SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Newspapers and magazines

Daily Mail 1928
Daily Mirror 1928
English Electric and its People 1950–61
The Graphic 1880–1930
Illustrated London News 1920–65
Pears Annual 1896–1925
Punch 1880–1910, 1920–40, 1950–61
The Times 1928–29
Tobacco 1926–33
West Africa 1950–60

Advertising ephemera and scrapbooks

Cadbury Collection, Birmingham Central Library
Books of Advertisements: MS466/7–13; MS466/15–19; MS466/32; MS466/218
Cadbury's Archive, Bournville
Advertising Albums: 520–003587; 520–003589; 520–003371; 520–003372;
520–003579; 520–003370
Labels and Packaging: 450–003291
John Johnston Collection, Bodleian Library
Soap Boxes 1–8
Cocoa, Chocolate and Confectionery Boxes 1–3
Exhibition Catalogues Boxes 24–25
Tea and Coffee Boxes 1–4
Tobacco Boxes 1–3
Tobacco Papers 1–2
Empire Marketing Board Posters, Public Record Office (CO 956)
CO 956/5–10; CO 956/13–18; CO 956/60; CO 956/90–95; CO 956/181–186;
CO 956/211–216; CO 956/241–246; CO 956/274–278; CO 956/324–330;
CO 956/352–355; CO 956/360–363; CO 956/374–375; CO 956/424–427;
CO 956/439–444; CO 956/499–504; CO 956/558, CO 956/649; CO 956/
678; CO 956/722; CO 956/725; CO 956/629; CO 956/643
Unilever Historical Archives, Port Sunlight
Lipton's Collection: Lipton's Advertising Boxes 1 and 2
Pears Collection: Advertising AFP 12/02; AFP 12/03; AFP 12/04
Pears Cuttings Books AFP 10/1/1–6; AFP 10/3/3

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

W. D. and H. O. Wills, *Bristol Record Office*
Press Cuttings Books 1923–28

Exhibition catalogues and related literature

- British Empire Exhibition*, ed. G. C. Lawrence, London, 1925
Colonial and Indian Exhibition: Empire of India (Special Catalogue of Exhibits by Government of India and Private Exhibitors), London, 1886
Colonial and Indian Exhibition: Official Catalogue, London, 1886
Colonial and Indian Exhibition: Official Guide, London, 1886
Colonial and Indian Exhibition: Reports on the Colonial Sections, ed. Trueman H. Wood, London, 1887
'Colonial and Indian Exhibition', *Westminster Review*, July 1886
Empire Exhibition News: The Organ of the British Empire Exhibition 1924, Nos 1/2, 1922–23
Empire Exhibition Official Guide, Glasgow, 1938
Empire Exhibition, Scotland 1938, Bellahouse Park, Official Photographs, Glasgow, 1938
'The Empire Exhibition: Wembley 1924' unpublished paper by R. A. Combes, Victoria and Albert Museum, London
Exhibition 1862: Catalogue of the Ceylon Court, London, 1862
Exhibition 1862: The Penny Guide, London, 1862
Exhibition 1874: Official Guide, London, 1874
Franco-British Exhibition Guide, London 1908
Franco-British Exhibition Official Guide, London, 1908
Franco-British Exhibition: Report on the India Section (a booklet prepared by James Buckingham), London, 1909
The Pageant of Empire: Souvenir Volume, London, 1924
Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, ed. Frank Cundall, London, 1886
Sketches at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London, 1886
Times Special Numbers: The Empire Exhibition, 1924

Minutes of meetings, reports and correspondence

- W. D. and H. O. Wills, *Bristol Record Office*
Reports of the Advertising Sub-committee 1930–34, 38169/M/10
Empire Marketing Board, Public Record Office
EMB Indian Tea Association Correspondence, CO 758/24
Minutes of EMB Publicity Committee, CO 760/23
Minutes and Papers of the Education Sub-committee, CO 760/25
Minutes of the Poster Sub-committee, CO 760/26
EMB Tobacco Minutes, CO 760/30
'Note on the Work and Finance of the Board and Statement of Research and Other Grants Approved by the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs from July 1926–Mar 1928', 1928

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

EMB Annual Reports, 1928–33

'Report on the Methods of Preparing for Market and Marketing within the United Kingdom of Tobacco Produced within the Empire', July 1928

'Southern Rhodesian Tobacco', paper presented to the Tobacco Committee, 1 May 1930

Tea Documents, Public Record Office

Colonial Office Registers of Correspondence from Ceylon 1885–1890:

CO 337/015; CO 337/016; CO 337/017

Index to Proceedings of Dept of Industries for April 1921 – Tea Cess

Annual Reports of Indian Tea Association, 1881–93

Detailed Reports of the General Committee of the Indian Tea Association 1893–1898

Report on the General Committee of the Indian Tea Association 1908

Report of the General Committee of the Indian Tea Association 1915–16

Reports of General Committee of Indian Tea Association 1928–1938

Commercial brochures

Century of Progress 1831–1931, T. B. Rogers, 1931, Cadbury's Archive, Bourneville

John Players and Sons Centenary 1877–1977, Players Archive, Nottingham Castle Museum

Tarrant, Henderson and Co.'s Annual Ceylon Tea Report 1898, Colombo, 1899, School of Oriental and African Studies Archive

The Lipton Magazine, Centenary Issue, 1990, Unilever Archives, Port Sunlight

Cocoa: The Story of its Cultivation, 1927, Cadbury's Archive, Bourneville

SECONDARY SOURCES

Ahmad, Aijaz, 'Orientalism and After: Ambivalence and Metropolitan Location in the Work of Edward Said', in *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures*, London, 1992

Ajayi, J. F. A. and Crowder, M. (eds), *History of West Africa*, Vol. 2, London, 1987

Althusser, Louis, *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, New York, 1971

Amin, Samir, *Eurocentrism*, London, 1989

Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies, *Ethnic Images in Advertising*, Philadelphia, 1984

Baran, P. and Sweezy, P., *Monopoly Capital: An Essay on the American Economic and Social Order*, London, 1968

Barker, Frances, *Europe and its Others*, Vol. 2, Colchester, 1985

Barker, F., Hulme, P. and Iversen, M., *Colonial Discourse/Postcolonial Theory*, Manchester, 1994

Barker, George M., *A Tea Planter's Life in Assam*, Calcutta, 1884

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Barthes, Roland, *Image, Music, Text*, London, 1977
- Berger, John, *Ways of Seeing*, London, 1972
- Bevan, Edwyn, 'The East, the West and Human Progress', *The Nineteenth Century*, August 1911, pp. 350–66
- Bhabha, Homi, *The Location of Culture*, London, 1994
- Bolt, Christine, *Victorian Attitudes to Race*, London, 1971
- Bose, Sanat Kumar, *Capital and Labour in the Indian Tea Industry*, Bombay, 1954
- Boskin, Joseph, *Sambo: The Rise and Demise of an American Jester*, Oxford, 1986
- Brewer, A., *Marxist Theories of Imperialism: A Critical Survey*, London, 1980
- Cadbury, William, *Labour in Portuguese West Africa*, London, 1910
- Cain, P. J. and Hopkins, A. G., *British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion*, London, 1993
- Cave, Henry, *Golden Tips: A Description of Ceylon and its Great Tea Industry*, London, 1900
- Chamberlain, M. E., *Britain and India: The Interaction of Two Peoples*, Newton Abbot, 1974
- Constantine, Stephen, *Buy and Build: The Advertising Posters of the Empire Marketing Board*, London, 1986
- Coombes, Annie, *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination*, New Haven, 1994
- Crawford, W. S., 'Making the Empire Come Alive', *Commercial Art*, 1:6, December 1926, pp. 241–6
- Crawford, W. S., 'The Poster Campaign of the Empire Marketing Board', *Commercial Art*, 6, 1929, pp. 128–35
- Crossick, Geoffrey (ed.), *The Lower Middle Class in Britain*, London, 1977
- Crowder, Michael, *West Africa under Colonial Rule*, London, 1968
- Darwin, John, *Britain and Decolonisation: The Retreat from Empire in the Post-War World*, London, 1988
- Darwin, John, *The End of Empire*, Oxford, 1991
- Duffy, James, *A Question of Slavery*, Oxford, 1967
- Dyer, Richard, *Gays and Film*, London, 1977
- Economist Intelligence Unit, *Power in Uganda 1957–1970: A Study in Economic Growth Prospects for Uganda with Special Reference to the Potential Demand for Electricity*, London, 1957
- Flint, Sir John, *Sir George Goldie and the Making of Nigeria*, London, 1960
- Forrest, Denys, *A Hundred Years of Ceylon Tea 1867–1967*, London, 1967
- Frank, Andre Gunder, *Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution, Essays on the Development of Underdevelopment and the Immediate Enemy*, New York, 1969
- Fraser, W. H., *The Coming of the Mass Market 1850–1914*, London, 1981
- Frith, Katherine Toland (ed.), *Undressing the Ad: Reading Culture in Advertising*, New York, 1997
- Frost, Diane, 'West Africans, Black Scousers and "the Colour Problem" in Inter-war Liverpool', *Journal of the North West Labour History Group*, 20, 1995/6, pp. 50–7

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Fuller, Bampfylde, 'East and West: A Study of Differences', *The Nineteenth Century*, November 1911, pp. 860–70
- Gann, L. H. and Duignan, P. (eds), *Colonialism in Africa 1870–1960*, Vol. 1, Cambridge, 1969
- Gardner, A. G., *Life of George Cadbury*, London, 1923
- Gilroy, Paul, *There Ain't no Black in the Union Jack*, London, 1987
- Goldman, Robert, *Reading Ads Socially*, London, 1992
- Goldsworthy, David, *Colonial Issues in British Politics 1945–1961: From 'Colonial Development' to 'Wind of Change'*, Oxford, 1971
- Goldsworthy, David, 'Keeping Change Within Bounds: Aspects of Colonial Policy during the Churchill and Eden Governments 1951–57', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 18:1, 1990, pp. 81–108
- Goodman, Jordan, 'Fashionable and Necessary Consumption: The Culture of Tea, Coffee, Chocolate and Tobacco in Eighteenth-Century Europe', V&A Research Seminar, 1993
- Gorst, A., Johnman, L. and Lucas, W., *Contemporary British History 1931–1961*, London, 1991
- Green, David, 'Photography and Anthropology: The Technology of Power', *Ten* 8, 1:14 (1984), pp. 30–7
- Greenhalgh, Paul, 'Art, Politics and Society at the Franco-British Exhibition', *Art History*, 8:4, December 1985, pp. 434–52
- Greenhalgh, Paul, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs 1851–1939*, Manchester, 1988
- Grierson, John, 'The EMB Film Unit', *Cinema Quarterly*, 4, Summer 1933
- Griffiths, Percival, *The History of the Indian Tea Industry*, London, 1967
- Hall, Stuart, 'Cultural Identity and Cinematic Representation', *Framework*, 36, 1989, pp. 68–81
- Hall, Stuart (ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, London, 1997
- Haug, W. F., *Critique of Commodity Aesthetics: Appearance, Sexuality and Advertising in Capitalist Society*, Cambridge, 1986
- Havinden, M. and Meredith, D., *Colonialism and Development: Britain and its Tropical Colonies 1850–1960*, London, 1993
- Hobsbawm, Eric J., *The Age of Empire 1875–1914*, London, 1987
- Holland, P. et al. (eds), *Photography/Politics One*, London, 1986
- Holland, P. et al. (eds), *Photography/Politics Two*, London, 1988
- Hooks, Bell, 'Choosing the Margin as a Space for Radical Openness', *Framework*, 36, 1989, pp. 15–23
- Hopkins, A. G., *An Economic History of West Africa*, London, 1975
- Inden, Ronald, *Imagining India*, Oxford, 1990
- Kabbani, Rana, *Europe's Myth of Orient*, London, 1986
- Kay, Geoffrey, *Development and Underdevelopment: A Marxist Analysis*, London, 1975
- Kellner, Douglas, *Media Culture: Cultural Studies, Identity and Politics Between the Modern and the Postmodern*, London, 1995
- Kiernan, Victor G., *The Lords of Humankind*, London, 1969

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Kumar, Krishna, *Transnational Enterprises: Their Impact on Third World Societies and Cultures*, Boulder, 1980
- Leab, Daniel J., *From Sambo to Superspade: The Black Experience in Motion Pictures*, London, 1975
- Leiss, W., Kline, S. and Jhally, S., *Social Communication in Advertising: Persons, Products and Images of Well-being*, Scarborough Ontario, 1988
- Lele, Jayant, 'Orientalism and the Social Sciences', in C. A. Breckenridge and P. Van der Veer (eds), *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament*, Philadelphia, 1993
- Lenin, V. I., *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Peking, 1975
- Leverhulme, W. H., *Viscount Leverhulme, by his Son*, London, 1927
- Liddle, J. and Joshi, R., 'Gender and Imperialism in British India', *South Asia Research*, 5:2, November 1985, pp. 147–65
- Lorimer, Douglas, *Colour, Class and the Victorians: English Attitudes to the Negro in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*, Leicester, 1978
- Lotz, R. and Pegg, I., *Under the Imperial Carpet: Essays in Black History 1780–1950*, Crawley, 1986
- Lugard, Lord, *The Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa*, London, 1965
- McClintock, Anne, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, London, 1995
- MacKenzie, John, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion 1880–1960*, Manchester, 1984
- MacKenzie, John (ed.), *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, Manchester, 1987
- MacKenzie, John, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts*, Manchester, 1997
- McPhee, Alan, *The Economic Revolution in British West Africa*, London, 1926
- Mack, John, *Emil Torday and the Art of the Congo 1900–1909*, London, 1990
- Madras Mail*, 'Legislative Abetment of Slavery', 11 September 1890, p. 4
- Mani, Lata, Review of Ronald Inden's *Imagining India*, *Journal of Asian Studies*, 50, 1991, pp. 435–6
- Marchand, Roland, *Creating the Corporate Soul: The Rise of Public Relations and Corporate Imagery in American Big Business*, Berkeley, 1998
- Marx, Karl, *Capital*, London, 1954
- Meredith, David, 'Imperial Images: The Empire Marketing Board 1926–1932', *History Today*, 37, January 1987, pp. 30–6
- Miles, Robert, *Racism*, London, 1989
- Morel, E. D., *Affairs in West Africa*, London, 1902
- Morel, E. D., 'Free Labour in Tropical Africa', *The Nineteenth Century and After*, 75, March 1914, pp. 629–43
- Morel, E. D., *The Black Man's Burden: The White Man in Africa from the Fifteenth Century to World War One*, London, 1920
- Nead, Lynda, *Myths of Sexuality*, Oxford, 1990
- Nevinson, H. W., 'The New Slave Trade', *Harper's*, October 1905, p. 674
- Nevinson, H. W., *A Modern Slavery*, London, 1906
- Nkrumah, Kwame, *Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*, London, 1965

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Nworah, K. K. D., 'Humanitarian Pressure Groups and British Attitudes to West Africa 1895–1915', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1966
- Nworah, K. K. D., 'The Politics of Lever's West African Concessions 1907–1913', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 2, 1972, pp. 248–64
- Nye, David, *Image Worlds: Corporate Identities at General Electric 1890–1930*, Cambridge MA, 1985
- O'Barr, William, *Culture and the Ad: Exploring Otherness in the World of Advertising*, Boulder, 1994
- Page, Jesse, *The Black Bishop: Samuel Ajai Crowther*, London, 1908
- Pannikar, K. M., *Asia and Western Dominance*, London, 1959
- Phillips, Anne, *The Enigma of Colonialism: British Policy in West Africa*, London, 1989
- Pieterse, Jan Nederveen, *White on Black: Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Popular Culture*, New Haven, 1992
- Ramamurthy, Anandi, *Black Markets: Images of Black People in Advertising and Packaging in Britain 1880–1990*, Manchester, 1990
- Ramamurthy, Anandi, 'Photography and Commodity Culture', in L. Wells (ed.), *Photography: A Critical Introduction*, London, 1997
- Richards, Thomas, *Commodity Culture in Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle 1851–1914*, London, 1991
- Rodney, Walter, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, London, 1972
- Rostow, Walter, *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*, Cambridge, 1971
- Ryan, James, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualisation of the British Empire*, London, 1997
- Said, Edward, *Orientalism*, London, 1978
- Said, Edward, 'Orientalism Reconsidered', in F. Barker *et al.* (eds), *Europe and its Others*, Vol. 1, Colchester, 1985
- Said, Edward, *Culture and Imperialism*, London, 1993
- Sinha, Mrinali, *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly European' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the Late Nineteenth Century*, Manchester, 1995
- Southall, R. J., 'Cadbury on the Gold Coast: The Dilemma of the "Model Firm" in a Colonial Economy', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1975
- Steadman, John, *The Myth of Asia*, New York, 1969
- Taylor, Miles, 'John Bull and the Iconography of Public Opinion in England 1712–1929', *Past and Present*, 134, February 1992, pp. 93–128
- Thomas, Nicholas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government*, Cambridge, 1994
- The Times, *Through the Chairman's Eyes*, 1952, 1955–59, 1961
- Wilkins, Mira (ed.), *The Growth of Multinationals*, Aldershot, 1991
- Williams, Iolo, *The Firm of Cadbury 1831–1931*, London, 1931
- Williams, Patrick, and Chrisman, Laura, *Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Theory: A Reader*, London, 1993

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Williams, Raymond, 'Advertising, the Magic System', *Problems in Materialism and Culture*, London, 1980
- Williamson, Judith, *Decoding Advertisements*, London, 1978
- Willis, Susan, 'I Want the Black One: Is There a Place for Afro-American Culture in Commodity Culture?', *New Formations*, 10, 1989, pp. 77–98
- Wilson, Charles, *The History of Unilever*, Vol. 1, London, 1954
- World Development Movement, *The Tea Trade*, London, 1979
- Zack-Williams, Alfred, 'Merchant Capital and Underdevelopment: The Process Whereby the Sierra Leone Social Formation Became Dominated by Merchant Capital 1896–1961', *African Review*, 10:1, 1983, pp. 54–73
- Zack-Williams, Alfred, *Tributers, Supporters and Merchant Capital*, Aldershot, 1995