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THE SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA, 1880–1914

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> Take up the White Man's burden—Send forth the best ye breed—Go bind your sons to exile, to serve your captives' need; To wait in heavy harness, On fluttered folk and wild—Your new-caught, sullen peoples, Half-devil and half-child
>
> —*Rudyard Kipling*

THE LAST QUARTER OF the nineteenth century witnessed an extraordinary surge in Western activity in the non-Western world. This reached a climax in the 1870s and later with a sudden enthusiasm by the major European powers and the United States for seeking new colonies abroad and consolidating old one—often called the **New Imperialism**. The most dramatic manifestation of this New Imperialism was the **Scramble for Africa,** which began around 1882 and lasted until World War I. During these years, about half a dozen European nations engaged in a sudden and furious footrace to lay claims to what the King of the Belgians, Leopold I, called "this magnificent African cake"—a continent in which hardly anyone had shown any interest during the Age of Informal Empire—and that at times threatened to bring them to blows. The "scramble" for Africa perhaps remains the most spectacular and irrational example of the New Imperialism, yet much of Asia and the Pacific islands were also the objects of a huge land grab by the United States and Japan as well as the European powers. This chapter explores the background of the New Imperialism and the European colonial period in Africa, while Chapter 38 examines the case of China.

1880s–1914	Scramble for Africa
1884–1885	Berlin Conference
1899–1902	Boer War in South Africa
1918–1939	Interwar period: rapid changes in many African societies

The Background of the New Imperialism, 1790–1880

Prior to 1880, only Algeria and Cape Colony (South Africa) were under direct European control. By 1914, only Ethiopia and Liberia remained outside formal European control. What factors caused this sudden turn of events?

Rivalry for New Markets

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the economic and military situation among the European powers was shifting rapidly. In this era of the Second Industrial Revolution, Britain faced serious competition from other nations for industrial supremacy—especially from Germany and America—and its balance of trade went into deficit. Furthermore, Europe as a whole suffered from a depression that lasted from 1873 to 1896. This Long Depression contributed greatly to the New Imperialism as the Western powers sought new markets for their manufactured goods and sources of raw materials needed to keep their industrial plants operating. In addition, many financiers in Europe and America sought investment opportunities in new markets that offered endless supplies of cheap labor and little or no competition. In the past, protected "spheres of influence" or colonies—particularly "white colonies"—around the globe had provided outlets of this sort for free capital. Where new markets could be found and "opened up" to free trade and investment, the opportunities for profits were greater than in the home countries (or so-called *metropoles*).

Strategic Issues

The British government came under intense pressure from industrialists and financiers to secure lucrative markets in India and East Asia from their European rivals. For Britain, obtaining a controlling interest in the Suez Canal, and ultimately control of Egypt itself, was critical to assure easy passage from East to West. For its part, Germany did not even exist before 1871. But once unified, it quickly became a rising industrial power close on the heels of Britain. Bismarck had little interest in overseas empire: European politics were of greater concern, but he too came under pressure from German industrialists. In addition, international rivalry in Africa provided him another opportunity to keep France isolated and out of any alliances that could threaten German security. Tiny Portugal remained concerned only with protecting its old colonies in Angola and Mozambique against the designs of powerful rivals like Germany and France. To fend them off, it forged an alliance with Britain.

Nationalism and the Clash of Rival Imperialisms

Competing nationalisms proved to be a compelling force for empire building among the major players. Initially, Bismarck was motivated by the search for German overseas markets, but by the 1880s, the powerful new currents of German nationalism became a greater driving force. Many patriotic Germans felt that no nation could be taken seriously as a great nation if it did not have an overseas empire. Their models, of course, were Britain and France. To have its rightful "place in the sun," Germany needed to stake its claims overseas along with the other European powers. Pan-Germanism thus made Germany the third-largest colonial power in Africa, after acquiring colonies in what are now Togo, Cameroon, Namibia, and Tanzania.

France, too, acquired its colonies in Africa and Asia out of strong feelings of wounded national honor and the need to assert the glory (*gloire*) of France. Most damaging to its national image was the loss of Alsace-Lorraine in the Franco-Prussian War and the British occupation of Egypt, so France felt compelled to compensate with conquests in Africa and Southeast Asia (see Chapter 37). The result was that most of what France added as "French West Africa" was worthless desert and scrubland (see Map 36.1).

Italy, another newly formed nation, sought its "place in the sun" out of a desire to assert national glory. Like France, however, it ended up with very little of any real commercial value: desert land in Libya and marginal scrubland (Sahel) in Somaliland and Eritrea. Italy was also the only colonial power to be defeated by an African army in its attempts at conquest in Africa: A war to conquer Abyssinia (Ethiopia) in 1896 resulted in defeat at the Battle of Adowa.

The "White Man's Burden"

Finally, and by no means least, many well-intentioned folk at all levels of American and European society felt, as Rudyard Kipling expressed in the verse above, that it was the **"white man's burden"** to "civilize" the Asians and Africans. Some, like the missionary David Livingstone, advocated "legitimate trade" as a substitute for the slave trade. Consequently, Western businessmen and women now came to see Africans and their lands in a wholly new light: They could "save" Africans from themselves, while bringing them the mixed blessings of the Bible and Western civilization. In other words, what was happening to the non-Western world was not a power play by rapacious foreign exploiters but an act of duty toward fellow humans who—perhaps without acknowledging it—needed the West's magnanimous aid.

The Scramble for Africa, 1880–1914

By the 1880s, sufficient geographic information was available about the interior of the continent to allow the European nations to begin to stake their claims. Belgium and Germany vied with the British in Central and East Africa. The Portuguese took Angola and Mozambique under firm control at this time. The French cemented their hold on West
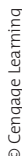
MAP 36.1 Africa Before World War I.

Following the scramble of the 1880s and 1890s, all of Africa except tiny Liberia in the west and mountainous Ethiopia in the east was brought under European rule. The German possessions were given to Britain, France, or South Africa following the war.

>> MAP QUESTIONS
Note the French, British, Belgian, and Portuguese possessions. Considering the geography (example: French West Africa), potential commercial value (examples: Nigeria and the Belgian Congo), and history (examples: Angola and Mozambique) of these regions, can you explain how these parts of the African continent ended up as possessions of each respective colonial power?

Africa and west-central Africa. Italy took the area around the Horn of Africa, while King Leopold II of Belgium got the resource-rich Congo basin as his prize. Spain ended up with part of Morocco and "Rio de Oro" (now Mauretania).

The "process" by which this was accomplished was very messy indeed. The rapid shift from "informal empire" to colonial occupation took the form of a "scramble" for territory by the nations of Europe. The instability this brought into the international arena threatened Europe's peace. German Chancellor Bismarck called for a **Berlin Conference** in 1884 to find an agreed-upon formula to regulate the contest among the powers and to temper the most contentious disputes. After negotiations, the conferees ended by defining **effective occupation** as the standard for the recognition of territorial claims, a formulation that all-too-frequently resulted in armed force being used against indigenous states and peoples. Essentially "effective occupation" meant pro-

viding proof that local Africans had formally ceded their sovereignty to the "protecting power," the Europeans who declared the right to rule. Also, the "occupying power" had to establish some sort of formal "presence" in the territories they claimed, which usually meant an administrative apparatus to maintain order, interdict slave trading, and govern. More immediately, the new rules of effective occupation set off rounds of treaty making, conquest, and more foot races among competing powers to stake their claims.

By 1900, all of Africa had been allocated to European rule, with the exception of Ethiopia and Liberia (see Map 36.1). No attention whatever was given to local custom or economic relations when the borders of the various colonies were drawn. Whole peoples were split, and teams—sent out from Paris, London, or Berlin to partition the continent— shattered ancient ethnic and social affiliations. That this disregard for African geographic and ecological traditions

THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN. This engraving from 1895 shows the European concept of "civilized" administration being brought to the Africans. A district official listens judiciously to the complaint before issuing his decision, backed up if necessary by African soldiery in the background.

was an egregious mistake became clear when the colonial system was dismantled after World War II and border disputes occurred all across the continent.

Once in power, one of the first tasks of the new overlords was to train an African constabulary under white officers to break up slaving raids and put down resistance to colonial rule. Another was the establishment of district offices, often staffed by young civil servants fresh from the mother country who were given extraordinary responsibilities in maintaining the peace and establishing European administration. In the British colonies, it was not unusual to see a twenty-seven-year-old, three years out of Cambridge and backed only by his constables, given life-and-death authority over a district population of perhaps 30,000 individuals. Direct challenges to the new dispensation were rare. Officers could move about freely without fear in the villages, although the nearest European might be a couple hundred miles away. Attacks on the Europeans, when they occurred, were almost always motivated by the whites' breaking of religious taboos, taxation, or repeated cruelties.

REACTIONS TO EUROPEAN DOMINATION

Although terribly outgunned (literally as well as figuratively), Africans did not passively submit to European overlords. Many African leaders sought to check or defeat the Europeans' encroachments throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. Historians of Africa have divided the types of African resistance into two categories. **Primary resistance** involved the initial, violent reaction of individual societies against colonial rule. Its distinguishing characteristic was its relatively small scale, involving the actions of perhaps a few villages from a single ethnic group (or "tribe"). Primary forms of resistance almost never involved planned strikes against outposts or settlements, but were more likely to be sudden attacks against colonial representatives performing specific duties associated with their offices. Tax collection (which Africans perceived as simple theft), forcible recruitment of labor, and arrests were the actions most likely to cause such attacks. Almost invariably, these invited retaliation by constabulary forces against villages and farms. Called "hammering" by some, Africans' homes and crops were set afire, livestock confiscated, and resisters killed.

Secondary resistance was a delayed response (sometimes years later) that followed the failure of primary resistance. It took longer to subdue than forms of primary resistance; was far larger in scale; and, most significantly, typically involved thousands of people, drawn from many ethnic groups over a wide region. Its basis was not the defense of a specific, ethnically based way of life, but often took the form of spirit-possession cults, led by prophets who promised immunity from white man's weapons. In regions that had large numbers of Muslims, Islam served as a basis for resistance to "Christian" regimes (see the Law and Government box).

In the end, though, with the single exception of the Italians' campaign in Ethiopia, the Europeans' superiority in weaponry and tactics won out, albeit after overcoming resistance that sometimes lasted for years. Against the Maxim guns and exploding artillery, bravery alone was not enough.

Once conquered, the African elites faced two choices: submit and attempt to assume the manners and values of their new masters or withdraw as far as possible from contact with an alien overlord. In the French and British colonies, African leaders generally chose the first way, encouraged by colonial administrators. In the Belgian, Italian, Portuguese, and German colonies, the Africans often chose the second way, because they were given little opportunity to do anything else until after World War II.

In some cases, those who withdrew and remained committed to African tradition retained more prestige in the eyes of their people than those who associated with the conquerors and mimicked their manners. Having seen the power of the Europeans, however, many believed that the whites' ways were superior and sought to associate themselves with those who provided access to those ways.

Of the three types of Europeans with whom Africans were now in contact—merchants, administrators, and

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

ONE WHO RESISTED

Samori Touré (*c.* 1830–1900) was born into a Dyula (JOO-lah; Muslim trader) family in what is now the country of Guinea at a time when the increasing use of imported European firearms had begun to change traditional ways of waging war in West Africa. While still a teenager, Samori enlisted in the service of the warlike Cissé clan where he learned how to handle and care for modern firearms. According to West African oral tradition, he stayed "seven years, seven months, and seven days" with the Cissé before fleeing and joining another warrior clan, that of the Berété. After these early experiences, he created his own professional army to protect his clan from slave raids at the hands of the Cissé and the Berété, appointing his own brothers and friends as his commanders.

To forge his army into an efficient fighting machine, Samori needed to create his own state that he could defend so long as he had a steady supply of modern firearms. To accomplish the latter, he conquered the ancient gold-mining region around Buré (Boo-RAY; in modern Guinea and Sierra Leone), whose income allowed him to purchase breech-loading rifles from British merchants in Sierra Leone. Throughout the late 1870s and 1880s, he further consolidated his position by seizing control of many of the old Dyula markets and trade routes of the western Sudan. His new state, called Wasulu (WAH-soo-loo), in due course was comprised of large portions of what are now Guinea, Sierra Leone, Mali, and Ivory Coast. Many smaller states, ethnic groups, and religious traditions were engulfed by Samori's kingdom. A Muslim, Samori was personally tolerant of most pre-Islamic customs and lifeways, yet to help bind his state together, he coerced many to convert to Islam. He took for himself the title of *Almamy*, commander of the (true) believers. By these measures, he placed his state under the Islamic written law (*Sharia*), providing a common source of behavior and identity that connected his followers to him personally while providing an alternative to the prospect of life for himself and his followers under the rule of unbelievers.

Beginning in the 1870s, the French began to expand aggressively eastward from Senegal, attempting to create a West African empire that would extend as far as the Nile River in what is now Sudan. Other sorties were to the southeast to link up with their positions in Ivory Coast (Côte d'Ivoire). Inevitably, these exploits brought them into conflict with Samori. Samori, hoping to exploit Anglo-French rivalry, countered with an offer to the British to put his kingdom under their protection. The offer was refused, but the British agreed to continue allowing the sale of repeating rifles to Samori to enable him to defend his state from further French aggression.

Musée des Arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie, Paris, France/Lauros-Giraudon/The Bridgeman Art Library
SAMORI TOURÉ.

Sustained hostilities began in 1885 when a French expedition under Colonel A. V. Combes moved to seize Samori's gold fields at Buré, forcing Samori to mount a defense. Samori succeeded in forcing Combes to withdraw by maneuvering his Wasulu forces around the French lines of communication, thus cutting Combes off from his supplies and command center. Samori had at his command a well-equipped, battle-hardened army that had enabled him to fight the Europeans to a stalemate. However, the French knew they had time as an ally. They evolved a strategy of unrelenting attack and attrition that successfully prevented Samori from consolidating his position, while exploiting the dissent Samori faced within his kingdom from non-Muslims to seize large chunks of his base.

In 1891, the French launched a direct attack on Kankan, located in the core area of Wasulu. By skilled new maneuvers similar to those he had employed successfully against his old adversary, Colonel Combes, Samori managed a few more victories against isolated French columns but failed to expel the French from the core of his kingdom. In 1892, a small, elite force finally captured Samori's capital at Bissandugu. Making matters even more difficult for him, the French persuaded the British to interdict the supplying of breech-loaders to Samori, guns that were crucial to his continued struggle.

Resistance, however, was not over. Rather than trying to hold on to a position that by now had become untenable, Samori shifted his entire base of operations eastward, away from territory now held by the French. Hoping to discourage pursuit, he ordered the complete destruction of everything along his line of retreat. This bought him time to retrench and consolidate his position and delayed further French advances, but it also created more distance between himself and his few remaining sources of firearms. Furthermore, the defeat and surrender of other armies of resistance inevitably gave the French the upper hand against Samori. The end came in 1898 when, in an attack on Samori's new position on the upper Niger River, a French commandant captured him. Two years later, in June, 1900, Samori Touré, perhaps the greatest of those who dared resist the march of European colonialism in Africa, died as an exile in Gabon, French Equatorial Africa.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

For what reasons do you think men like Samori and others put up such a stout and prolonged resistance against the Europeans? For what were they fighting? What were Samori's sources of strength? (Hint: Be sure to think beyond the obvious military answers.)

PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI.

THE RHODES COLOSSUS
STRIDING FROM CAPE TOWN TO CAIRO.

Private Collection/The Bridgeman Art Library

"THE RHODES COLOSSUS." This contemporary cartoon from Punch magazine depicts the strategic aims of British imperialists in Africa. Cecil Rhodes (1853–1902), famous as the diamond magnate who founded the de Beers monopoly in South Africa, struggled to advance British ambitions to create adjoining British territories in Africa stretching from Cape Town to Cairo.

CHANGES IN AFRICAN SOCIETIES

By the early twentieth century, the Europeans had completely demolished the traditional division of lands and severely affected commercial and cultural relations among the Africans. The old boundaries based on topography and clan and ethnic associations had given way to European diplomatic agreements and horse trading. In the same fashion, traditional African power relations had been either destroyed or severely altered by the imposition of European-style officials, police forces, and courts, manned either by whites or by their African pawns.

Personal relations between masters and underlings varied, sometimes even within the same empire. French officials and African subordinates generally got along well in West Africa but poorly in Central Africa because of local variations in the French administration. In some instances, the whites and the African Muslim upper class got on well, but most Africans, who saw them both as exploiters, resented them. In colonies with large numbers of settlers, as in British Kenya and South Africa, the whites generally exploited their African labor and established an impenetrable social "color line," regardless of central government policies.

Undermining of the Old Ways

At the beginning of the twentieth century, although Christianity had already made a slight dent in African traditional religions, the Islamic faith had far more prestige and adherents throughout the northern half of the continent. The burgeoning colonial cities like Dakar, Lagos, and Nairobi increasingly attracted Africans, but the majority continued living in their rural villages. Their standards of living were simple, and illiteracy was nearly

missionaries—the latter were perhaps the most important for the evolution of African culture. Missionary efforts at basic education in the local languages were responsible for the creation of a small group of educated Africans who were determined to become like their white mentors. The education offered rarely went beyond the ABCs. By the 1930s, however, the select few who did advance became conscious of the gap between what the European liberals and intellectuals preached and what the governments practiced in their treatment of the colonial peoples. From their ranks in the mid-twentieth century were to come the nationalist leaders of Africa. They saw that the most telling critique of Western colonial practice was to be found in the classic ideals of the West. Like their Asian counterparts, the African intellectuals used the weapons that their Western education delivered to them to free themselves from colonial authorities and to lead their peoples to independence.

universal outside the cities and the few villages with mission schools, but where they were permitted to continue growing their traditional food crops and breeding their livestock, they were not impoverished in any material sense. However, where forced to turn to cash cropping or to wage labor, poverty and social disruption tore asunder the cultural fabric of African societies.

Everywhere in the villages, the old ways of the Africans' culture and institutions lingered on, but subtle changes were under way beneath the surface. The "native rulers" appointed by colonial authorities frequently abused the powers given them by the Europeans. Because these powers usually exceeded traditional authority, their villagers only resented them. People found that the guiding spirits of the ancestors no longer seemed to be effective, so more and more youths sought their futures in the white man's religions, schools, cities, and jobs. The white man's medicine likewise provided an ancillary, and often more effective, source of healing. In these and other fashions, mostly unintended, the Europeans' coming as permanent overlords had a cumulatively erosive effect on the old ways. Many Africans found themselves adrift between the colonialists' preferred models of belief and conduct and the age-old traditions of African life.

Economic Changes

What benefits to the home countries came from the establishment of African colonies? In 1880, the European colonial governments had few if any long-range plans to develop their new territories economically. The chief concern shared among them was to avoid expense or to find ways in which the Africans could be brought to pay for the military and civil expenditures incurred. They had to walk a fine line between excessive expense to the home country taxpayer and excessive coercion or taxation in the colony. A rebellion would be not only distasteful but also expensive to the home government. Ideally, cash cropping and development of African mineral resources would allow a cost-free colony. For most colonial governments, however, this goal proved to be a mirage. Only a few of the colonies (Gold Coast, Nigeria, Senegal, Kenya, and South Africa) with **cash crops** such as palm oil, peanuts, coffee, tea, and cotton were better than a break-even proposition for the home nations. The hoped-for large domestic markets for excess European industrial capacity never developed. The Africans' cash incomes were far too small to absorb large quantities of consumer goods, and it proved impossible to attract private investments into Africa on any scale comparable to what was going into the Americas or even Asia. Only in one or two situations—notably the copper mines and rubber plantations of the Congo and the diamond and gold mines of the Cape Colony—did the African bonanza materialize. Cecil Rhodes, the British capitalist and greatest of the private empire builders of the nineteenth century, had envisioned

National Archives/HIP/Art Resource, NY

A TOBACCO PLANTATION IN COLONIAL RHODESIA (ZIMBABWE).
Along with peace and European-style republican governments, the "white man's burden" meant introducing cash economies to Africa. This colonial-era poster emphasizes this theme, along with colonial paternalism.

a thorough Europeanization of Africa, driven by railroads and mineral wealth. By 1914, it was already clear that this would not happen.

The individual colonies varied sharply in economic aspects. In the center of the continent, the Congo was a royal plantation, held by a private firm in which the Belgian king held a majority share. Originally explored by Henry Stanley (of Stanley and Livingstone fame), the Belgian Congo was a vast area along Africa's second-largest and longest river. It was an important source of several industrial raw materials, especially copper and rubber.

Relatively few Europeans settled permanently here. The main reason for claiming and keeping this kingdom

of the west-central rain forest was to exploit its abundant material resources. A great scandal ensued in the early twentieth century when it was gradually revealed how brutal the royal enterprise had been toward its workers and how little had been done to improve the lives of its African peoples. Despite many assertions that European rule was justified by its potential to benefit Africans, the final judgment is spoken by a simple figure: The population declined by half in twenty years (1885–1905) of Belgian royal oversight.

In a few colonies, the economic impact of colonial rule was visible and direct. In British South and East Africa and in Algeria, whole agricultural districts were taken from the Africans to be used exclusively by the whites. Everywhere, new requirements that taxes had to be paid in money forced Africans into providing cheap labor for white businesses and farms. Closely aligned with business interests, for example, colonial governments pressured the "kaffirs" (Boer term for Africans) of South Africa's gold and diamond mines into dangerous and exhausting work.

The three European governments had somewhat different goals for their colonies and administered them in different ways, which were arrived at by necessity and experiment rather than by plan. French possessions were administered from a central office in Dakar and were linked directly with the Paris government. The Africans were given little margin to govern themselves. Through methods of direct rule called at various times **assimilation and association**, the French exerted strong pressure on the upper-caste Africans to learn French and acquire French manners and values. If they did so, they were paternalistically considered as "black Frenchmen and women." They could then enter the colonial bureaucracy and even become French citizens, although very few ever did.

The French made considerable effort to convert Africans to Catholicism, but they met with little success until the twentieth century. Very little economic development occurred in these colonies, which were for the most part desert regions deficient in natural resources or rain forest that discouraged exploration. Only in the twentieth century have modern irrigation works made it possible to develop some agriculture in former French colonies such as Mali, Chad, and Mauritania.

The British possessions to the south were more favored by nature and attracted more attention from those seeking profits. A few colonies (Gold Coast and Nigeria) began as the private possessions of monopoly firms similar to the British East India Company in India. Sierra Leone began as a refuge for freed Africans from intercepted slave ships after the maritime slave trade was banned. The British rulers, whether private or governmental, relied heavily on local assistants, whom they appointed to exercise actual day-to-day government under loose supervision. This system of **indirect rule**, which was similar to what the British did in parts of India (Chapter 37), was implemented partly to reduce administrative costs for the home country and to ease the transition from traditional methods of rule.

As a result of the (sometimes coerced) introduction of commercial crops such as peanuts, palm oil, cotton, cocoa, sisal, tea, and coffee in the late nineteenth century, Europeans' African dominions were gradually integrated into the world market. This proved to be yet another mixed blessing. Before the Great Depression, while prices for commodities remained high, the African colonies prospered. As in the rest of colonial Africa, however, the replacement of food crops by cash crops proved to be a disaster for Africans in the long run. Colonial authorities discouraged industrial development. The manufacturing of finished goods was left to the mother countries, and Africans were permitted only to provide raw materials. So when the prices of their cash crops and other raw materials (including mineral exports) fell, Africans' dependence on the world market proved to be "the mother of poverty." Unable to sell their cash crops at reasonable prices, many went hungry or starved when they could not earn enough to purchase food.

Such methods steadily forced Africans into Western-dominated, capitalist economies of trade and cash. These economic changes undermined centuries-old lifestyles and beliefs that had been rooted in values that traditionally favored family and community ties. In the villages, prestige shifted from those who came from respected lineages or who had religious authority to those who accumulated wealth. The way was being prepared for Africans' belated entry into the world marketplaces, albeit often to their considerable disadvantage.

SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

WOMEN OF COLONIAL AFRICA

MARY KINGSLEY: EXPLORER AND ANTHROPOLOGIST

As an explorer and writer, Mary Kingsley greatly influenced European ideas about Africa and African people. She was born in Islington, England, in 1862, the daughter of a doctor and an invalid mother. As a girl, she was housebound to help care for her mother, so she acquired little formal education. Nevertheless, she was exceptionally intelligent and naturally curious, and she made ample use of her father's large library and loved to read and hear stories of foreign lands.

When both of her parents died in 1892, the thirty-year-old Mary was free of family responsibilities and was then able to travel. Her first decision was to visit Africa to begin collecting ethnographic information for a book on the cultures of the peoples of Africa.

She traveled to the Portuguese colony of Angola in 1893 and managed to earn the trust of local people. They taught her the skills that enabled her to survive in the difficult conditions she would encounter in the African wilds. After a short visit home in 1895, she returned to Africa and traveled by canoe up the Ogowe River and spent time studying the Fang peoples of west-central Africa. During a second return to England, she wrote *Travels in West Africa* (1897), for which she achieved instant notoriety. In many ways, Kingsley's writings went against nineteenth-century currents of opinion about Africans and their ways of life. Her criticism of missionaries for trying to change Africans, in particular, created an instant uproar among the Church of England clergy. Both in her books (she wrote a second shortly before her death) and public lectures, Kingsley described and defended many facets of African life that shocked the staid English middle class. She also opposed the common view that Africans were "undeveloped white men" and that their minds were inferior to those of whites.

A true modernist in her opinions, unfortunately Kingsley's voice was lost when she died of typhoid in 1900 while working as a nurse among Boer prisoners of the Boer War.

ELSPETH HUXLEY AND WHITE SETTLEMENT OF KENYA

Elspeth Huxley (1907–1997) possessed a rare combination of energy, intellect, and sensitivity that served her well through multiple careers in her long life as a successful journalist, writer, and even government advisor. After her birth in Britain,

Huxley's parents moved to the new colony of British East Africa—later Kenya—and arrived in Thika, near Nairobi, in 1912 to start new lives as white settlers and coffee planters.

At 18, Elspeth left Kenya for England and America, but returned in 1929 to her adopted country to take a position as Assistant Press Officer to the Empire Marketing Board. After marriage and the births of three children, she resigned her post in 1932 and began traveling widely and writing. Among her earliest works was *Lord Delamere and the Making of Kenya*, which was an apologetic biography of a famous settler. Later in life, she served as an advisor in the confederation of the two colonies of Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia). Throughout these years, Elspeth Huxley worked and wrote as an advocate and apologist of colonialism in "the Dark Continent." However, in the 1950s, as many of Britain's African possessions began the process of decolonization, she became an advocate for the independence of the colonies.

Huxley is most noted for *Flame Trees of Thika*, an autobiographic account of her early upbringing in Kenya, which poignantly documents the lack of preparation of many European settlers for life in the African "bush"—something that resulted in many failures and bankruptcies. In 1981, it was made into a television miniseries. However, her best work is *Red Stranger*s, which details what life had been like for the Kikuyu people before the arrival of colonial government and the white settlers who occupied much of their land. Huxley's book was rare for exhibiting a clear awareness of African life in an age when white colonizers thought Africans to be bereft of histories or civilizations of their own.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Why do you suppose the views and writings of these early colonial women seemed to focus so little on the experiences of (other) Europeans in Africa? Why was Kingsley interested in Africans? Was Huxley?

Mary Evans Picture Library/Alamy

MARY KINGSLEY ON THE OGOWE RIVER, *c.* 1896.

SUMMARY

DURING THE ERA OF THE New Imperialism, Europe added almost 9 million square miles—one-fifth of the land area of the globe—to its overseas colonial possessions. Europe's formal holdings now included the entire African continent except Ethiopia, Liberia, and Saguia el-Hamra, the latter of which would be integrated into Spanish Sahara. Between 1885 and 1914, Britain took nearly 30 percent of Africa's population under its control, compared to 15 percent for France, 9 percent for Germany, 7 percent for Belgium, and only 1 percent for Italy. Nigeria alone contributed 15 million subjects, more than in the whole of French West Africa or the entire German colonial empire. It was paradoxical that Britain, the staunch advocate of free trade, emerged in 1914 with not only the largest overseas empire thanks to its long-standing presence in India, but also the greatest gains in the "scramble for Africa," reflecting its advantageous position at the scramble's inception. In terms of surface area occupied, the French were the marginal victors, but much of their territory consisted of the sparsely populated Sahara.

Political imperialism followed economic expansion, with the "colonial lobbies" bolstering chauvinism and jingoism at each crisis in order to legitimize the colonial enterprise. The tensions between the imperial powers led to a succession of crises, which finally exploded in August 1914, when previous rivalries and alliances created a domino situation that drew the major European nations into World War I (Chapter 41).

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced terms in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www. cengagebrain.com.

assimilation and association
Berlin Conference
cash crops
effective occupation
indirect rule

New Imperialism
primary resistance
Scramble for Africa
secondary resistance
white man's burden

For Further Reflection

1. What changes occurred in European nations during the nineteenth century that led to the Scramble for overseas colonies? What changes occurred in Africa?
2. In your opinion, which European nations were *primarily* responsible for the New Imperialism? More specifically, which ones were most to blame for creating the conditions that set off the Scramble for Africa?
3. Once Europeans established their colonial presence in Africa, how did their goals in governing Africa seem to undergo changes?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. By 1900, the entire African continent had been colonized by Europeans except
   a. Liberia and Zanzibar.
   b. South Africa and Ethiopia.
   c. Kenya and Tanganyika.
   d. Ethiopia and Liberia.
   e. Ethiopia and Egypt.

2. Which of these statements about the New Imperialism of the 1800s is true?
   a. It affected only Africa.
   b. The Scramble for Africa was its most irrational manifestation.
   c. Its only cause was a European desire to find new markets and sources of raw materials.
   d. Its origins go back to the Berlin Conference.
   e. The Berlin Conference settled all the disagreements among the European powers in their competition for overseas territories.

3. Which of the following statements most accurately describes the actions of European countries in Africa?
   a. The British imported their own governors, having no confidence in local Africans to rule adequately.
   b. The French tried very hard to convert their colonial subjects to Catholicism.
   c. French subjects were given great latitude in governing themselves.
   d. Most colonial administrators were so fearful of revolt that they almost never left their compounds without being heavily guarded.
   e. Most British officers in Africa were seasoned veterans in their forties.

4. The main reason Europeans were interested in the Belgian Congo was a desire to
   a. explore the Congo River.
   b. maintain a trading center there.
   c. extract slaves for the American trade.
   d. extract gold.
   e. take advantage of its natural resources.

5. In the years prior to the Scramble, which of these European powers would have seemed to be the least likely one to be interested in overseas colonies?
   a. Britain
   b. Portugal
   c. Germany
   d. Belgium
   e. France

6. German Chancellor von Bismarck convened the Berlin conference to
   a. find a formula all the European powers could accept for making claims to overseas possessions.
   b. settle outstanding disputes with France over the future of Alsace-Lorraine.
   c. create a common-gauge railway system throughout Europe.
   d. find a formula for regulating the role of private industry in Africa.
   e. find a formula all the European powers could accept for dividing up Africa's mineral resources.

7. To conquer Africa, Europeans
   a. relied on European taxpayers to meet the large expenditures new colonial possessions would require.
   b. largely depended on Africans to fill the ranks of their armies of conquest.
   c. often relied on each other to provide mutual military support.
   d. often relied on friendly African kings and chiefs to handle the military responsibilities.
   e. essentially had to rely on European recruits for their colonial armies.

8. Generally speaking, European policies on educating Africans during the years of colonial rule
   a. were successful in training most Africans to a basic level of literacy.
   b. placed the entire cost and responsibility on the colonial administrations.
   c. prepared Africans for eventual self-rule.
   d. split the responsibilities between the administration and missionary societies.
   e. left most Africans with little or no education.

9. Which part(s) of Africa saw few European settlers?
   a. East and South Africa
   b. Central Africa
   c. North Africa
   d. West Africa
   e. South Africa

10. What was the purpose of the British policy of indirect rule? To
   a. force African traditional rulers to send their children to school.
   b. give African rulers powers they didn't hold under their traditional ways of ruling.
   c. make use of traditional African rulers to assist in administering the colonies.
   d. assimilate Africans to European thought and culture in order to "civilize" them.
   e. force Africans to convert to Christianity.

CourseMate

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37 India and Southeast Asia Under Colonial Rule

We divide, you rule.

—*Maulana Mohammed Ali to British*

1510	Goa becomes seat of Portuguese Indian Ocean empire
1521	Portuguese seize control of Malacca
1603	British East India Company (B.E.I.C.) founded
1757	Battle of Plassey; Bengal and Orissa become B.E.I.C. possessions
1824–1886	British conquer Burma
1839–1842, 1878–1880	Afghan Wars
1856–1857	Great Indian Mutiny
1858	Queen Victoria assumes control of India; B.E.I.C. is dissolved
1876	Victoria crowned as Empress of India
1885	Indian National Congress founded in Delhi
1887	French establish Indo-Chinese Union

BEGINNING WITH THE PORTUGUESE in the fifteenth century, Europeans commenced a spate of global explorations that persisted throughout the next four centuries (see Chapter 22). With much to be won, by the end of the 1500s, direct trade had reached an advanced state with Asia, Africa, and the American hemisphere, and nearly every European nation had found ways of participating in the division of the spoils. Throughout this process, and even after the discovery and settlement of the Americas, Asia continued to offer the richest prizes for those desiring the profits that could be garnered through commerce. The Portuguese were again at the vanguard of a systematic occupation of the principal Indian Ocean and Eastern Asian entrepôts. It was not long, however, before more muscular rivals eclipsed them. The Dutch expropriated the Spice Islands, while the English and the French were forced, for the most part, to focus their efforts on India and other portions of Southeast Asia.

India

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the period when European military and commercial enterprises in India began, the Mughal Empire was still a viable state. The great Akbar and the next three shahs who followed him—Jahangir, Jahan, and Aurangzeb—could afford to tolerate the presence of foreigners from faraway Europe carrying on trade in their ports, with little heed being given to any hazards they might present. These powerful rulers had built a unified state out of the numerous smaller entities that had preceded them, and the history of India itself was one of a land—not a nation by any standard—which had seen invasions and settlements of one set of exotic interlopers after another. Therefore, what could a few hundred more foreigners matter?

Yet they did matter. The death of Aurangzeb in 1707 marked the beginning of the end of effective Mughal administration, and the next 150 years saw a gradual reversal of the conquests of Babur and Akbar, as the centrifugal forces of India's religious and regional differences reasserted themselves and the subcontinent gradually broke up into several dozen minority states, each ruled by its own

nawab (nah-WAHB: Mughal ruling official). It was this breakup that provided an opening for a new set of foreign rulers, the British Empire in India, often called **the Raj** (rahj).

The Appearance of the Europeans

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to arrive in India, followed by the Dutch, English, and French. By the end of the 1600s, the Portuguese "factories" except for Goa had been absorbed first by the Dutch, then by the English. After some tentative skirmishing on the seas, the Mughals had settled into a mutually comfortable relationship with the British, centered on trade in goods in both directions, with luxury goods flowing to the West and firearms going in the opposite direction. The privately owned **British East India Company**, founded in 1603, was given monopolistic concessions to trade Indian goods—notably tea and cotton cloth—to the West and bring in a few European items in return.

For a long time, the arrangement worked out harmoniously. The Mughal shahs permitted the Company to trade through two factories at Bombay and Madras. A third, Fort William, was constructed in 1690 on the Hooghly River in Bengal (see Map 37.1), which eventually became the nucleus of the city of Calcutta. By the early eighteenth century, between fifteen and twenty-five merchant ships were making the long annual voyage between England and India. India and the rest of Asia were by then becoming vital additions to the British Empire, because they supplied spices, silk, tea, and cotton goods to the growing list of high-value merchandise on which London and Bristol mercantile firms were enriching both themselves and Great Britain. At times, the East India Company made large profits. Ironically, however, major obstacles to its profitability were its own employees, who frequently traded on their own accounts at the Company's expense.

A second dilemma was that, despite precautions taken to protect this valuable commerce, Company factories found the success of their business all too frequently to be at the mercy of local princes. The arrival of the French East Indies Company in the 1670s further complicated the Company's predicament and provoked new strains on English–Mughal relations, as Paris was already in competition with London for a colonial empire (an issue that was fought over repeatedly in the Anglo-French wars of the 1700s, including the Seven Years' War). Under the brilliant **Joseph François Dupleix** (doo-PLAYS), governor-general of French possessions in India (1742–1754), the French made an effort to enlist some of the Indian princes as partners in trade and to serve as native go-betweens to assist them in administering their territories. The British then responded similarly. Both the French East Indies and the British East India companies appointed local *rajas* to serve

MAP 37.1 British Colonial Possessions in India, c. 1857

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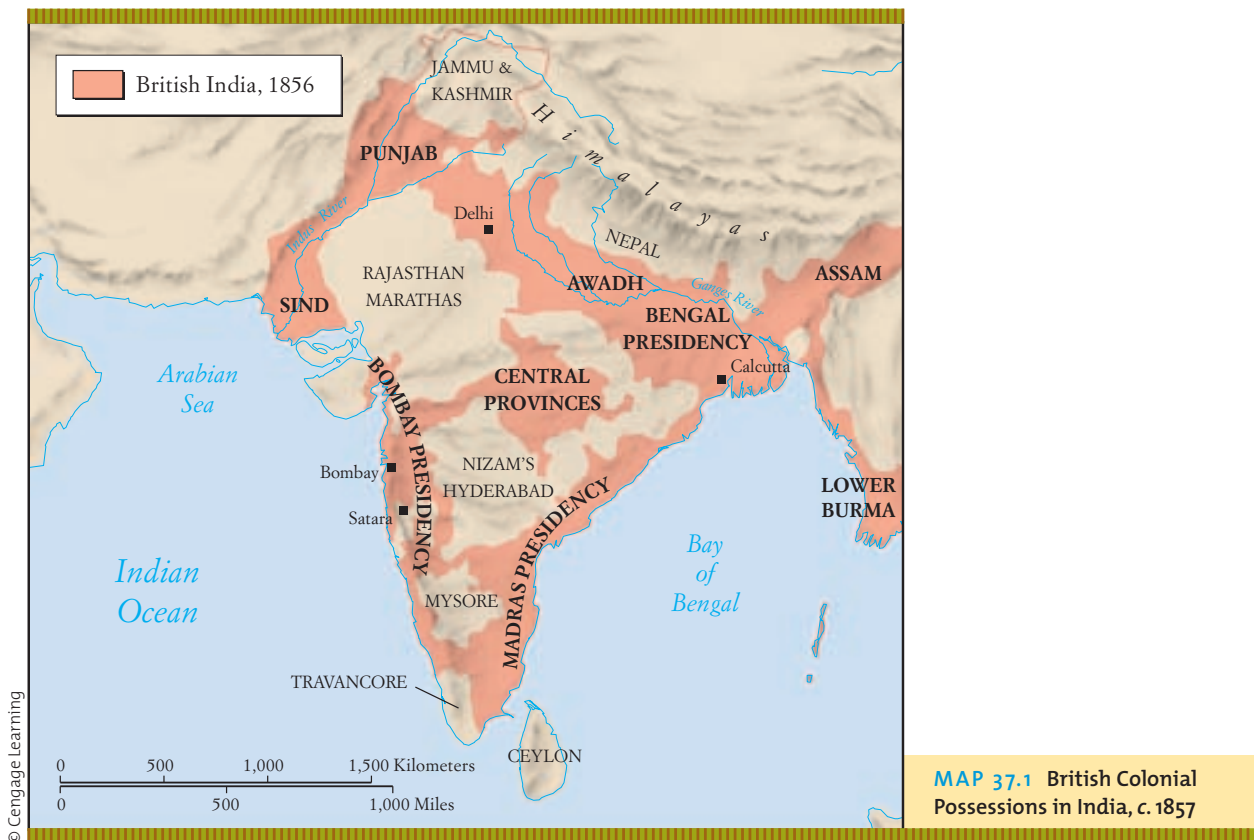
Thomas Gainsborough/Bridgeman

ROBERT CLIVE (1725–1774). Shown here in a general's uniform, *c.* 1764, Clive began his career as a clerk for the British East India Company but made his reputation as a soldier from his leadership at the Battles of Arcot and Plassey. Later, he served twice as the B.E.I.C. governor of Bengal.

as official "native rulers" through whom they connived to dominate key territories in India. For both sides, Bengal was one of the most crucial prizes to be had. Dupleix recruited Siraj ad-Dawla (sih-RAHJ ad-DOW-lah), the last *nawab* of Bengal, to despoil the B.E.I.C. of its possessions in Bengal. The deciding battle occurred on June 23, 1757, between the forces of Siraj and an army of 1,000 British soldiers and 2,000 **sepoys** (European-trained Indian troops) commanded by **Robert Clive**. Clive's victory at the **Battle of Plassey** marked a signal defeat of the French East Indies Company and secured British East India rule in Bengal.

Life Under Company Rule, 1757–1857

It was Robert Clive's exploits that made the B.E.I.C. the most powerful presence in India following Plassey and the ultimate defeat of the French at Pondicherry in 1761. The Treaty of Paris in 1763, which ended the Seven Years' War, surrendered control of much of India to Britain through the intermediation of the East India Company. Subsequently, Clive rose to the position of governor of

B.E.I.C. possessions in India. As governor, he established the basic framework for British rule in India for the next ninety-odd years. Above all, he wanted to avoid encumbering the Company with additional responsibilities, but also to retain the ultimate power in governing India. The policy he established was to make the Company the "protecting" power over India, but not the *titular* power. What resulted was indirect rule. He began by placing an ally, Mir Jafar, as the *nawab* of Bengal, under his "supervision." In return, Mir Jafar gave Clive a gift of 240,000 pounds. Other princes followed this practice as more territories were added to the Company holdings in India.

It did not take very long before shareholders observed that many "*nabobs*" (Company employees) like Clive and others were returning to Britain from India as very wealthy individuals, while their own investments in the Company were failing to produce the expected dividends. By 1773, Parliament was unwilling to trust such an important asset as India entirely to private hands. They passed the Regulating Act, which divided political oversight between

© The Art Gallery Collection/Alamy

"GOING NATIVE." A portrait of a European gentleman in Indian dress seated before an open window, smoking a hookah. B.E.I.C. employees spent years in India, where there were few European women as potential marriage partners. Many, it was said, "went native," forming liaisons with Indian women and adopting Indian lifestyles. Lucknow Company School, early nineteenth century, from an album page.

London and the Company and curbed the autocratic style of governors like Clive and his successor, Warren Hastings.

In furtherance of these new concerns, Lord Cornwallis was put in charge of the Indian possessions in 1786. He began by firing all corrupt Company employees and proposed instead that the Company raise officials' salaries substantially to end the skimming of profits and to discourage the acceptance of "bribes" from "native rulers." English Common Law was introduced into Indian forms of land tenure. Most significantly, Cornwallis pronounced that Indian customs and religions were not to be interfered with and were to be respected; consequently, he continued the customary B.E.I.C. practice of discouraging Christian proselytizing.

Unfortunately, this policy of tolerance was not to last long. As Britain and other Western nations entered the Industrial Age, bourgeois attitudes towards other civilizations became ever more paternalistic, especially where darker-skinned peoples were concerned. The nineteenth century brought about the end of the slave trade, but it also was the century when the notion of Europe's "civilizing mission" flourished (see Chapter 36). This attitude seemed to receive support when Darwin realized that, in nature, only the "fittest" survive, an idea which some then applied to ethics and society as a whole (see Chapter 40). When applied to human beings, the result was a pseudo-scientific schematic in which some "races" were deemed superior to others. One especially tragic result of this way of thinking was the growing exploitation of "native" (i.e., inferior) peoples and a callousness towards their welfare. Under the British, the much-favored Hindu and Muslim elite (who were allies of the Company) fared well, but a policy of requiring peasant farmers to grow exportable crops, like tea and opium, enriched the Company but pauperized small farmers and caused occasional severe famines.

FAMINE VICTIMS. Victims of the 1876 famine sit in Madras.

Another was a more aggressive policy of territorial acquisitions in India and neighboring regions. In the years after Plassey, the remaining petty states that remained outside Company rule were added to it one after another. After a series of wars, Burma was added to Britain's Indian empire (see below). However, the defeat of the French did not end challenges from other rivals. Often called **The Great Game**, in 1824, the company invaded Sind (the Indus region), seizing its ports to discourage Russian designs on southern Asia and its outlets to the western Indian Ocean. This was done because the B.E.I.C. had reasons to fear Russian designs on northwestern India, Afghanistan, and Persia. Further military adventures in Afghanistan proved to be much more difficult than Sind and the Punjab (in Northwest India) had proved to be. The first of the **Afghanistan Wars** came to a tragic end when an invading army was forced into a catastrophic retreat from Kabul in the winter of 1842. Out of an army of 17,000 Indian *sepoys* and British officers, only one soldier survived the extreme cold and continual guerilla attacks by Afghani tribesmen. Two further bids to seize Afghanistan also failed, although the harrowing results of the first war were not repeated. In each instance, the British underestimated their enemy.

A marked increase in the cultural insensitivity of the British occupiers of southern Asia began the generation after Cornwallis's, and it resulted in several mutinies, all of which were mercilessly repressed. Paradoxically, what became paternalism began with good intentions. By the early 1800s, the philosophy of *utilitarianism*, which taught that the greatest good is whatever is best for the greatest number of people, was in vogue among colonial and Company administrators. In this spirit, Governor-General George Barlow passed the Charter Act in 1813. Its purpose was to eliminate the rigid separation between Europeans and Indians, so in principle it eliminated discrimination against Indians in the Company service. Unfortunately, this principle was never followed in practice. Also, it eliminated the prohibitions against missionary activity. This form of "cultural imperialism" proved to be highly averse to Indian religious beliefs and practices, which most Europeans considered as "barbarous." In 1829, Governor-General William Bentinck passed the **Act of Abolition**, which eliminated *sati* and allowed Hindu widows to remarry. These measures rankled many Hindus—women included—despite their altruistic intent.

The Great Mutiny and After

While by no means universal, by the 1850s, resentment of the British expansion and their "civilizing mission" in southern Asia was widespread, particularly among Indian Muslims, high-caste Hindus, and the rank and file of the Indian army. Sepoys in one army unit had already mutinied (1824) when ordered to board ships to transport them to Burma. Mindful of Hindu restrictions against traveling by water, high-caste members had refused their officers' orders. Far worse was yet to come, despite the bloody riposte that followed this minor incident.

SOCIETY AND CULTURE

Raja Ram Mohun Roy and the "Bengal Renaissance"

Ram Mohan Roy (1775–1833) was a prominent Hindu scholar and theologian, born to Bengal's most powerful Brahman clan. However, the unorthodox Roy came to condemn Brahman excesses as well as Hindu polytheistic practices. He believed in the unity of God as revealed in the sacred texts not only of Hinduism, but those of Islam, Buddhism, and Christianity as well. From this philosophical premise, Roy became a pioneer in the region's nineteenth-century reformist movement now known as the "Bengal Renaissance."

The Bengal Renaissance began after the East India Company took over Bengal and established schools in Calcutta that provided young Bengalis with a European-style education. Gradually, the schools produced a new elite of Bengali men like Ram Mohan Roy, who interacted easily with members of the British ruling class in business, politics, and religion. Roy worked for the East India Company in his native region of Bengal, where he sometimes engaged British missionaries and scholars of Asian history and religions, called *Orientalists*. Roy and his reformist cohorts believed in cooperating with the governing regime, ostensibly to defend Hinduism and Indian rights on the Europeans' own terms. Furthermore, the reformers aspired to modernize India by blending the best elements of Indian and British culture. Beginning with Roy's movement and continuing into the twentieth century, Bengal's theologians, scholars, scientists, orators, writers, and social reformers led intense debates about the relative merits of Eastern and Western religious, political, and social systems.

For their part, Christian missionaries condemned Hindu beliefs and rites as idolatrous and evil. In order to maintain credibility in the religious debates, Roy and the Hindu reformers rejected some social practices that they also considered as irrational, including caste prejudices, the low status accorded women, and dietary restrictions. Ram Mohan Roy is best remembered for his campaigns against polygamy, child marriage, and *sati*. He also advocated property rights for women. Roy founded an early reform society that exerted a lasting influence on India's intellectual revitalization during and after the British *Raj*. Members of Roy's society established the first English-speaking school in Asia, Hindu College, in 1817. As a result, a growing class of English-educated leaders arose to continue the revitalization of India begun by Ram Mohan Roy's pioneering generation, and many of its graduates became influential in the Indian nationalist movement.

>> Analyze and Interpret

Some historians liken the Bengali Renaissance of the nineteenth century to the Italian Renaissance of the sixteenth century. What similarities and differences do you see in the two movements? In what ways did Ram Mohan Roy contribute to the Bengali Renaissance?

The general cause of the **Great Indian Mutiny** of 1857 was years of pent-up rancor felt by native troops against the Raj, against Europeans and their families, and especially against their white officers. There seem to have been two immediate reasons for the revolt. In 1856, the East India Company forcibly annexed the province of Awadh and exiled its nawab to Calcutta. Out of the invading force, about 40,000 soldiers had been from the state and were deeply offended by these actions of the Company and its governor, James Dalhousie, giving them reasons to rebel. Further, by the 1850s, British officers spent less time with their soldiers than in the early years of the Raj and were tardy in their responses to rumors concerning their supplies. In 1857, the East India Company had just reequipped the sepoys with new Lee-Enfield rifles. The new weapons required the use of cartridges that had to be bitten before use. Many Indian soldiers believed that the cartridges were smeared with pork fat (forbidden to Muslims) or beef grease (taboo for Hindus). Other rumors had it that pulverized animal bones and cows' blood were mixed into their food, that the caste system was to be abolished, or that they were to be converted to Christianity.

The Great Mutiny began in Awadh when soldiers were humiliated on parade, stripped of their uniforms, and put in leg irons after they refused orders to use the new cartridges. Their comrades massacred their British officers, along with their wives and children, and then seized Delhi and restored the octogenarian Mughal emperor. The mutiny was confined to the Ganges River Valley, and more atrocities were committed. Nevertheless, most regions south of the Ganges Valley and the three main centers of Company authority—Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay—remained unaffected. Moreover, most units of the Indian army remained loyal to the British. In the end, the Company put down the mutiny with great ferocity.

Realizing that Britons could not continue to rule India without the support of Indians, in 1858, the prime

BLOWING MUTINOUS SEPOYS FROM THE GUNS. "Blowing away" was a practice that had been used by the Mughals for rebellious soldiers. Despite this precedent, its use by British soldiers following the Great Mutiny made a mockery of the often-professed "white man's burden." From *The History of the Indian Mutiny*, published in 1858.

minister, Lord Palmerston, dissolved the British East India Company and substituted direct British government (frequently indicated by the term "Whitehall," just as many denote the American presidency by "the Whitehouse") over the Company's Asian possessions. To prevent future mutinies, new, more careful methods of recruitment into the Indian army were put in place. Furthermore, forced Westernization was abandoned. As a last measure of asserting Whitehall's supervision (that of the government in London), in 1876, Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli arranged to have Queen Victoria crowned as the Empress of India. This set a precedent that was followed by all British sovereigns until Indian independence in 1947 (see the Images of History box).

Had British rule in India been a failure? Many mistakes were made, as has been demonstrated. The cultural arrogance that characterized the Raj did not end when Whitehall usurped control over southern Asia, but persisted into the twentieth century. The attempts to substitute the British ways of life for Indian traditions, nevertheless, did produce some beneficial, long-term results. Some believed, for example, that the key to India's future lay in producing a new elite who had been given a Western education and taught the English language. Schools were provided, beginning in 1816 in Calcutta, where young Brahmins received a "classical" education much like children were given in English private "colleges." In time, those who matriculated into these colleges produced the so-called **Bengal Renaissance** (see the Society and Culture box). In 1885, they founded the **Indian National Congress**, which led to the Indian Independence Movement. The INC became the nation's dominant political party after India achieved independence in 1947 (see Chapter 48).

SOUTHEAST ASIA

The territories in Southeast Asia that had succeeded in achieving political organization before the appearance of European traders and missionaries had little reason to take much notice of these visitors until a much later era. Contacts were limited to coastal towns and were mainly commercial. In the 1600s, the Dutch had driven the Portuguese entirely out of the islands' spice trade, and they had established a loose partnership with the local Muslim sultans in Java and Sumatra to assure the continuance of that trade with Europe. After a brief contest with the Dutch, the British—in the form of the East India Company—had withdrawn from the Spice Islands to concentrate on Indian cotton goods. Only in the Spanish Philippines was a European presence pervasive and politically dominant over a sizable area.

Most of the insular Asians were by now converted to Islam, a process that began in the 1200s through contact with Arab and Indian Muslim traders. By the time the Portuguese arrived in 1511, Malacca had become a commercial crossroads of the Indian Ocean and East Asian networks, as well as the most important point of dissemination for Islam throughout the region. From Malacca, the Portuguese had extended their control over the Spice Islands. Except for on the island of Bali, the original syncretistic blend of Hindu with animist beliefs that had been India's legacy had faded away. Only in the Philippines was there a Christian element.

If the islands were relatively untouched by the early European traders, the mainland populations were even less so. In the 1700s, the three states of Thailand, Burma, and Vietnam dominated the area. The first two were by then part of the *Hinayana* Buddhist world, while Vietnam (under Chinese influence) had remained with the *Mahayana* version of the faith. The once-potent Khmer state of Cambodia had been divided between the Thais and the Viets by stages during the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries. As late as the end of the eighteenth century, nowhere was there a visible European influence, but this was to change radically in the next century.

In the early nineteenth century, a generation of European administrator-scholars entered colonial careers following the Napoleonic wars (see Chapter 31). These men were products of the Enlightenment and were often sincerely dedicated to humane treatment of their Southeast Asian charges while still being convinced adherents of Western cultural superiority. Foremost among them was **Sir Thomas Raffles**, the founder of Singapore and the first European to take serious interest in the history and archaeology of the precolonial societies. Although Raffles was entrusted with oversight of affairs for only a few brief years in Java, his reforming policies aimed at promoting peasant prosperity and local government autonomy persisted as a model, which was unfortunately not often followed in the century to come.

Indonesia was returned to Dutch rule in 1824 by a treaty that finally settled the ancient Anglo-Dutch rivalry. In the

SIR THOMAS RAFFLES (1781–1826).

THE CASTLE OF BATAVIA, AS SEEN FROM KALI BESAR WEST, *C.*1656. Headquarters of Dutch East India Company.

century that followed, Dutch administrators gradually expanded their control, both political and economic, over the hundreds of inhabited islands that make up the "East Indies." The bloody five-year Java War (1825–1830) was the decisive step, establishing Dutch sovereignty once and for all over this most important of the Indonesian lands. Other battles had to be fought in Sumatra and in the Celebes at the end of the nineteenth century. Only then was a true Dutch colony, rather than a trade partnership, created.

In the economic sphere, the Dutch directed a change from a limited spice-export trade with the homeland to an expansive commodity-oriented trade during the mid-nineteenth century. This change was accomplished via the so-called **culture system**, a refined form of peonage through which the peasants were obliged to deliver a major part of their crops to Dutch buyers at minimal prices. This system brought poverty to the Indonesians and great profits for the Dutch and Chinese middlemen, especially from the export of coffee, which replaced spices as the most important crop in the colony. The blatant abuses of the peasant laborers finally led to humanitarian reforms in the latter part of the century, but by this time, Java and Bali had been thrust into a cycle of declining availability of land and a rising population of rural tenants working absentee landlord estates. The resentments thus bred would inspire a tide of nationalist sentiment in the early twentieth century.

In mainland Asia, the assertion of Western colonial power extended first to the Burmese kingdom. As the British East India Company gradually transformed from a private commercial venture into a colonial government in India, its agents came into conflict with the claims of the Burmese rulers to certain frontier districts. A brief war ensued, with the customary results in favor of the Europeans. The process was renewed twice more in the mid-nineteenth century, and the Burmese eventually submitted to imperial oversight as a province of British India.

The sultans of Malaya (in the lower reach of the long Malay Peninsula) followed a somewhat different route into the imperial camp. Here, the British at Singapore were joined by an influx of Chinese who quickly came to dominate the increasing trade going through the Straits of Malacca. By the 1870s (following the opening of the Suez Canal; see Chapter 35), this was the world's busiest waterway. Steamships and sailing vessels of many nations carried trade between Asian countries and took part in the long-distance transport between Asia and Europe. The remarkable growth of world markets for tin and rubber, both of which were found in abundance in the Peninsula, also spurred alien business interests there. One after the other, the undeveloped sultanates were peaceably melded into the British "Straits Settlements," with a large population of immigrant Chinese in the mines and plantations. By the opening of the twentieth century, this jerry-built aggregation had become the colony of Malaya.

Vietnam fell under French dominion in this same epoch, largely because of the imperial ambitions of a handful of French leaders, who felt that Paris was falling behind London in the race for colonial riches. A secondary reason was the determination of the Catholic leadership in France to use Vietnam as the portal for the conversion of China to the Roman faith. French missionaries had been engaged among the Viets since the seventeenth century and had made considerable progress by the early years of

MAP 37.2 East Asian Colonial Territories, 1840–1940

Shown here are the accessions of colonial domains by the West in East Asia during the nineteenth century. Only Thailand (Siam) escaped.

>> **MAP QUESTIONS**

Considering that China escaped formal colonization, what explains why Southeast Asia did not do so?

the nineteenth century. At that time, a successful contestant in the recurrent civil wars that marked Vietnamese history in the nineteenth century subjected them and their converts to an intense anti-Catholic campaign. This was the justification for French military intervention that began in the 1850s and continued at intervals until all of the Union of Indochina—the official name for the colony, which included the present-day states of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia—fell under Parisian oversight by the end of the century.

As in Malaya, economic development picked up rapidly after the coming of the Europeans. Capital and steam power brought the great rice-growing area of the lower Mekong River valley into production for the first time, and Vietnam became the premier exporter of rice to world markets. Rubber plantations followed. Unfortunately, the rice fields and plantations were owned either by aliens or by a small clique of aristocrats who were friendly to the French. The economic lot of the Vietnamese villagers deteriorated as a result of the new developments. Just as in Dutch-ruled Indonesia, the visible and growing cleft between the mass of the inhabitants and the European/bourgeois governmental class inspired the rise of strong nationalism among some of the newly educated.

IMAGES OF HISTORY

CEREMONY FOR INDIAN ROYALTY

> THE LAST GREAT *DURBAR* IN JUNE 1911.
A *durbar* was a formal imperial assembly held to mark state occasions in India. When Queen Victoria was crowned (in Britain) as the Empress of India, all monarchs that followed her retained the title. However, neither she nor her son and successor, King Edward VII, ever visited India or received their crown (as monarch of India) while actually in India. However, upon Edward's death, King George V arranged to be crowned in India, for which the Great Durbar was called. All the princes of India were required to attend and to render their obeisance to the new emperor. In many respects, the Great Durbar of 1911 marked the apex of the Raj.

Parade of Indian nawabs pay tribute to the new "Emperor."

British officers of the Indian army stand at attention.

Reviewing stand on which King George V and Queen Mary sit.

Elephants trained for use in warfare were marks of authority among the Indian nawabs.

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Among the Southeast Asian nations, only Thailand (then still known as Siam) escaped the colonial net and remained independent. How did this happen? It was partly a result of the 1893 agreement between the British in India and the French in Indochina that it would be convenient to maintain a buffer between their respective colonies, and that could only be Thailand. Thai independence was also partly the result of the remarkable vision and diplomatic skills of two nineteenth-century Thai kings: *Mongkut* (MUHNG-koot; ruling 1851–1868) and his son and successor, *Chulalong-korn* (CHOO-lah-LUHNG-korn; ruling 1868–1910). The two kings together brought their country into the modern age, introducing a wide variety of Western-style governmental and technical ideas into the still-traditional Thai culture. These reforms ranged from overhauls of the judicial system to setting up a telegraph line, from abolition of the traditional prostration in the royal presence to the first printing press.

Although the premier foreign influence remained Britain, the Thai kings made it a point to invite advisers from many nations to assist them in their campaign of modernization. Not only were foreigners made to feel secure and well rewarded for their efforts, but the numerous members of the ruling clan were also encouraged to undergo Western education in several different countries before returning to take up their governmental duties. As a result of these policies of openness and technical progress, Thailand entered the twentieth century not only independent but also poised to meet Western cultural imperialism with an awakening sense of Thai national pride and a conviction of equality with the aliens.

SUMMARY

FOR INDIA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA, most of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was a period of transition to colonial occupation or other new forms of Western imperial control. As in Africa, for most of this period, official European interest in Asia remained balanced between merely defending the commercial interests of their nationals and outright colonial occupation. For many years, official British and Dutch interests were buffered by the presence of the British East India Company (B.E.I.C.) in India and the Dutch East Indies Company in Indonesia. It was the British company's involvement in the opium trade out of India that eventually entangled Britain in Asia—especially China.

Until 1757 and the victory at Plassey, the British East India Company restricted its trade to Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta but faced competition from the French and Dutch. Governors Clive and Hastings were relatively free-wheeling in their dealings with Indian princes, preferring to govern *through* them rather than *instead of* them. In those early decades of Company rule, officials maintained good relations with the Mughal princes and with

Hindus of the higher castes; consequently, many enriched themselves by skimming the trade of their employers and accepting gifts from the *nawabs* and *rajas* whom they supported. Most importantly, they maintained a policy of tolerance towards Asians' ancient beliefs and customs.

The Charter Act (1813) and the Act of Abolition (1829) changed the relationships between the British and their Indian subjects. Indians already had plenty of reason to resent British rule, but the cultural arrogance that came with these two regulations greatly worsened those resentments. Territorial acquisitions through conquest and the forceful removal of native rulers, "racial" segregation, missionary proselytizing, and the notion of England's "civilizing mission" to Asians culminated in the Great Indian Mutiny. Consequently, Queen Victoria (the British government) assumed direct rule over southern Asia in 1858 and dissolved the East India Company. More-tolerant policies were introduced, and Indians formed political associations like the Indian National Congress, which eventually began calling for the return of self-rule.

The Dutch company's loss of Java in 1798 encouraged French involvement in Southeast Asia. When the B.E.I.C. was dissolved in 1858, Britain became more directly involved. When this occurred, British actions, as well as those of the other European powers, were increasingly driven by the broader imperial concerns outlined in the previous chapter: finding new markets for Europe's and colonial India's exports, strategic rivalry (the Straits of Malacca), nationalism, and the urge to export European civilization and Christianity (the "white man's burden").

After a series of colonial wars at the end of the century, France, Britain, and the Netherlands added almost all of Southeast Asia to their growing list of overseas possessions. The addition of Germany, the United States, Russia, and imperial Japan to the competition resulted in the seizure of Korea, the Philippine Islands, the islands of the western Pacific, and portions of China. Technically speaking, China did not become an out-and-out colony because it remained self-governing, but large parts of it were occupied.

In Southeast Asia, the colonial period commenced with Dutch and Spanish presence in the Indonesian and Philippine Islands, respectively. But as late as the end of the eighteenth century, the Western traders and missionaries had had relatively little impact on the mass of the native inhabitants of the islands and even less on the mainland.

This situation changed gradually but with increasing rapidity. The nineteenth century saw a transformation of the former subsistence economy of the peasantry and the introduction of direct European control of government both in the islands and on the mainland. By 1900, the entire region, except for Thailand, had become a European colony.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced terms in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Act of Abolition (1829)
Afghanistan Wars
Battle of Plassey (1757)
Bengal Renaissance

British East India Company
Robert Clive
culture system
Joseph François Dupleix
The Great Game
Great Indian Mutiny

Indian National Congress
nawab
Sir Thomas Raffles
the Raj
Ram Mohun Roy
sepoys

For Further Reflection

1. Why do you suppose that the Mughals initially welcomed European trade? How did these interlopers and the welcome they received fit the pattern of India's long previous experience with outsiders (for example, the Mughals themselves)? In seizing Indian petty, post-Mughal states from their native nawabs, were the Europeans simply being opportunistic? Why might the Europeans (e.g., the French and English) have thought it inevitably necessary to dominate these states? Were they right to think this?

2. In what ways did the experience of the B.E.I.C. in India prove to be something of a laboratory that shaped British attitudes and methods for governing non-European subjects throughout their empire? Where else did they apply some of the methods they originated in India?

3. What might have motivated the French to engage in imperialist expansion in Southeast Asia?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. According to our text, much of the early profits of the British East India Company were
   a. obtained as booty through conquest.
   b. skimmed by Company employees.
   c. taken by Company Directors.
   d. divided among shareholders.
   e. remitted to the Crown.

2. "Going native" meant
   a. joining the armies of Indian princes.
   b. allying with Indian nawabs.
   c. trading with Indian firms.
   d. adopting Indian ways of life.
   e. supporting Indian nawabs and rajas as rulers.

3. A major misstep was taken in 1829 with the passing of the Act of Abilition, which abolished
   a. sati.
   b. the B.E.I.C.
   c. all "native" rule.
   d. missionary activity.
   e. widow remarriage.

4. Among Indians, who seem to have suffered the most from the years of the Raj?
   a. the Mughal princes
   b. the educated elite
   c. small landowners and peasant farmers
   d. merchants and shopkeepers
   e. the Brahmins

5. The term "civilizing mission" refers to which of the following?
   a. The Indian elites' idea that British civilization was superior to their own.
   b. Some Indians' idea that eventually a new civilization would develop from a mixture of British and Indian civilizations.
   c. Europeans' idea that the Brahmins represented the best of Hindu civilization and that they should promote Brahmanism among Indians of all castes.
   d. Europeans' idea that European civilization should replace the civilizations of Asia, Africa, and America.
   e. Europeans' idea that they were bringing civilization to non-Europeans.

6. The British government seized control over India in 1858 as a result of the
   a. financial failure of the East India Company.
   b. defeat of the French at Plassey.
   c. Act of Abolition.
   d. crowning of Queen Victoria as Empress of India.
   e. Great Indian Mutiny.

7. One positive result of the notion of Britain's "civilizing mission" in India was
   a. most Indians' willingness to tolerate Christian missionary activities.
   b. many Indians' acceptance of Christianity.
   c. the education of the Brahmins in European and Christian beliefs.
   d. the creation of a new educated Indian.
   e. the creation of a new ruling class.

8. Which of the following was true of the islands of Southeast Asia by the 1600s?
   a. The Portuguese established control over its trade.
   b. The Dutch established control over its trade.
   c. Most of its trade was lost to China.
   d. Most of its inhabitants had converted to Islam.
   e. both b and d

9. The "culture system" was introduced in
   a. French Vietnam to ensure a supply of rice to the peasantry.
   b. Dutch Indonesia to ensure export profits.
   c. British Malaya to get the rubber plantations started.
   d. the Spanish Philippines to support the Catholic Church clergy.
   e. Japan to facilitate the opening of port cities to Western trade.

10. Thailand's continuing independence is largely attributable to
    a. the conflict between Vietnam and Burma.
    b. the determination of the Thai people.
    c. the protection afforded by the Manchu emperors in China.
    d. the desire for a buffer between India and Indochina.
    e. the desire of the Thai people to modernize their country.

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