

CHAPTER 6

Ephemera and the British Empire

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Historians have long been aware of the significance of imperial themes in British culture, and of their visual representation as encountered by ordinary people in a variety of conscious and subconscious forms. Images conveying ideas and messages about empire, the non-European world and the relationship between Britons and non-Europeans appeared on a diverse range of media encountered in the course of everyday life in a variety of ways. This could occur during the pursuit of defined leisure activities, such as going to the cinema, visiting an exhibition or attending a concert, or in the pursuit of everyday tasks such as grocery shopping or lighting a cigarette. Often the media employed were intended to last for a long time, such as the statuary that populated the streets and squares of British and colonial towns and cities, oil paintings in art galleries, books or prints and souvenirs designed to adorn mantelpieces and living-room walls. But arguably the most powerful purveyors of imperial ideas and images were to be found in the realm of 'ephemera'; 'things of short-lived interest' as the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines the word. Items of ephemera included tracts, paper bags, posters, food packaging, advertisements, matchboxes and labels. Their power lay in the fact that they were frequently encountered in the quotidian experience of people of every age and of all classes.

In a volume devoted to examples of the exhibition of the British Empire, this chapter seeks to achieve a number of things and to develop a niche in the ever-expanding literature relating to imperialism, society and culture. Most importantly, it concentrates on the subject of ephemera as a concept of display, more firmly embedding ephemera studies into the literature relating to the British Empire and popular culture than has been the case to date. In so doing, it examines the Bodleian Library's John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera and the manner in which its material can be used to inves-

tigate imperial themes. Secondly, and leading logically on from this primary aim, the chapter investigates the *means* by which imperial themes were encountered and key aspects of the manner in which the Empire was displayed through printed ephemera. It registers the important fact that, while ephemera were typically visual media, they were also in many cases textual. A third main area of focus is ephemera studies – a distinct field of scholarship that has its own research centres and publications. Though ephemera were one of the most important media that introduced ideas about empire and the wider world to the public, the field of ephemera studies has not been sufficiently integrated into the study of the British Empire's engagement with popular culture. Finally, the chapter offers insights into the types of imperial and wider world themes encountered in different types of ephemeral material.

The chapter's main historiographical contribution is to highlight the importance of ephemera as a hitherto overlooked medium vital for the dissemination of information regarding the imperial and wider world. It was a major factor in the very 'everydayness' of empire and imperial ideas that some authors have touched upon, but one that, perhaps by its very nature, has not been widely recognised. While this chapter seeks to stake this claim regarding ephemera in the specialist literature, it must be noted that John MacKenzie – almost inevitably! – was first in the field. His landmark work of 1984, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880–1960*, made numerous references to the significance of ephemera in disseminating ideas and images related to the British Empire and, more generally, overseas lands and peoples, and Britain's position vis-à-vis them. Indeed, in the book's opening chapter, appropriately titled 'The Vehicles of Imperial Propaganda', MacKenzie stated that the

provision of ephemera and popular literature of all sorts will be an underlying theme in what follows, for many of the agencies described in subsequent chapters made assiduous use of the public interest in such material and the collecting activities associated with it.¹

Defining ephemera, ephemera studies and 'the visual'

The word 'ephemera' was employed in medieval times in a medical context to describe a fever lasting only one day, and ultimately derives from the Greek 'ephemerous', meaning to last for a day. The mayfly belongs to the Ephemeroptera order of insects because of its short lifespan, and the term 'ephemeron' has been used to describe a plant which lives for only one day or which causes death within a day, or more generally a short-lived person, institution or production. In more

recent times, 'ephemera' has most commonly been used to describe material which has been produced only to last for a finite period before being discarded, though the unqualifiable nature of the word 'finite' renders this definition somewhat less than definitive. In its printed form, however, the meaning bestowed upon 'ephemera' by the late Maurice Rickards, compiler of *The Encyclopaedia of Ephemera*, can largely be considered fit for purpose.² He described ephemera as 'the minor transient documents of everyday life'.³

Given this definition, printed material created with the intention of lasting permanently or for a considerable period of time – books, journals or photographs, for example – should not be considered 'ephemeral', while a sweet wrapper or a cigarette packet can usually be deemed redundant once its contents have been consumed. Yet material which was produced specifically to be discarded once its purpose was served can assume new value when it is collected over a period of time. Items which were intended to be 'throwaway' become indispensable when they can be used as documentary evidence concerning our social and cultural past. As Marina Warner puts it, 'The point of ephemera is to reveal the ordinary texture of existence – not its exceptional moments. Ephemera aren't sacred relics, just accidental traces.'⁴

Private collectors of such evidence are far more numerous than public ones, and remarkably few libraries or museums pursue an active policy of collecting ephemera.⁵ And when displayed, such material is more often than not the supporting act rather than the star attraction. Nevertheless, this type of material is increasingly being recognised as a primary source for academic historical research and for providing a more conscious understanding of the past as it was actually experienced by those who inhabited it. Furthermore, those who specialise in the study of ephemera have in recent decades taken measures to mobilise themselves; indeed, it was the aforementioned Rickards who 'identified the need to elevate the study of ephemera into an academic discipline and, moreover, to bring together people who held in common a passionate interest in the forgotten byways of history'.⁶ He and seven like-minded individuals founded the Ephemera Society in London in 1975, an organisation which has since grown into an internationally recognised authority in the field with its own quarterly journal, *The Ephemerist*, while the Ephemera Society of America was established five years later. The study of ephemera was firmly recognised as an academic discipline in 1992 with the inauguration of the Centre for Ephemera Studies – the first of its kind in the world – in the Department of Typography & Graphic Communication at the University of Reading, patronised by Asa, Lord Briggs, and championed by Rickards among others.⁷ The Centre aims to promote the study of ephemera,

and its activities include the publication of research tools for ephemeralists, courses on various aspects of ephemera and the compilation of a register of ephemera collections publicly available in Britain.⁸

Although ephemera often comprise both images and the written word, their visuality is arguably their most distinctive characteristic. It is difficult to underestimate the importance of the visual: as Raphael Samuel puts it, the visual provides us with our stock figures, our subliminal points of reference, our unspoken points of address.⁹ In her powerful study of the employment of images of non-European people in British advertising, Anandi Ramamurthy contends that '[i]mages are historical documents':

They do not simply reflect the ideological perspectives of an era, but form part of the process through which these ideologies are produced ... racist representations continually developed and shifted through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, depending on the particular political and economic interests of the producers of these images.¹⁰

The study of ephemera involves the history of design and of printing dating back to the Renaissance, and in later times colour printing, which led to a flowering of ornate and vivid ephemera in the nineteenth century. Colonial printers and engravers imported British equipment and used the same manuals as those 'back home', a significant element in extending the range of printed ephemera into the colonial world itself. As such, ephemera which survive from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries allow us to examine social and cultural aspects of imperial history through the study of original printed material produced throughout the period of the British Empire. Whilst the vast bulk of Empire-related and wider-world-related ephemera was produced after the printing boom of the mid-nineteenth century, it is important to remember that it did exist before then, and that it could still be found even in the distinctly post-imperial late twentieth century.

Patricia Anderson writes of the manner in which the printed image transformed British culture as a 'modern mass culture' developed in the early nineteenth century.¹¹ Between 1790 and 1860 the widening dissemination of print led to the unprecedented expansion of popular cultural experience, and from the centre of this there emerged a mass culture. The new culture's hallmark was its pictorial character. Illustrated magazines, broadsides and other artefacts played a significant part in the mass dissemination of imagery – as did the range of imagery conveyed in ephemeral items. Indeed, a recurring theme in Anderson's work is the declining role of art reproduction in people's otherwise expanded pictorial experience. John MacKenzie emphasised the link between advances in printing technology, the 'new mass medium of

the printed word and the visual image' and the production of ephemera relating to empire, the wider world and Britain's place in it:

[T]he growth of 'jobbing' printing led to a great increase in the publication of leaflets, pamphlets, booklets, programmes, and other small ephemeral items which could be distributed free as advertising and propaganda or sold for a few pence each. Such material was used by all forms of entertainment, by the exhibitions, the armed forces, and missionary societies. Much of it must indeed have been ephemeral, but some was sufficiently attractive to be collected, and contemporary agencies and advertisers certainly saw these cheap pieces of printed paper as an effective way of purveying their ideas or their wares.¹²

While we acknowledge the importance of the visual in British popular culture relating to empire and the non-European world, and the role of ephemera in delivering visual images, printed ephemera also contained textual information, a fact that should not be overlooked. This could take the form of succinct statements, such as the motif on the Diamond Match Company's 'Empire' matchbox – 'We Hold a Vaster Empire than Has Been'¹³ – or references to the imperial landscape and interracial relations, such as the Guinness 'Safari So Good!' advertisement, featuring a pith-helmeted white man and grinning 'native' bearers carrying his supplies.¹⁴ But items of ephemera could contain much lengthier tracts of text. For example, a poster advertising an exhibition on the 'Polar Regions' at the Ducrow's Theatre in Aberdeen in 1833 contained about four hundred words describing the geographical zone in question.¹⁵ The advertisement for a circa 1850 'Diorama of the Ganges', shown at the Portland Gallery, Langham Place, Regent Street, offered copious reviews drawn from the newspapers describing the visions of the Orient that it conjured.¹⁶ Similarly, an 1841 advertisement for a Madame Tussaud's waxwork exhibition depicted Commissioner Lin (known to the public because of the recent opium war) and 'his favourite consort', the pair 'modelled from life with magnificent dresses actually worn by them'. Lin was billed as 'the author of the Chinese war' and 'the Destroyer of £2,500,000 of British property'.¹⁷ As well as presenting a biased British perspective on the nature of the war and the justifications for military intervention, the text below the images provided a lengthy description of Madame Tussaud's work, the specifics of the exhibition, and the manner in which the waxworks had been prepared. It was also quite common for certain items of ephemera to contain pithy snapshots relating to episodes in imperial history. A trade card from about 1910 for Price's Night Lights, for instance, showed a scene from the Battle of Plassey, providing on the reverse side a laconic account of the battle in which it was stated that it was

conducted in order to avenge the 'black hole of Calcutta' massacre. The battle, the card claimed, set down the 'foundation of the Empire of England in the East'. This was a typical bite-sized, didactic representation of an episode in the British national and imperial story, inaccurately and uncritically rendered for easy public consumption and purveyed through an item of ephemera.¹⁸

The John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera

The Bodleian Library's John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera has been mined on numerous occasions by scholars examining imperial themes.¹⁹ While it pertains to printed ephemera of all kinds and was certainly not intended to reflect imperialism per se, the collection nonetheless contains a range of different types of items that relate, on the one hand, specifically to the British Empire and, on the other, more generally to depictions of the non-European world. Indeed, the fact that a collection which was assembled without any imperial agenda nonetheless yields so much material pertinent to the study of empire reinforces the extent to which an underlying imperial theme pervaded much of the ephemera produced during the period in which the British Empire prevailed. Items include programmes, postcards, tickets, posters, playbills, paper bags, cigarette cards, food labels, shippers' tickets and advertisements. Sometimes representations of imperial events in such material will have been consciously generated in order to market produce or appeal to a certain type of audience, while other references to imperial themes would have been more incidental, almost accidentally expressing some association with empire or projecting an image of non-European people. Either way, such ephemera cannot help but reflect the era in which they were created and, by extension, the society for which they were produced.

The John Johnson Collection was assembled by John de Monins Johnson, Printer to Oxford University from 1925, who began collecting printed ephemera between the wars (continuing to do so until his death in 1956) and who envisaged the collection as 'the museum of what is commonly thrown away ... all the ordinary printed paraphernalia of our day-to-day lives in size from the large broadside to the humble calling card, and varying in splendour from the magnificent invitations to coronations of Kings to the humblest piece of street literature sold for a penny or less'.²⁰ Collecting ephemera was Johnson's hobby rather than his profession, and while most such collectors were relatively specific with regard to the nature of the material they gathered – be it beer mats or cigarette cards or firework labels, but rarely all three together – Johnson retrospectively collected every

conceivable type of ephemeral printing, eventually amassing over a million items. While some material in the collection dates from as long ago as 1508, its strengths are generally acknowledged to lie in the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when the British Empire was at its height. And although neither Johnson nor successive custodians of the collection actively sought to select material which was indicative of an imperial theme, it is inevitable that much of the ephemera of this period reflect a perception of Britain as being at the heart of an empire.

While the John Johnson Collection is now recognised as a significant resource for academic research, maintained (and indeed expanded) by one of the world's foremost research libraries since its transfer from Oxford University Press to the Bodleian in 1968, it should be understood that its assembly began as a largely recreational activity. As such, the material in it was not subject to rigorous classification, but was simply divided into categories. There are some seven hundred categories in total, grouped into twenty-two broader themes; 'railways', 'motor cars' and 'airlines' are grouped under 'transport', for example. Even the categories themselves reveal the arbitrary nature of the collection; while many headings refer to subjects, ranging from the general ('museums' or 'authors, various') to the specific ('National Maritime Museum' or 'Du Maurier'), others refer to types of ephemera ('paper bags' or 'receipts'). Each of these categories represents a single box or folder of material, or numerous boxes and folders (five boxes and one folder in the 'colonies' category, for instance, or as many as fifty-two boxes in the 'education' category). Indexes provide a guide to the contents of many of the boxes in the collection (available online in PDF format)²¹ and, in many cases, the arrangement of material within them, and a number of digitisation initiatives of varying scale have allowed for online delivery of images for some categories or selections within categories.²² However, less than 10 per cent of the collection can be searched at item-level in the online catalogue, and so searching is invariably a somewhat serendipitous activity whereby researchers simply order boxes and folders in a given category to the reading room and manually sift through all the material within them.

The current authors' initial approach when conducting research for *Illustrating Empire* was to select some of the boxes most likely to contain relevant material, and to use keyword searches for the parts of the collection that have been digitised. So, of the seven hundred categories, the initial sift targeted thirty-six: 'air', 'airlines', 'banking', 'beer', 'Boy Scouts', 'campaigns and protest groups', 'Canada and East India companies', 'Canada and New Zealand companies', 'cigarette cards', 'cocoa, chocolate, and confectionery', 'colonies', 'exhibitions', 'exhibi-

tion catalogues', 'exploration', 'free trade and protection', 'Gladstone', 'harbours, docks, and piers', 'hats', 'Kipling', 'match boxes', 'men's clothes', 'missionary societies', 'monarchy and the House of Lords', 'naval', 'Nelson', 'nigger minstrels', 'postal collection', 'shipping', 'shipping lines', 'slavery', 'soap', 'South Sea Company', 'tea and coffee', 'tobacco', 'travel' and 'war'. These were deemed to be categories likely to have material relating to empire and the non-European world. But this was not exhaustive, and did not reflect a belief that all the other categories would be unlikely to furnish relevant information. What it indicated was the fact that these categories, together with material drawn more widely from across the seven hundred categories in the form of the digitised portion of the collection, yielded sufficient material for our publication purposes (*Illustrating Empire* contains around 150 colour images drawn from the collection).

While some categories were regarded as unlikely to provide much or any relevant material – 'Arber and Grosart reprints', for instance, or 'beauty parlour', 'Christmas cards', 'duty stamps' or 'German presses' – the element of 'you never know' was always present (the twenty-two boxes of Christmas cards, for example, might well have revealed a snowy scene from the hill-station of Simla, where enough snow fell for British residents, missing home, to produce traditional seasonal cards showing wintry views of the town and the surrounding Himalayan foothills). Furthermore, there were many other categories which almost certainly would have yielded relevant material but which were not investigated, such as 'Bible societies', 'book jackets', 'burghers', 'cigar bands', 'education', 'Queen Victoria', 'South African War', 'street ballads', 'tourist agencies', 'travel agencies' and 'wireless'.

Types and themes

A far from exhaustive list of some of the different types of printed ephemera contained in the collection offers an impression of the breadth of material encountered by British people which contained references to empire and the non-European world. In the course of a single afternoon's research, the authors handled invitations and menu cards relating to luncheons and dinners such as the inauguration of the Jinja Municipal Council in Uganda in 1956, the Royal Albert Hall banquet for 'His Majesty's Ministers of the Self-Governing Colonies' in 1907 and the inaugural luncheon of the Kipling Society at the Princes Restaurant in Jermyn Street in 1927.²³ We looked at official forms, such as those signed by eighteenth-century recruits to the East India Company's army and those of the Government Emigration Office on Park Street, Westminster, completed by aspiring

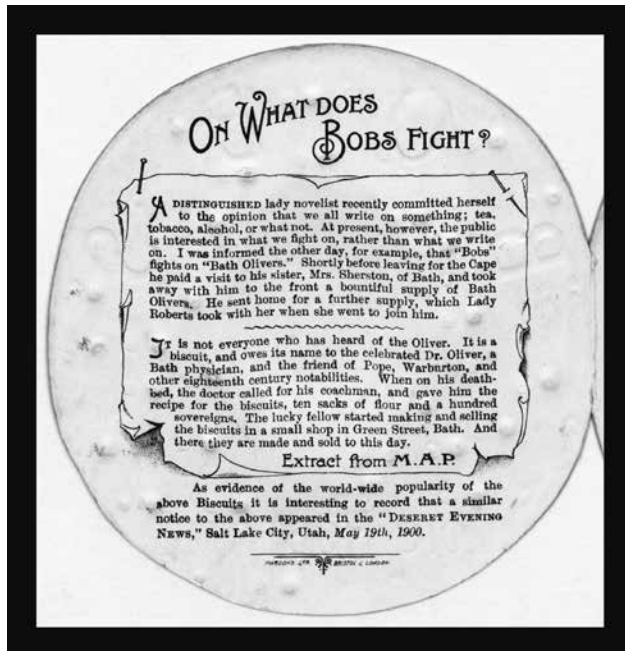
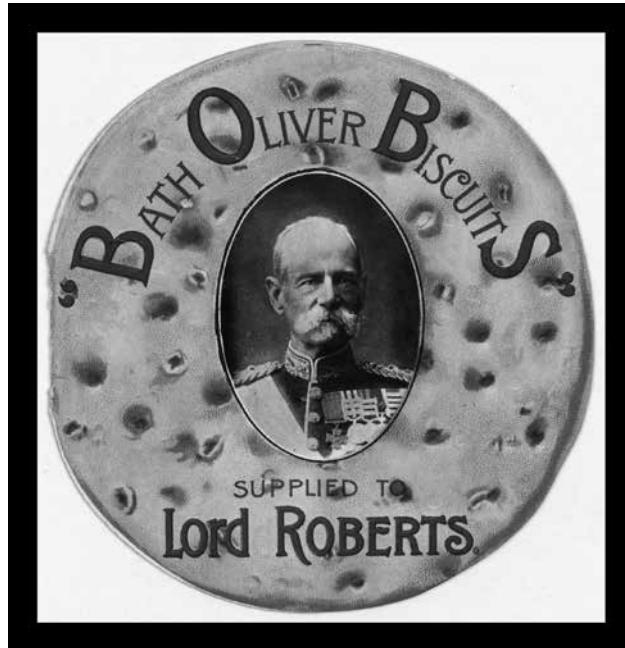
emigrants in the mid-nineteenth century.²⁴ There were numerous postcards, such as those produced for Empire Day bearing images of the king and depictions of the 'mother country' and her settler colony 'offspring', as well as unusual examples such as that showing 2,600 Sheffield boys spelling out in 'living letters' the words 'God Bless our Empire'.²⁵ There were also postcards produced for the 1911 Festival of Empire exhibition at the Crystal Palace and the 1924–25 British Empire Exhibition.²⁶ Regarding this particular type of ephemera, and the latter exhibition held at Wembley, John MacKenzie writes: 'The production of ephemera of all sorts was staggering in its scope'. More than 150 different official postcards were produced, as well as hundreds more relating to the exhibition produced by commercial companies, as well as large quantities of handbills, leaflets, programmes, maps and posters.²⁷ MacKenzie contends that the 'democratization of the visual image was undertaken by the postcard and it must be seen as a central element in the ephemera book of the period'.²⁸

The John Johnson Collection contains unusual items of ephemera, including a paper bag from a tea dealer in 'Newcastle-on-Tyne' that in the 1850s produced bags bearing images of exotic animals. Animal number three was the elephant, the illustration accompanied by a detailed caption on the life and habits of the beast.²⁹ A typical discovery in the authors' research for *Illustrating Empire* was an illustrated calendar called 'The Nigerian Year 1938', which featured monthly sketches of Nigerian scenes by Captain R.R. Oakley accompanied by sonnets by C.A Woodhouse, late Resident, Northern Provinces, Lagos.³⁰ There was also a Christmas souvenir from 1897 in which a verse from 'God Save the Queen' was rendered in fifty different languages spoken within the Empire.³¹

There are many ways of approaching the theme of 'imperial ephemera' because there were numerous *types* of ephemera, and they addressed a variety of *themes* relating to empire and the wider world. To illustrate this, the following subsections examine some of the types of ephemera encountered in the John Johnson Collection (such as bolt labels and food packaging), and some of the Empire-related and wider-world-related themes that they addressed (such as emigration, the veneration of 'heroes' and the representation of non-Europeans as servants or labourers for Europeans). In considering types of ephemera and common themes relating to empire, the section deliberately focuses on a summary sample, rather than providing an in-depth analysis of individual items.

The veneration of prominent figures

Lord Roberts was widely considered to be one of the most successful military figures of the mid- to late Victorian period, serving with distinction in Abyssinia, Afghanistan and India as well as in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State during the Second Boer War. His image was adopted as a marketing device for a range of products and used to endorse political and national activities. A political poster showed the map of South Africa shaded British red, the outline of Roberts's face appearing on the map. Under the title 'All Red Now Joey', pictures of Queen Victoria, Joseph Chamberlain (the belligerent Colonial Secretary) and Robert Baden-Powell surround the map.³² Roberts's face was used by James Fortt of Bath to promote Bath Oliver Biscuits with the byline 'On what does Bobs fight?' (Bobs was a moniker for Roberts used in the British press). Before leaving for South Africa, the Field Marshal had visited his sister in Bath, where he procured some of the biscuits which then accompanied him to South Africa, from where he later sent back for further supplies (see Figures 6.1 and 6.2).³³ Advertisements for Wilson's Horehound beer (or 'stomach tonic' as it was also, rather inventively, described) showed the product next to a picture of Roberts beneath the banner 'Two Great Leaders'. Tom Stedman sold boots with the aid of a puzzle picture in which Roberts holds the enemy by the scruff of the neck, with the caption 'Bobs – Destroy the mines would you? Not this time, sonny' (a reference to potential Boer sabotage of the lucrative South African diamond and gold mines).³⁴ And Roberts also appeared on a colourful Indian cotton bale label of the late nineteenth century in which various illustrious officers of the army and navy are depicted posing before a flag-bedecked statue of Queen Victoria.³⁵ Indeed, for a time Roberts's image was used to advertise just about anything: he appeared on a calendar issued by George Blackburn of Halifax, 'Given Away with One Pound 2/- Tea'; on the cover of the sheet music to Theo Bonheur's 'Siege of Ladysmith, Grand Divertimento'; on the lid of 'With Bobs in the Transvaal', the 'Up to Date War Game'; on the tin containing Field's Khaki Toilet Soap; on a commemorative tin bearing the words 'Hilton's Boots are Like Our Generals – Famous for Endurance'; on the packaging for Wills 'United Service' cigarettes; and on a bookmark issued with soap, which bore the legend 'Dr Lovelace's Soap Commands Respect', clearly associating the respect demanded by the soap with that commanded by Lord Roberts.³⁶



Figures 6.1 & 6.2 'Bath Oliver Biscuits supplied to Lord Roberts'

Bolt labels

Bale labels, also known as bolt labels or shippers' tickets, were attached to the ends of cotton bolts exported from British mills around the world. One of the earliest references to the labelling of cloth is mentioned in Wadsworth and De Lacy Mann's *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, 1600–1780*.³⁷ Describing the textile trade with Africa in the late seventeenth century, the authors talk of fabric 'packed in a stiff paper cover with a gaudy picture of an elephant, the device of the Royal Africa Company on the outside'.³⁸ Adrian Wilson writes that the labels were used 'on the "faceplate" (front) of fabric pieces sent around the world. They were used in conjunction with water soluble ink trade-marks to identify the brand, type and length of fabric in the piece'.³⁹

Each label was designed specifically for the market to which it was sent. The ticket was supposed to catch the eye of the purchaser, and often employed various symbols which today can be baffling at first glance.⁴⁰ Colour coding and recognisable symbols were a part of the bolt label design, signalling details about the product to the Oriental merchants at whom the labels were often targeted, and 'the florid and often exuberant and exaggerated designs [were] frequently responsible for the sale of the fabrics, particularly in the Bazaars of India, China and Japan where the colour scheme is of supreme importance'.⁴¹

Sria Chatterjee used an example of a bolt label produced at the beginning of the twentieth century to suggest that such ephemera represent the locus of colonial experience. She described a label, framed at each corner by the crown of St Edward, depicting an Indian elephant being hoisted on to a naval ship and destined for the Regent's Park Zoological Gardens in London, one of four such 'gifts' to the Prince of Wales (and heir to the throne – the words 'For the King' are spelt out retroactively on the elephant's harness) following his 1875–76 state visit to India (see Figure 6.3).⁴² Interpreting the elephant as a symbol of both a wild, untamed India and Royal Imperial India, and identifying the naval ship as a signifier of both military protection and military possession, she argues:

This illustrated description becomes the coloniser's construct of truth, or what I would like to term 'an imagined reality'... [and] that the cotton bale label, read in the context of colonial advertising, becomes a tool that furthered this construct by selling to the viewer-consumer not only the commodity but also the culture of Imperialism.⁴³

Chatterjee further suggests that 'in the context of the printed image in Victorian and early Edwardian Britain, there emerges a visual rhetoric, drawing from a similarly constructed visual vocabulary, resulting in ... a British Imperial iconography'.⁴⁴

Emigration

Another distinct and sizeable category, scattered throughout the John Johnson Collection, comprises material related to the emigration of Britons to the settler colonies. Within this category, there are numerous journals and newsletters relating to the business of emigration, titles including the *British and Colonial Traveller*, *The British Emigrant*, *The Empire Review*, *The Imperial Colonist*, *The Imperial and Colonial Magazine and Review*, *Britannia: A Monthly Magazine for the Promotion of the Closer Union between Home Country and Colonies*, the pamphlets and magazine advertisements of the *British Women's Emigration Association* and a handbook for would-be

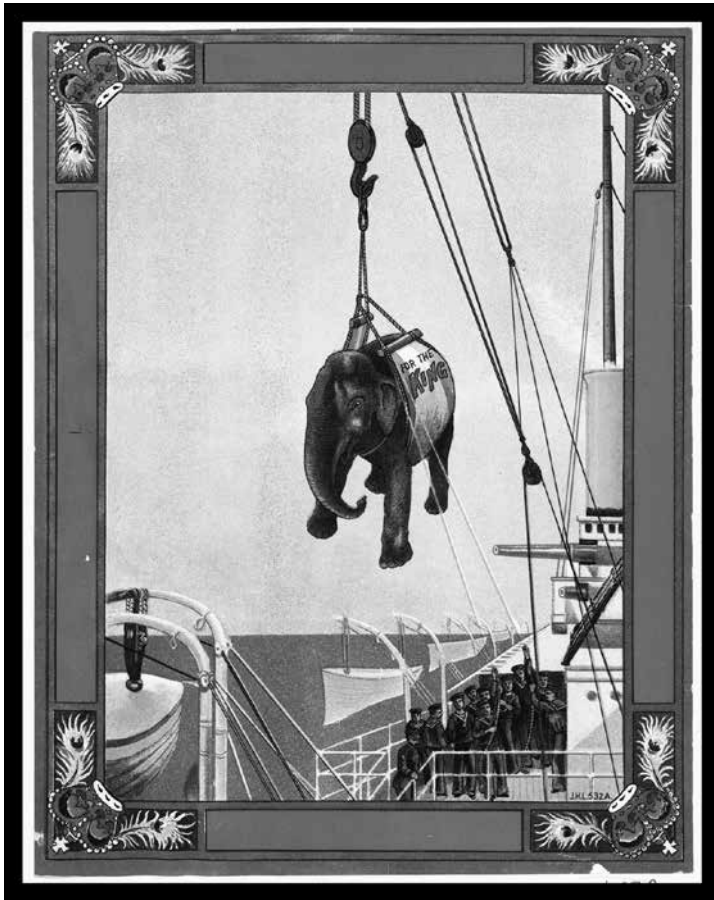


Figure 6.3 'Bale label with illustration of an Indian elephant being hoisted onto a naval ship'

emigrants published by a shipping line.⁴⁵

In a slightly different direction, in 1823 a new monthly journal was launched called *Oriental Herald and Colonial Advocate*. Its 'mission statement' reflected contemporary beliefs in the 'civilising mission' and faith in the capacity of Western science and technology to improve the world, the journal's purpose being the maintenance of

A constant interchange of useful and interesting Communications between Great Britain and her Eastern and Western Dependencies; for encouraging throughout Europe every effort towards ameliorating the condition of British India in particular, and the colonies in Asia, Africa, and America, in general; – and for diffusing over every portion of those distant lands, the lights of British science and intelligence, by the powerful influence of which, the ends of the earth may be united in the bonds of mutual benefit, and learn to cultivate together the arts of industry and peace.⁴⁶

The John Johnson Collection also contains numerous one-off items relating to emigration, including political tracts and posters (such as an early nineteenth-century example warning of the 'horrors' of emigration) and cartoons (including a satirical print showing African women being imported to make up for the emigration of British women).⁴⁷ There were then numerous pamphlets published by colonial and dominion governments, including Manitoba, New Zealand and Southern Rhodesia, attempting to attract and inform would-be migrants from the 'mother country'.

Indigenes as servants, labourers and producers

An example of a common theme encountered in ephemeral material is that of the native porter, servant or labourer and the white leader or overseer. This type of image was often used in printed ephemera and can only have reinforced, in the minds of some people at least, impressions of white superiority and dominance and non-white inferiority and servility.⁴⁸ Ramamurthy notes that one of the main perspectives employed by scholars in analysing images such as those under consideration here has been *stereotyping*, a form of representation that 'essentialises, naturalises, and fixes difference [and] ... operates effectively through a general level of consent'.⁴⁹ Stereotyping through advertising reinforced, and was reinforced by, 'unthinking Eurocentrism'.⁵⁰ It was reflected in countless colonial-era images showing non-Europeans involved in the process of collecting raw materials that had become part of Western consumer culture, such as cocoa, palm-oil products, tea and tobacco, or acting as servants and porters. Europeans, meanwhile, were universally portrayed in superior roles, often quite

subtly. But the significance and power of such images, Ramamurthy argues, went beyond 'merely' stereotyping. They were also part of the process of the *production* of definitions, not simply reflective of pre-existing ideas: 'In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries colonialism provided a political logic for capitalism and almost all of the images of black people in advertising gave expression to the ways in which we [non-white people] were dehumanised, diminished and naturalised as servants and inferior beings.'⁵¹ She observes that visual imagery in advertising was 'a new and powerful weapon with which to express a company's outlook on the world'.⁵² In advertisements for colonial-produced consumer goods, 'black representations were employed more strategically ... to represent company interests in specific colonial ideologies and policies'.⁵³ By the late nineteenth century, for example,

It was not just the exoticism of black people and their skin which was depicted in cocoa advertisements and images. A dominant image of Africans on cocoa and other advertising during this period was of labourers working tropical plantations, producing raw materials for European consumption.⁵⁴

These advertisements almost universally conveyed the idea of abundant natural produce, of the willing participation of non-European people in harvesting it and often the beneficence of this producer-consumer relationship. European technological superiority and industrial and economic progress were seen to have a role in 'civilising' the natives.

Images such as these displayed surprising longevity, from early modern woodcuts to twenty-first-century advertisements for tea. A woodcut from around 1700, used as a package label for Virginian tobacco, showed settlers seated at their ease around a table, drinking and smoking pipes, while African slaves laboured in the tobacco field behind them. A cotton bolt label from the early nineteenth century bears the words 'Mofussil Court Ticket' ('mofussil' being a contemporary word used to describe rural regions of India beyond the presidency settlements of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras). It shows a European magistrate at a large desk, Indian court clerks at lower desks arranged around the European's desk, Indian guards for an Indian prisoner and an Indian punkah-wallah standing behind the European official.⁵⁵ This type of image also appeared on food labels, such as 'Penang-Pineapple', a tinned product from the late nineteenth century on which was a label bearing two pictures, one showing native people harvesting pineapples on a neat plantation in the tropics, the other showing two elegantly attired women in a European drawing room enjoying the fruit at table, the fruit prominently displayed on a pineapple pedestal



Figure 6.4 'Swan Brand Penang-Pineapple'

(see Figure 6.4).⁵⁶ An Edwardian-era advertisement for Colman's Starch showed a European man and woman at leisure on the deck of a ship and dressed in resplendent white garments, greeting a non-European woman and her child as they walk past carrying a large basket full of white garments that have been laundered and are about to be starched.⁵⁷

Advertisements for lime cordial and cocoa showed native peoples harvesting the crops, often supervised by a white figure and juxtaposing a background of tropical vegetation with the neat lines of a modern processing plant. Indigenous people were associated with labour and production for European consumers, in an ordered yet still exotic environment. Advertisements for Lipton's cocoa and a variety of soft drinks or products such as Black & White whisky all showed images of indigenous people labouring under white supervision or serving Europeans. A series of advertisements for Huntley & Palmer biscuits depicted various imperial themes, including 'Stanley's Expedition to Relieve Emin Pasha', which showed African porters carrying head loads (including boxes of the advertised product) across a river, with Stanley standing on the foreground bank in a supervisory capacity, hand on hip, and a fellow European performing the same role on the far bank.⁵⁸ Another advertisement in this series, 'An Ascent of the Himalayas', showed tweed-clad Europeans on the ascent with uniformed native porters carrying the precious biscuits. 'India – Fort on the Indus' showed Indians unloading boxes of Huntley & Palmer biscuits from an elephant, supervised by a European checking off the delivered goods in a log book (see Figure 6.5).⁵⁹

Collectable items were sometimes issued with particular products, such as Cadbury's trade cards, and these often depicted similar scenes of native portage or service to Europeans. A Cadbury series on transport issued in the 1930s showed aircraft, trains and motor cars, with Africans making an appearance as porters bearing head loads in the Gold Coast.⁶⁰ The drawing for the month of June in the 'Nigerian Year'

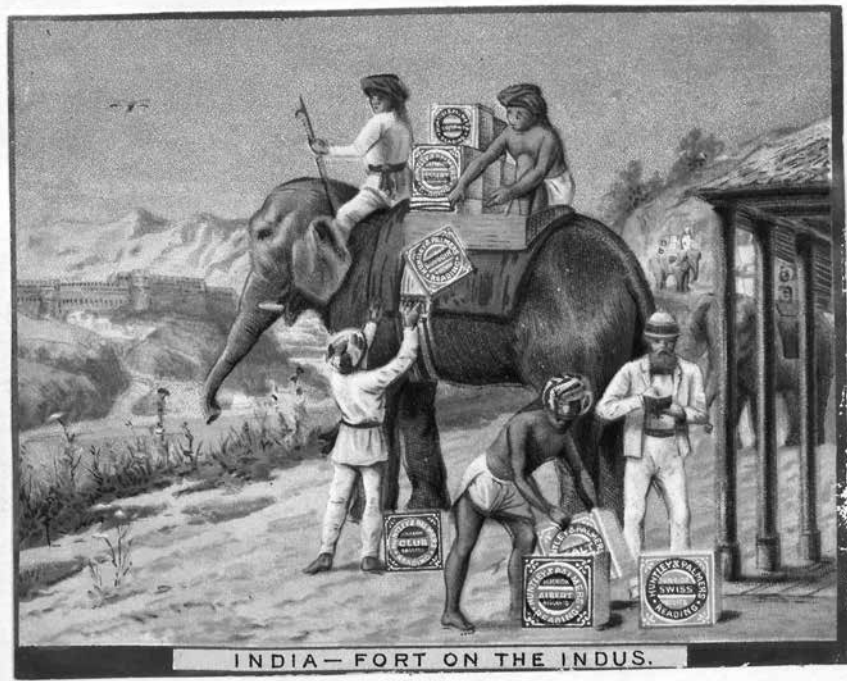


Figure 6.5 'India – fort on the Indus'

calendar for 1938 showed a mounted European wearing a pith-helmet followed by three Africans on foot, two of them bearing head loads containing bottles and a bedroll.⁶¹

Consumer branding

Labels and advertisements for food and consumer goods often bore images and text relating to the Empire and the wider world. These included labels for Indian curry powder, Stower's lime cordial, Bovril, Mogul or real 'chetna' sauce produced by John Burgess of the Strand, bearing an image of a turbaned Asian male, 'genuine Indian arrowroot' showing an 'Oriental' scene, and 'Pride of Empire' sliced peaches bearing the Union Jack and the flag of Australia. Colman's starch advertisements featured a whole series of images of the Prince of Wales's visit to India and Ceylon in the mid-1870s, depicting him tiger-hunting, investing Indian princes with knighthoods and companionships from the Star of India order of chivalry, and holding a durbar. Indeed, Indian themes were very popular; Johnston's corn flour employed images of Indian cavalry soldiers on its advertisements and labels in the 1890s,



Figure 6.6 'Australia in London'

as did the collectable cards issued with Pascall's mints in the interwar years.⁶² Images of uniformed native troops were relatively common in this form of material (including a John Player cigarette card series of 1938 entitled 'Military Uniforms of the British Empire Overseas'). The 'loyal' native was a favourite imperial trope, suggestive of British imperial strength and the willing submissiveness of the Empire's subject peoples, while uniformed native troops also conveyed an impression of imperial splendour.

The manufacturers of Bovril were inveterate employers of imperial and imperial-military themes in their product advertisements.⁶³ So too were medicinal companies: a popular cough mixture label depicted British soldiers in South Africa under the banner 'Our Defenders', Dr Rooke's 'Oriental Pills and Solar Elixir' showed a caravan of balsam merchants 'of the oriental regions', while a brand of 'cure-all bile beans' displayed their Australian origin through a far-fetched picture of Parliament Square and the Houses of Parliament beset by gum trees and wallabies (see Figure 6.6).⁶⁴

Affirming a British world

Ephemeral material could affirm the existence of a distinctly British world and British possession of overseas territories and produce. Two ways in which this occurred were the use of words and the use of maps. Words such as 'empire', 'imperial' and 'colonial' were regularly used, particularly in advertising. There was, for example, Ogden's St Julien Empire Blend tobacco and Three Nuns Empire Blend tobacco. In a pamphlet on how to make coffee, consumers were exhorted to use Indian coffee which was 'Empire Grown'.⁶⁵ The fruiterer E.T. Moore, whose business was based at Empire House, Ripston, printed the words 'Finest English and Colonial Fruit' on his paper bags (see Figure 6.7).⁶⁶ The appeal to imperial sentiment, or reference to imperial ties, was deliberately employed and suggests a widespread public awareness. Emu Wines, for instance, offered a 'testing cabinet', a sampler selection of the company's wares. 'This invitation', their publicity leaflets claimed, 'is made to help Empire Trade.' Mundane items, such as blank postcards, could contain such references – a packet of 'Ten British Empire Three-penny Postcards', for instance.⁶⁷ So, too, could material more specifically targeted, such as the New Zealand Meat Producers Board's lamb recipe card, which labelled New Zealand as 'The Empire's Sunny Sheep Farm'.⁶⁸ The word 'Empire', or the term 'British Empire', were often employed because of their association with the stability that the British Empire was widely thought to generate and epitomise, or because of a desire to invoke patriotic sentiment, or both. It also seems possible to conclude that the word and the term were used by some companies or government agencies (such as the Empire Marketing Board) to encourage the British people to regard the Empire as a mutually interdependent economic community.⁶⁹

Maps were also an important form of representing the British Empire and illustrating themes connected to empire and the wider world, and of creating the impression of a distinctly British world. In particular, they contributed to proprietorial attitudes towards

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colonised spaces and the ownership of sources of supply. In 1934, for instance, the Ceylon Tea Propaganda Board published a colour map of Ceylon, 'showing its tea industry'.⁷⁰ In the same decade, the Coffee Board of Kenya produced a brochure entitled 'Kenya Coffee and How to Make It' (see Figure 6.8).⁷¹ One of its pages showed a map of the British Isles and the African continent. Under the heading 'From one country to another', a direct line joined the East African colony of Kenya with Britain. An advertisement in the *Investor's Chronicle* of 1953 showed businessmen in a London office, the office window looking out on to Trafalgar Square. On the wall hung a map of Malaya and Singapore, which the men were studying, one pointing at the peninsula with a pointing stick.⁷²

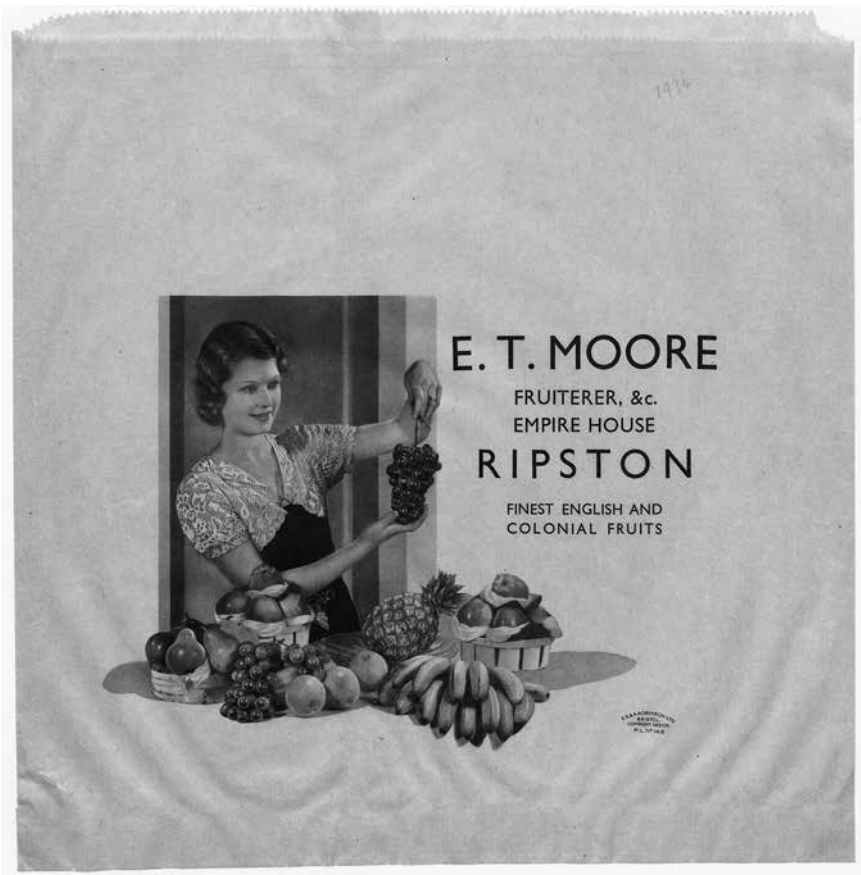


Figure 6.7 'E. T. Moore, fruiterer, &c.'

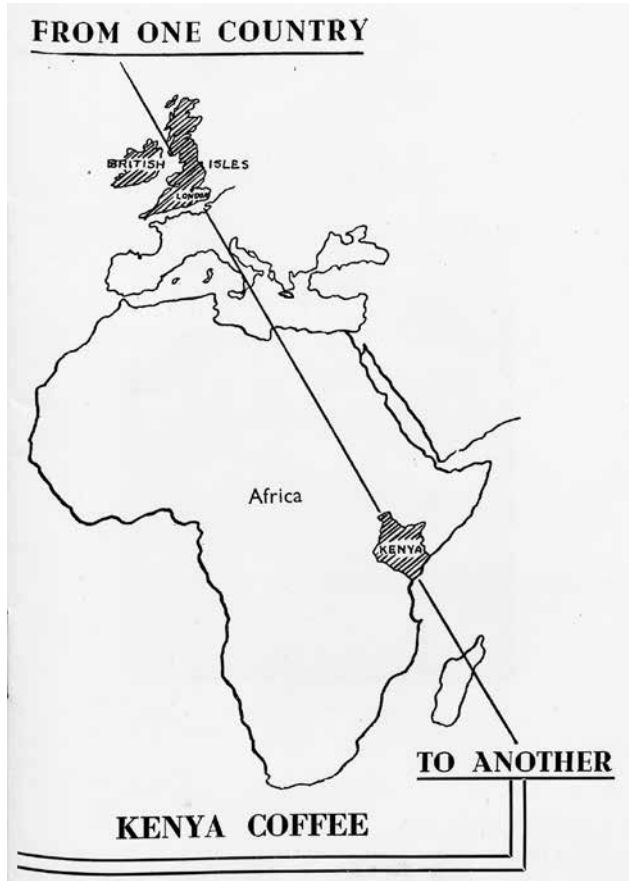


Figure 6.8 Inside page from 'Kenya Coffee and how to make it'

Conclusion

Ephemera fostered a sense of the existence of a British world, from the iconic map shaded in red to the 'Empire Christmas Pudding' showing ingredients drawn from British colonies, and advertisements connecting British people with distant places.⁷³ A magazine advertisement for Barneys tobacco, for instance, proclaimed that 'From Croydon to the Cape, across India to Port Darwin: Along the Air Routes of the Empire Barneys is Always Factory-Fresh'. The advertisement featured a pilot 'spontaneously' attesting to the tobacco's vaunted 'EverFreshness' under 'almost every condition of climate – from the arid dryness of the African deserts to the steaming heat of Singapore'.⁷⁴ A British Industries Fair leaflet for a trade fair at London's Olympia

in 1935 showed an aerial picture of London with a heart-shaped inset containing a Caribbean scene, the title reading 'Visit Jamaica in the Heart of London'.⁷⁵

This material enhanced public awareness of the British Empire, of the non-European world, and of the relationships between European and non-European people. It sharpened the identity of Britons vis-à-vis non-Britons, supported common assumptions about the 'civilising mission' and increased awareness of the non-European origins of a range of consumer products that British people had become dependent upon and to which, by virtue of the Empire, they enjoyed proprietorial rights, just as they did to the labour that acquired them.

Aligning this chapter with themes addressed in this volume's introduction and John MacKenzie's chapter on Delhi durbars, it is clear that ephemera were an important variable in the construction and operation of the 'imperial archive'. Ephemera were significant media in the 'exhibition' of imperial and wider world themes, impinging on the lives and imaginations of millions of people. They reinforced key imperial themes and fantastical notions, such as the beneficence of British influence and presence overseas and the popular acceptance of British cultural and racial superiority. Empire-related and wider-world-related ephemeral material widened and deepened prevailing imperial ideas and ways of seeing the world, such as the fantasy of an ordered British world, of global governance, of a universal and omnipresent monarchy, and of the inevitability and moral appropriateness of British rule. Ephemeral items often featured the 'exotic', the allure of travel and adventure, representatives of the imperial state, and reinforced a worldview heavily shaped by British proprietorship and non-European servility.

As is well known, making assumptions about what people thought of the images and the ideas they potentially conveyed is difficult. Partially for this reason, we are careful to talk about ideas relating to empire *and* the non-European world, for while some images might directly convey a message about the British Empire or British superiority, others might convey nothing more than basic information about the flora and fauna found in overseas countries, or the impression that foreign people dressed differently. Nevertheless, cultural norms and depictions are powerful influences upon the way in which people construct a view of the world around them. They were able, for example, to make some colonial peoples feel that they were culturally British in certain ways. Conversely, as late as the 1970s, golliwogs on the labels of jam jars and the branding of aniseed-flavoured chews (together with television shows and racist jokes widely considered to be acceptable) continued to act as powerful conveyors of ideas

(and contributors to constructions) of whiteness and its antithesis.⁷⁶ Ephemera are a form of 'cultural display' and therefore a reflection of, or hangover from, the imperial culture which produced them. As Graham Hudson maintains, ephemera, 'produced to meet the needs of the passing day', are 'wholly part of the culture in which they are created'.⁷⁷ And the culture which produced much of the ephemera of the last three centuries was undeniably imperial.

Notes

- 1 John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880–1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984).
- 2 Maurice Rickards, *The Encyclopaedia of Ephemera: A Guide to the Fragmentary Documents of Everyday Life for the Collector, Curator and Historian* (London: British Library, 2000).
- 3 Maurice Rickards, *Collecting Printed Ephemera* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1988), p. 7.
- 4 Marina Warner, 'Imaging the Orient', *Writers' Responses*, The John Johnson Collection: An Archive of Printed Ephemera, 2009, at <http://johnjohnson.chadwyck.co.uk/search/displayEssayByID.do?ItemID=66666666666666mw> (accessed 15 August 2013).
- 5 The Robert Opie Collection is an interesting example of a large body of such material which was compiled by a 'private' collector but which fulfils a 'public' role through its display at the Museum of Brands, Packaging and Advertising in London's Notting Hill. See www.robertopiecollection.com/Application/corporate/about3GB.asp (accessed 1 October 2013).
- 6 Patrick Hickman Robertson, 'Obituary: Maurice Rickards', *The Independent*, 20 February 1998, at www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/obituary-maurice-rickards-1145817.html (accessed 15 August 2013).
- 7 See www.reading.ac.uk/typography/research/typ-researchcentres.aspx (accessed 15 August 2013).
- 8 University of Reading, Centre for Ephemera Studies, *Register of Ephemera Collections in the United Kingdom: Excluding Those in the Major National Institutions and Others Not Normally Available to the Public* (Reading: University of Reading, 2003).
- 9 Carlo Ginzburg, "'Your Country Needs You": A Case Study in Political Iconography', *History Workshop Journal* 52 (2001), p. 1, quoting Raphael Samuel's 'Theatres of Memory'.
- 10 Anandi Ramamurthy, *Imperial Persuaders: Images of Africa and Asia in British Advertising* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p. 1.
- 11 Patricia Anderson, *The Printed Image and the Transformation of Popular Culture, 1790–1860* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).
- 12 MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, p. 19.
- 13 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Labels, 12 (30a).
- 14 The Guinness advertisement shows a European wearing a pith-helmet, on top of which is a can of the product, and with a rifle slung over his shoulder. Walking behind him are three African porters, each carrying a case of Guinness on his head. See Ashley Jackson, *Mad Dogs and Englishmen: A Grand Tour of the British Empire at Its Height* (London: Quercus, 2009), p. 190.
- 15 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Exploration box.
- 16 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Dioramas 1 (16).
- 17 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Waxworks 1 (55).
- 18 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Oil and Candles 1 (84).
- 19 The current authors' work has been based on the John Johnson Collection, leading to the publications *Illustrating Empire: A Visual History of British Imperialism*

- (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2011), and 'Branding Empire: Imperial Associations in British Advertising', *Bodleian Library Record* 25 (2012). Most, though not all, of the images discussed in this chapter are drawn from the John Johnson Collection. Other authors who have used the collection while pursuing research on aspects of the representation of imperial themes in British culture include Ramamurthy in *Imperial Persuaders*. On the same theme, see also David Ciarlo, *Advertising Empire: Race and Visual Culture in Imperial Germany* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).
- 20 Charles Batey, 'Johnson, John de Monins (1882–1956)', rev. Julie Anne Lambert, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press (2004), www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34203 (accessed 14 August 2014).
 - 21 See www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/johnson/search/indexes (accessed 14 August 2014)
 - 22 Parts of the collection have been digitised (see www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/johnson). The online collection contains 9,000 images, a 2007–09 collaborative JISC-funded project resulted in around 175,000 images, and in the mid-1990s the Toyota City Imaging Project digitised motoring material in the collection and 1,000 samples from other transport-related boxes and folders.
 - 23 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Empire and Colonies Box 5; Empire and Colonies Box 2; Kipling (Rudyard) Box.
 - 24 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: East India Company Box 1.
 - 25 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: John Fraser Collection: GB (3).
 - 26 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Exhibition Catalogues Box 20; Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Postcards.
 - 27 MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, p. 109.
 - 28 *Ibid.*, p. 21.
 - 29 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Paper Bags 1 (6).
 - 30 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Empire and Colonies Box 4.
 - 31 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Ceremonial Box 3.
 - 32 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Empire and Colonies Folder.
 - 33 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Food 5 (51).
 - 34 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Boots and Shoes 1 (24).
 - 35 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Labels 17 (20).
 - 36 Most of these items are illustrated in Robert Opie, *Remember When: A Nostalgic Trip through the Consumer Era* (London: Bounty Books, 2006), while the final two items appear in Robert Opie, *Rule Britannia: Trading on the British Image* (London: Viking, 1985).
 - 37 Alfred Wadsworth and Julia De Lacy Mann, *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, 1600–1780* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1931).
 - 38 Ken Gibb, 'Exporting the Empire: Labels of the British Cotton Trade', Curator's Choice: Selections from the John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera, 2009, at <http://johnjohnson.wordpress.com/2009/04/30/exporting-to-the-empire-labels-of-the-cotton-trade/> (accessed 15 August 2013).
 - 39 See Adrian Wilson's bale labels website: www.textiletrademarks.com/ (accessed 15 August 2013).
 - 40 See www.boltonmuseums.org.uk/collections/local-history/work-and-industry/bleaching/ (accessed 15 August 2013).
 - 41 On 18 January 1928, the Chadwick Museum curator Thomas Midgley, who was seeking to add bolt labels to the museum's collection, received this reply from someone he had contacted for advice. See 'Bleaching – Bolt Stamps and Labels', Bolton Museum and Archive Service, www.boltonmuseums.org.uk/collections/local-history/work-and-industry/bleaching/ (accessed 15 August 2013).

- 42 Oxford, Bodleian Library, John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera, Labels 17 (10). This retroactive use of the word 'king' is interesting and occurs elsewhere: Colman's starch advertisements from around 1900 (see 'food labels' section) also referred to 'the king' – tiger hunting or conferring honours or holding a durbar – even though at the time depicted (1875–76) he was not king but Prince of Wales. It is likely that the companies involved thought it respectful to do this.
- 43 Sria Chatterjee, 'Empire for Sale: A Nineteenth-Century Cotton Bale Label in the John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera', extended essay for BA History of Art, University of Oxford, 2010, p. 3.
- 44 *Ibid.*, p. 15.
- 45 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Travel Box; Emigration Box 1; Prospectuses of Journals Boxes.
- 46 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Prospectuses of Journals 40 (32a).
- 47 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Emigration Box 1 and Emigration folder.
- 48 There were other contributory factors responsible for creating a socio-cultural milieu in which it was possible for British people to feel superior to 'foreigners' of various stripes, and to believe that the British were an elect nation with a duty to enlighten the world and to shoulder the burden of governing much of it. The music of George Frideric Handel (a naturalised Briton), for example, reflected the growing national and imperial pride and pomposity of eighteenth-century Britain.
- 49 Ramamurthy, *Imperial Persuaders*, p. 6.
- 50 *Ibid.*, p. 8.
- 51 *Ibid.*, p. 214.
- 52 *Ibid.*, p. 215.
- 53 *Ibid.*, p. 9.
- 54 *Ibid.*, p. 65.
- 55 See Adrian Wilson's bale labels website: www.textiletrademarks.com/ (accessed 15 August 2013).
- 56 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Labels 5 (103). Pineapple dishes and pedestals, manufactured from silver or ceramic by companies such as Spode, were a distinct type of tableware produced in the nineteenth century. They indicated the luxury status of pineapples, which were often consumed in order to display wealth.
- 57 Opie, *Remember When*, p. 31.
- 58 We use the word 'European' here (and throughout the text) to mean a person of European descent, thereby encompassing, for example, Americans or Australians. Henry Morton Stanley is a case in point: born in Wales, he moved to America when he was eighteen and was regarded as Anglo-American. In the image under discussion here, Stanley is flanked by both the Union Flag and the Stars and Stripes.
- 59 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Food 5 (71a, 71b, and 72c).
- 60 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: M. L. Horn Collection, Transport album 3.
- 61 Oxford, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Empire and Colonies Box 4.
- 62 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Cocoa, Chocolate and Confectionery 4 (10e); Food 4 (16).
- 63 Two of Bovril's imperial-military advertisements are examined and reproduced in Jackson and Tomkins, 'Branding Empire'. Another Bovril advertisement used the map boundaries of dozens of British colonies to spell the word 'Bovril'. Associating the product with British patriotism, monarchy, and the military was also a common Bovril tactic. One advert had the product name spelled out in Union Flag letters and bore the legend 'By Royal Warrant to the King'; a showcard of 1903 showed naval ratings being served Bovril on board a warship, 'splicing the main brace' with the beef drink rather than the usual rum tot. For these last two, see Opie, *Rule*

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- Britannia*, pp. 52 and 59. Other Bovril advertisements showed John Bull dispensing the drink to people representing the Empire's multi-ethnic population, and a Boer War soldier opening cases of Bovril above the legend 'A factor in our Empire's strength'.
- 64 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Patent Medicines 12 (3a); Patent Medicines 8 (24).
 - 65 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Tea and Coffee 6 (23a).
 - 66 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Paper Bags 4 (23).
 - 67 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Labels 15 (101c).
 - 68 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Food 11 (15a).
 - 69 For the Empire Marketing Board, see Stephen Constantine, *Buy and Build: The Advertising Posters of the Empire Marketing Board* (London: HMSO, 1986), and Stephen Constantine, 'Bringing the Empire Alive: The Empire Marketing Board and Imperial Propaganda', in John M. MacKenzie (ed.), *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), pp. 192–231.
 - 70 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Tea and Coffee 5 (37).
 - 71 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Tea and Coffee 6 (24a).
 - 72 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Empire and Colonies Box 1.
 - 73 See Jackson, *Mad Dogs and Englishmen*, p. 170.
 - 74 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Empire and Colonies Box 1.
 - 75 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Exhibition Catalogues Box 24.
 - 76 See Bill Schwartz, *The White Man's World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
 - 77 Graham Hudson, *The Design and Printing of Ephemera in Britain and America, 1720–1920* (London: British Library, 2008), p. 7.