social history society

47th Annual Conference

University of Essex
5-7 July 2023

University of Essex

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Enquiries about specific strands should be addressed to the relevant strand co-ordinators. For general enquiries about the conference, please contact the conference committee team on socialhistorysoc@gmail.com, or visit http://socialhistory.org.uk/.

Papers presented at the conference can be submitted to the Society's journal, *Cultural and Social History*, to be considered for publication. For details, see https://www.tandfonline.com/toc/rfcs20/current.

The conference organisers would like to thank all those involved for their hard work.

Outline Programme

Wednesday 5 July 2023		
1200	Delegates can collect bedroom keys from Events Essex Hub	Events Essex Hub
1300-1400	Radical Essex History Walking Tour of campus with Jess Twyman (1)	Meet Essex Business School Foyer
1300	Conference Registration Desk opens. BME Network Welcome Stall and PGR Welcome Stall Tea and coffee will be served	Essex Business School Foyer
1430-1600	Parallel Panel 1	Essex Business School
1600-1630	Tea, coffee and cakes	Essex Business School Foyer
1630-1800	Roundtable: 'Movement, Migration and Borders' with Margot Finn (UCL), Kat Hill (Birkbeck), Aparajita Mukhopadhyay (University of Kent) and Brodie Waddell (Birkbeck)	Lecture Theatre Room 2.2
1800-1915	Drinks Reception sponsored by Taylor and Francis, and Prize Giving With a welcome from Andrew Priest, Head of History Department, University of Essex and Naomi Tadmor, Chair of the Social History Society	Essex Business School Foyer
1930	Buffet Dinner	STEM Building Room 3.1
2100	Quiz: 'Life in the UK' led by Rachel Bright (Keele University)	Students' Union Bar
Thursday 6 July 2023		
0900-1030	Parallel Panel 2	Essex Business School
1030-1100	Tea and coffee	Essex Business School
1100-1230	Parallel Panel 3	Essex Business School
1230	Buffet Lunch	Essex Business School Foyer and BONDs Cafe

1300-1400	Publishing Workshop with speakers Brodie Waddell (Birkbeck, Editor of *Cultural and Social History*) and Tyler Rainford (University of Bristol). Chair: Georgina Brewis.	Lecture Theatre, Room 2.2
1415-1545	Parallel Panel 4	Essex Business School
1545-1615	Tea, coffee & cakes	Essex Business School
1615-1700	Social History Society Annual General Meeting All welcome to attend	Lecture Theatre Room 2.2
1700-1830	Keynote: Professor Miri Rubin (Queen Mary's, University of London): 'The Terms of Belonging in Late Medieval Cities'	Lecture Theatre, Room 2.2
1930	Conference Barbeque	Secret Garden (Silberrad Plaza if wet)
Friday 7 July 2023		
0900-1030	Parallel Panel 5	Essex Business School
1030-1100	Tea and coffee	Essex Business School Foyer
1100-1230	Parallel Panel 6	Essex Business School
1230-1315	Brown bag lunch - collect to take away or eat in foyer	Essex Business School Foyer
1330	Radical Essex History Walking Tour of campus with Jess Twyman (2) Colchester Castle Tour (Tour starts at 2pm)	Meet foyer of Essex Business School Meet in Essex Business School Foyer for coach – tour begins at 2.

Welcome to the 47th Annual Conference of the Social History Society

Dear Delegates,

I am delighted to welcome you to Essex and introduce the Social History Society's Conference Programme for 2023. This is our second gathering in person after the pandemic years. I am sure that – like me – you all appreciate the opportunity to meet again.

We have about 150 Delegates and 30 panels, covering a wide range of times, places, approaches, and themes. We have worked hard to create a programme that is inclusive, stimulating, and enjoyable, also leaving ample time for socialising over lunch and dinner and getting to know our hosting campus. We hope that this conference provides some useful opportunities for presenting, chairing, and networking for all.

Our keynote lecture by Miri Rubin, 'The Terms of Belonging in Late Medieval Cities' and our roundtable on 'Movement, Migration and Borders' will bring everyone together in exciting sessions to round off the first two days. We hope that some of our more established members as well as our postgraduates and early career scholars will contribute to the workshop on Careers in History on Wednesday. In particular, I would like to encourage you to attend our AGM, at 4:15 pm on Thursday 6 July, immediately prior to our keynote lecture.

I am extremely grateful to all the strand conveners and network co-ordinators, the Executive, our Administrator, our Committee, the postgraduate helpers, and the staff of Essex University for their help in putting the conference together. I hope that the programme provides much to interest you, and I look forward to meeting many of you during the conference.

With best wishes,

Naomi Tadmor

Chair, Social History Society

A message from the BME Network Co-ordinator:

Hi everyone, this is Jonathan Saha, one of the co-organisers of the Social History Society's BME Network. The Network is made up of a group of historians of colour that meet, mostly online, to share resources and offer mutual support. I'll be at the conference on the Wednesday and looking forward to meeting anyone who might be interested in joining!

A message from the PG Representatives

Hi everyone, we're Lou and Ella, your current PGR reps. We're so excited to get to see you all at the conference!

We will be at the PGR Welcome Desk from 1pm-2:30pm on the first day of the conference. Please do come along to have a chat, and to take part in some activities designed to help us all get to know each other a bit better!

We will also be at the pub quiz on the Wednesday night, and it would be great to see as many PGRs there as possible. With that in mind, we will be trying to put some teams together, so please let us know if you'd be interested in being involved.

Other than that, we will be around for the whole conference, so please do approach us if you have any questions, or just want to have a chat at any point.

If you would rather get in touch with us via email, then please do, our inboxes are open:

Ella – es685@cam.ac.uk
Lou – hylbe@leeds.ac.uk

Information for session chairs/support

Please check carefully to see if any of the participants in your panel are taking part online. There should be a representative of the SHS on hand to help with the technical side of the session. Please arrive at the seminar room about 10 minutes before the advertised start time.

A conference login to access the computer will be stuck to the desk in the seminar room/lecture theatre.

Papers for 4-speaker panels are limited to 15 minutes. If there are only three speakers in a panel, they can do up to 20 minutes. But please keep strictly to time within the sessions. The usual practice is to hear all the papers before opening the session to questions, which you will co-ordinate from the floor.

During the questions, you will need to position yourself and the speakers relatively close together if at all possible, ensuring that the person wearing the microphone is in the middle. If your session is hybrid, you will need to ensure that the online participant can hear the questions by repeating any questions raised.

Hybrid sessions are not being opened to anyone other than the speakers, so there shouldn't be too much to monitor in the chat, but it might be worth checking it briefly during the questions.

Thank you for your help making the conference run smoothly.

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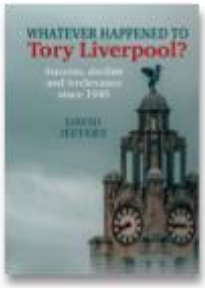
Social History Studies

Books



Whatever happened to Tory Liverpool?
Success, decline, and irrelevance since 1945
David Jeffery
Available Open Access

UNITE History Volume 5 (1974-1992)
Mary Davis
The sixth and final volume will publish in November

Maritime Men of the Asia-Pacific
True-Blue Internationals Navigating Labour Rights 1906-2006
Diana Kirkby, with Lee-Ann Monk & Dmytro Ostapenko

Fighting Deindustrialisation
Scottish Women's Factory Occupations, 1981-1982
Andy Clark

Reframing Globalization After COVID-19
Pandemic Diplomacy amid the Failure of Multilateral Cooperation
Pablo Baisotti & Pierfrancesco Moscuzza

Journals

Labour History
Published on behalf of the Australian Society for the Study of Labour History.

Theory & Struggle
The journal of the Marx Memorial Library.

Labour History Review
Published in partnership with the Society for the Study of Labour History.

Historical Studies in Industrial Relations
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Day 1 – Wednesday 5 July

1300-1400: Radical Essex History Walking Tour of campus with Jess Twyman - Meet in the Essex Business School Foyer

1300 – **Conference Registration Desk Opens** in the Essex Business School Foyer where Delegates can also find the BME Network Welcome Stall and the PGR Welcome Stall. Tea and coffee will be served.

Parallel Panel 1 - 1430-1600

Charity, Welfare and Humanitarianism	**Confronting the State: Labour, Poverty, and Race**	**Room:** 2.40
Chair: Ella Sbaraini		
Jasmin Bath, University of Cambridge	(In)dependently Scraping-By: Poor Single Mothers and Non-Waged Economic Labour in Antebellum New York City	
Moritz Kaiser, University of Edinburgh / University of Tübingen	Mary Magdalen's Many Lives: A Longitudinal Analysis of Women Admitted to two English Magdalen Homes, 1830-1914	

Diversity, Minorities and 'Others'	**Women, Labour, and Leisure**	**Room:** 2.66
Chair: Bonnie White		
Elen Cocaign, Université Paris 8	Christina Foyle and Eva Reckitt, "formidable" women booksellers, and political agents in 20th century Britain	
Barbara Horley, De Montfort University	Speedway's Gender Enigma	
Nicolas Gomez Baeza, University of Warwick	Like Jesús and Mary: children and women labour experience in the Patagonian sheep farming industry (1880-1960 c.)	

Heritage, Environment, Spaces and Places	**Space, Place, Politics and Practice: Identifying negotiations and contestations in the realms of power**	**Room:** 2.45
Chair: Victoria Araj		
Rory Hanna, University of Sheffield [online]	A campus free from Politics? Negotiating Spaces for student activism at West German Universities, 1949-1967	
Sam Blaxland, UCL	Space, Place, and student protest in post-war London	

'Deviance', Inclusion and Exclusion	**Skin and Bone: Interdisciplinary Analysis of Accidents, Injury, and Interpersonal Violence in Industrialising London, 1760-1901**	**Room:** 2.68
Chair: Rachel Bright		
Zoe Alker, Lancaster University	Skin and Bone: Interdisciplinary analysis of accidents, injury, and violence in industrialising London, 1760-1901	
Madeleine Mant, University of Toronto Mississauga	Inside out: Osteoarchaeological and historical evidence for interpersonal violence and gender in industrializing London	
Polly Lowe, University of Exeter	"If you can get a fresh one, so much the better": New perspectives on the commodification of the cadaver in eighteenth-century Britain	

Life Cycles, Families and Communities	**Mental Health**	**Room:** 1.1
Chair: Clare Tebbutt		
Katharina Rowold, University of Essex	Charlotte Bühler at the Parents' Institute: Child Guidance between Vienna and London	
Kara Greig, University of Kent (Online)	The importance of religion to the social lives of women in Kent Mental Deficiency Institutions, 1913-1948	
Emma Marshall, University of York [online]	'I thought I should be like my mother & wer afraid': Illness, inter-generational memory, and familial identity in seventeenth-century England	

Politics, Policy and Citizenship	**Local rights, resistance, and negotiation**	**Room:** 2.1
Chair: Matthew Grant		
Ane Miren Pablos Ormaza, University of the Basque Country	Moral economy of the Fueros: a culture of insurrection in the Basque provinces through the riots of 1804	
Medha Bhattacharya, London School of Economics and Political Science	Linguistic minorities during the era of linguistic territorialism: Bengalis in Bihar and their conceptions of identity, belonging and citizenship during the transition from colonial rule to independence (1935-57)	
Andrea Major, University of Leeds	The limits of cosmopolitanism: George Thompson in Calcutta and Delhi, 1843	

Bodies and Emotions	**Death and the body?**	**Room:** 2.41
Chair: Maria Isabel Romero Ruiz		
Ella Sbaraini, University of Cambridge	Changing Emotions? Tracing the Language of Suicidal Feelings in England, 1760-1850	
Christian Siefkes, Independent researcher	Slavery, ivory trade, and cannibalism in the Congo Basin – a largely forgotten part of colonial history	

1600-16:30 – Tea, coffee and cakes, Essex Business School Foyer

1630-1800: Roundtable - 'Movement, Migration and Borders' with Margot Finn FBA (UCL), Kat Hill (Birkbeck), Aparajita Mukhopadhyay (University of Kent) and Brodie Waddell (Birkbeck). Lecture Theatre, Room 2.2.

1800-1915: Taylor and Francis Drinks Reception and Prize Giving with welcomes from Andrew Priest, Head of History Department, University of Essex and Naomi Tadmor, Chair of the Social History Society. Essex Business School Foyer.

1930: Buffet Dinner. STEM Building.

2100: Quiz: 'Life in the UK' led by Rachel Bright (Keele University). Student Union Bar.

Day 2 – Thursday 6 July

Parallel Panel 2 – 0900-1030

Charity, Welfare and Humanitarianism	**Historical Perspectives on Poverty and Childcare**	**Room:** 2.40
Chair: Georgina Brewis		
Patricia Brennan, University of Sheffield	Working Together to Safeguard Children. A new innovation in 1999?	
Agata Łysakowska-Trzoss, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań	The struggle of the 19th-century Charitable Societies against poverty among women. Evidence from the 19th century Poznań	
Alice McKimm, University of Cambridge	'An issue … where women could absolutely come together': women's refuges in Northern Ireland, 1975-98	

Heritage, Environment, Spaces and Places	**Mapping networks, (re)constructing identities: In the process of making heritage landscapes.**	**Room:** 2.45
Chair: Helen Sunderland		
Rhys Owens, Swansea University (Online)	Welshness and the Empire: Cultural Transplantation, Associational Life, and a Welsh Imperialism?	
Pansee Abou ElAtta, Carleton University (online)	A grassroot Social History of the bust of Nefertiti	
Francesca Murray (Queen Mary's University of London)	'The Stanwick Nectarine - a botanical history of a friendly society, a gardeners' network, and a biological invasion.'	

'Deviance', Inclusion and Exclusion	**Female 'deviance' in the 19th and 20th centuries**	**Room:** 2.68
Chair: Alison Pedley		
Vivien Miller, Nottingham University	"An insane desire for vengeance;" race, gender, class, and acid crime in the early 20th century urban-industrial United States	
Jo Thor, Strathclyde University	'Inclusion and Exclusion of 'Deviant' Women in the Scottish Magdalene Movement in the Nineteenth Century	
Kim Thomas, Independent researcher	'A most industrious woman': what the Rebecca Loveridge case tells us about infanticide, gender, and criminal lunacy in the nineteenth century	

Life Cycles, Families and Communities	**Materiality**	**Room:** 1.1
Chair: Ella Sbaraini		
Tatiyana Bastet, University of Hertfordshire	Dolls by Design: Distributed, archived memory and community	
Emily Webb, University of Leeds	Negotiating Intimacy: The Position of Bibis within the Colonial Family in Blechynden's Calcutta Diaries, 1782-1822	
Tyler Rainford, University of Bristol	Accounting for Lost Time: Alcohol and its After-Effects in Eighteenth-Century English Diary-Keeping	

Work, Leisure and Consumption	**The Social World of Work**	**Room:** 2.46
Chair: Stewart McCain		
Joe Saunders, University of York	English print trade wills c.1600-41	
Victoria Millar, National Museums NI	'Yarns and all the rest of it' – the blacksmith's forge as a social hub	
Mara Arts, Independent Scholar	The social world of work in an East End cinema, 1934	
Samantha Woodward, University of Essex	Creating a Classless Society: Leisure at the John Lewis Partnership	

Politics, Policy and Citizenship	**War, peace, and internationalism**	**Room:** 2.1
Chair: Andrew Walker		
Linsey Robb, Northumbria University	'One of us': Class and conscientious objection in Britain during the Second World War	
Emily Chambers, University of Kent	'A new era of peace': Envisioning a post-war future within the British section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1939-49	
Lewis Smith, University of Essex	'Aid given by a mother to her young' The British Overseas Airways Corporation (BOAC) and the marketing of economic development.	

Bodies and Emotions	**Knowledge and understanding over time**	**Room:** 2.41
Chair: Louis Pulford		
Gagan Preet Singh	Footprints and the making of colonial knowledge in nineteenth century north India	

Craig Hambling, Birkbeck	Bodies, Swords, and Words: A kinaesthetic perspective on the education of princes
Terry Smyth, University of Essex	The life and legacy of a British tea planter in late colonial Ceylon: a serendipitous case study

1030-1100 – Tea and Coffee. Essex Business School

Parallel Panel 3 – 1100-1230

Diversity, Minorities and 'Others'	**Constructing and Contesting Racism and Marginalisation**	**Room:** 2.66
Chair: Nailya Shamgunova		
Jack Crangle, Maynooth University (online)	A benevolent and charitable nation? Responding to racism in 1960s Ireland	
Alina Naqvi, University of Edinburgh	The Discursive Strategies of Othering: Witchcraft, Crime and Race in Colonial India c. 1862-1922	
Henry Irving, Leeds Beckett University	Remembering Oluwale	
Barsha Amarendra, Indian Institute of Technology (Online)	Forest as a Contested, Liminal Space: Exploring implications of forest policies in colonial and post-colonial India	

Heritage, Environment, Spaces and Places	**Contested spaces and places: heritage, memory, and under-represented narratives.**	**Room:** 2.45
Chair: Laura King		
Andrew Walker, Reimagining Lincolnshire	A trial and a trail: Lincoln's riots of 1911 and their subsequent commemoration	
Cameron Fleming, Lancaster University	Urban landscapes and contested heritage: English Jacobitism and the modern urban landscape	
Victoria Araj, University of Lincoln	Challenging the 'Bomber County' epithet	

'Deviance', Inclusion and Exclusion	**Homicide, Coroners, and Community in Medieval and Victorian England**	**Room:** 2.68
Chair: Vicky Holmes		
Kenneth Duggan, Vancouver Island University	Communal Control over the Investigation of Suspicious Deaths in England	
Stephanie Brown, Cambridge	Feloniously killed and murdered: Narratives of homicide in medieval England	

Sophie Michell, Open University	"Formidable Forces of Muscle and Lungs": People and Places at the Nineteenth Century Inquest
Alison Pedley, Roehampton	'Wilful Murder is the blackest of verdicts': Maternal child murder and the coroner's court in Victorian England and Wales.

Life Cycles, Families and Communities	**Gender**	**Room:** 1.1
Chair: Shannon Devlin		
Jessica Meyer, University of Leeds	The Return of the Soldier: Recentring Conceptions of the British First World War Ex-serviceman in the Home	
Mandy Barrie, University of Greenwich	First World War women munition workers – unwitting agents or change agents?	

Politics, Policy and Citizenship	**Activism, health, welfare, and support networks in early and mid-twentieth-century England**	**Room:** 2.1
Chair: Linsey Robb		
Anna Muggeridge, University of Worcester, with Ruth Davidson, University of London	Local welfare states? Suffrage and women's welfare activism in Croydon and Worcester, 1900-48	
Peter Jones, London South Bank University	Habitus and social capital: public health in interwar Bermondsey	
Janet Weston, London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine	Regulating infectious disease in mid-20th century England	

Bodies and Emotions	**Bodies, institutions, and control**	**Room:** 2.41
Chair: Rachel Bright		
Emma Bradley, King's College London	'"Remember we are praying for you" is more than a promise': The conceptualisation of unmarried motherhood in The Salvation Army's Mother and Baby Homes	
Elena Ghiggino, Edge Hill University	'Toby the Begging Imposter' - Genuine and Fraudulent Disability claims among ethnic minorities in the Late Georgian Era	

Maria Isabel Romero-Ruiz, University of Málága	Women's Bodies and Emotions: Desertion, Illegitimacy, and the Cambridge Union Workhouse in the late Victorian period

1230 - Buffet Lunch. Essex Business School Foyer.

1300-1400 – Publishing Workshop –Georgina Brewis (Chair, UCL) Brodie Waddell (Birkbeck, Editor of *Cultural and Social History*), Tyler Rainford (University of Bristol). Lecture Theatre, Room 2.2.

Parallel Panel 4 – 1415-1545

Diversity, Minorities and 'Others'	**Transcending Gendered Binaries**	**Room:** 2.66
Chair: Louise Bell		
Clare Tebbutt, Trinity College Dublin	Difficult Subject - how to write a queer history of someone who makes for an uneasy antecedent?	
Heather Sadiq, University of Sheffield	Why historians should supplement the history of drag in entertainment with the histories of gender and sexuality: An examination of popular 1950s and 1960s films featuring drag	

Heritage, Environment, Spaces and Places	**Reframing and reshaping social place in historic space: Health, wellbeing, and the embodied experience.**	**Room:** 2.45
Chair: Laura Hampden		
Claudia Soares, Newcastle University	Affective environments: migration, place, and emotion in the long nineteenth century	
Mari Takayanagi, UK Parliamentary Archives	Necessary Women: Living and working in the Palace of Westminster	
Amelia Doherty, University of York	Dowries, Debts, Politics and Piety: Marriage and The English Nobility, 1630-1670	

'Deviance', Inclusion and Exclusion	**Reclaiming Histories of Invisible Peoples**	**Room:** 2.68
Chair: Jessamy Carlson		
Peter Wood, Birkbeck	Invisible: Women and Homelessness in Britain 1945 - 1979	
Meg Foster, Cambridge University [online]	Rethinking Social Banditry: New Histories of Bushranging in Australia	
Emily Green, Exeter	The Motherhood of Stolen Goods	

Nailya Shamgunova, London School of Economics	Remembering Arsinoë IV in early modern England

Work, Leisure and Consumption	**Money, Debt, and Taxes in Eighteenth-Century Britain**	**Room:** 2.46
Chair: Naomi Tadmor		
Philip Winterbottom, Institute of Historical Research	'Received by draft on ourselves per post': Personal Banking in London, 1730-1780	
James Fox, University of St Andrews	Numeracy, financial accounting, and debt litigation in eighteenth-century Scotland	
Robin Ganev, University of Regina (online)	Broadside Ballads and Opposition to William Pitt's Wartime Taxation Policies	

Politics, Policy and Citizenship	**Speaking out: female political action from the 1880s to 1960s**	**Room:** 2.1
Chair: Emma Bradley		
Helen Sunderland, University of Oxford	'Political feeling among some of the girls tended to run high': Schoolgirls' political cliques in England, 1880-1914	
Aileen Lichtenstein, University of Glasgow/University of East Anglia	'How long will this dangerous woman be permitted to go on?' Anarchist women's speaking tours of Britain, 1888-1903	
Michele Santoro, University of Rome, 'Tor Vergata'	Precarious working lives in the Italian 1960s: The case study of the National Committee for Working Women	

Bodies and Emotions	**Travel and Anxieties Over the Body**	**Room**: 2.41
Chair: Maria Isabel Romero Ruiz		
Jennifer Evans, University of Hertfordshire	The dangers of travelling before travail in later seventeenth and early eighteenth-century England	
Alun Withey, University of Exeter (online)	Dangerous Journeys: Health and Risk in Eighteenth-Century Travel Preparations	
Anna Harrington, University of Birmingham	In Pursuit of the Comfort Zone: Experiences of "comfort" for Britons in and en route to South Asia, c. 1757-1835	

Radical Essex	**New Approaches in Sensory History**	**Room:** 1.1
Chair: Henry Irving		
Nicole Bianchini, University of Sao Paulo (online)	Visualizing tea, coffee, and chocolate in early modern Europe, 1630-1815	
India Picton, Independent researcher	A Gut Feeling on History	
Timothy Cooper, University of Exeter	Heat and Light? The Sensory Politics of Britain's Great Storm of 1987	

1545-1615 – Tea, coffee, and cakes. Essex Business School.

1615-1700 – Social History Society Annual General Meeting (all invited). Lecture Theatre, Room 2.2

1700-1830 – Keynote Lecture: Professor Miri Rubin (Queen Mary's, University of London) - 'The Terms of Belonging in Late Medieval Cities'. Lecture Theatre, Room 2.2.

1930 – Conference Barbecue. Secret Garden (Silberrad Plaza if wet).

Day 3 – Friday 7 July

Parallel Panel 5 – 0900-1030

Charity, Welfare and Humanitarianism	**Local Political Cultures of Transnational, International, and Global Political Issues**	**Room:** 2.40
Chair: Andrew Walker		
Stephanie Ward, Cardiff University	Black Political Worlds in Interwar Britain: Everyday Activism in International Contexts	
Micaela Panes, Cardiff University	Labour Women and the International in South Wales, c.1945-1970	
Matthew Grant, University of Essex	Local Civil Defence, global Cold war: making meaning though associational behaviour in 1950s Britain	

Diversity, Minorities and 'Others'	**Experiences of Migration**	**Room:** 2.66
Chair: Henry Irving		
Stewart McCain, St Mary's University	Migrant Voices and Ways of Speaking in Post-War Britain: Linguistic Soundscapes and the Construction of Difference	
Henry Holborn, Edge Hill University	Scientific Others in Britain - Psychiatry, The Asylum, and Migration	
Sha Zhou, Jinan University	The Hidden Half: Chinese Migrant Women in Britain since 1945	

Heritage, Environment, Spaces and Places	**Transforming Sites and Sights: Industry, identity, and sustainability in heritage-led regeneration.**	**Room:** 2.45
Chair: Timothy Cooper		
Tosh Warwick, University of Sheffield	After the works: saving and sharing the history and heritage of Teesside's steel industry	
Vanessa Toulmin, University of Sheffield (Online)	"The Naples of the North" and the "Eden of the North": Morecambe Winter Gardens, the historian and heritage-led regeneration	

'Deviance', Inclusion and Exclusion	**Social and Legal 'problems' of the 20th century**	**Room:** 2.68
Chair: Samantha Woodward		
Jessamy Carlson, Essex University	The betterment of society? Truancy, the Education Act, and the Approved Schools	
Kate Errington, Birkbeck and LSHTM (online)	Foetal Alcohol Syndrome in the UK: A Case Study of a Spirited Crusade (1973-1985)	
Charlie Lynch, Ulster University	The Barbour Scandal: Class, Religion and Policing Homosex in 1950s Northern Ireland	

Life Cycles, Families and Communities	**Women in the 20th century**	**Room:** 1.1
Chair: Janet Weston		
Caitlín Smith, Ulster University	'Something of which we should be ashamed': maternal mortality rates in Belfast during the twentieth century	
Linda Hutton, University of Wolverhampton (online)	Using the 1921 census and First World War Pension Records to research Barnsley War Widows	
Honor Morris, Kings' College London	Growing older during women's liberation: The experiences of older working-class women during second wave feminism	

Work, Leisure and Consumption	**Work, Education, and Social Change**	**Room:** 2.46
Chair: Tyler Rainford		
Robert Lake, Douglas College	'Prestige Politics' and Elitism: Consequences of the 'Massification' of Higher Education in the Global North, 1945 onwards?	
Eve Pennington, University of Manchester	'I did learn that you can make a home anywhere': Young Women's Construction of Home, Identity, and Memory in Runcorn New Town, c.1976-1989	
Tali Kot-Ofek, University of York	Dressing as an Expression of Citizenship: What Reactions to 1940s Clothing Regulations Can Teach Us about Everyday Citizenship in Mid-century Britain	

Politics, Policy and Citizenship	**Popular political discourse in England, c.1640-1700**	**Room:** 2.1
Chair: Nailya Shamgunova		
Christopher Whittell, University of Cambridge	'Craftily, falsely and traitorously deceiving the good people of England.' The rise of coinage criminals during the English Civil Wars, 1642-49	
Murray Seccombe, Lancaster University	Who's speaking, who's listening? A corpus-assisted study of authorship and authenticity in township bills submitted to the Wakefield court leet, 1615-90	

Bodies and Emotions	**How does it Feel? Women, Feelings, and Feminism in 1960s and 70s Britain**	**Room:** 2.41
Chair: Charlie Lynch		
Lynn Abrams, University of Glasgow	Spaces for Screaming: Creating a New Landscape of Feeling among women in 1960s and 1970s Britain	

Sarah Crook, University of Swansea	Visibility and Legitimacy: Mother's Feelings and Feminist Sociology in the 1970s/1980s
Jill Kirby, University of Sussex	Silent women sufferers: menopause in 1970s Britain
Sue Bruley, Institute of Historical Research	Consciousness Raising: the heart of the Women's Liberation Movement in 1970s Britain

1030-1100 – Tea and coffee. Essex Business School Foyer.

Parallel Panel 6 – 1100-1230

Charity, Welfare and Humanitarianism	**Testing Institutions: Hospitals, Humanitarianism, and Education**	**Room:** 2.40
Chair: Georgina Brewis		
Barry Doyle, University of Huddersfield	Imagining a health service without hospitals: French West Africa between the wars	
Tom Musgrove, Queen Mary University of London	Wars of Conquest and Liberation: Balkan Violence in the British Humanitarian Mind, 1903-14	
Paul Beard, UCL-IOE	Woodcraft Folk Archives: A case study of stakeholder collaborations between voluntary sector organisations and archives and special collections within Higher Education Institutions	

Diversity, Minorities and 'Others'	**Silo-busting: benefitting from integrating social and disability history.**	**Room:** 2.66
Chair: Lynn Abrams		
Rachel O'Driscoll, University of Oxford	Disability and marriage in early twentieth century London	
Kirstie Neale, University of Cambridge	Reconsidering social and disability histories through Deaf-led activism in late twentieth-century Britain	

Heritage, Environment, Spaces and Places	**From the inside out: family histories, stories, and inheritances**	**Room:** 2.45
Chair: Laura Hampden		
Julia Laite, Birkbeck, University of London	Critical family History, Settler Colonialism, and the troubled inheritance of Place	
Cath Feely, University of Derby	The trenches, the tram, and the Trolley Bus: A twentieth century story	
Laura King, University of Leeds	'Och aye, one day nearer the grave': getting inside family histories	

Lucinda Matthews-Jones, Liverpool John Moores University	Telling stories through my Granny's Cookery books

'Deviance', Inclusion and Exclusion	**Bad Blood: Rethinking Eugenics and Migration in Modern History**	**Room:** 2.68
Chair: Daniel Grey		
Rachel Bright, Keele University	Hereditary 'deviance' and migration control in Australia	
Esme Cleall, Sheffield University	Disability as deviance: policing bodies at the nineteenth-century colonial border	
Jen Kain, Newcastle University	Eugenics and border control in early twentieth century Aotearoa New Zealand	

Life Cycles, Families and Communities	**Early Modern Siblings: Kinship and Power Dynamics in Families**	**Room:** 1.1
Chair: Nailya Shamgunova		
Helen Kemp, University of Essex	"To my best brother": fraternal dynamics in Edward Hyde's correspondence	
Daphna Oren-Magidor, Dan David Prize	Brothers, Sisters, and Kinship Ties in Early Modern England: The Trumbulls	
Cathleen Sarti, Oxford University	Sibling Dynamics across Borders	

Politics, Policy and Citizenship	**Leisure, display, and citizenship**	**Room:** 2.1
Chair: Matthew Grant		
Zehra Miah, Independent Scholar	The 'Ugly King': Transnational representations of Yilmaz Guney – director, activist, criminal, exile	
Conner Scott, University of Sheffield	'Watch the PICTURE carefully, and see if you can identify anyone': Newsreels and local civic culture in inter-war Britain	
Bonnie White, Grenfell Campus, Memorial University of Newfoundland	"Just-anything won't do for the villages to-day:" Women's Amateur Drama in Interwar England	

Bodies and Emotions	**Embodied experience and the sensory**	**Room:** 2.41
Chair: Timothy Cooper		

Louise Bell, University of Leeds/ The National Archives	We cannot afford to allow these men to sink: learning to use prostheses in the aftermath of two world wars
Olivia Formby, University of Cambridge	Hearing infants in early modern England: speechlessness and emotions

1230-1315 – Brown Bag Lunch - collect to takeaway or eat in foyer. Essex Business School Foyer.

1330 - Radical Essex History Walking Tour of campus with Jess Twyman. Meet in the Essex Business School Foyer.

1400 - Colchester Castle Tour. Meet in Essex Business School Foyer at 13:30 for transport to Colchester Town Centre.

Abstracts by Panel

Day 1 – Wednesday 5 July

Parallel Panel 1 - 1430-1600
Confronting the State: Labour, Poverty, and Race

Chair: Ella Sbaraini

Jasmin Bath (University of Cambridge): (In)dependently Scraping-By: Poor Single Mothers and Non-Waged Economic Labour in Antebellum New York City

Many poor mothers in antebellum (1820-1861) New York City experienced some degree of single motherhood. Whether due to underemployment, unemployment, a father's physical abandonment of his children, and/or death, poor mothers had to become economically independent from their husbands. These mothers, then, were 'single' because they were responsible for supporting their dependents. They were forced to be independent economic agents, despite influential cultural and legal ideas which emphasised a mother's dependence on her husband for subsistence. In this paper, I explore one of the survival strategies employed by (in)dependent Mothers to ensure the survival of themselves, and their children, non-waged labour. I focus on a combination of scavenging, larceny, pawning, scrimping, bartering, and sharing to understand the non-waged economic actions necessary to feed hungry children, fend off evictions, and avoid the Almshouse in this period.

Moritz Kaiser (University of Edinburgh / University of Tübingen): Mary Magdalen's Many Lives: A Longitudinal Analysis of Women Admitted to two English Magdalen Homes, 1830-1914

Little is known about the lives of women admitted to Magdalen asylums in nineteenth-century England. This paper explores the life-courses of women admitted between 1851-1881 to two English Magdalen asylums, the Clewer and Salisbury Houses of Mercy. Based on a nominally linked dataset, the paper overs the lives 1,400 women from cradle to grave. Institutional records were linked to the censuses (1851-1911), marriage, welfare, and criminal justice records, as well as death certificates. Parental death placed strains on the household economy, increasing the susceptibility of women to be admitted to Magdalen homes. Young women's limited employment prospects in rural southern England framed their economic behaviour. For women resident in such low-opportunity communities, making shift, for instance by means of prostitution, meant risking moral opprobrium. Others migrated but this entailed risks, principally venturing outside one's social networks, which intensified hazards such as unemployment, but it also held out the prospect of socio-economic rewards. Informal support networks were vital and had tangible impacts on the duration of institutionalisation.
The life course impact of institutionalization is ambiguous. Magdalen asylums spun their own social networks and for those without any, these afforded opportunities in domestic service in private households or in residential institutions, which offered opportunities of integrating into a new labor and marriage market. Others, especially those from small rural communities, returned after their institutionalization, with many marrying locally. In contrast, a small minority of women remained institutionalized for decades, sometimes even for the remainder of their life.

Women, Labour, and Leisure

Chair: Bonnie White

Elen Cocaign (Université Paris 8): Christina Foyle and Eva Reckitt, “formidable” women booksellers, and political agents in 20th century Britain

When he wrote his memoirs in the 1950s, British publisher Fredric Warburg titled them An Occupation for Gentlemen. Indeed, for a long time, the book trade was a middle-class “boys’ club” that revolved around intense masculine sociability from which women were excluded, sometimes explicitly – for instance, they were barred from joining the Society of Bookmen, a key trade organisation, until 1972. While more and more women did enter this work field during and after the Second World War, they usually remained confined to minor roles until quite late in the century.

Christina Foyle (1911-1997), owner of Foyle’s, the “largest bookshop in the world”, from the 1940s to her death, and creator of the Right Book Club and Eva Collet Reckitt (1890-1976), who founded and ran Collet’s, a left-wing bookselling chain, from the 1930s to the 1970s were noticeable exceptions. Using archival evidence and interviews from the Book Trade Lives collection held at the British Library, this paper recounts and compares their personal and professional trajectories. Indeed, their accomplishments have tended to be overlooked by historians, including their achievements as political agents on opposite sides of the political spectrum. How did their gender come into play with their role as bookshop owners and politically engaged mediators? This paper argues that the strategies they devised relied on a complex navigation of gender norms and stereotypes that alienated and fascinated their contemporaries, who labelled them “formidable women”.

Barbara Horley (De Montfort University): Speedway's Gender Enigma

In 1928, a newly introduced motorcycle sport captured the nation’s imagination. Entrepreneurs from Australia had brought it to an English audience on a Sunday afternoon in February and the expected crowd of around 3,000 turned out to be nearer 30,000. Within a decade, the sport was attracting 12.5 million attendees, many of whom were women and children. What is even more intriguing is that this new sport of dirt track riding, later to become known as ‘speedway’, allowed women to race against the men – at least in its first few years. No mean feat to race stripped down road motorcycles around an oval dirt track, at speed, and with no brakes. By 1931, women had been excluded from racing, yet their participation in the sport either as managers, members of supporters’ clubs and as spectators continued to mark out speedway as special. Newspapers, commentators and supporters themselves all had views on whether women should be allowed to participate in such a sport which also stood out as being virtually entirely professional at a time when amateur sport was still the preferred order. This paper will examine the initial inclusivity of speedway and the possible reasons why women riders were then marginalised and ultimately excluded from racing in England. It will also consider how women still went on to take on important roles as speedway managers and swelled the terraces as well as its supporters’ clubs.

Nicolas Gomez Baeza (University of Warwick): Like Jesús and Mary: children and women labour experience in the Patagonian sheep farming industry (1880-1960 c.)

When discussing sheep farming labour in Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego, it is usually conceived of in terms of predominant masculinity. It has been conceived that, majorly, solitary adult men were hired for shearing or other relevant work in farms (estancias) or slaughterhouses (frigoríficos). However, the existence of diverse documentation and memoirs, such as Anne Whitehead's accounts of the Australian governess Mary Gilmore and her friendship with a 12-year-old boy called Jesús María Vásquez, are only examples of a broader reality regarding the transnational experience of labour in sheep farming in the region: women and children's presence and othering in these labour spaces.
Starting from Gilmore and Vásquez's experience, this paper explains the roles configured from age and sex categories in the southern Patagonian and Tierra del Fuego region's sheep farming industry, in Argentina and Chile, from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries. In addition to presenting evidence from business records, press documents or memoirs to show the magnitude of women's and children's roles there, this work will raise some questions. For instance, by considering the influences from the majoritarian British men's managerial practices in the mentioned context, it is possible to ask about the place of women's and children's labour experiences in those spaces as part of informal imperialism. Thus, this paper shows additional examples to contribute to the historicising of working women and children as part of global labour settings of capitalist expansions and lives of exploitation, subordination, and resistance, allowing comparisons and connections.

Space, Place, Politics and Practice: Identifying negotiations and contestations in the realms of power.

Chair: Victoria Araj

Rory Hanna (University of Sheffield): A campus free from Politics? Negotiating Spaces for student activism at West German Universities, 1949-1967

This paper explores how university students in early West Germany used various spaces around their campuses for activism and considers what this tells us about staff-student relations and the political climate in the aftermath of National Socialism. After 1945, West German academics, informed by memories of far-right student radicalism in the Weimar Republic and the Nazis' subsequent co-optation of universities, sought to affirm higher education as a sphere of sober, humanistic discussion free from political partisanship. Accordingly, university rectors frequently invoked their legal 'domiciliary rights' (Hausrecht) to ban students from holding demonstrations and distributing flyers and newspapers on campus grounds. However, as stakeholders outside academia helped to fund and supervise new university buildings in response to rapidly increasing student numbers, spaces within and adjacent to campuses emerged in which rectors' legal authority was limited. Students took advantage of these developments, utilising halls of residence and university canteens for political discussions, to plan protests, and to disseminate material. While this sometimes led to direct conflict with rectors, students' relocation of political activities from the heart of the campus to such spaces could also enable both parties to de-escalate tensions. Furthermore, instances of student activism did not always end in either confrontation or compromise but could also – in exceptional circumstances – invoke professors' solidarity. Using case studies at the universities of Freiburg and Frankfurt, my paper explains how ideas regarding acceptable political engagement and

the purpose of higher education were expressed, contested, and negotiated during the first, fragile years of West German democracy.

Sam Blaxland (UCL): Space, Place, and student protest in post-war London

In the decades after the Second World War, students at University College London took part in a variety of different protests over a number of issues, both local, national and global. They utilised the spaces and buildings of their Bloomsbury site to meet, discuss ideas and organise themselves, including through the Students' Union. The very nature of the university space itself encouraged participation and debate. UCL students, however, were not part of a campus university but were woven into a large capital city, where they usually lived, studied and socialised. This experience, as both college students and citizens of a vibrant metropolis, clearly impacted the way many young people experienced moments like the Suez Crisis, the Cuban Missile Crisis or a period of anti-Vietnam demonstrations. This paper will explore these dynamics and will argue that the idea of student protest, so often framed in the context of a campus experience, should be widened out conceptually. The analysis will draw on research being conducted for the Generation UCL project, a research and engagement initiative focusing on 200 years of student life in London, leading up to UCL's bicentenary. It will utilise clips from an extensive oral history collection that has been built up as part of the research.

Skin and Bone: Interdisciplinary Analysis of Accidents, Injury and Interpersonal Violence in Industrialising London, 1760-1901

Chair: Rachel Bright

Zoe Alker (Lancaster University): Skin and Bone: Interdisciplinary analysis of accidents, injury, and violence in industrialising London, 1760-1901

This paper presents key findings from the British-Academy-funded project, Skin and Bone: Interdisciplinary analysis of accidents, injury, and violence in industrialising London, 1760-1901. Injury, accidents, and interpersonal violence profoundly affected lived experiences of the body in England during the intense period of industrialization between 1760 and 1901. Osteoarchaeological datasets in combination with hospital and criminal justice records from London, which note age, sex, and occupation alongside many bodily features (such as bodily deformities and scars), provide a means of accessing and contextualizing embodied experiences of industrializing London. Drawing upon data visualisations and biographical case studies, this paper explores: [I] which individuals, and from which social contexts, bore scars and injuries, [II] how physical harms varied by gender, age and occupation, and [III] how and why these patterns changed between 1760 and 1901.

Madeleine Mant (University of Toronto Mississauga): Inside out: Osteoarchaeological and historical evidence for interpersonal violence and gender in industrializing London

This paper highlights a thematic thread from the British-Academy-funded project, Skin and Bone: Interdisciplinary analysis of accidents, injury, and violence in industrialising London, 1760-1901. By merging complex variables from criminal, hospital and osteoarchaeological datasets, this project is able to chart the experiences of scarring and injury from skin (surface descriptions within hospital and criminal records) and bone (evidence of healed and/or healing trauma in skeletal remains). This

paper draws upon a dataset charting the experiences of interpersonal violence and injury amongst 173, 366 Londoners during the Industrial Revolution, 1760-1901. Violence-related injuries (VRIs) in osteoarchaeological datasets are those commonly clinically associated with violence, including bones of the hand, face, and head. By linking this information to the demographic information present in criminal [crimes, punishments, age, gender, familial life, etc.] and hospital records [scars, deformities, disabilities etc.], allows for a detailed exploration of gender-based violence from the 'inside out'. Clustering of injuries suggestive of hand-to-hand combat is evident in the male individuals, while potential evidence of gender-based violence in the female dataset is more subtle and reveals hidden histories of domestic and familial violence. This paper presents key findings on the physical impact of gender and interpersonal violence in industrialising London, emphasizing the interconnections between individual, relationship, community, and society.

Polly Lowe (University of Exeter): “If you can get a fresh one, so much the better”: New perspectives on the commodification of the cadaver in eighteenth-century Britain.

The rising prominence of anatomy and dissection in surgeons’ training and research created an illegal market in dead bodies in the eighteenth century. This underground market encouraged rising levels of commodification of the dead human body by students, anatomists, and those they employed, such as through increased monetary commensurability, fungibility, and objectification of the cadaver. Such attitudes greatly contrasted those held by the family, friends, and community of those whose bodies ended up on the dissecting table.
Direct insight into attitudes towards the dead body itself, and the explicit discussion of the market in bodies by those involved, is scant in the study of the hidden, underground cadaver trade. As a family which included many surgeons, the private correspondence of the Hey family provides invaluable, unique insight into honest, practical discussions of cadaver demand, supply and transportation. Using the Heys’ understudied private correspondence as a starting point, this paper will explore the impact of the rising demand for dissection subjects on the commodification of the cadaver in eighteenth-century Britain.

Mental Health

Chair: Clare Tebbutt

Katharina Rowold (University of Essex): Charlotte Bühler at the Parents’ Institute: Child Guidance between Vienna and London

The interwar years were a pivotal period in the emergence of new ideas on children, family relationships, and parenting in Britain. An important element in the transition towards new approaches to childhood and the family was the child guidance movement. While historians have fruitfully explored links between the American and British movements, less attention has been given to the interconnections between Austrian and British child guidance. In the 1920s and early 1930s, Vienna hosted a network of child guidance clinics, and was not only the ‘capital of child psychoanalysis’ but also an influential centre of new ideas on child psychology. Important here was the work of the developmental psychologist Charlotte Bühler. In 1935, Bühler opened a privately funded child guidance clinic in London and two years later started to dispense advice in a regular column in the progressive parenting magazine The Nursery World. This paper will disentangle some transnational connections between the British and Austrian child guidance movement and explore the ways in which Charlotte Bühler’s ideas participated in shifting parenting advice away from behaviourist

precepts that stressed discipline and rigid routine towards an emphasis on children's development, their emotions, and their place within the family in interwar Britain.

Kara Greig (University of Kent): The importance of religion to the social lives of women in Kent Mental Deficiency Institutions, 1913-1948

In this paper, I explore the ways in which religion shaped the social lives of women detained in Mental Deficiency Institutions in Kent in the first half of the twentieth century. Within these Institutions, all patients were involved in the religious life of the Colony. Attendance at religious services weekly was timetabled for all. However, what female patients valued was the opportunity for social contact with those outside the institution. This included being visited, taken out, having someone outside their family asking the Medical Superintendent for updates on their welfare, and the potential for employment which could lead to release on Licence before gaining their discharge. These religious befrienders were treated with respect, allowed greater leeway with regard to visiting and taking people out than families were, due to their social status. They were treated as trusted people who could arrange befriending and employment opportunities and provide appropriate accommodation and supervision within the community within the homes and businesses of their contacts. Women who were able to access these opportunities benefitted from these networks and able to use them as a stepping stone to their eventual discharge from their detention under the Mental Deficiency Acts.
This shows how issues of profession and social capital could be used by patients in navigating the welfare system; having influential people able to advocate for those detained under the Mental Deficiency Act (1913) and shows the continuation of the petitioning behaviour noted by Hurren (2005) under the Poor Law.

Emma Marshall (University of York): 'I thought I should be like my mother & wer afraid': Illness, inter-generational memory, and familial identity in seventeenth-century England

The 'genealogical gaze', to use Alexandra Walsham's term, was a defining characteristic of the early modern period. However, collective family memory remains an understudied aspect of seventeenth-century life. This paper explores the ways in which health-related memories functioned as a social currency within family correspondence. Using original archival research and ideas from the burgeoning field of memory studies, it argues that epistolary references to past illnesses helped to fashion individual and collective identities. Through the telling and retelling of stories of sickness and recovery, letter-writers bound themselves to both living and deceased relatives, and constructed their own positions as authoritative and trustworthy keepers of family history. They drew comparisons across generations, establishing illness as a shared element of familial identity, and could transform the negative connotations of past events into useful guidance for the present or future. Additionally, memory, identity and authority were linked through contemporary practices of record-keeping. In the last decade, the archive has gradually become the subject, as well as the object and tool, of historical enquiry. An examination of illness' role as a category of archival organisation, through its presence in dockets on the exterior of letters, shows how transient, personal experiences of the body were marked as significant familial events, with an afterlife among future generations. By also considering their implications for familial perceptions of time and the exercise of knowledge and imagination, this paper will explore the memorial, instructive and creative functions of health memories in correspondence.

Local Rights, Resistance, and Negotiations

Chair: Matthew Grant

Ane Miren Pablos Ormaza (University of the Basque Country): Moral economy of the Fueros: a culture of insurrection in the Basque provinces through the riots of 1804

The Zamacolada is considered to be the last riot of the Ancien Régime in the Basque provinces. It took place during the months of August and September 1804 and was triggered by the suppression of the military exemption enjoyed by the inhabitants of Biscay. Despite the different interests that converged in this uprising, perhaps due to its cross-class character, a common demand could be found among the rioters: the return to the 'ancient laws'.
These ancient laws were the Basque 'fueros', a code of rights and privileges that guaranteed a certain fiscal and administrative autonomy to the region, and ensured the legal equality – de jure – of all its inhabitants through the figure of universal nobility. The 'fueros' proved a stronghold against the administrative uniformisation of the centralist policy of absolutism. At this stage – and within the context of the collapse of the Hispanic Monarchy's socio-economic structures aggravated by the recent war against France (1793-1795) –, this sort of policy began to threaten the very existence of the 'fueros'.
The 'fueros' system has attracted the attention of researchers such as Peter Linebaugh, who in The Magna Carta Manifesto goes so far as to describe it as "the most durable, actual alternative to monarchy and capitalism found in Europe" (2008, p. 234). But what did the rebels really understand by 'ancient laws'? And was there a shared conception of the "moral economy of the Fueros" (Enríquez, 1988, 2001; Iñurrategui, 1996)? This paper will attempt to answer these questions by outlining the community mechanisms through which this political culture was transmitted and reproduced in the everyday experiences of those who participated in the conflict before it erupted.

Medha Bhattacharya (London School of Economics and Political Science): Linguistic minorities during the era of linguistic territorialism: Bengalis in Bihar and their conceptions of identity, belonging and citizenship during the transition from colonial rule to independence (1935-57)

Indian independence from British rule in 1947 was accompanied by the promise of the formation of linguistically homogenous 'homelands' within the country. The Congress party had long been committed to the reorganisation of states along linguistic lines. However, the brutal experience of partition caused the reorganisation of states to be put on hold, with fears this could encourage separatism. Nevertheless, shortly after independence, the vociferous demand for linguistic states forced the Indian government to redraw state boundaries. Understandably, most historiography on linguistic reorganisation has focused on the mechanisms that encouraged specific groups to demand these 'homelands' with linguistic homogeneity and how they formulated their identity in relation to language and belonging in a specific territory. However, due to histories of internal migration there were large numbers of people who did not necessarily conflate their 'homeland' with the language they spoke.
This paper will attempt to analyse how these linguistic minorities in the province of Bihar navigated this era of linguistic territorialism and the different ways they developed their understandings of identity, belonging and citizenship. It will pay particular attention to the section of Biharis that declared Bengali as their 'mother-tongue' and examine the basis upon which they claimed belonging

in the province/state of Bihar. It will analyse Bengali-Bihari claims of historical settlement in the province as well as demands to be protected as a 'Bihari minority'. This paper aims to present different perspectives on linguistic reorganisation in India as well as commonly held understandings of 'community' and 'identity' in India.

Andrea Major (University of Leeds): The limits of cosmopolitanism: George Thompson in Calcutta and Delhi, 1843

British women widowed during the First World War did not all remarry. Andrea Hetherington noted that women were encouraged by the British government to remarry by the provision of a generous grant in the place of their pension. Using pension records cards and ledgers, which were saved from destruction by the Western Front Association and are now available online to their members, and the recently released 1921 census, together with other military and genealogical sources, this microstudy will show that a range of alternative paths were followed by Barnsley war widows. Although many did remarry some remained single for the rest of their lives, whether those were short or long. This paper shows how these newly available sources can be used to examine a 100-year-old question, investigating the ways our female ancestors reacted to their changed status after the Great War. These results may challenge preconceived perceptions that all widows remarried. This paper is based on ongoing research into a sample of Barnsley born men who lost their lives in the First World War - it remains to be seen whether the patterns uncovered in Barnsley can be generalised to other towns or cities in Britain.
This researcher is a third year part-time PhD student, and experienced speaker with extensive knowledge in the fields of local, family and military history in Barnsley, with a particular emphasis on commemoration and remembrance of the First World War.

Death and the Body?

Chair: Maria Isabel Romero Ruiz

Ella Sbaraini (University of Cambridge): Changing Emotions? Tracing the Language of Suicidal Feelings in England, 1760-1850

This paper explores how language was used to describe suicidal feelings between 1760 and 1850. It focuses on a unique source: an unbroken run of coroners' inquests covering the largest borough in England during this period, most of which has never been studied. Utilising over 2000 of these documents, and contrasting and complimenting them with diaries and personal correspondence, it examines the ways in which suicidal feelings were described both by suicidal people and their communities. It traces notable changes in word-usage, and the rise of an increasingly medicalised discourse, particularly from the early nineteenth century. In doing so, it builds upon crucial scholarly work which has outlined the shifting languages of suicide in eighteenth-century England, while contributing novel insights through the use of large-scale linguistic data analysis. Notably, it proposes that, despite historians arguing that suicide became 'secularised' over this period (Macdonald and Murphy, 1990), linguistic analysis of suicide letters reveals that religion was the most important topic explored by suicidal people well into the mid nineteenth century. It also, importantly, asks how the changing language of suicide might have related to changing experiences of suicide in this period, and traces the rise of 'uneasy' emotions.

Christian Siefkes (Independent researcher): Slavery, ivory trade, and cannibalism in the Congo Basin – a largely forgotten part of colonial history.

While human cannibalism has attracted considerable attention and controversy, certain aspects of the practice have been largely overlooked. These include the connection to slavery, the fact that in some societies slaves and persons captured in slave raids were allowed to be killed and eaten. Exploring and analysing historical documents from the late nineteenth century, the talk shows that persons captured in slave raids in the Congo Basin were often exchanged against ivory and subsequently eaten, while the ivory was exported to Europe or the Americas, where it was considered a "legitimate" product. Occasionally Western traders were directly involved in such deadly exchanges, while in other cases they turned a blind eye. Accounts from earlier times also show a connection between Congolese cannibalism and the export of slaves to the Americas, with captives considered unfit for export instead ending in the stomachs of people eaters.

The colonial Congo Free State, established in 1885, did little to stop such practices; various records indicate that its officials not only tolerated such acts, but sometimes rewarded cannibal allies or subordinates with human flesh. The talk shows how local traditions, imperialist desires to improve one's local power base, and capitalist trading practices that increasingly connected Central Africa to the rest of the world jointly helped to intensify a deadly custom that today is largely forgotten and ignored, though well-established in the historical record. It also shows that the boundaries between cannibals and non-cannibals were blurry, with those who in theory might have condemned the custom still benefiting from it and facilitating it in reality.

Day 2 – Thursday 6 July

Parallel Panel 2 – 0900-1030

Historical Perspectives on Poverty and Childcare

Chair: Georgina Brewis

Patricia Brennan (University of Sheffield): Working Together to Safeguard Children. A new innovation in 1999?

After a series of child death scandals from maltreatment, in 1999, HM Government published guidelines of how statutory and voluntary agencies, should work together with children and families to prevent further deaths. These were updates regularly. By 2018, the guidance included children considered vulnerable in such a way that their development or well-being were at risk. This work was considered innovative.
In 1885, the House of Help for Friendless Girls and Young Women was set up in Sheffield in 1885. Sheffield was a rapidly expanding industrial city with its contradictions of great wealth but extensive

poverty. The House offered help and support to vulnerable girls and women so they could survive without having to resort to crime or prostitution.
This paper will consider how staff and volunteers from the House of Help in Sheffield worked with professionals and families to offer protection. It will illustrate the profile of the 369 girls of under 15 years old who entered the House between 1888 and 1913. The work undertaken and the results are illustrated. It reveals a network of local agencies and professionals and volunteers who worked together for the good of the girls, but also a wider national network of agencies, mainly voluntary, with which it worked. Multiagency working is not an innovation of the last 25 years.

Agata Łysakowska-Trzoss (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań): The struggle of the 19th-century Charitable Societies against poverty among women. Evidence from the 19th century Poznań

The aim of my paper is to present the results of the analysis of ways of dealing with poverty among women, organized by three charity societies in Poznań: Society for the Support of the Needy and Poor, Charity Society of Polish Ladies, Society of the Ladies of the Mercy of St. Vincent de Paul. My paper is divided into two parts. Firstly, I focus on factors of poverty, which had an influence on the feminization of poverty in Poznań, and I characterize women-beneficiaries of Charitable Societies. Several groups of beneficiaries are distinguished i.e. single mothers, widows, maidens, and orphans. Secondly, I describe forms of aid - alms, food, loans (money or materials for work), and organization of work. These forms are divided into temporary help and long-term ones. The presentation is based on two unique in their character Card Indexes, created by Charitable organizations. In total, both card indexes contain nearly 1500 cards with characteristics of the people requesting aid. Supplementary I use newspapers and reports of these organizations. Besides traditional source criticism, I implement a quantitative approach, including statistical analyses. Interpretation is based on comparative analysis and case study. Comparative study of the Poznań and analogical examples from the international literature, especially research of S. Rowntree's works on poverty in England, and life-poverty cycle theory, is applied. Fast-developing 19th century Poznań as a case study fits into broader research on the described phenomena present in 19th-century European society.

Alice McKimm (University of Cambridge): ‘An issue … where women could absolutely come together’: women’s refuges in Northern Ireland, 1975-98

The armed conflict in late twentieth-century Northern Ireland, commonly known as The Troubles, permeated every area of civilian life. In a country preoccupied with militarised violence, campaigns against domestic abuse struggled to generate the attention and broader political support that eventually emerged in areas of England, Scotland, and Wales. Despite these immense challenges, from the mid-1970s Northern Irish women’s refuges accommodated women from across the sectarian divide within their (often dilapidated) walls. They further campaigned for legislative change, not only in the treatment of domestic abuse, but also in the wider process for peace. Treating women’s refuges as both day-to-day service providers and a collaborative social movement, this paper explores the intimate political communities that crystallised within women’s refuges, and their wide-ranging impact on cultural discourses and public policy regarding violence, women’s rights, and citizenship in the years between the opening of Belfast Women’s Aid (the first shelter in Northern Ireland) in 1975 and the signing of the Good Friday Agreement in 1998. In doing so, it offers an intimate look at everyday political practice in a society often considered an ‘armed patriarchy’ and diversifies common perceptions of the arenas of political change. Based on a broad range of sources, from archived refuge reports to original oral history interviews, the paper further

explores the ethics of researching violence against women in post-conflict societies, where those who speak out continue to risk suspicion, ostracisation, and even reprisal.

Mapping Networks, (re)constructing identities: In the process of making heritage landscapes.

Chair: Helen Sunderland

Rhys Owens (Swansea University): Welshness and the Empire: Cultural Transplantation, Associational Life, and a Welsh Imperialism?

My paper would look at the transplantation of Welshness into the colonial environment in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, focusing particularly on India but also referencing settler colonies such as Australia and South Africa. Despite their smaller numbers and lack of scholarly focus, the Welsh were active and enthusiastic imperialists for whom both their Welshness and their Britishness were central pillars of their identity. When operating overseas as imperial agents- civil servants, missionaries, soldiers etc- the Welsh imported their language, faith, festivals and cultural norms into the colonial environment to create a safe space in an otherwise alien world. This found expression through associational life, with Welsh communities creating societies in order to practice and celebrate Welshness, as well as churches and other forms of gathering which maintained links to Wales and helped develop a specifically Welsh outlook on imperial mission. My paper will examine the main facets of this cultural transplantation, how it expressed itself, and how the pillars of Welsh identity it was based upon fed into a constructed idea of Welsh imperialism which emphasised unique Welsh qualities in regard to interacting with indigenous peoples. While cultural maintenance is a major aspect of most migrant communities, this paper will explore the enforced differences between a settler 'Welshness' and that found amongst small communities of Welsh imperial agents in India.

Pansee Abou ElAtta (Carleton University): A grassroot Social History of the bust of Nefertiti

Despite institutional and scholarly assertions that the Egyptian government did not seek to claim ownership over the Bust of Nefertiti, contemporaneous media sources show not only that such efforts were in fact undertaken, but also, that their impact was critical to establishing the Bust's now-iconic status.

During the period of interwar turmoil, the post-Versailles German state took pains to bolster a national self-image undermined by heavy wartime losses. Thus, claims for the Bust made by the Egyptian state — at the time, under de facto British control — were posited through German periodicals such as Die Kunstauktion and Der Cicerone as a crucial battlefield of national pride. But counter-hegemonic views could be found as well: satirical cartoons, particularly those in Kladderadatsch, used humour, irony, and subversion to escape some measure of state control, expressing countervailing views critical of state efforts to retain an apparently stolen artifact. But regardless of the periodicals' ideological bent, such contemporaneous media representations demonstrate the complex impacts of the Egyptian claim on the frenetic debate in 1920s-30s Berlin with regards to the Bust's ownership, value, and meaning.

Nonetheless, this facet of Nefertiti's early fame (or infamy) has gone under-recognized in its contemporary analyses. By drawing attention to the ways in which such efforts have underlay contemporary conceptualizations of iconic artifacts, this study strives to demonstrate the deep

imbrication between contestation and museal value-production; that is, the ways in which structures of collection and knowledge-production derive ‘value’, broadly defined, from constructions of dominion and deprivation.

Francesca Murray (Queen Mary’s University of London): 'The Stanwick Nectarine - a botanical history of a friendly society, a gardeners' network, and a biological invasion.'

This talk seeks to provide an example of early fundraising work and networks of influence in the nineteenth century gardening trade. The story of the Stanwick Nectarine, a Syrian fruit from Smyrna gifted by the retired consul John Barker to the Duke of Northumberland and propagated by the expert pomologists, Thomas Rivers, to be auctioned in aid of the Gardeners’ Royal Benevolent Institution.

As the gardening trade formalised itself as a profession in the nineteenth century its practitioners’ sought to create a sense of community, association and fraternity. Despite often working well in their twilight years, the risk of injury and infirmity of age meant the security of employment in the increasingly competitive marketplace was precarious, with little state welfare provision. Evidence suggests the gardening community sought to look after its own. They cultivated structures of conviviality, brotherhood, and mutual association to offer mechanisms of financial and fraternal support within their growing profession. These networks crossed social and geographical boundaries between the working gardener, nurserymen, garden owner and the gardening elite. Using the friendly society model, the Gardeners’ Royal Benevolent Institution was established in 1839 to provide its first gardeners’ pension in 1840 and still exists today in the form of the gardening charity ‘Perennial’. It was supported by the influential City of London merchants, aristocrats, and key practitioners of the horticultural trade. Annual fundraising dinners, sales of exotic fruit and garden openings sustained its subscribers throughout the century and provided altruistic networks that exemplified the philanthropic energy of the period. The Stanwick nectarine questions how benevolent these networks truly were.

Female ‘deviance’ in the 19th and 20th centuries

Chair: Alison Pedley

Vivien Miller (Nottingham University): “An insane desire for vengeance;” race, gender, class, and acid crime in the early 20th century urban-industrial United States

This paper focuses on lower-status women who used acid in “revenge” attacks on professional men to punish them for sexual violence or seduction and abandonment. Numbers of interpersonal and intimate acid assaults were increasing in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth century urban-industrial United States amid changing ideas about romantic love, courtship and dating, pre-marital fidelity, fear of spinsterhood or bachelorhood, and the shame of rejection. However, both historians and criminologists have largely ignored this particular form of female vigilantism. The paper uses intersectionality to explore three cases in Boston (1900), New Jersey (1915), and Baltimore (1930), during a period of significant political, economic, and legal change for American women. The 1930 “tearoom girl case” was an intra-racial African American case involving several violent altercations, blackmail and a questionable relationship between an elite Black doctor (defended by a leading civil rights campaigner) and one of his female patients. It was linked further to Depression-era African American abortion politics. The paper explores the ways in which the female perpetrators framed their actions. It also investigates how majority-white police, attorneys and juries navigated the

tensions between legal and community notions of justice for non-white perpetrators and victims of acid crime, and the extent to which class and race shaped popular and legal assessments of jealousy, possession, and obsession.

Jo Thor (Strathclyde University): ‘Inclusion and Exclusion of ‘Deviant’ Women in the Scottish Magdalene Movement in the Nineteenth Century

In this presentation, I will discuss modern Muslim intellectuals and the role of women in promoting higher education at the grassroots level. In addition, I'll examine how early 20th-century political changes and legislation affected the education of Muslim women, focusing on literature authored, published, or edited only by Muslim women. Women's revolutionary thoughts on gender problems and other women's ideologies are the focus of this endeavor to analyse women's discourse. An effort is also made to study the nature of current movements and perspectives about women's education, which has also been emphasized here, and to what degree they were concerned to give traditional and modern education to Muslim women in the 20th century. The advent of the printing press in India significantly altered social dynamics in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Although many people in Indian culture, particularly women, lacked the ability to read before printing, this barrier was eventually overcome. Press coverage has a profound impact on Muslim women's lives, both professionally and personally. The social and educational changes among Muslim women of the middle class who were confined in "purdah" can only be understood via the writings of women in Urdu newspapers. I will address the concerns of women among Indian Muslim reformers and the topics addressed by female writers in Urdu periodicals. For this reason, women's writing from the early 20th century was seen as more significant and illuminating.

Kim Thomas (Independent Researcher): ‘A most industrious woman’: what the Rebecca Loveridge case tells us about infanticide, gender, and criminal lunacy in the nineteenth century.

Rebecca Loveridge was a farmer’s wife and mother of seven who, in 1884, drowned her baby daughter in a brief bout of madness. By the time she came to trial two weeks later, she had recovered her sanity. Although Loveridge’s defence barrister made a poor case, both the prosecution barrister and judge spoke eloquently about her suffering at the hands of her brutal husband, with the prosecution barrister describing her as a ‘most industrious woman and an excellent wife’ who had ‘borne a most excellent character’. The jury found her to have been temporarily insane, and she was committed indefinitely to Broadmoor where she stayed just under two years: believing her recovered, the superintendent, William Orange, saw no reason to detain her longer.

Loveridge’s case challenges our perceptions of Victorian England’s attitude towards serious crime. Although a capital offence, the last execution for infanticide was in 1849. There was widespread understanding of the factors that might drive a woman to kill her own child. Ignoring the fact that Loveridge did not meet the McNaughton test of insanity (of being unable to tell right from wrong), the all-male court treated her with clemency. At Broadmoor, she benefited from compassionate regime and restful surroundings.

Loveridge’s story is a fine example of the power of microhistory to provide a counter-narrative to conventional wisdom. Individual agents defied the constraints of the legal system to ensure leniency for a woman who had committed one of the most serious crimes on the statute book.

Materiality

Chair: Ella Sbaraini

Tatiyana Bastet (University of Hertfordshire): Dolls by Design: Distributed, archived memory and community

The practice of creating dolls, or human simulacra, either as an extension or representation of a person, or as a vessel for a deceased ancestor, dates back to antiquity. A piece of paper inscribed with the name of a deceased or living person placed into the spine of a clay doll, semi-circles drawn with lamp black on closed eyes or sockets clay or stone to let the spirit know where the eyes are, and internally, compartments creating different areas of connection and relationship to people, places, and histories. Whether made of clay, bronze, or lead, effigies of this style have been found in Sicily and other places in the Mediterranean, dating back to the fourth century B.C.E. These single purpose dolls are made by contemporary crafters in and from those same places from clay, bone, dirt, iron filings, and other materials that support the purpose of the doll folklorically, mythically, and/ or symbolically, with little variation from the manner in which they have historically been made.
Ancestor or spirit dolls are crafted to engage from the "affective registers of seeing and sensing …[to] attune to differing shades and shapes of memory, place, and affect …" The crafting or doll making process, inclusive of who crafts the doll versus who cares for it, identity of the doll and provenance of the pieces from which the doll is constructed – imprinted memory – are quilted together in a new story sourced from multiple places.
This paper will examine the craft of doll making, not as playthings, but as material expressions of memory, ancestry, community, and connection.

Emily Webb (University of Leeds): Negotiating Intimacy: The Position of Bibis within the Colonial Family in Blechynden's Calcutta Diaries, 1782-1822

The voluminous Blechynden Diaries offer incomparable opportunities for studying domestic and family life among middle-class British residents of Calcutta at the end of the eighteenth-century. They reveal the prevalence and experience of interracial relationships between European men and local Indian and mixed-heritage women, often called bibis, and provide a rare insight into the inner workings of these often-hidden relations.

For many European men, bibis were central to their colonial familial experiences, and within colonial households, bibis held multiple, simultaneous identities. To their companions they were sexual partners and confidants; to the children of the home, they were mothers and care givers; and to domestic servants they were a mistress. However, bibis were also a paid member of the household, often receiving payment for their services in the form of monthly salary. This contractual element complicated their identities allowing them to transgress the line between family and servant, resulting in moments of conflict between bibis, their companions, and domestic servants. This paper will use a close reading of Blechynden's diaries demonstrate how bibis challenged gendered and racial hierarchies upon which the colonial household was constructed and reveal the complicated nexus of relationship which existed within colonial families.

Tyler Rainford (University of Bristol): Accounting for Lost Time: Alcohol and its After-Effects in Eighteenth-Century English Diary-Keeping

In the wake of a nocturnal culture that popularised the practice of what Sasha Handley has defined as ‘sociable sleeping’, a considerable number of eighteenth-century men were away from their homes and their beds for longer than they might have wished. Late nights and lengthy drinking bouts disrupted familiar routines, prompting intense feelings of anxiety and frustration. The subsequent wave of nausea that followed, which is today understood as the hangover, only helped to exacerbate these emotions. Both alcohol and its after-effects had a profound influence on an individual’s experience of and use of time. In eighteenth-century England, this was most potently manifested in the practice of diary-keeping: a medium employed by men of middling station to consciously construct and reflexively inform their identity and conduct in spiritual, social, and economic matters.

The aims of this paper will be twofold. First, through a survey of diaries composed by men of middling social status, I will demonstrate that time lost to drink became a major cause for concern over the course of the “long” eighteenth century. This concern was multifaceted, and spread to the spiritual, social, and economic arenas of life. Second, I will argue that diary-keeping was a unique tool for literate men to account for this lost time and set resolutions for reform in the future. Ultimately, this paper will argue that the experience of intoxication, its potent after-effects, and the practice of diary-keeping were all instrumental to the development of “time-discipline” over the course of the eighteenth century.

The Social World of Work

Chair: Stewart McCain

Joe Saunders (University of York): 'Yarns and all the rest of it' – the blacksmith’s forge as a social hub

Wills are some of the most valuable sources for histories of business, crafts, and trades in early modern England, illuminating people, economies and communities. They have long been used for the study of the print trade in the handpress era but irregularly so. As the study of the print trade in early modern England turns toward social histories wills capture growing attention. They contain the possibility of uncovering communities of work as well as the wider social, cultural, and economic worlds in which people lived. They can be insights into a variety of spaces and people and show testators to have been multifaceted agents as producers, employers, employees, consumers and more. Wills are, broadly speaking, accessible documents which can be used for specific research focusses. As my research aims to show they also have great potential for systematic study of the print trade, as well as histories of early modern livery companies and work more broadly. This paper will outline the understandings offered by print trade wills, drawing on findings from my PhD research where I am studying these documents qualitatively as well as creating a database through which I am conducting Social Network Analysis.

Mara Arts, Independent Researcher): The social world of work in an East End cinema, 1934

In the 1930s, cinemagoing became Britain's most popular leisure activity. The number of cinemas boomed, as did the amount of people working in them. This paper closely investigates the social bonds between workers in the Eastern Palace Cinema in Bromley-by-Bow, East London. In August 1934, one of the Eastern Palace's employees killed the cinema's manager. The subsequent police investigation and newspaper reporting on the case have left us with a detailed, if mediated, account of the cinema's workers, which allows us to trace the workplace culture of the cinema and the social ties between its employees.

From the cleaners to the film operators, the staff at the Eastern Palace Cinema were neighbours and family members as well as colleagues. What were the relationships between the workers in this local, independent cinema, and how did the police and journalists mediate the workers' expressions of the experience of work? Using police witness statements, archival documents and newspaper interviews, this paper also explores how their social world of work was affected when a crisis occurs.

Whilst for many people in 1930s Britain the cinema was a place of leisure and consumption, for an increasing number of people cinemas became places of work. Using the Eastern Palace Cinema as case study, this paper excavates the experiences of this group of under-researched workers.

Samantha Woodward (University of Essex): Creating a Classless Society: Leisure at the John Lewis Partnership

Like many large firms in the early twentieth century, the John Lewis Partnership (JLP) provided amenities for its workers. However, as with its co-ownership model, leisure was another aspect of the business that founder, Spedan Lewis, declared to do 'differently'. In creating the Partnership, Spedan envisioned a "classless society" where Partners, as co-owners of the business, could experience the benefits of ownership through the leisure properties, subsidised tickets to the theatre, clubs and societies – or the Partnership-owned yachts. Through the democratic structures of the business, Partners were entitled to a minimum of one percent of the paysheet to spend on Partnership Benefit, which included leisure. There was a catch; all activities had to be beneficial for the mind or body of the Partner and had to be of "first-class quality". This paper demonstrates how changing attitudes toward paternalism and leisure changed over the twentieth century and how, as the business expanded and trading hours increased, leisure became increasingly individualised. This challenged some of the key aims of business-subsidised leisure in creating company culture and managing internal relations. In attempting to make the JLP 'classless', the leisure scheme relied on class structures to identify activities that would be understood to be suitably beneficial to Partners, exemplified by opera being subsidised, where musicals were not. This became increasingly challenged as the JLP continued to expand and questions of access, alongside suitability, were raised.

War, Peace, and internationalism

Chair: Andrew Walker

Linsey Robb (Northumbria University): 'One of us': Class and conscientious objection in Britain during the Second World War

60,000 men declared a conscientious objection on either religious or political grounds during the Second World War. In the seminal work The People's War Angus Calder stated, 'there was in fact no single pacifist movement'. This is true. Yet, as this paper will discuss, many of those who became conscientious objectors during the Second World War were from very particular strata of British society. The middle-classes dominated the ranks of conscientious objection. It is also clear that their class fundamentally shaped their relationship to both their objection and the war. From their pre-

war experiences to the tribunal to their service chosen or allocated, class played a fundamental role in their wartime choices and experiences. War and objection were deeply classed. Decisions were not based solely on patriotism, pacifism nor politics but also financial and practical concerns. At every turn during the war decisions made by COs were shaped by their class and its associated level of wealth and privilege. This paper will explore can this tell us about class, civic duty and the Second World War as well as arguing for a greater focus on class in the study of the Second World War.

Emily Chambers (University of Kent): 'A new era of peace': Envisioning a post-war future within the British section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1939-49

The Women's International League (WIL) was a national branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, a non-profit organisation founded in 1915. The League believed women had a unique role in peacekeeping, arguing that gender inequality interweaved with war and militarism, from which their dual aims of peace and freedom emerged. The advent of the Second World War proved detrimental to the organisation, pitting peace against freedom. It appeared that choosing peace meant, in effect, not resisting Nazism, but advocating for freedom meant supporting the war. This dilemma caused several debates and fractures within the League, yet they decided to remain officially pacifist throughout the war. This was not because they had chosen peace over freedom, but rather that they had redefined pacifism regarding it not simply as opposition to the Second World War but as a commitment to a peaceful and 'just' world order. In taking this stance, the WIL operated with surprising liberty during the war: their publications, meetings, and government lobbying continued, and they sustained their international efforts, albeit limited, facilitating immediate action to reconnect and rebuild post-war.

This paper uses newspapers, reports, and private and official correspondence to explore how the WIL envisioned, planned, and worked towards permanent peace through their activism concerning both 'ordinary' British citizens and international diplomats, revealing gender intricacies, international relationships and policies, and the complex definition of pacifism within the organisation. In doing so, it foregrounds the importance of peace history more broadly to historians and contemporary peacemakers.

Lewis Smith (University of Essex): 'Aid given by a mother to her young' The British Overseas Airways Corporation (BOAC) and the marketing of economic development.

Throughout the post-war period Britain's state-owned airline, the British Overseas Airways Corporation (BOAC), helped to connect Britain to locations across the globe for business and pleasure. As a nationalised industry British citizens owned a share in BOAC, and as such BOAC needed to keep its shareholders happy. However, the vast majority of people in Britain could scarcely afford the luxury of flight. This paper explores BOAC not as an airline, but as a marketer. At the heart of BOAC's internal and external communications was a vision of Britain that was altruistic, capable of rewriting (and maintaining) its engagements overseas. Marketing targeted at businesses framed the advantages of economic cooperation with the wider world, in particular cooperation with the ex-Empire and Commonwealth, as an economic benefit for Britain. BOAC encouraged British businesses to go abroad to exploit the natural and human resources of ex-Colonies and Commonwealth partners not only for their own economic benefit, but through a rhetoric that encouraged businesses to see their work as part of the wider schema of colonial development. In so doing, this paper raises questions about nationalised industry and their national responsibility. It aims to analyse how nationalised industries fed into current trends in issues such as gender,

masculinity, race and a broader notion of ‘public service’, serving as a cultural history of industry and the economy in post-war Britain.

Knowledge and Understanding over Time

Chair: Louis Pulford

Gagan Preet Singh: Footprints and the making of colonial knowledge in nineteenth century north India.

This paper explores the British colonial officials' attempts to master a non-textual form of forensic knowledge namely the practice of tracking footprints, which thrived in nineteenth-century colonial north India. At the time of the British conquest of north India, tracking-- of both human and animal footmarks-- to locate bodies was widely prevalent in society, especially to track stolen animals. Though the study of footmarks was widely understood and accepted in society, the testimonies of the expert trackers were considered the most reliable. The British colonial officials, who were amazed at the uncanny skills of trackers, employed a large number of trackers in police forces to track criminals and stolen property. During colonial rule, several British officials also wrote manuals in which they tried to explain the “science” of tracking. The authors of these manuals believed that tracking was a mechanical art that could be learnt by following their instructions. In this paper by critically examining these manuals, I explore how tracking was culturally contingent and why British officials' attempts to conceptualise and disseminate the knowledge of tracking remained a failure. By study of this paper, I also wish to explore how the colonial rulers introduced a new paradigm to understand the body in colonial India vis-à-vis the indigenous understanding of the body. The imposition of colonial ideas of the body from above, which were backed by legal-medical knowledge, had disastrous consequences for the society, as these ideas often undermined the testimonies of trackers, who had played a crucial role in pre-colonial society.

Craig Hambling (Birkbeck): Bodies, Swords, and Words: A kinaesthetic perspective on the education of princes

This paper explores the ways in which medieval thought and concepts of interaction were shaped by combat training given to the young nobility of thirteenth and fourteenth-century Europe. Giles of Rome's De Regimine Principum (c.1280), a popular example of the mirror for prince’s genre, repeatedly emphasises the lag between the development of children’s bodies and their rational faculties. Although superiority of reason is desired in those intended for rule, ideas of the inability of children to rationally govern themselves resulted in a process that aimed to guide the mind with considerable early focus on the governance of the body and its shaping for future martial work. A sensory perspective on this process allows us to consider the specific sensory habitus of martial bodies described in practical combat manuals and note thematic parallels in diverse fields, including physical comportment, theories of rhetoric, and concepts of social order. This demonstrates how physical training operated as part of an integrated sensory pedagogy where knowledge was not just possessed, but embodied and that abstract concepts were often taught with reference to the physical. This comparative work underscores the importance of kinaesthesia, the vestibular sense, and spatial awareness to the practical construction of the noble male identity, and how the martial lessons of childhood had implications for adult conduct, even in non-martial contexts.

Terry Smyth (University of Essex): The life and legacy of a British tea planter in late colonial Ceylon: a serendipitous case study

Alice died in the afternoon of 27th June 2017, at the age of eighty-seven. Born in 1930 on a tea estate in Ceylon, she had left for England with her mother and brother when the Japanese threatened the island in 1942. One hundred and five years earlier, in January 1912, Alice's father, James, had sailed for Ceylon from Liverpool on the 'City of Paris' to take up a position as a 'creeper' and so begin his career as a tea planter. He was seventeen years old.
Soon after Alice's death her son and daughter were working through the house contents when they discovered a typed, sixty-nine page self-styled 'autobiography' written by James in 1946, alongside a much shorter 'autobiographical letter' written by Alice's brother. My wife was also born in Ceylon and was Alice's best friend, and the family gave me permission to copy these unique documents. Coincidentally, as part of a separate project I had recorded a lengthy interview with Alice in 2013 in which she described her upbringing in Ceylon.
Taken together, this compelling written and oral family archive gives glimpses into times and places that have been scantily researched: the subjectivities of British tea planters in the years leading to independence; adjusting to imperialist social norms; relations between colonizer and colonized; and the intergenerational legacies of colonialism.
In this paper I have blended elements of traditional biography with insights from sociological and psychological analysis, all within the framework of my personal connections to this particular family.

Parallel Panel 3 – 1100-1230

Constructing and Contesting Racism and Marginalisation

Chair: Nailya Shamgunova

Jack Crangle (Maynooth University): A benevolent and charitable nation? Responding to racism in 1960s Ireland

Twentieth-century Ireland is usually constructed by historians as a homogeneously white society. Unlike the UK, there is no historiography of race and immigration in an Irish context. Admittedly, Ireland's Black population was tiny in comparison to twentieth-century Britain, rendering discussions of race largely absent from society. However, Ireland maintained a small Black presence throughout the century; their experience and reception tells us a great deal about the nation's post-independence culture and national identity. This paper situates the history of race relations in an Irish context, highlighting the how racial discourse was informed and influenced by Irish history.

Through the prism of a series of localised attacks against African students in 1960s Dublin, the paper explores how the Irish state and media responded to charges of societal racism. Far from tackling the issue, Irish commentators and policymakers repeatedly denied that racism was a social problem. Instead, they blamed victims for their alleged 'indiscreet behaviour' in late-night dancehalls. This 'no problem here' attitude has been found in numerous predominantly white societies. However, Irish denials of racism featured two distinctive traits. Firstly, commentators cited Ireland's history of

British colonialism, arguing that centuries of oppression and anti-Irish discrimination precluded Irish people from perpetrating racism. Secondly, religious leaders highlighted Ireland's history of missionary and charitable work in Africa, implying that Irish Catholic benevolence towards Black Africans showcased an inherent racial tolerance. This paper unpacks these distinctive national attitudes to race, exploring what they reveal about Ireland's Black experience and the nation's broader collective identity.

Alina Naqvi (University of Edinburgh): The Discursive Strategies of Othering: Witchcraft, Crime and Race in Colonial India c. 1862-1922

In Colonial India, there was a widespread belief in witchcraft and magic among all the sections of the society. Consequently, magic and witchcraft became a context in which a wide range of crimes against persons and property were committed. When cases involving witchcraft were brought to the courts, justice was dispensed often under the rhetoric of protecting the natives from the tyranny of their "inherent irrationality and superstitious beliefs." Law was one of the central pillars of the colonial and state the construction of the native subjects as intellectually and morally inferior, the 'other' of the British, justified the British government's claims of their right to rule. Cases involving magic and witchcraft were often reported in the press as sensational news. However, despite their widespread prevalence and centrality in the colonial racial discourse, cases involving superstitious beliefs, especially witchcraft, remain understudied. Thus, this essay will examine how witchcraft and superstitious beliefs, informed by colonial ideas of race and gender, became a significant tool in the hands of the Anglo-Indian and the native presses to legitimise and/or criticise colonial rule. Through a quantitative and discursive analysis of 89 digitised newspaper articles, the essay will demonstrate that Anglo-Indian papers reported cases involving witchcraft more frequently not only because they were sensational, but also because they were a constant source of justification for the need for colonial rule. However, this 'othering' did not always go uncontested. The Native newspapers also employed various discursive strategies to subvert these hierarchies and criticise colonial rule.

Henry Irving (Leeds Beckett University): Remembering Oluwale

David Oluwale was a British Nigerian who died in April 1969 after being assaulted by two Leeds police officers. His story is deeply upsetting. Most of his time in Britain was spent in prison, psychiatric hospital or sleeping rough. He was the target of incomprehensible brutality, and his death passed almost unnoticed until a landmark trial in 1971 resulted in Inspector Geoffrey Ellerker and Sergeant Kenneth Kitching being given custodial sentences for assault. Oluwale's name was briefly a rallying call for Britain's Black Power movement. But his story was all but forgotten from the late 1970s until the release of police files in the early 2000s.

I am leading a project with history students at Leeds Beckett University to explore the way David Oluwale has been remembered since his death. The project will result in a digital timeline that considers how, why, and with what results Oluwale's memory had been kept alive since 1969. The significance of this task was brought into sharp focus during the project when a blue plaque commemorating Oluwale was stolen in a racist hate crime. This paper will showcase the students' work and reflect on the process of historicising public history as it unfolded. It will contain a mix of reflections on Oluwale, the project and public history pedagogy.

Barsha Amarendra (Indian Institute of Technology): Forest as a Contested, Liminal Space: Exploring implications of forest policies in colonial and post-colonial India.

The colonial practice of describing people as a collection of 'self' and 'others' not only divides the society in terms of identity but creates fissures in all aspects of a society's functioning. The British stance that the 'tribals' are primitive and uncultured has led to their eventual 'demonising' in India's forest management and wildlife conservation.
Communities who have harmoniously co-existed within the fold of India's many forested regions were appraised to be intruding and degenerating 'others', as opposed to the enlightened, British 'self' who valued the sustenance and conservation of India's rich forest lands and wildlife therein. This colonial school of thought was perpetuated through not only the administrative attitudes of the post-colonial government but was also upheld by Indian elites who recognised themselves as conservationists. What has thus transpired is a continued 'othering' of the 'tribal.' communities from their habitats of sustenance. This paper attempts to bring out this narrative of forests being transformed into a liminal space of contestation through the 'othering' of India's 'tribal' communities are at the behest of the colonial notions of fortress conservation.

Contested spaces and places: heritage, memory, and under-represented narratives.

Chair: Laura King

Andrew Walker (Reimagining Lincolnshire): A trial and a trail: Lincoln's riots of 1911 and their subsequent commemoration

In terms of its location as a popular heritage centre, the city of Lincoln is perhaps best known for its medieval cathedral and castle. However, the city has a more recent and somewhat neglected history as an important engineering centre, particularly from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. This paper will examine one turbulent moment in Lincoln's industrial relations history in August 1911 when the city became the centre of riotous activity, associated with which two people lost their lives and 12 people were sent for trial and nine convicted at the Assizes Court in the city's castle complex. Using this event as a focal point, two public history related outputs have arisen in the 21st century and which will be examined here. The first of these was the staging of a community play, 'Devils let loose', which was performed in 2006, in a then recently-renovated venue associated with the activities the play was marking; and the second was a heritage trail, initially developed in association with the play, and subsequently revived in August 2022.
Through consideration of the riot, its representation at the time and then a century later, the paper will reflect upon, informed by personal experience, how examples of local history 'from below', specifically linked to various sites, can become celebrated as part of a place's intangible heritage assets, and the challenges contentious aspects of a location's past sometimes have in being situated alongside more dominant, apparently uncontroversial, heritage-friendly narratives.

Cameron Fleming (Lancaster University): Urban landscapes and contested heritage: English Jacobitism and the modern urban landscape

Jacobitism evokes particular images in the gaze of contemporary audiences. Despite a shift away from the highland-centric imagery of Jacobitism within academia, heritage practitioners and audiences struggle to find a common ground in which to situate Jacobitism in modern day contexts and in particular urban environments.
This paper looks at a few approaches to this challenge from heritage organisations in the north-west of England and explores the potential of new models of collaboration and organisation to produce commemoration suitable for broader audiences while showcasing the vibrancy of Jacobitism.
The 2015 commemorations of the battle of Preston of 1715 provide an insightful backdrop to all

these concerns. The broad participation by local organisations highlights the need for local heritage stakeholders to collaborate broadly. The contention surrounding the events and the mixed attendance of the events highlights that the anxiety between public perception and importance in the field has not been fully resolved.
The study then looks to two divergent approaches to highlighting elements of Jacobitism. The first, in Wigan, highlights the element of protest and riot within Jacobitism allowing parallels to be made to different modes of protest through time. This effective measure brings popular attention to Jacobitism through a contemporary understanding of both Jacobitism and its links to the modern social phenomenon of protest.
Finally, the approach of familiar motif and art is being used by Derby Museum to highlight elements of Jacobitism in a visually engaging and multi-sensory way. The appeal to multiple audiences highlights the original dilemma's significance while approaching it from contrasting angles for different audiences in a single exhibition space.

Victoria Araj (University of Lincoln): Challenging the 'Bomber County' epithet.

Lincolnshire's role in providing air power to war and invasion has led to the adoption of the moniker 'bomber county' to describe the region. However, when we deconstruct, decontextualize and historicise this narrative, another story of the fight for equal rights, conscientious objection and community cohesion emanates from the county. Stories such as these include those like Salim Charles Wilson, Richard Hill, Ray Longmore and the local women who attended the anti-war protest in Greenham Common in the 1980s.

Through public trails, exhibitions, zines and community engagement. the Reimagining Lincolnshire public history project have been highlighting this often conveniently forgotten past thus recentering Lincolnshire back into the historical struggle for peace, justice and equality.

Homicide, Coroners, and Community in Medieval and Victorian England

Chair: Vicky Holmes

Kenneth Duggan (Vancouver University): Communal Control over the Investigation of Suspicious Deaths in England

Investigating suspicious deaths in thirteenth-century England required cooperation between both local communities and coroners. In particular, people could not bury the body of any person who had died unexpectedly and/or under suspicious circumstances until a coroner viewed the body and held an inquest over it. But individuals and their communities were not always willing to allow coroners to view dead bodies. For instance, between 1248 and 1255, people in Kent buried no fewer than 206 bodies before coroners had an opportunity to view them, and villages were often remiss in their duty to appear at coroners' inquests. Through an analysis of coroners' rolls and records of criminal court proceedings at judicial visitations in thirteenth-century England my paper sheds light on why and in what circumstances people and their communities decided to work against coroners in cases of suspicious death. It will also discuss the consequences of such actions and how they changed over time.

Stephanie Brown (Cambridge University): Feloniously killed and murdered: Narratives of homicide in medieval England.

There has been a strong historiographical focus on quantifying medieval crime and profiling criminals. Past scholarship has been concerned with describing how, when, and where homicide took place. This methodology has often resulted in a failure to consider the intersection between the law and social attitudes. This paper evaluates the social and cultural responses to homicide by a qualitative and quantitative assessment of the narratives presented by the jurors at the fourteenth-century coroners' inquests. The late Middle Ages is a significant point in the history of homicide in England because the separate crimes of murder and manslaughter did not exist in law. These two crimes had existed previously, disappearing in the twelfth century due to the state's new monopoly on prosecution. This removed the custom of compensation between families. Subsequently, until 1512, all types of homicide were punishable by death. This paper reveals that despite the absence of a legal distinction, the difference between 'cold', premeditated murder and 'hot', reactive slaying was part of the social consciousness. The main finding is that the presentation of homicide was highly gendered, with jurors justifying, excusing, explaining, or even condemning male defendants, while remaining comparatively silent on female violence.

Sophie Michell (Open University): "Formidable Forces of Muscle and Lungs": People and Places at the Nineteenth Century Inquest

The nineteenth century inquest in England took place within a rich social milieu. Theoretically, the inquest was a public affair. Often held in pubs, and usually well-attended, the coroner's court was a democratic forum where anybody with information about the death in question could speak. Inquests were ordinarily held soon after death, when witness testimony was fresh and unrehearsed. They were convened in the same parish as the death, sometimes on the same street, so they could be observed by the deceased's family, friends, and neighbours. The jurors were called from the same area. Inquests were, therefore, rooted in the deceased's community, and that community demanded access, and answers.

This paper will examine the connections between place, community, and justice at inquests in the Liberty of Peterborough across the second half of the nineteenth century. Although more than half of all inquests in Peterborough were held in licensed premises, other sites were available, and the choice of inquest site was the coroners alone. The community could exhibit strong and public emotional responses to shocking death, if they could access the inquest. By choosing to hold an inquest in a less public space – including private homes, board rooms and judicial spaces - the coroner could restrict the community's access to this preliminary court of justice. This paper will explore the use of these restrictions, and their potential to limit the voices heard at inquest and shift the narrative of death.

Alison Pedley (Roehampton University): 'Wilful Murder is the blackest of verdicts': Maternal child murder and the coroner's court in Victorian England and Wales.

In the cases of infanticide or child murder, the ultimate aim of a coroner's enquiry was to investigate any suspicious circumstances surrounding the death. The purpose was to produce an indictment to send an accused mother on to a higher court for a criminal trial by jury. In most cases, the inquest was the first official procedure to be faced by an accused mother and the verdict of the coroner's court impacted significantly on the future course of her life. It was at this investigative stage that the first questions about a woman's sanity often arose and discussions about her and her family's mental health. The coroner's court was a place of emotional interactions between all parties, from the accused mothers through to the coroners themselves. In many cases, more especially in smaller communities, the family of the victim and mother would be known to the jury members and that acquaintance could impact on the final verdict. Witness depositions can give the minutiae of

ordinary lives and record complex reactions of those involved in a case. They can afford us access to personal opinion and thoughts about the circumstances of the crime, its child victim and the alleged perpetrator. In cases of maternal child-murder, the emotional reactions, of all parties in court, had an impact the results of an inquest. In this paper I demonstrate how local knowledge, together with social and personal preconceptions, could prejudice and affect inquest verdicts.

Gender

Chair: Shannon Devlin

Jessica Meyer (University of Leeds): The Return of the Soldier: Recentring Conceptions of the British First World War Ex-serviceman in the Home

The social history of the First World War in Britain has long focussed on its status as a conflict of mass military mobilisation. While many histories have focussed on the military identities of servicemen as soldiers, a significant development in the recent historiography emphasises the continuing importance of civilian identity to those who served. Whether through the maintenance of familial contacts or the persistence civil structures in the organisation of service units, the civilian aspect of the citizen soldier is increasingly understood as a key component men's wartime experience.

The dominance of military identity has also tended to be central to histories of the war's aftermath. From political organisation to battlefield tourism, disabled bodies to the place of the First World War veteran in public history, studies have examined the significance of military identities of men after the war. This paper asks, however, how it might affect our understanding of the social and emotional legacy of the war if we consider the demobilization and reintegration of servicemen through the lens of the family as primary site of post-war male identity. Using a feminist lens suggested by Rebecca West's classic war novel The Return of the Soldier (1918) and drawing on both pension records and personal narratives, this paper will suggest that the legacy of the First World War in Britain can only fully understood when we view those who served, particularly those who returned from war, as men, with multiple masculine identities, rather than simply as former soldiers.

Mandy Barrie (University of Greenwich): First World War women munition workers – unwitting agents or change agents?

In 1917, 60 ,000 women were employed at the Royal Arsenal Ordinance Factory in Woolwich and surrounding ordinance factories, despite an initially reluctant government and a consistently hostile male workforce. Woolwich from the 1880s had an active and diverse range of women's organisations where the Women's Co-operative Guild, in particular but not alone, had local power and influence. Yet these local groups stood separate from the women munitions' workers. This paper explores what this reveals about the complex hierarchy of interest/association connected with the women's movement at the local level in Woolwich S.E. London. It further looks at how women munitions' workers were cited, compellingly, to make the case for enfranchisement resulting in votes for some women in 1918 but not for most munitions' workers.

Women munitions workers were hailed by the government during the war years yet, these women never received equal pay with men. Women's organisations conceded from the outset that the munitions' women would 'give men back' their jobs at the end of the war. Locally, the women's movement, focussed primarily on welfare and war relief work, did not consider the particular issues facing munitions' workers within their purview.

Building on the Gramscian concept of cultural hegemony, this paper explores the gendered hegemony which characterised the movement in the First World War years. It raises the question of whether working-class women munitions' workers were exploited by the State, trades' unions and even the leadership of the women's movement at the national level. Or, whether a review of the prima facie evidence shows that were they in fact very much in charge of their own destiny?

Activism, health, welfare, and support networks in early and mid-twentieth-century England

Chair Linsey Robb

Anna Muggeridge, University of Worcester, with Ruth Davidson (University of London): Local welfare states? Suffrage and women's welfare activism in Croydon and Worcester, 1900-48

The first half of the twentieth century saw significant expansion in women's political rights, and in the welfare state in Britain. Reform Acts in 1918 and 1928 gave first some, then all, women the right to vote in general elections, while their participation in local government, which had begun in the nineteenth century, continued to expand. The history of welfare in Britain often focusses on the national, and the partisan and ideational impulses behind the development of welfare practice. Yet, before the introduction of the 'welfare state' there was a mixed economy of welfare with much initiated, managed and provided locally by municipal authorities and voluntary organisations. Furthermore, with national legislation often permissive, local socio-economic, cultural and political contexts were significant factors in the shape and generosity of services provided.

Historians have argued, using qualitative research, for the positive impact of women's participation in local government on the provision of local welfare services. Our research seeks to quantify these assertions. Through a detailed analysis of local council minute books and the voting records of two contrasting municipal councils—Croydon and Worcester—in England we seek to establish whether there is a statistically significant correlation between the number of women on council committees (elected and co-opted) and the number of welfare measures adopted. This paper will present indicative findings from our early research, revealing new areas and methodologies for scholars of female activism and the welfare state.

Peter Jones (London South Bank University): Habitus and social capital: public health in interwar Bermondsey

Elizabeth Lebas has suggested that in interwar Bermondsey there was "a project to formalise working-class political life whose strategies of integration were shifting away from relations of labour towards an urban containment defined by suffrage and municipal power." Public health policy, it will be argued here, was central to this project. Policy was developed within the distinctive political culture of the Independent Labour Party and administered by an energetic public health department whose ethos matched that of the politicians. Governance was achieved within boundaries firmly enforced both by central government and the population of the borough. These policies engaged with changing long established habits, the consumption of alcohol, the wearing of second-hand clothes, the shutting at night of windows in over-crowded rooms. They were also conceived as part of a wider program which attempted to elevate individuals to achieve a higher sense of their citizenship and humanity. This paper will examine the ways in which networks and

outlooks developed within this health programme leading to the creation of a long-lasting political settlement.

Janet Weston (London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine): Regulating infectious disease in mid-20th century England.

Public health policies, designed to protect or improve the health of populations (rather than individuals), are often delivered through legislation. In Britain, as in many other places, the 20th century saw an outpouring of legislation that attempted to address the prevalence of disease and the safety of living and working environments, amongst other health-related issues.

In this paper, I will examine campaigning and policymaking surrounding one group of these public health laws: those dealing with the surveillance and reporting of infectious disease. Often controversial, these measures represented an intrusion into individual privacy and the confidential doctor-patient relationship; they also risked deterring the unwell from seeking help. At the same time, they generated valuable data and enabled steps to be taken to interrupt the spread of disease, protecting the community as a whole.

Focusing on the middle decades of the 20th century, I will consider who was involved in shaping law and policy, and, importantly, how this informed the values or morality that was expressed through legislation. What assumptions and beliefs were revealed by these laws and the debates surrounding them, about who was included as a citizen or expert, where responsibility for health might lie, and what an acceptable solution to shared problems would look like? What might this tell us about health, citizenship, and governance in mid-century Britain – and the underlying ethics of public health itself?

Bodies, institutions, and control

Chair: Rachel Bright

Emma Bradley (King's College London): '"Remember we are praying for you" is more than a promise': The conceptualisation of unmarried motherhood in The Salvation Army's Mother and Baby Homes

This paper explores conceptualisations in The Salvation Army's publications and records of unmarried mothers residing in twentieth-century Mother and Baby Homes. The Homes were architectural spaces of containment to house unmarried mothers before and after birth. Based on an array of primary sources in The Salvation Army archives, including the Army's orders and regulations of Women's Social Work, case books, and The Deliverer (the Army newspaper outlining the work of women Salvationists), I demonstrate that the Army's narrative of unmarried mothers residing in their Homes propagates a 'saviour' arc, whereby their Homes provide a means of achieving the ideal of future married motherhood. The Army's descriptions of unmarried mothers demonstrate some concern around their ages, and trepidation toward the wellbeing of their children as 'future citizens', but their records and publications also emphasise and perpetuate contemporaneous stereotypes surrounding illegitimate pregnancy. Addressing and critiquing recent work by Pat Thane, Tanya Evans and Ofra Koffman, my paper contributes new insights and data into existing historiographies

of gender, sexuality, and the welfare state in twentieth-century Britain. Further, I bring to light evidence in support of continued faith-based philanthropy in post-war England particularly in cases of illegitimate maternity care.

Elena Ghiggino (Edge Hill University): 'Toby the Begging Imposter' - Genuine and Fraudulent Disability claims among ethnic minorities in the Late Georgian Era

This paper will consider contemporary Georgian responses to those who were both ethnically diverse and disabled, focusing specifically upon Black Britons. The paper will engage with the subject of genuine and fraudulent disability claims. It will consider a range of case studies including, 'Toby the begging imposter' a man who was accused of falsely exaggerating or faking his disability, in order to gain more sympathy from his contemporaries. Moreover, the paper will provide assessment on the case of Shadrack Furman, an American of African descent, who was successfully granted compensation from the British Government. Furman obtained his disabling injuries as a result of physical torture during the American War of Independence, for fighting on the British side. He was one of the very few black claimants who was successfully granted a reasonable compensation sum, highlighting the racial barriers that disabled people of colour faced during the Georgian period. Primary sources relating to the topic of the 'deserving' poor have been considered by historians, such as, Patricia Fumerton, and Paul Ocobock. Yet, not enough secondary literature has attempted to bridge the gap between the experiences of those who were black, poor and disabled. Finally, this paper will engage with the concepts of 'othering', as vagrants were regarded as the literal embodiments of 'otherness', whilst simultaneously these past individuals were racially 'othered' due to the colour of their skin.

Maria Isabel Romero-Ruiz (University of Málága): Women's Bodies and Emotions: Desertion, Illegitimacy, and the Cambridge Union Workhouse in the late Victorian period

Cambridge Union Workhouse was built a mile away from the city, surrounded by fields to avoid any interference with members of the University or with commercial life. The site was located at 81A, Milton Road, quite close to where the railway station was later built in 1845.
On many occasions the workhouse became a necessity rather than a place of temporary relief for women. At difficult times because of unemployment or because of the need for medical assistance in cases of illness (venereal disease) or pregnancy, the workhouse represented the only possibility for survival for many women, among whom there were many prostitutes. Also, single mothers or deserted mothers got a foothold in the workhouse as they were provided with help and support when they found themselves and their children with no other place to go.
Illegitimate births provoked disapproval among overseers and boards of guardians as single mothers were considered 'fallen women' and the personification of immorality. Unions were allowed to seek affiliation orders against the fathers of illegitimate children being beneficiaries of poor relief within their walls. Also, abandoned wives and mothers were an important part of the workhouse population. There are several examples of cases of this kind in the archives of the Cambridge Poor-Law Union.
Therefore, the aim of this paper is to prove that Victorian poor women resorted to the workhouse in

situations of vulnerability and precarity because of their condition as ‘fallen’ and because of men’s lack of responsibility towards their wives and children. As a consequence, their bodies and emotions were just carriers of stigma. In this sense, the Cambridge Poor Law Union was an example of an institution in Cambridge that formed part of the city’s architecture of containment of immorality and of working-class women’s makeshift economy in the last decades of the nineteenth century.

Parallel Panel 4 – 1415-1545

Transcending Gendered Binaries

Chair: Louise Bell

Clare Tebbutt (Trinity College Dublin): Difficult Subject - how to write a queer history of someone who makes for an uneasy antecedent?

This paper is about [Joan Coning] – who twice received press coverage in the 1930s – and the question how trying to do justice to the various facets of their identity speaks to history’s relevance in current struggles against racism and for trans rights.
In June 1937 newspapers covered the court case of Coning (20) and Ruth Barker (25), reporting that the two were charged under the Perjury Act for falsifying the marriage registry when they had got married in May that year. Coning and Barker had apparently been in a relationship since at least 1933 but more recently Coning had announced that he was not a woman, as had previously been believed, but was a man called Lionel Dhinji, and was in fact Indian.
In 1939 Coning appeared in the papers again – a fleeting mention, with no reference to the 1937 court case – to report that Coning had married Rev. C. W. Rawson (52).
Coning’s insistent sense of self as man in 1937 resonates with transgender narratives, and fits with other 1930s press accounts of people receiving gender-affirming surgery. But how does subsequently entering into a seemingly heterosexual marriage to a vicar fit into this framework? Is this a detransition narrative? Or are the categories of the present especially limited here in their ability to describe Coning’s gender or sexuality? The question of what name(s) and pronoun(s) to use is similarly unclear. What to make of the elision between gendered and raced identities in Coning’s Orientalist invention of ‘Lionel Dhinji’?

Heather Sadiq (University of Sheffield): Why historians should supplement the history of drag in entertainment with the histories of gender and sexuality: An examination of popular 1950s and 1960s films featuring drag.

When film critic C. A. Lejeune stormed out of Some Like It Hot (1959), she declared, ‘The painted girl-boys struck me as so ugly, the mixture of machine-gun bloodbath and female impersonation so intolerable… that I slipped out of the theatre by a side exit, leaving the end to nerves stronger than mine’ (The Guardian, 17 May 1959, p.19). Lejeune’s reaction was unique. Men wearing drag had been a staple of entertainment in Britain for decades, and was generally met by laughter, indifference, or haughty eye-rolls. Yet Some Like It Hot's drag disturbed Lejeune deeply. What was it about these ‘ugly’ ‘painted-girl boys’ that drove Lejeune from the theatre?

To understand Lejeune’s reaction, an awareness of historical British concepts and debates around gender and sexuality is necessary. This awareness shows Lejeune’s disgust was rooted in a long-held societal aversion to men who gender crossed as attractive women outside of performance on account of their suspected sexual behaviour with men. Current methodologies for investigating drag

in entertainment may miss this nuance. Although often considering landmarks in the history of sexuality, historians of drag entertainment in Britain often fail to sufficiently examine milestones in gender history, and the wider social and cultural language, concepts, and discourses around gender and sexuality that helped define how drag performances were read historically. This paper proposes a revision of these methodologies. Using a selection of films popular in Britain in the 1950s and 1960s as a case study, this paper demonstrates that a knowledge of contemporary debates around gender and sexual 'minorities' and ‘deviants’, including trans women and homosexuals, can provide a more enlightened understanding of how drag performances were viewed in terms of gender and sexuality.

Reframing and reshaping social place in historic space: Health, wellbeing, and the embodied experience.

Chair: Laura Hampden

Claudia Soares (Newcastle University): Affective environments: migration, place, and emotion in the long nineteenth century

Increasingly, within a well-saturated field of migration history, different forms of emigrant writing have been used to excavate the world and experiences of travellers and settlers to better understand their experiences of mobility, adaptation, and their ties and attachments to family and home. This paper centres ideas of the lived environment and the affective in its examination of accounts of mobility and migration in the long nineteenth century. Using personal journals, private correspondence, and a range of published accounts in periodicals, this paper first provides a social geography of migration experience, focusing on how liminal environments associated with the journey were lived in and experienced on a day-to-day basis. This analysis offers a window into a microcosmic society from the perspective of under-represented and marginalised groups within the surviving body of emigrant writings, particularly children, ordinary (rather than skilled) labourers, and the poor. Second, the paper considers the affective quality of the natural environment on these migrants’ experiences, emotions, and wellbeing both during the process of migrating and during the periods of adaptation and settling. In doing so, the paper argues that the environmental was fundamental in shaping the imaginings and experiences of this group. By focusing on ideas about environment, climate, atmosphere, and crucially their entanglement with emotion and affect we are afforded fresh insights that can enrich our understanding about the meanings that migrants assigned to their experiences.

Mari Takayanagi (UK Parliamentary Archives): Necessary Women: Living and working in the Palace of Westminster

At 2AM on 15 December 1901, Eliza Arscot, House of Lords Principal Housemaid, was found outside in the courtyards of the Palace of Westminster, ringing staff doorbells and refusing to return to her quarters. It was feared she had lost her reason and the following day she was removed to the local workhouse, as officials pondered how to deal with a 'pauper lunatic' in a royal palace. She was sent on to Hanwell asylum, remaining there until her death in 1933.

It is not well-known that many households comprising dozens of residents - high-ranking officers, lowly servants like Eliza Arscot, and family members - lived in one of the most important heritage buildings in the world, the Palace of Westminster, from earliest times until the 1940s. This small community in its unique political workplace lived cooped up in a mixture of grand residences and tiny, squalid rooms, their personal tragedies and travails played out and amplified amongst the Victorian gothic grandeur of Charles Barry's Palace of Westminster. This paper will explore some of

the previously unknown 'necessary women' employees living in the underbelly of Parliament in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, including Eliza Arscot; Charlotte Bladon, who gave birth to four children in cramped and overcrowded conditions onsite while suffering domestic abuse; and Amelia de Laney, who attracted international press attention for her battle with the Treasury over 'the small matter of the housemaid's bed'. Themes recurring over generations include Parliamentary families, mental illness, and endless squabbles over spaces and furniture.

Amelia Doherty (University of York): Dowries, Debts, Politics and Piety: Marriage and The English Nobility, 1630-1670

In 1664, Margaret Cavendish published the Sociable Letters, a satirical series of fictional letters exploring life among the gentry and nobility. Cavendish grew up in a world where her primary aim was to marry, to provide an heir, and to raise her children, but she was also a writer in her own right. Using the Sociable Letters as a starting point, this paper plots the experiences of noble Englishmen in determining how, and why, people married. It shows the links between the economic need for stability, the role of women, notions of fertility, the religious notion of 'divine love', and the universal emotion of love and desire. Rather than experiencing economics and emotions in two separate vacuums, this paper determines that they were so deeply intertwined you cannot study one without the other. What was found was that there was more choice and a greater emotional complexity of marital relations than historiography originally anticipated, providing us with insight into how courtship among nobility was as much personal as it was political. This helped establish that women in particular had a greater reach into controlling their own autonomy and acted as not only objects of exchange in the marriage market but as active consumers and advisors. By presenting marriage as a communal affair, we can use it as an exploration of wider family relations, and how economics and religion were both exercised within the realms of emotional support and companionship.

Reclaiming Histories of Invisible Peoples

Chair: Jessamy Carlson

Peter Wood (Birkbeck): Invisible: Women and Homelessness in Britain 1945 - 1979

For the first two decades of the welfare state homelessness was largely invisible. Family homelessness was an occasional topic of political and media concern but single person homelessness was almost entirely unseen, caught between a romanticised image of the historical figure of the vagrant and a new and baffling figure of the homeless rough sleeper. In the early 1970s this began to change, with more attention paid to destitute single people using Reception Centres and hostels or sleeping rough. But these single people were almost entirely men. Women rarely feature in discussions of the time. Services for destitute homeless men were limited; services for destitute homeless women were close to non-existent. Perversely it was argued that there were no services because women were not homeless, although the only way the state could find out how many people were homeless was precisely by counting those using such services.

How did homelessness come to be seen as a problem among men but not among women? What can we say about homelessness among women at this time? How did the eventual understanding of homelessness among women challenge other established notions of homelessness? Did invisible homeless women become visible?

Meg Foster (Cambridge University): Rethinking Social Banditry: New Histories of Bushranging in Australia

Bushrangers are national icons. Australians know these bandits who roamed and robbed in the bush from folklore and popular culture, merchandise and films and songs. And although a couple of hundred years separates real bushrangers from their likeness in the present day, historians usually start their research from the same point—they begin with bushrangers' popularity.

The most common framework that historians use to understand bushranging is that of 'social banditry'. By looking at a bushranger's popularity with their supporters, historians seek to use these men to understand the social group to which bushrangers belonged and the world of which they were a part. Although this method can be useful, it can also conceal more than it reveals about the colonial past.

The 'social bandit' model overlooks bushrangers who did not receive support from white settlers. There were 'other' bushrangers, who were not white men, and who did not receive support from colonists as a result. Using the lives of Aboriginal, African-American, Chinese and female bushrangers in Australia, this paper explores the silences endemic in social banditry as it is applied to Australian bushranging. Although exploring the origins and development of bushranging in popular mythology is important, this framework privileges white colonists' perspectives. The nation's archives were created by settlers and enshrined their ideas, and so the 'public opinion' that social banditry refers to is that of the white, colonial public. Colonial ideas of difference continue to shape ideas about bushranging and social banditry. They influence who we believe garnered popular support and by extension, who warrants our attention, remembrance and understanding. Decolonising history requires us to see the myopic lens of social banditry in settler colonial contexts so that we can push beyond it.

Emily Green (Exeter University): The Motherhood of Stolen Goods

American Organised crime discourse has long refused to grant women a central role in the narrative. The importance of women has been incredibly understated, yet it is considered how perceptions of organised crime were shaped by societal circumstances. This can be used to revisit the inclusion of women in American organised crime historiography, starting with the person who arguably validated the existence of syndicated criminal activity on American soil.

Fredericka Mandelbaum, a German-Jewish immigrant, defied gendered expectations to run one of the most successful criminal enterprises in US History. Not only did Mandelbaum succeed in spite of her gender, but because of it. Unlike contemporary society, the crime world did not place the same boundaries on gender, and womanhood could be utilised. Mandelbaum rose through the ranks by exploiting the biggest gender role for women in the nineteenth century, being a mother.

Unfortunately for Mandelbaum, the same traits that assisted in her rise to power were also crucial to her downfall. Despite her Jewish heritage, which would have been the focus of most prosecutions, it was the fact she was a woman committing crime, and being successful at it, that shocked the crowds. After fleeing the USA, Mandelbaum almost entirely vanished from public memory. My proposed paper will use Fredericka Mandelbaum to reconstruct ideas of early American organised crime, and to also develop wider conversations surrounding gender and crime, demonstrating the contentious position of women in nineteenth-century USA.

Nailya Shamgunova (London School of Economics): Remembering Arsinoë IV in early modern England.

Arsinoë IV, self-proclaimed Queen of Egypt and younger sister of Cleopatra VII, was one of the key characters in the war between Rome and Egypt. In an alliance with her mentor and general, the eunuch Ganymedes, she won military victories over Caesar himself, one of which forced him to

physically swim without armour back to his ships. And yet, the woman who is remembered as the romantic heroine of the age is the sister who consorted with the enemy, not the one who won military battles against him. This paper looks at the afterlives of Arsinoë in early modern English print, both in historical narratives and literary representations. Early modern English readers were exposed to a plethora of texts mentioning Arsinoë, her eunuch general and her victories. Her story is symbolic of deviant gendered power and is steeped in transgression - she won military victories, her eunuch ally, instead of exemplifying effeminacy and luxury, was a successful military commander, even his name was an early modern English keyword for a passive male partner in sodomitical acts. This paper contextualises early modern memory of Arsinoë in the developing discourses of Egypt in early modern England and Scotland, recently studied by Tom Tyson, and in the developing images and mythologies of Cleopatra in this period, explored in scholarship by Yasmin Arshad. The early modern period is crucial for the development of the mythos of Cleopatra, but early modern texts had ample historical information about Arsinoë. The ultimate question this paper addresses is why Arsinoë, whose story of defiance, military victories and eventual defeat is rich in tragic imagery, was overshadowed by her sister in death, in this crucial period for the development of the cultural memory of Cleopatra. The paper proposes that the perceived gender deviancy of Arsinoë's cause, coupled with her early military successes, were at the root of her eventual historical and cultural side-lining.

Money, Debt, and Taxes in Eighteenth-Century Britain

Chair: Naomi Tadmor

Philip Winterbottom (Institute of Historical Research): ‘Received by draft on ourselves per post’: Personal Banking in London, 1730-1780

The story of the development of banking in Britain has mostly been framed as the history of banks and bankers. Yet banks could not have emerged and developed without clients whose financial needs they could meet.

The paper will identify trends over time in both the composition of the banks’ clientele and they ways in which those clients accessed and shaped the emerging services of bankers. It will situate these findings in the context of wider social and economic trends of the period, including the development of London.

The main sources for my research are the customer account ledgers of selected London banks, primarily the ‘West End’ banks. These records are used to construct two core datasets, for the 1730s and 1780s, containing metrics at client account level for account balances, turnover and activity types, and recording in detail client borrowing and investment. The datasets are used to compare, between banks and over time, the composition of the banks’ clientele and clients’ use of bank services. Other bank records, including client correspondence, are used alongside personal papers of bank clients to investigate in more detail the nature of client-banker engagement, including the study of selected client accounts over time.

The paper will show that each bank attracted somewhat different groups of clients, yet on whole banks’ clientele expanded by the inclusion of an increasing number of the wealthier middling sort. The paper will suggest that the development of banking services was driven both by clients and by bankers.

James Fox (University of St Andrews): Numeracy, financial accounting, and debt litigation in eighteenth-century Scotland

This paper draws on the overlooked evidence of written financial accounts produced by lower- and middle-ranking people in actions of debt before burgh courts in eighteenth-century Scotland. Unlike their English counterparts, Scottish burgh courts regularly drew upon the accounts of litigants as evidence of debt. Increasingly through the eighteenth century these accounts, many of them transient, single-sheet documents, were used in all manner of daily transactions, becoming invaluable records in moments of dispute. These accounts and the legal records in which they are contained offer important insight into quotidian economic practices and the value of accounting in both law and society.

This paper argues that the eighteenth century was a key period of change in the transition from oral and object-based to written accounting practices. Yet it also identifies significant continuity in the modes of numeracy employed in the reckoning of debts and wider patterns of economic life. Despite the gradual evolution of accounting techniques, numeracy remained above all a communicative tool employed in the reckoning and recordkeeping on which bonds of trust and reciprocity were build. New accounting techniques were incorporated within, rather than disrupting, existing values and patters of economic life. These findings contribute to ongoing discussions about the importance of trust and the skills of individuals in navigating credit networks, and of the impact of the law on economic life in early modern Britain.

Robin Ganev (University of Regina): Broadside Ballads and Opposition to William Pitt's Wartime Taxation Policies

Although John Brewer's depiction of the eighteenth-century state as strong and stable is widely accepted, opposition to taxation was a factor throughout the period and bears closer examination. Among the different forms of print used to express such opposition, broadside ballads stand out for their forceful satire and emotional appeal. Balladeers were vocal under Pitt, particularly during the years of the war with France (1793-1801 and 1804-1806). Although Pitt intended to move away from commodity taxation, he found that he could not do so because of the enormous expenses incurred by this prolonged conflict. Pitt's policies had support as the war with France was very popular and reactionary politicians were successful in representing it as a patriotic and Christian war against a barbarian, atheist enemy. Nonetheless, the beginnings of the first English peace movement can be seen in this period. In this context, opposition to taxation takes on a meaning that also has implications for Britons' attitudes toward war. Balladeers condemned Pitt's taxation policy, lampooning taxes like the wig powder tax and the tea tax. They questioned not only Pitt's moral character, but his masculinity. In Simon Frith's definition of popular music, music gains popularity not because it expresses the people's view, but because it "creates the people," i.e. tell us what it means to be of the people. Ballads shared this characteristic of popular music, defining "the people" as a category that included the poor, women, and the middling sort who were contrasted with the governing class.

Speaking out: female political action from the 1880s to 1960s

Chair: Emma Bradley

Helen Sunderland (University of Oxford): 'Political feeling among some of the girls tended to run high': Schoolgirls' political cliques in England, 1880-1914

This paper explores how girlhood subcultures could cohere around political activity in the new girls' schools of late Victorian and Edwardian England. It frames middle-class girls' friendship networks as a form of political association. Some schoolgirls became friends through a shared interest in politics. Building on a growing scholarship on the social history of schooling, the paper argues that political activity was an important part of girls' everyday educational experience. Structured school political activities, like debating societies, mock elections, and school trips to parliament, were sustained by cliques of politically engaged pupils. Party allegiances could strengthen these ties or sustain rivalries. Through conversations and play, an informal – and occasionally subversive – schoolgirl political culture developed beyond teachers' gaze.

Drawing on school magazines and autobiographies, the paper delineates political girlhood as a distinct school subculture and considers how it interacted and overlapped with other schoolgirl cliques in a growing extracurricular landscape. It considers the age-based privileges of political association. The school political 'in crowd' could be intergenerational, inspired by the example of politically active teachers and former pupils. Sharper age distinctions were drawn between which girls were able to participate. The fourth-form curriculum milestone and the distinct freedoms afforded to sixth formers created new possibilities for adolescent political engagement which cemented an increasingly age-stratified school experience.

Against a backdrop of increasingly formalised routes for women's political engagement, this paper argues that schoolgirls' political activity shows the ongoing importance of informal modes of female political association at the turn of the twentieth century.

Aileen Lichtenstein (University of Glasgow/University of East Anglia): 'How long will this dangerous woman be permitted to go on?' Anarchist women's speaking tours of Britain, 1888-1903

This paper will explore the radical speaking tours of Britain by celebrated anarchist leaders Emma Goldman, Voltairine De Cleyre, and Lucy Parsons conducted between 1888 and 1903. Apart from circulating propaganda, decisions to undertake lecturing tours were usually based on invigorating support for a particular cause, to raise funds, and to mobilise old and new networks.
Research on prominent male anarchists like Errico Malatesta has demonstrated that public lectures were often well attended by diverse crowds which made them an integral part of the anarchist toolkit to reach and mobilise broad audiences. Yet, existing scholarship on women anarchist speaking tours remains rare, even though Emma Goldman, Voltairine De Cleyre and Lucy Parsons achieved great notoriety as effective radical orators in the United States by challenging misconceptions around anarchism, advancing the fight against exploitation and sexual inequality, and mobilising public opinion. In Britain, the travels of all three women were widely covered in British anarchist periodicals such as Freedom as well as the mainstream press, creating a wide

source base from which to re-create their itineraries, investigate speeches and other associated networking activities with local anarchist groups.
From this wealth of information my paper seeks to examine the leading yet overlooked roles women played in creating and mobilising anarchist networks on a transnational scale through their speaking tours, and emphasise the lasting radical momentum that emanated from their speeches in British industrial centres such as London, Leeds, or Glasgow.

Michele Santoro (University of Rome, 'Tor Vergata'): Precarious working lives in the Italian 1960s: The case study of the National Committee for Working Women

This proposal aims to understand the impact of women non-state organisations and unions activism in struggling against precarious and informal work by examining the Italian case study of the National Committee for Working Women (1962-1965).
Historical studies have shown that women experienced a significant level of precariousness even in the post-war period. Historians have also underlined the contribution made by non-profit actors to the expansion of labour and social protection in Europe.
The proposal will consider and develop this reassessment starting from two leading questions:

1) What forms of precarious work characterised women's lives and how did they address it?
2) How did precariousness affect women's access to the welfare state?

Since the 1950s, Women unions and organisations raised awareness of the inadequacy of female working conditions and social rights. They strongly questioned the economic and occupational plans issued by governments in the 1960s for neglecting legislative interventions against female labour instability.
The establishment of the National Committee at the Ministry of Labour in 1962 can be considered as a direct result of women demanding an improvement to their work and social welfare rights. The National Committee signified a momentum where female working issues gained legitimacy within high politics and other male-dominated institutions.
The proposal draws on the archival sources of the Committee and the Ministry of Labour.
The Committee represents an important case study to understand the impact of precarious work on women's lives and the attempt made by women's union and association to overcome it in the Italian 1960s.

Travel and Anxieties Over the Body

Chair: Maria Isabel Romero-Ruiz

Jennifer Evans (University of Hertfordshire): The dangers of travelling before travail in later seventeenth and early eighteenth-century England.

Many women in the early modern period experienced miscarriages. Medical literature printed throughout the era warned that these spontaneous abortions could be caused by a range of internal and external factors, including sneezing, thunderstorms and even the scent of blown out candle. Outside of medical literature men and women noted that women's losses were brought on by frights and physical assault. However, recipe books and letters also suggest that travel was perceived as a particular threat to the pregnant body, and travelling before you had reached childbirth was likely to

cause a miscarriage. While some women were able to remain a home and rest during their pregnancy, the fears surround travel and the means offered in recipe books to offset these dangers remind us of the difficulties many women faced in attempting to avoid the hazards to pregnancy outlined in medical literature. The snippets of evidence that start to reveal that this particular cause of miscarriage was innately tied to feelings of self-recrimination. Travel was in essence a choice, and a loss after travelling left families questioning their decisions.

Alun Withey (University of Exeter): Dangerous Journeys: Health and Risk in Eighteenth-Century Travel Preparations

One cannot understand homecoming (and the responses it generated) without relating it to expectations of travel, and especially of the dangers it might pose. Whilst the processes, destinations and experiences of travel in this period are increasingly well known, the ways in which individuals planned and prepared both body and mind in the lead up to a journey, remain unclear.

Travel in the eighteenth century was indeed not something to be undertaken lightly. Before modern tourism, as Barbara Korte has noted, travel, whether over long or short distances, was widely viewed as dangerous, exposing individual travellers to many physical, moral and spiritual threats. In their preparations to travel, and even once underway, individuals therefore had to negotiate and evaluate known challenges (and to some extent also prepare for the unexpected) which, in turn, coloured decisions about modes of transport, destination, health, and the likelihood of returning

In recent years, much attention has focussed on the health and medical history of travel. Themes have included health tourism, the development of spa towns, health and epidemics in different geographical contexts; race, climate and disease; geohumoralism and the effects of airs, waters and places; colonial travellers and Empire, and also the sickness experiences of travellers whilst abroad. And yet, basic questions remain. How did people understand and conceptualise the risks, and especially the health risks, of travel? From where or whom did they obtain this information. How, and to what extent, did this play a part in their preparations for a journey?

One consequence of homecoming (and recovery) was to generate guidance to other travellers regarding such dangers and how best to prepare for them Drawing on a range of sources from travel and medical literature to personal records, this paper will argue that this neglected ‘before’ element of travel in fact has the potential to shed light on a wide range of factors including medicine, individual and public health, the body, race, climate and susceptibility.

Anna Harrington (University of Birmingham): In Pursuit of the Comfort Zone: Experiences of "comfort" for Britons in and en route to South Asia, c. 1757-1835

This paper investigates how Britons travelling between Britain and South Asia from 1757-1835 experienced comfort. Scholars such as Jon Stobart, Marie Odile-Bernez, and John Crowley have compellingly demonstrated that the eighteenth century witnessed not only an increasing concern for comfort, but also a shift in the meaning of comfort, whereby it came to relate to the material in addition to the emotional. In building on this body of scholarship, the paper argues that British experiences of comfort (and discomfort) in and en route to South Asia related not only to emotion and materiality, but also to the physical and sensory environment, to bodies, and to sociabilities. Indeed, it suggests that explorations of comfort in relation to those who are geographically mobile remain under-explored despite the increased emotional salience of “comfort” for Britons removed from familiar renderings of “home”, be it familial or national, physical or emotional. Drawing

primarily on letters, diaries, and journals allows the paper to consider the role of factors such as gender and ethnicity in shaping these experiences. Who is speaking about comfort (and discomfort), and how, and why? In exploring who was involved in the labour of comfort and at what cost, this paper also thinks through the politics of comfort. Ultimately, the paper will argue that exploring issues and instances of comfort can be helpful in unpicking the quotidian power dynamics at stake within Britain's empire in this first moment of increased mobility between Britain and South Asia.

New Approaches in Sensory History

Chair: Henry Irving

Nicole Bianchini (University of Sao Paulo): Visualizing tea, coffee, and chocolate in early modern Europe, 1630-1815

Caffeinated beverages have been represented in many images from the mid-seventeenth century to the turn of the nineteenth century. This paper explores this visuality through a global perspective, focusing on the connections between how Europeans represented this consumption and the historical structures of these commodity chains. In the late seventeenth century, as tea and coffee production remained under Chinese and Yemenite control and chocolate was a costly result of Spanish exploration in South America, the drinks were represented either as an exotic novelty to be consumed by the wealthy or as part of the rise of public sociability in urban centers in northwestern Europe. The inauguration of coffee plantations under European control and expanding presence in China altered the markets for both commodities and their presence in imagery. Conversation pieces gained steam as forms of family representation; they signaled a desire of these sitters to find their place in an increasingly complex world through access to materiality based on imports and knowledge of how to consume them. Images were also produced as part of broader reflections of luxury consumption's value (or lack thereof) to society and their impact on consumers' morality and social standing. By the turn of the nineteenth century, hot drinks became part of urban visual culture, especially satires, serving as material links between daily European life and the implications of consumption on a global scale. The aim will be to reflect on this imagery as material and visual representations of such links and their changes over time.

India Picton (Independent researcher): A Gut Feeling on History

A Gut Feeling on History will reflect of the understanding of the gut through time, taking inspiration from both the popular current health trend and scientific research on gut health. Within the long standing discourse between mind and body, the body as a site of knowledge and emotional production has been questioned consistently. Intuition appears as a contradiction in many ways, as it exists within the English language both completely dependent on the body and conversely, connected to a high power disconnected from a human realm. Scientific understanding of the power of the gut has long existed in early Islamic and Chinese medicine, yet reappears today as if novel. This novelty is largely due to an eradication of the power of the body in the West, which evolved in a number of early-modern and enlightenment programmes which privileged the power of the mind. This simultaneously disavows culture which understand the body as having such knowledge-producing power. Following from my existing research in a philosophical realm, I want to expand here into the social-historical dimensions of the gut feeling. Beyond noting non-western medicine, earlier forms of healing within England too are of particular note due to the 'gut feeling' being an English-speaking term. Other languages have different bodily origins for intuition; i.e. corozonada in Spanish-"of the heart" or the Russian "itch in the ass". Intuition is thus socially susceptible as

evidenced by linguistic difference. The question this paper addresses then is why is it the English language that the focus of the gut prevails? Through the gut feeling, I will explore the social origins of current contradictions surrounding the gut-feeling; the disapproval of folk medicine from modern science and the distancing of intuition from the physical body, exploring how these intermingle with the privileging and categorisation of the mind. A ‘scientistic’ medicine divides the embodied experience from the ‘objective’, and privileges the latter. Going further, it may be interesting to observe how these historic shifts are themselves a result of intuition. How much has the course of history changed where people just, go with their gut?

Timothy Cooper (University of Exeter): Heat and Light? The Sensory Politics of Britain's Great Storm of 1987

This paper presents work in progress on the Great Storm of 1987. This powerful ‘hurricane’ swept across the British Isles on 15th and 16th October 1987. Its main impact though was in the suburban South-east of England, at that time an area prospering relative to the rest of the United Kingdom and known for its suburban conservative politics. This extreme weather event thus passed through the geographical heart of the neo-liberal 'Thatcherite’ experiment to reconstitute Britain as an economy dominated by homeownership and the finance and service industries. It also occurred on the very eve of one of the first global economic crises instigated by that experiment, the Stock Market crash of Black Monday. The effects of the storm were recorded by respondents to Mass Observation in a directive issued the following winter. In this paper, I explore some aspects of the sensory impact of the storm as seen through responses to Mass Observation. I ask how the storm was experienced as a ‘sensory event’, one that both disrupted and revealed a longer history of the sensory remaking of Britain in the post-war era. I show how the sudden dislocations of the storm revealed to narrators the embodied impacts of a deeper post-war social history of a changing urban environment, in particular shifting patterns of housing, transport, and energy use. I try to reflect on what this might all mean for thinking about ‘sensory politics’ and the 'everyday environment'. The suburban south-east was supposedly the heartland of Conservative electoral dominance in this period. The Great Storm thus offers an incident that allows us to consider how sensory and embodied experiences relate to the wider framework of political and social change in late-twentieth century Britain. But it also offers a wider context in which to consider the significance of 'environmental politics' in this era. If neo-liberalisation was closely allied to a new everyday social order built on an 'energy regime' oil and gas, as some have suggested, then what was the significance of to this neo-liberal 'techno-sphere' of sudden severe external disruption by a 'natural' event?

Day 3 – Friday 7 July

Parallel Panel 5 – 0900-1030

Local Political Cultures of Transnational, International, and Global Political Issues

Chair: Andrew Walker

Stephanie Ward (Cardiff University): Black Political Worlds in Interwar Britain: Everyday Activism in International Contexts

Following the end of the First World War, immigrant men living in Britain's seaports found themselves in an increasingly precarious position. This was particularly true for men of West Indian and African descent who found opportunities for work and housing progressively more restricted. The issues men faced were intensely local in nature – for example, local councils denying unemployment benefit – but they played out within an international context. Indeed, while West Indian and African men had a right to citizenship as citizens of the British colonies, and may have served in the armed forces, the 1920 Alien Seamen's Order was used by local authorities to question their very right to remain in Britain. Organisations such as the League of Coloured People's or the Pan-African Garveyism movement could offer some support as recent research has revealed. This paper seeks to explore the many other the ways in which West Indian and African men attempted to challenge the power of the state. It looks at how individuals and groups could themselves lobby for their rights at local and national levels, as well as the support and intervention of charities and the labour movement. It uses this as a starting point to consider the meanings of everyday politics and political activism for Black citizens within a British and imperial context. Finally, the paper will explore the varied response of the labour movement and its relationship to Black British citizens.

Matthew Grant (University of Essex): Local Civil Defence, global Cold war: making meaning though associational behaviour in 1950s Britain.

In 1950s Britain, voluntary cold war Civil Defence seemed to be in a state of perpetual crisis. The number of volunteers involved was only a third of the government's target of 1.5 million, it was under attack for being an inadequate response to nuclear war, and the volunteers themselves were often criticised for being old and out of touch. Yet these problems masked the fact that Civil Defence highlights the sheer scale of mass engagement with the Cold War. Half a million people signed up to save the lives of their neighbours and contribute to the defence of the nation as a whole. Moreover, the national picture can obscure the success and vibrancy of local Civil Defence efforts. Although all groups were recruited and administered locally, they all dealt with the same global geopolitical Cold War threat – yet some local groups were considerably more successful than others. Jessica Hammett has highlighted the importance of local Civil Defence communities in the Second World War, and this paper seeks to think about the Cold War period by placing Civil Defence back into its context within local associational and politic cultures. It suggests that we need to focus both on issues related to war (perceived threat against cities versus rural areas, and any relevant legacies from the Second World War) and those relating to the character of the local area (strong links to other voluntary associations, alternative sites of voluntary leisure opportunity). In this way, it seeks to link the local group with the global Cold War, suggesting that people were able to interpret the Cold War and make new meanings through their local lived experience.

Experiences of Migration

Chair: Henry Irving

Stewart McCain (St Mary's University): Migrant Voices and Ways of Speaking in Post-War Britain: Linguistic Soundscapes and the Construction of Difference

Postcolonial migration had a transformative impact on British society in the period following the Second World War. Settlers from Britain's former colonies in the West Indies, Pakistan, India and East Africa made a new life in the country, satisfying the labour demands of post-war reconstruction and making Britain into a multi-racial society in the process.

The consequences of this change- the impact on British politics, the debates over migration control, the racism that shaped the experiences of these newcomers and the sometimes faltering efforts to move towards a multicultural polity- are well studied by historians. However, this paper seeks to explore an important lacuna, by considering responses to the changing linguistic soundscapes that these migrations brought about.

Migrant communities brought with them new ways of speaking. For some, this was a question of new 'accents', or different, global English-es. For others, particularly those from India and Pakistan, English was a second, or perhaps third language, learnt or still to be learnt alongside Hindi, Urdu, Gujarati or another tongue. These different ways of speaking have often been considered through the frame of integration. The ability to speak English was a necessary pre-requisite for integration into the British nation. However, by drawing on wide-ranging sources from the BBC archives, the National Archives, and media representations, this paper will move beyond this dichotomy between English speakers and non-English speakers, demonstrating how discussions of the way migrants spoke became a contested site in the construction British identities during the period.

Henry Holborn (Edge Hill University): Scientific Others in Britain - Psychiatry, The Asylum, and Migration

This paper engages with the scientific practice of psychiatry in early twentieth-century England. Historians have increasingly engaged with and discussed the history of psychiatry, with early pioneers such as Roy Porter setting a precedent. However, issues of migration, ethnicity, and 'race' are often neglected. During this period, eugenics was widespread and practised, particularly among scientific and political elites. Fears of migration in Britain led to the imposition of the 1905 Aliens Act, restricting migration during a moral panic. Such fears of migration were imbued with racial categorisation and developed through imperialism and colonialism. Consequently, 'racialised outsiders' were considered genetically inferior. Such policies ostracising 'aliens' were extended throughout the First World War and into the 1920s. The category of the 'pauper Alien Lunatic' emerged. Such individuals were some of the most oppressed people in British society. The paper will focus on two strands. Firstly, following a methodical analysis of the British Journal of Psychiatry and analysing its discourses around race. This builds an appreciation of how pseudo-scientific practitioners considered migrants and perceived 'outsiders'. Secondly, it will use tangible archival examples of practices towards minorities in Asylums. In doing so, it aims to unearth the neglected histories of British scientific racism, whilst giving back dignity to those who suffered at the hands of state racism.

Sha Zhou (Jinan University): The Hidden Half: Chinese Migrant Women in Britain since 1945

Men as well as women migrate throughout history. This was so with Chinese migration to Britain since 1945. Drawing upon archival documents, media publications, oral histories and my interviews with twenty-six first-generation migrant women, this paper discusses post-WWII Chinese migrant women's neglected economic contributions to migrant households and to British society as well as their endeavours in caring for family members, passing on Chinese culture, addressing gender and race-specific issues (such as social isolation, domestic abuse, language hurdles, discrimination and marginalisation at the workplace), and promoting the well-being of Chinese in Britain. I argue, against stereotypical views and everyday challenges, many Chinese migrant women exercised their agency in dealing with race and gender-specific issues. This paper expands our understanding of migration, gender, and race in contemporary Britain as well as of specific challenges faced by Chinese overseas, specifically the challenges facing women migrants in post-war Britain.

Transforming Sites and Sights: Industry, identity, and sustainability in heritage-led regeneration.

Chair: Timothy Cooper

Tosh Warwick (University of Sheffield): After the works: saving and sharing the history and heritage of Teesside's steel industry.

In 1907, Lady Florence Bell published the 'At the Works: a study of a manufacturing town' social survey based on the iron and steel works and industrial communities of Middlesbrough and the surrounding district. Over a century on, the region is going through a period of transformative change through the demolition of the Teesside Steelworks that has brought with it the end of the manufacturing industry that has defined the region since the Victorian era. The loss of the works has brought many detractions, disagreements and proposed developments around both the future and past of the steelworks site, creating both one of the most rewarding and difficult environments for historians of the area's industrial past to study and tell the stories of the manufacturing centre just as Bell attempted over a century earlier.

This paper turns attention to the ongoing history and heritage projects to save, share and make sustainable the social history and heritage of Teesside's steel heritage as the last of the major icons of the site disappear from the skyline forever. Through collaborative working with the regional mayoral combined authority, archives, heritage partners, museums and, crucially, the local community, the paper will reveal the challenges, opportunities and the methods used in collecting and sharing the history and stories of an industry and its communities so pivotal to the area's history and future generation's sense of place.

Vanessa Toulmin (University of Sheffield): "The Naples of the North" and the "Eden of the North": Morecambe Winter Gardens, the historian and heritage-led regeneration

In January 2023, it was announced that Morecambe had been successful in securing £50m Levelling Up Fund UK Government support for the Eden Project North. The game-changing development promises to transform the North West seaside resort once dubbed "The Naples of the North" and help reverse decades of decline and dereliction by bringing flagship ecotourism to the area alongside rich entertainment and heritage assets, including the Morecambe Winter Gardens dating back to

1897.

This paper outlines the rich cultural and social history of the Morecambe Winter Gardens before turning attention to the ways in which historical research and academic engagement beyond the academy has helped lead the heritage-led sustainable regeneration of this key heritage asset that promises to be an important historic asset juxtapositioned with the ecotourism offer located directly opposite the historic venue. In doing so, the paper will suggest benefits and challenges of historians taking their research and practice into the historical spaces and places and considers the role academics can play in heritage-led regeneration.

Social and Legal 'problems' of the 20th century

Chair: Samantha Woodward

Jessamy Carlson (Essex University): The betterment of society? Truancy, the Education Act, and the Approved Schools

The Education Act (1944) and the Children's Act (1948) aligned in such a way that children could be, and indeed, were, removed from their parents if they failed to attend school. In the aftermath of the Second World War, and mass evacuation, where children of all classes and backgrounds were the subject of state intervention in family life, this paper considers what can be learnt about this formative period in through the records of and about approved schools.

Approved schools operated in England and Wales between 1933 and 1973, acting as a final port of call for children "in trouble". Our understanding of these institutions is largely rooted in the experience of boys, and of older girls, as the majority of children in the care of the approved schools were boys, and where girls do feature, work primarily focuses attention on the older girls.

This paper considers the experiences of the youngest children in the approved schools, drawing on examples taken from the admissions records of the Princess Mary Village Homes on Addlestone. Through examining original records pertaining to the school and the children concerned, this paper will explore the circumstances which lead to their admission to the school and demonstrate how tenets of the Education Act were used to police family life during this period.

Kate Errington (Birkbeck and LSHTM): Foetal Alcohol Syndrome in the UK: A Case Study of a Spirited Crusade (1973-1985)

Drinking alcohol during pregnancy is considered somewhat of a taboo today, but this wasn't always the case. Foetal alcohol syndrome (FAS) was first discussed in The Lancet in 1973, and whilst some countries were quick to adopt prohibitive antenatal guidance, the UK was much slower in advising women to suspend their alcohol consumption during pregnancy. Instead, health authorities advocated moderation. In response, the "All Faiths World Alcohol Project" campaigned to change public health guidance.

Using previously unseen archival materials, this paper provides a case study for one UK organisation that sought to increase national attention on the effects of alcohol during pregnancy. Deviating from official healthcare channels and guidance, this paper will highlight the controversial strategies that the organisation adopted to influence change in UK alcohol policy. It will describe some of the barriers the organisation faced when challenging dominant medical authorities and narratives, and - despite its unconventional means - succeeded in raising the profile of FAS in the UK.

Charlie Lynch (Ulster University): The Barbour Scandal: Class, Religion and Policing Homosex in 1950s Northern Ireland

This paper explores the policing of male homosexuality in Northern Ireland in the 1950s, a period which has until recently been little understood by Irish historians. Ongoing research involves the excavation of previously unused legal sources. Primarily, these are depositions which have been preserved by the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI). They have gradually been revealing a complex undergrowth of hidden experiences and encounters. This paper explores one such case and uses it to tease out some of the idiosyncrasies of the Northern Irish experience. In December 1952, a man described as a 'fashion supervisor' stood trial in Lisburn, where the prosecution used the testimony of two nineteen-year-old soldiers who had previously been discovered by military authorities. Although it was not immediately apparent from the depositions, this episode was part of a forgotten and partly suppressed local scandal which implicated two socially elite men, one of whom was a member of a prominent local family. Their desires connected them to a subterranean urban world of cross class encounters and sex for sale on the streets of Belfast, but their social status and political connections allowed them to escape legal consequences. Similarly, some of the more conspicuous homosexual men living in Northern Ireland in the 1950s and 1960s were connected to the ruling unionist elite and appear to have not been troubled unduly by legal censure. Even though the police became more ferocious in their pursuit of homosexuals, upper- and middle-class men rarely appeared in prosecutions. Therefore, this paper examines the influence of political power structures and of class ideology upon the policing of sexualities, as well as queer experiences beyond the metropolis.

Women in the 20th century

Chair: Janet Weston

Caitlín Smith (Ulster University): 'Something of which we should be ashamed': maternal mortality rates in Belfast during the twentieth century.

Despite the gradual reduction of maternal mortality rates in many countries during the first half of the twentieth century, maternal mortality rates in Belfast remained stubbornly high well into the 1930s. Mr S Kyle, Labour MP for Belfast North, argued in 1929 that 'it is four times as dangerous to become a mother in Ireland as it is to work in the mines of Great Britain.' This paper will discuss the causes of high maternal mortality in Belfast, and why rates of mortality remained high despite the advancement of medical knowledge and the medicalisation of childbirth during the twentieth century. Like many aspects of women's history, these women left little records of their own; therefore, sources such as investigations into maternal mortality, government records, as well as hospital records will be used in this paper to discuss the medical issues faced by mothers in Belfast. It will consider why women's health was not a priority for the male dominated government that had been established in Northern Ireland, and whether this put mothers in Belfast at a disadvantage compared to cities in Britain and Ireland.

Linda Hutton (University of Wolverhampton): Using the 1921 census and First World War Pension Records to research Barnsley War Widows

British women widowed during the First World War did not all remarry. Andrea Hetherington noted that women were encouraged by the British government to remarry by the provision of a generous grant in the place of their pension. Using pension records cards and ledgers, which were saved from destruction by the Western Front Association and are now available online to their members, and the recently released 1921 census, together with other military and genealogical sources, this microstudy will show that a range of alternative paths were followed by Barnsley war widows. Although many did remarry some remained single for the rest of their lives, whether those were short or long. This paper shows how these newly available sources can be used to examine a 100 year old question, investigating the ways our female ancestors reacted to their changed status after the Great War. These results may challenge preconceived perceptions that all widows remarried. This paper is based on ongoing research into a sample of Barnsley born men who lost their lives in the First World War - it remains to be seen whether the patterns uncovered in Barnsley can be generalised to other towns or cities in Britain.
This researcher is a third year part-time PhD student, and experienced speaker with extensive knowledge in the fields of local, family and military history in Barnsley, with a particular emphasis on commemoration and remembrance of the First World War.

Honor Morris (Kings' College London): Growing older during women's liberation: The experiences of older working-class women during second wave feminism.

This paper focuses on the experiences of working-class women in, or nearing, retirement, in the period of second wave feminism (c.1968-1983) and the extent to which they were impacted by emerging concepts of women's rights, autonomy and independence. It suggests that even if they were not directly engaging with these ideas, their attitudes towards them can reveal the extent that the long 1970s laid foundations for paradigm shifts in expectations of womanhood across the generations. Born in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, the conditions within which older women had formed their class and gender identity was in contrast to that of the working-class women in young adulthood during this period. This paper explores the impact that this contextual difference in experience had on understandings of womanhood, with a focus on the understanding, and absorption, of feminist ideas. This paper is based on research undertaken for my doctorate which uses a a 'slice history' of the period of second wave feminism to consider how it was experienced by different generations. It contrasts with the emphasis of current scholarship which focuses on the experiences of young women during the long 1970s and expands the scope of investigation in women's history in this period.

Work, Education, and Social Change

Chair: Tyler Rainford

Robert Lake (Douglas College): 'Prestige Politics' and Elitism: Consequences of the 'Massification' of Higher Education in the Global North, 1945 onwards?

Presently, elitism in higher education (HE) is understood as a by-product of class dynamics and exclusive practices that impact educational opportunities, alongside often unspoken assumptions about connections between institutional prestige and scholarship quality. Myths have persisted throughout history that those from 'elite' universities are better scholars and therefore more worthy of our attention and more deserving of a platform to disseminate their work. However, elitist ideology necessarily excludes those less privileged and overlooks underlying structural issues that can limit opportunities to attain positions in these institutions – as students or faculty – thereby reaffirming by consequence other prejudices like sexism and racism. What are the historical roots of these intersectional dynamics, and of the assumed connections between elitism and prestige in HE? Drawing on preliminary archival research, the following questions are addressed: What consequences came from post-war political developments aimed at 'opening up' HE opportunities to a more diverse student body, notably in the US, the National Defence Education Act (1958) and the Higher Education Act (1965), and in the UK, the Robbins Report (1963) and the Further & Higher Education Act (1992)? In what ways did the creation of public/community colleges and the upgrading of institutions (e.g. Polytechnics) to university status lead to the creation of new hierarchies replacing old ones? Moreover, amid academic fields being diluted and the status of 'elite' universities becoming less secure, what role did faculty play: as active agents or bystanders? Answering these questions will help to understand the stubborn persistence of elitism in HE.

Eve Pennington (University of Manchester): 'I did learn that you can make a home anywhere': Young Women's Construction of Home, Identity, and Memory in Runcorn New Town, c.1976-1989

This paper explores young women's fluid and contradictory experiences of 'home' in late-twentieth-century Britain, using Runcorn new town as a case study to highlight the relationship between shifting versions of 'home' and 'self'. Existing historical scholarship on British new towns foregrounds the London overspill towns, privileges the perspectives of male policymakers and planners, or defines 'home' in terms of nuclear families and consumption. Instead, this paper explains how young women living in a north-west new town understood 'home' as a formative site of self-discovery and coming-of age. Runcorn was designated as a new town in 1964 to provide housing and employment for affluent working-class families from nearby North Merseyside. The paper draws on original oral history interviews with two women who moved to Runcorn as young adults during the 1970s and 1980s. Using a life history methodology, the paper explains how their construction of 'home' was mediated by their experiences of poverty and affluence, race and place, family and friendships, and age and life cycle. 'Home' was a site of economic hardship, restrictive gender roles, and isolation. Yet it was also a space of psychological and emotional fulfilment, individual autonomy, and newfound self-esteem. The paper broadens historical understandings of twentieth-century British 'homes' by foregrounding the memories of women who deviated from the post-war ideal of the white, affluent, nuclear family. Additionally, it complicates popular narratives of the 'residualisation' of British council estates by explaining how some women understood them as viable 'homes' through which they fashioned past and present selfhoods.

Tali Kot-Ofek (University of York): Dressing as an Expression of Citizenship: What Reactions to 1940s Clothing Regulations Can Teach Us about Everyday Citizenship in Mid-century Britain

Between 1941 and 1949, clothes rationing was in place in Britain. Alongside it, a range of regulations and propaganda campaigns framed the consumption and care of clothes as acts of good citizenship that supported the nation's purposes of first winning the Second World War and then recovering from its destructions. Mostly, citizens complied with clothing regulations. Yet, their reactions to wartime sartorial conditions revealed deeply rooted conflicts with government demands to 'make-do and mend'. Government instructions to accept shabbiness, exercise frugality and take good care of clothes conflicted with citizens' existing understanding of their roles and rights in relation to society and the state.

Using citizens' reflections about clothing regulations found in diaries, memoirs and social surveys, this paper will first excavate Britons' underlying assumptions about what it meant, sartorially, to be a citizen. It will then use this foundation to argue that the idea of sartorial citizenship transcends the bounds of austerity restrictions. Dress is an interface between individuals and society used to define group and personal identities, and is loaded with cultural, social and political meanings (Svenja Bethke and Nathalie Keigel, 2019). It can provide access to the set of normative behaviours culturally framed as good citizenship (Matthew Grant, 2016). This paper will argue that looking at everyday clothing practices and the socio-cultural interpretations of those practices is a useful tool to understand the value systems Britons in the middle decades of the twentieth century associated with the everyday rights and duties of citizenship.

Popular political discourse in England, c.1640-1700

Chair: Nailya Shamgunova

Christopher Whittell (University of Cambridge): 'Craftily, falsely and traitorously deceiving the good people of England.' The rise of coinage criminals during the English Civil Wars, 1642-49

In 1642 coinage had unquestionably been the sole prerogative of the English monarch for a thousand years. Any crimes against it, such as counterfeiting and clipping of the coin, were considered as being amongst the worst ones committed in England at the time, and thus prosecuted as high treason. However, during the English Civil War (1642-1649) the monarch's sole prerogative over the coinage was challenged en masse by many ordinary people who became coinage criminals. It will look at how this began in the early years of the civil war. That was by the gradual decline in the supply of official coinage, initially in the regions worst hit by the conflict, a situation the coinage criminals sought to take advantage of, mostly for their own subsistence at a time of hardship, although a minority did so for personal profit. It will subsequently show that despite the attempts by the authorities to curb their activities, the problem gradually consumed the whole country in the late 1640s. The cause of this was not only the eventual collapse in coinage supply, but by adverse climatic changes and its economic consequences. Finally, it will show how the sudden abolition of the monarchy and its replacement with a Republic in 1649 caused a constitutional vacuum, a situation which gave even greater advantage to the coinage criminals. This led to a new legal innovation from the new government. That was by breaking the link between monarchy and coinage for the first time in English legal history.

Murray Seccombe (Lancaster University): Who's speaking, who's listening? A corpus-assisted study of authorship and authenticity in township bills submitted to the Wakefield court leet, 1615-90

Written 'bills' of presentments were submitted to the Wakefield manorial court leet to secure legitimacy for the development and enforcement of rules governing behaviour and the management of roads and resources within local communities. This paper uses corpus linguistics techniques to explore the complexities of 'composite authorship', authenticity and rhetorical intent in the submissions of township constables. Differences in the functional literacy of writers generated considerable variation in writing style and lexical choice. The study is based on four micro-corpora created from the twice-yearly bills of two townships in Halifax parish (Stansfield and Hipperholme-cum-Brighouse), across two periods (1615-40, 1665-90).

The analysis shows that writers were pressured to express presentments in legally acceptable formulae and phraseology, not least to manage the packed agenda of the court. Variations on standard formulae and vocabulary can, therefore, be eye-catching, revealing underlying feelings and moral values, especially when communal norms were at stake. Moral stance also shaped the pragmatic intentions behind statements that had rhetorical instead of, or as well as, procedural purposes. Examples include direct addresses to the jury, statements of compliance with earlier orders and different ways of articulating 'nil' reports (omnia bene). The study seeks connections between changing forms of lexis and style and shifts in values, beliefs and political discourse during this period. It is argued that, when parsing formal records, attention to authorial identity, self-presentation and intention adds depth and nuance to our understanding of developments in local governance in early modern England.

How does it Feel? Women, Feelings, and Feminism in 1960s and 70s Britain

Chair: Charlie Lynch

Lynn Abrams (University of Glasgow): Spaces for Screaming: Creating a New Landscape of Feeling among women in 1960s and 1970s Britain.

Women liberated their feelings in the 1960s and 70s as they rejected the stoicism and self-sacrifice of their mothers' generation and embraced the 'expressive culture'. As public debate and academic discourse recognised and legitimised women's emotions, women themselves created their own spaces to find common cause, release their pent up feelings and ultimately to bring about practical changes in their lives. This story is commonly told through the prism of women's liberation but there is a pre or parallel account in which women's self-help organisations take centre stage. Through organisations like Pre-School playgroups, the National Housewives Register and other do-it-yourself groups addressing issues concerning women's physical and mental health and wellbeing, this generation found a vernacular to express how they felt and structures and spaces to convert those feelings into concrete change. I argue that this moment is a critical point in the history of post-war womanhood, when women embraced collective action based on their need for emotional legitimacy and practical solutions. In this interpretation women were their own agents of change.

Sarah Crook (University of Swansea): Visibility and Legitimacy: Mother's Feelings and Feminist Sociology in the 1970s/1980s

The index for Sue Sharpe's sociological study of the experiences of working mothers, published in 1984, contains a single, striking line for depression: 'depression, see motherhood, full-time'. Sharpe was far from alone in studying the experiences of mothers from a feminist sociological perspective, and with associating mothers' feelings with the conditions of intensive childcare. From the late 1970s mothers' accounts of distress were increasingly explored, analysed, and interpreted through a sociological lens, building upon earlier notable, if exceptional, sociological work. This was, I suggest, facilitated by the expansion of social science research during the 1960s and, most importantly, driven by the entrance of women who had been involved with women's liberation groups to the academy in the 1970s and 1980s. As Ann Oakley has said, the women's liberation movement 'swept into the world of academia a whole new set of debates and terminologies and demands.' This paper agrees with Lise Butler and other historians who have 'positioned the social sciences and social scientists not only as interpreters of the social changes of mid-twentieth century and post-war Britain, but as agents which have significantly shaped modern British politics and culture.' Feminist social scientists, I suggest, were agents championing changed policies around the cultures of childbirth and the social conditions of mothering. They developed new concepts, approaches and methods to expose, understand, and politicise mothers' feelings.

Jill Kirby (University of Sussex): Silent women sufferers: menopause in 1970s Britain

For most of the twentieth-century women's feelings about menopause were largely hidden behind a taboo that prevented discussion even with husbands, life partners, close friends, or family. Referred to through euphemisms, most commonly as 'the change' or 'change of life', it scarcely featured on the syllabus of medical schools and popular representations were almost universally negative. For many women, it was something to fear and deny.

In this paper, I will explore those feelings and unpick some of the reasons behind the taboo in 1970s Britain. I will draw on two key sources: a small collection of letters written in 1975 in response to a call for research participants for a project on attitudes towards menopause that was published in Nova magazine; and retrospective testimony from Mass Observers who experienced menopause in the 1970s, drawn from a Mass Observation directive in 1996.

Whilst the 1970s were a period of increasing women's health activism, and of feminist understandings that polarised medical interventions in menopause as either liberating or controlling, I will argue that for most ordinary women menopausal problems and their feelings about them were invisible and unacknowledged at this time. As one woman wrote, menopausal women were often simply 'silent women sufferers.' I suggest that the letters represent an attempt by a few women to counter this and break the silence and invisibility, but that such efforts did not really come to fruition until the next century.

Sue Bruley (Institute of Historical Research): Consciousness Raising: the heart of the Women's Liberation Movement in 1970s Britain

Consciousness raising (CR) was the basic organising tool of the women's liberation movement (sometimes referred to as 'the small group process'). The key idea of CR at the time was that many

women were deeply dissatisfied with their lives and sought to explore the possibilities for change through the commitment to a non-hierarchical small group. Adopting the slogan ‘the personal is political’ women sought to become political thinkers by collectively analysing their own lives and drawing out generalisations about women’s oppression and transferring their ideas into political activity. CR was about women finding a liminal space to reshape their sense of selfhood and at the same time contribute to broader social, political and gender change through developing a language of empowerment. The success of small group work was behind the huge expansion of the movement in transforming it from largely student and intellectual circles in the late 1960s to a mass movement in the 1970s which became one of the defining features of late twentieth century Britain. Historical accounts of the movement have largely focused on the formal aspects of the WLM such as demands, campaigns and ideological differences. Consciousness raising has been marginalised and misunderstood. It was often thought to be primarily aimed at training for activism in the movement. It was much more than that. CR created sisterhood which empowered the movement. By focusing on CR this paper will aim to develop the emotional aspects of the movement, drawing on narratives of pain, turmoil, rage and anger.

Parallel Panel 6 – 1100-1230

Testing Institutions: Hospitals, Humanitarianism, and Education

Chair: Georgina Brewis

Barry Doyle (University of Huddersfield): Imagining a health service without hospitals: French West Africa between the wars.

At 2AM on 15 December 1901, Eliza Arscot, House of Lords Principal Housemaid, was found outside in the courtyards of the Palace of Westminster, ringing staff doorbells and refusing to return to her quarters. It was feared she had lost her reason and the following day she was removed to the local workhouse, as officials pondered how to deal with a 'pauper lunatic' in a royal palace. She was sent on to Hanwell asylum, remaining there until her death in 1933.

It is not well-known that many households comprising dozens of residents - high-ranking officers, lowly servants like Eliza Arscot, and family members - lived in one of the most important heritage buildings in the world, the Palace of Westminster, from earliest times until the 1940s. This small community in its unique political workplace lived cooped up in a mixture of grand residences and tiny, squalid rooms, their personal tragedies and travails played out and amplified amongst the Victorian gothic grandeur of Charles Barry's Palace of Westminster. This paper will explore some of the previously unknown 'necessary women' employees living in the underbelly of Parliament in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, including Eliza Arscot; Charlotte Bladon, who gave birth to four children in cramped and overcrowded conditions onsite while suffering domestic abuse; and Amelia de Laney, who attracted international press attention for her battle with the Treasury over 'the small matter of the housemaid's bed'. Themes recurring over generations include Parliamentary families, mental illness, and endless squabbles over spaces and furniture.

Tom Musgrove (Queen Mary University of London): Wars of Conquest and Liberation: Balkan Violence in the British Humanitarian Mind, 1903-14

In this paper, I propose to explore how the Balkan Committee, a prominent British humanitarian organisation and pressure group, responded to and understood interethnic violence between the outbreak of the Ilinden Uprising in 1903 and the conclusion of the Balkan Wars in 1913. Whilst frequently highlighting and condemning the human cost of conflict to a public audience, Balkan Committee members and their fellow self-styled 'experts' also suggested certain manifestations of this violence to be more justifiable than others. During the Macedonian conflict, British supporters of the Greek and Bulgarian causes alike defended ethnic cleansing as an essential tool in creating a true European political community, whilst others called for organised population transfers in order to remove the possibility of national minorities. Meanwhile, whilst the Second Balkan War was framed as the archetypal example of the senselessness of war, members of the Balkan Committee were among the most outspoken supporters of the previous conflict between the Balkan Christians and the Ottomans, implying the Ottomans and the Muslim residents of the peninsula to be committing violence against Europe through their very presence. Underlying this, I suggest, was a particular vision of Balkan history, casting the Ottoman incursion as having fundamentally arrested the region's development, and the political state of the peninsula as an unnatural continuation of the medieval era into the present day. Balkan violence, in this framework, was presented as deeply regrettable and frequently misdirected, but simultaneously holding a redemptive potential for the region's progress towards modernity if applied correctly.

Paul Beard (UCL-IOE): Woodcraft Folk Archives: A case study of stakeholder collaborations between voluntary sector organisations and archives and special collections within Higher Education Institutions

In 2017, a joint commissioned report from The National Archives and Research Libraries UK highlighted the risks to records within the archives and special collections in Higher Education Institutions (HEIs). The report noted significant gaps and overlaps in subjects collected by the archives and special collections in HEIs and a culture of competitive collecting between services. One of the recommendations from the report encouraged archives and special collections in HEIs to adopt collaborative collections development practices to reduce these risks. Recent studies have presented models of 'co-curation' between voluntary organisations and archives services as one possible solution to mitigate the risk of loss to records (Oppenheimer, 2020; Brewis et al., 2021). In this paper, I consider if this approach were to be adopted as a solution, how might this look in practice and do any new risks emerge? Using Woodcraft Folk archive at IOE Archive as a case study, I explore these challenges and how collaboration between multiple stakeholders might be used to mitigate risk to records of voluntary sector organisations.

Silo-busting: benefitting from integrating social and disability history.

Chair: Lynn Abrams

Rachel O'Driscoll (University of Oxford): Disability and marriage in early twentieth century London

This paper examines the relationship between disabled Londoners entering adulthood in the early twentieth century and marriage. It is an important corrective to the distinct lack of historiography about disability and marriage and addresses assumptions that disability acted (and acts) to disbar people from important life stages. In so doing it broadens understandings of normalcy, otherness, acceptance and exclusion.

Alongside qualitative analysis of archival records, over 80 disabled Londoners have been identified from a wide range of sources including educational records, church archives, and periodicals published for disabled communities. Utilising what Julia Laite identifies as the 'small' histories approach, the life courses of these individuals have been reconstructed using digital records to identify trends in relation to marriage and parenthood and provide illustrative examples. This layering of archival and digital material is used to reveal the extent to which disabled Londoners were a distinct community forming relationships with each other and the degree to which their marital and family relationships differed from those of their non-disabled siblings.

This paper will reveal that despite eugenic undercurrents affecting the form of education provided and influencing content in the specialist press, marriage and parenthood were common experiences and disability did not always act as a distancer from social integration or social norms. It will contend that this has been obscured by historians over emphasis on disability in the institutional context and their failure to acknowledge and uncover the many disabled people living outside institutional care.

Kirstie Neale (University of Cambridge): Reconsidering social and disability histories through Deaf-led activism in late twentieth-century Britain.

This paper argues that Deaf-led activism provides a useful prism for exploring undervalued social histories in late twentieth-century Britain. This presentation will draw on the records from the Deaf-led pressure group, the National Union of the Deaf (NUD), founded in 1976. Through NUD newsletters, letters and member accounts, records from Deaf perspectives set out the opinions, feelings and accounts of d/Deaf people. Using these sources, this paper argues argue that the analysis of lived experience allows historians to gain a broader understanding of the lives and emerging social and political identities of Deaf people during this period.

Furthermore, it is pivotal to address the distinct lack of historiography, notwithstanding foundational works from Deaf historians, and recognise the significant contributions made by Deaf activists. Existing literature from organisations such as the British Deaf History Society provide a wealth of information about the daily occurrences of Deaf people in Britain. Still, this work has been somewhat neglected and largely undervalued. Understanding these important historical narratives opens up a new field of critical enquiry for historians working on different topics. Indeed, histories of Deaf-led activism extend beyond Deaf communities in Britain, contributing to major developments in television production, employment practice, and education policy. An intersectional and

interdisciplinary approach is therefore needed to illustrate the wide range of themes, methods, and approaches that straddle across social, disability, and Deaf histories.

From the inside out: family histories, stories, and inheritances

Chair: Laura Hampden

Julia Laite (Birkbeck, University of London): Critical family History, Settler Colonialism, and the troubled inheritance of Place

My family history lies in a nexus of imperial exploitation. My Newfoundland family, since the eighteenth century until the 1960s, worked in highly exploitative and impoverished conditions to catch and make the fish that lined the pockets of rich merchants, and fed the rich of Europe, as well as the enslaved of the Caribbean. In surviving, and thriving, they dispossessed indigenous people who called Newfoundland (Ktamaquk) home. And yet, knowing this, I still find myself profoundly connected to the place—beautiful, wild, and haunted—that I am from.

How might family history work to stitch these contradictions and difficult histories into new stories? How might these stories improve our understanding of trauma, settler colonialism, and unwelcome inheritances? And what might be the best way to tell them? This paper will explore aspects of my family history, difficult and contentious history, and the nature of historical storytelling itself in an attempt to begin to answer these questions.

Cath Feely (University of Derby): The trenches, the tram, and the Trolley Bus: A twentieth century story

Content Note: suicide
In March 1939, my great-grandfather was found dead in the shed by his teenage son. The circumstances of his death became a family secret until the mid-1990s when my father broke down while watching the final scene of Blackadder Goes Forth. Having served as a young man in the First World War, Robert Voss had returned a broken man and, on the eve of another global catastrophe, took his own life.

As time went on, and as I became a professional historian, this started to feel like too tidy a narrative. After years of telling myself that I was not interested in family history, not least my own, I found myself on a database searching for the documents of my great-grandfather's life and death, and came across a Manchester Evening News report of the inquest headlined 'TRAM DRIVER FEARED BUS CHANGE OVER'. My great-grandmother testified that 'He was made a tramcar driver about four years ago. He did not like the idea of tramcars being replaced by buses and had become very depressed about it.'

I did not know what to do with this article, which was clearly tragic but did not feel like the right kind of tragedy; not the culturally resonant story of the shell-shocked soldier. This talk will use the newspaper page on which Robert's story was told as a starting point for discussion of the ethics – but also benefits – of creative exploration when grasping at the complexity of historical experience.

Laura King (University of Leeds): 'Och aye, one day nearer the grave': getting inside family histories.

After working with family historians for several years, I finally decided to turn my attention to my own family. By collaborating with family historians, I'd been able to get further 'within' those

families themselves, by exploring sources not often available to historians – such as the private family archives of 'ordinary' families, which were often a couple of unordered folders of documents and photos, perhaps with a handful of items passed down from older relatives and ancestors, as well as interviews and the writing of those family historians themselves. In doing so, I've been able to understand not only more about families' histories, but also how those histories were and are constructed over time.

In this paper, I will discuss the decision to start further exploring my own family, and the process of bringing our own families' histories into conversation with that of others. I'll focus on my paternal grandmother, Anne King, who moved between Ireland and Scotland as a child, to escape violence towards Catholics in Belfast, and who then married a Protestant and moved to the Black Country, England, in the late 1930s. Analysing her story, legacy and what she left behind, I'll ask how this personal turn in academic history might help us further open up the private and personal worlds of families in the past.

Lucinda Matthews-Jones (Liverpool John Moores University): Telling stories through my Granny's Cookery books.

Patricia Matthews-Jones (1921-2019), nee Baker, would be surprised to be the subject of this paper. The life she recounted largely centred on her much-loved father William and her husband Bobby. In 2003, when I was an undergraduate, I tried to interview her for a third-year course work assessment, I was left frustrated by her inability to express herself outside of the confines of the men in her life, even if I was related to them. In hindsight, I should have chatted to her in the kitchen as she cooked. I should have turned to her cookery books. In this paper, I will consider what these cookery books tell us about my Granny and how- as a collection- they become aids to remembering facets of her personality. Taken together her cookery books speak of how her homemaking centred on her dining table and feeding her family. The cookery books are not only an emotional reminder of my granny, but also of her silent desire to nourish and provide substance. This act remains one of the most cherished and invisible inherited attributes she gave to me. Yet, her presence can also be found in my professional academic identity, where dining room tables and food are captured in my research and teaching. Her legacy has been to remind me of the importance of the material arrangements of the everyday.

Bad Blood: Rethinking Eugenics and Migration in Modern History

Chair: Daniel Grey

Rachel Bright (Keele University): Hereditary 'deviance' and migration control in Australia

Modern global migration control is often understood in terms of race (Lake & Reynold's global colour line) or eugenics (Bashford). Yet citizenship rights around the world are usually granted through two very old conceptions of belonging: jus soli (citizenship based on living within the state border) and jus sanguinis (hereditary citizenship). The specific ways in which nationhood and citizenship evolved in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reflected these older ideas, both in law and in practice, as well as the evolving scientific understandings of race, health, and heredity. This paper will explore the language and imagery embedded within conceptions of nationhood across the British empire, especially related to blood and naturalisation. By situating specific concerns of the period, especially within settler colonies, alongside much older

conceptualisations of national belonging, we can begin to recognise the intersectional ways these shaped and continue to shape citizenship across the former empire.

Esme Cleall (Sheffield University): Disability as deviance: policing bodies at the nineteenth-century colonial border

In the early and mid-nineteenth century, and at frequent points thereafter, many colonies within the British Empire actively recruited emigrants to meet labour shortages and to shore up a white presence in territories where indigenous peoples were being displaced. But lands that settlers elsewhere described as ‘empty’ and a desperate need for labour did not mean that all migrants were welcome in these ‘new’ territories, not even all those that were British. Even whilst emigration was being actively promoted, a strong counter-discourse articulated those who were ‘unfit’ for migration ranging from the disabled, elderly, criminal, feckless, idle or those unaccustomed to ‘hard work’. This paper draws on the research for my recent monograph Colonising Disability, to examine these discourses. I argue that the border was an important cite on which disability was constructed as ‘deviant’ and that there were strong intersections between race, disability and gender in defining who could and could not belong both to the colonies and to metropolitan Britain.

Jen Kain (Newcastle University): Eugenics and border control in early twentieth century Aotearoa New Zealand

This paper complements existing scholarship which shows how eugenic policy and practice was inherent in the Commonwealth of Australia's Immigration Restriction Act. It argues that in New Zealand too. although less clearly defined in law, border controllers and politicians advocated for the exclusion of the those feared likely to 'transmit their deficiency' and 'propagate their kind'. Using political debate, journalistic commentary and immigration records this paper shows that the inherently unfit were also defined as undesirable immigrants.

Early Modern Siblings: Kinship and Power Dynamics in Families

Chair: Nailya Shamgunova

Helen Kemp (University of Essex): "To my best brother”: fraternal dynamics in Edward Hyde’s correspondence

There has been growing interest in sibling relationships in recent years, evolving from studies on the early modern family. Bernard Capp has recently highlighted that the natural mutual support between brothers was in tension with power hierarchies corresponding to their birth order. Rosemary O’Day’s case study on the Temple family supports this, emphasising how the eldest son was set apart from his siblings through the all-consuming responsibility to provide for them financially. But in which circumstances could younger brothers take on an advisory and supportive role?

Edward Hyde (1607-1659) kept a letter-book during 1629-50 which includes drafts of letters to his brothers Henry and Thomas. Henry (1605-1651) was a merchant and diplomat based in Greece and Turkey in the 1630s and 40s, and Thomas (1609-1661) was a lawyer. As well as relaying family and political news in his letters to his brothers, Edward also provided advice and comment on their life choices. I will examine the tone and content of these letters to reveal the nature of these brothers’ relationships. There is one letter in English amongst the others in Latin which shows a particular power dynamic of role reversal. I argue that this is closely connected with Edward’s career as a learned Doctor of Divinity, which gave him an elevated insight to Henry’s options. Notwithstanding

the natural hierarchy of birth order, this case study offers a new way of looking at the roles that siblings could play to provide mutual support.

Daphna Oren-Magidor (Dan David Prize): Brothers, Sisters, and Kinship Ties in Early Modern England: The Trumbulls

William Trumbull (1639-1716), diplomat and statesman, had three sisters: Anne Bynns, Elizabeth Bridges and Deborah Dumaresq. The three wrote to William regularly, updating him on their lives and asking for his help – as the head the Trumbull family – in everything from convincing a wayward son to focus on his legal career rather than his art, to providing financial support for needy relatives. But a close reading of this correspondence reveals more complex dynamics than a powerful and wealthy brother supporting his extended family. Instead, the letters reveal both the relationships between the sisters, as well as both their emotional and material ties to their brother. The extant correspondence begins around 1690, when William is on his way back from serving as ambassador to Constantinople, and ends close to William's death, touching on everything from caring for young children to political intrigue, and ending with emotional discussions of the ailments of old age.

In this paper I will use this correspondence look at each of the Trumbull sisters' relationship with her brother and with each other, using the letters as a window into sibling relationships among the early modern gentry and the different ways they interacted. I will also use network analysis tools to look at the interactions within this kinship network and argue that female kin, especially sisters, played a crucial role in building and maintaining ties within this family, acting as mediators between William and the friends and relatives who sought his patronage and support.

Cathleen Sarti (Oxford University): Sibling Dynamics across Borders

William VI of Hessen-Kassel and his wife, Hedwig Sophie of Brandenburg, had 6 children who survived until adulthood. Their oldest, Charlotte Amalie (1650-1714), married the later Danish king Christian V in 1667. Two of her brothers succeeded, one after the other, to the throne of Hessen-Kassel, while the third, Philipp, had a military career in Brandenburg, Hessen and finally the Netherlands, and her sister Elisabeth Henriette married crown prince Frederick of Brandenburg (later Frederick I) in 1679. All six siblings were connected throughout their lives, and especially Karl and Charlotte Amalie were known for their help of Huguenots and their manufactures.

In particular, the letters and material exchanges between Charlotte Amalie and Karl, Landgrave of Hessen-Kassel 1670 to 1730 give insights into a specific family culture relating to business and economics. Even though Christian V tried to keep his wife Charlotte Amalie out of politics (due to her Reformist faith in Lutheran Denmark and her political leanings towards Brandenburg), she was able to act due to her family connections, her economic and financial means, and her artistic and religious patronage. Similar to Charlotte Amalie's activities in Denmark, her brother Karl was known for his support of Huguenots, his economic investments, and finally his military troops. In museums in Copenhagen and Kassel, various objects of the sibling relationship survived, but have not been understood as signs of the continued close relationship. This paper will bring to light the shared economic, religious, and political policies of the siblings across borders.

Leisure, display, and citizenship

Chair: Matthew Grant

Zehra Miah (Independent Scholar): The ‘Ugly King’: Transnational representations of Yilmaz Guney – director, activist, criminal, exile

Yılmaz Güney, affectionately known as the ‘Ugly King’ was a prolific Kurdish film director from Turkey. In 1984, he died in exile in Paris, 2,300 miles from his home. His arrival in Paris was as a ‘fugitive’ according to Turkey; the British Film Institute claimed he was a victim of political oppression; and France, gave him and his family refuge. He was not the first Kurd or Turk to live, and to die in exile, neither was he the last. Using a micro-historical approach this paper will attempt to extrapolate the many faces of Yılmaz Güney. The faces presented to the world and those attributed to him by others. It will take a transnational view of the experience of one man and explore what role ‘Yılmaz Güney’ played in the diplomatic relations of Britain, France and Turkey from 1970s-1990s.

This presentation, based on the findings of my MA thesis will form the basis for a wider PhD project looking at the repression of the arts in modern Turkey.

Conner Scott (University of Sheffield): ‘Watch the PICTURE carefully and see if you can identify anyone’: Newsreels and local civic culture in inter-war Britain.

From municipal pageantry to local history museums, historians have revealed a thriving civic culture in inter-war Britain (Carter, 2019, p.5). Yet, the role ‘mass’ media played in shaping local political practices and identities has been largely neglected. Indeed, media after 1918 has been characterised as a homogenising force which underpinned an increasingly national ’common culture’ (LeMahieu, 1988; Lawrence, 2010, pp.96-103). Using the example of newsreels, short films exhibited in cinemas which summarised the week’s news, this paper argues media often played a vital role in local political culture. Despite being an ostensibly ‘national’ enterprise, this paper will examine the ways in which newsreel companies, local producers, and cinema managers all worked to render the newsreel a ‘civic’ medium. Content was often filmed and edited to give prominence to the public life of localities. Likewise, newsreels were marketed and exhibited by local cinemas to vaunt civic identity and tie in with municipal occasions. Extant cinema records, the cinema trade press, and provincial newspapers reveal how cinemagoers routinely saw their own communities, not infrequently themselves, projected onscreen. Though a commercial business operating for profit, newsreels did not inherently cater for an undifferentiated ‘mass’ national or imperial audience. Rather, the political community of the parish pump was a prominent target audience for whom newsreels were edited, marketed, and exhibited. Newsreel companies and cinema managers thereby bolstered civic culture across Britain. Far from an anonymous mass electorate, inter-war newsreels (re)presented a political public to cinemagoers that was much closer to home.

Bonnie White (Grenfell Campus, Memorial University of Newfoundland): “Just-anything won’t do for the villages to-day:" Women's Amateur Drama in Interwar England

In the early 1920s women “became excited about drama,” an excitement that was fueled by a variety of pageants, festivals, and competitions that increasingly brought women together in a spirit of cooperation and friendly rivalry. Competitions brought village players into dialogue with

community and national organisations, but also into discussions about the value of theatre beyond the community level. While drama for amateur women was a truly local experience that was rooted in the village, the popularity of the art form meant that it quickly grew beyond villages and even counties, as inter-county competitions, and finally national competitions, brought village drama to national attention by the mid-1920s. The more women worked to improve their craft and the more they showcased their skilled labour from acting to directing to prop and stage design, the more pressure and criticism they faced. For some, village drama became unrecognizable, particularly to those who initiated the village drama movement in 1919, and yet, and in spite of all of the efforts toward education and dramatic training, the women remained amateurs. Their intrusion, however, into the public sphere beyond the villages, meant that there were greater expectations by adjudicators and critics who were as eager to offer advice and to identify the ways in which women, inhibited by their gender and status as amateurs, failed to move beyond a certain level of performance. While many amateur women accepted these limitations, the National Federation of Women's Institutes saw great value in women's amateur drama, not just within the Institutes, but in the villages at large, and pushed to include drama as skilled work, and not just a leisure activity for country women. As such, the NFWI and village drama groups renegotiated the boundaries of amateur drama for women, testing gender conventions, and deriding critics who sought to confine women and amateur players to particular places and spaces. Rather than accepting gendered boundaries, the women used pageants, festivals, and competitions to gain confidence, and to gain public acceptance. Shakespeare, among others, was critical to this development because as England's national poet he occupied a space beyond the rural or urban stage, beyond gender, and beyond amateur or professional theatre, thus creating a safe space to explore the boundaries of theatre and gender in the years between the world wars.

Embodied experience and the sensory

Chair: Timothy Cooper

Louise Bell (University of Leeds/ The National Archives): We cannot afford to allow these men to sink: learning to use prostheses in the aftermath of two world wars

Around 41,000 men returned to Britain after the First World War missing one or more limbs. The figure for the Second World War, however, was significantly lower at 12,000. This was something that the British state had to attempt to deal with and limb fitting centres were set up nationally in order to help these men with the fitting of new prostheses and the rehabilitation involved with life as an amputee.

A great deal of important scholarship has been undertaken on the rehabilitation of disabled ex-servicemen after these conflicts. This rehabilitation tended to fall under two distinct strands: sport and recreation, and vocational pursuits. However, one important aspect of the work undertaken at these limb fitting centres seems to be missing from the history: what about the initial step of adapting to having a prosthesis and learning to use it in the most basic sense? Essentially, the answer to this came in the form of limb instructors, whose job was to help these men adapt to having these prostheses, especially with regards to artificial arms.

This paper will explore the roles of these limb instructors and will add to these usual narratives of rehabilitation by focussing on this learning to use the prosthesis and adapting to wearing one. How

these instructors were employed and the work they undertook will be explored, offering further insight into the care provided for these limbless ex-servicemen and try to shed light on just how useful this stage of rehabilitation actually was.

Olivia Formby (University of Cambridge): Hearing infants in early modern England: speechlessness and emotions

Historians have often lamented the ‘silence’ of the very youngest people who lived in the past. Infants under one year of age could not (normally) communicate in the vernacular, and they never recorded their first-hand experiences in writing. Derived from the Latin 'infans' (meaning ‘speechless’), infants have been assumed to be passive historical figures, even bordering on the monstrous or the animal. The capacity for speech was a key distinguishing feature between human and animal in the early modern period. Keith Thomas attests in 'Man and the Natural World' (1983) that, for early moderns, human babies might fall into a category of ‘inferior humans’, especially due to their ‘brutish’ command of sound. Indeed, in their very speechlessness, seventeenth-century infants embodied ambivalence and ambiguity. Yet infants were far from silent, in the literal or historical sense. The crying, prattling, sighing, laughing, shrieking, and moaning of early modern infants proliferates medical, religious, and personal texts. These bodily noises were subject to frequent interpretations and layered with meanings. Commonly, infants’ sounds were taken as outward signs of inner emotions. This paper investigates key contexts in which infants were heard, including during breastfeeding and in prophetic episodes when infants would occasionally transcend speechlessness. I will show that the sensory experience of hearing infants was not only understood to convey infants’ emotions, but to directly affect hearers’ emotions. This paper posits that infants’ auditory emotional expressions were multivalent and powerful, and explores the possibility that they could also operate as contemporary indicators of humanness.