emblazoned on a host of domestic commodities, from milk cartons to sauce bottles, tobacco tins to whiskey bottles, assorted biscuits to toothpaste, toffee boxes to baking powder.' (Anne McClintock)

Also extends to novels, poems and short stories?

Can we compare the dangerous foreign drug of the coca leaf as like the disease of the Mutiny to the health of the empire?

***Overall, which explanations of the experience and popularity of empire at home do you find most compelling so far?***



# NEXT ASSIGNMENT: PRESENTATION

4. Primary Source Presentation (15%) – research and give a 5 minute presentation to class on a primary source of your choice that relates to the impact of empire – e.g. an image from a museum/gallery, a work of literature, or historical site on our Whitechapel walk. After class, submit a short outline of your presentation notes or handout.

*Please prepare something for next Monday's class, 4<sup>th</sup> November*

Submit by email your presentation notes: Weds 6<sup>th</sup> November







# **TRIP: HIGHGATE CEMETERY ARCHWAY BARRIERS, 2.15**

Meet at the ticket barriers of  
Archway underground station  
(Northern line) at 2.15

Any delays: 07784 084754