

# THE BRITISH WORLD 1800-1945



*A map of the world in 1886 (Author : Walter Crane)*

## BROCHURE DE TEXTES

### **Richard Hakluyt, A Particular Discourse... (1585)**

A particular discourse concerning the great necessity and manifold commodities that are like to grow to this Realm of England by the Western discoveries lately attempted, Written in the year 1584 by Richard Hakluyt of Oxford at the request and direction of the right worshipful Mr. Walter Raleigh now Knight, before the coming home of his two barks: and is divided into XXI chapters, the titles whereof follow in the next leaf.

1. That this western discovery will be greatly for the enlargement of the gospel of Christ whereunto the Princes of the reformed religion are chiefly bound amongst whom her Majesty is principal.

2. That all other English Trades are grown beggarly or dangerous, especially in all the king of Spain his Dominions, where our men are driven to fling their Bibles and prayer books into the sea, and to forswear and renounce their religion and conscience and consequently their obedience to her Majesty.

3. That this western voyage will yield unto us all the commodities of Europe, Africa, and Asia, as far as we were wont to travel, and supply the wants of all our decayed trades.

4. That this enterprise will be for the manifold employment of numbers of idle men, and for breeding of many sufficient, and for utterance of the great quantities of the commodities of our Realm. 5. That this voyage will be a great bridle to the Indies of the king of Spain and a means that we may arrest at our pleasure for the space of time weeks or three months every year, one or two hundred sails of his subjects ships at the fishing in Newfoundland.

6. That the riches that the Indian treasure wrought in time of Charles the late Emperor father to the Spanish king, is to be had in consideration of the Q. most excellent Majesty, lest the continual coming of the like treasure from thence to his son, work the unrecoverable annoyance of this Realm, whereof already we have had very dangerous experience.

7. What special means may bring king Philippe from his high Throne, and make him equal to the Princes his neighbours, wherewithal is showed his weakness in the west Indies.

8. That the limits of the king of Spain's dominions in the west Indies be nothing so large as is generally imagined and surmised, neither those parts which he holdeth be of any such forces as is falsely given out by the popish Clergy and others his suitors, to terrify the Princes of the Religion and to abuse and blind them.

9. The Names of the riche Townes lying along the sea coast on the north side from the equinoctial of the main land of America under the king of Spain.

10. A Brief declaration of the chief Islands in the Bay of Mexico being under the king of Spain, with their havens and fortes, and what commodities they yield.

11. That the Spaniards have executed most outrageous and more than Turkish cruelties in all the west Indies, whereby they are everywhere there, become most odious unto them, who would join with us or any other most willingly to shake of their most intolerable yoke, and have begun to do it already in divers places where they were Lords heretofore.

12. That the passage in this voyage is easy and short, that it cutteth not near the trade of any other

mighty Princes, nor near their countries, that it is to be performed at all times of the year, and needeth but one kind of wind, that Ireland being full of good havens on the south and west sides, is the nearest parte of Europe to it, which by this trade shall be in more security, and the sooner drawn to more civility.

13. That hereby the Revenues and customs of her Majesty both outwards and inwards shall mightily be enlarged by the toll, excises, and other duties which without oppression may be raised.

14. That this action will be greatly for the increase, maintenance and safety of our Navy, and especially of great shipping which is the strength of our Realm, and for the supportation of all those occupations that depend upon the same.

15. That speedy planting in divers fit places is most necessary upon these lucky western discoveries for fear of the danger of being prevented by other nations which have the like intentions, with the order thereof and other reasons therewithal alleged.

16. Means to keep this enterprise from overthrow and the enterprisers from shame and dishonor.

17. That by these Colonies the Northwest passage to Cathaio and China may easily quickly and perfectly be searched out as well by river and overland, as by sea, for proof whereof here are quoted

and alleged divers rare testimonies out of the three volumes of voyages gathered by Ramusius and other grave authors.

18. That the Queen of England title to all the west Indies, or at the least to as much as is from Florida to the Circle Arctic, is more lawful and right then the Spaniards or any other Christian Princes.

19. An answer to the bull of the donation of all the west Indies granted to the kings of Spain by Pope Alexander the VI who was himself a Spaniard borne.

20. A brief collection of certain reasons to induce her Majesty and the state to take in hand the

western voyage and the planting there.

21. A note of some things to be prepared for the voyage which is set down rather to draw the

takers of the voyage in hand to the present consideration then for any other reason for that divers things require preparation long before the voyage, without which the voyage is maimed.

Richard HAKLUYT (1552?-1616), *A particular discourse concerning the great necessity and manifold commodities that are like to grow to this Realm of England by the Western discoveries lately attempted* (London, 1585)

## **A freed slave describes his passage to Barbados**

Excerpt from *The Interesting Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavas Vassa, The African* by Olaudah Equiano (1789)

I had never experienced anything of this kind before. If I could have gotten over the nettings, I would have jumped over the side, but I could not. The crew used to watch very closely those of us who were not chained down to the decks, lest we should leap into the water. I have seen some of these poor African prisoners most severely cut for attempting to do so, and hourly whipped for not eating. This indeed was often the case with myself. I inquired of these what was to be done with us. They gave me to understand we were to be carried to these white people's country to work for them. I then was a little revived, and thought if it were no worse than working, my situation was not so desperate. But still I feared that I should be put to death, the white people looked and acted in so savage a manner.

### Adam Smith on colonisation (1776)

(In the seventeenth century) the shopkeepers and other traders of England (...) petitioned the Parliament that the cultivators of America might for the future be confined to their shop; first, for buying all the goods which they wanted from Europe; and, secondly, for selling all such parts of their own produce as those traders might find it convenient to buy.

The maintenance of this monopoly has hitherto been the principal, or more properly perhaps the sole end and purpose of the dominion which Great Britain assumes over her colonies. In the exclusive trade, it is supposed, consists the great advantage of provinces, which have never yet afforded either revenue or military force for the support of the civil government, or the defence of the mother country. The monopoly is the principal badge of their dependency, and it is the sole fruit which has hitherto been gathered from that dependency. Whatever expense Great Britain has hitherto laid out in maintaining this dependency has really been laid out in order to support this monopoly. The expense of the ordinary peace establishment of the colonies amounted, before the commencement of the present disturbances, to the pay of twenty regiments of foot; to the expense of the artillery, stores, and extraordinary provisions with which it was necessary to supply them; and to the expense of a very considerable naval force which was constantly kept up, in order to guard, from the smuggling vessels of other nations, the immense coast of North America, and that of our West Indian islands. (...)

Under the present system of management, therefore, Great Britain derives nothing but loss from the dominion which she assumes over her colonies. To propose that Great Britain should voluntarily give up all authority over her colonies, and leave them to elect their own magistrates, to enact their own laws, and to make peace and war as they might think proper, would be to propose such a measure as never was, and never will be adopted, by any nation in the world. No nation ever voluntarily gave up the dominion of any province, how troublesome soever it might be to govern it, and how small soever the revenue which it afforded might be in proportion to the expense which it occasioned. Such sacrifices, though they might frequently be agreeable to the interest, are always mortifying to the pride of every nation, and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, they are always contrary to the private interest of the governing part of it, who would thereby be deprived of the disposal of many places of trust and profit, of many opportunities of acquiring wealth and distinction, which the possession of the most turbulent, and, to the great body of the people, the most unprofitable province seldom fails to afford. The most visionary enthusiast would scarce be capable of proposing such a measure with any serious hopes at least of its ever being adopted. If it was adopted, however, Great Britain would not only be immediately freed from the whole annual expense of the peace establishment of the colonies, but might settle with them such a treaty of commerce as would effectually secure to her a free trade, more advantageous to the great body of the people, though less so to the merchants, than the monopoly which she at present enjoys. By thus parting good friends, the natural affection of the colonies to the mother country which, perhaps, our late dissensions have well nigh extinguished, would quickly revive. It might dispose them not only to respect, for whole centuries together, that treaty of commerce which they had concluded with us at parting, but to favour us in war as well as in trade, and, instead of turbulent and factious subjects, to become our most faithful, affectionate, and generous allies.

### **Karl Marx on primitive accumulation**

With the development of capitalist production during the manufacturing period, the public opinion of Europe had lost the last remnant of shame and conscience. The nations bragged cynically of every infamy that served them as a means to capitalistic accumulation. Read, *e.g.*, the naïve Annals of Commerce of the worthy A. Anderson. Here it is trumpeted forth as a triumph of English statecraft that at the Peace of Utrecht, England extorted from the Spaniards by the Asiento Treaty the privilege of being allowed to ply the negro trade, until then only carried on between Africa and the English West Indies, between Africa and Spanish America as well. England thereby acquired the right of supplying Spanish America until 1743 with 4,800 negroes yearly. This threw, at the same time, an official cloak over British smuggling. Liverpool waxed fat on the slave trade. This was its method of primitive accumulation. And, even to the present day, Liverpool —respectability is the Pindar of the slave trade which – compare the work of Aikin [1795] already quoted – —has coincided with that spirit of bold adventure which has characterised the trade of Liverpool and rapidly carried it to its present state of prosperity; has occasioned vast employment for shipping and sailors, and greatly augmented the demand for the manufactures of the country (p. 339). Liverpool employed in the slave-trade, in 1730, 15 ships; in 1751, 53; in 1760, 74; in 1770, 96; and in 1792, 132.

Whilst the cotton industry introduced child-slavery in England, it gave in the United States a stimulus to the transformation of the earlier, more or less patriarchal slavery, into a system of commercial exploitation. In fact, the veiled slavery of the wage workers in Europe needed, for its pedestal, slavery pure and simple in the new world.

Tantae molis erat, to establish the —eternal laws of Nature of the capitalist mode of production, to complete the process of separation between labourers and conditions of labour, to transform, at one pole, the social means of production and subsistence into capital, at the opposite pole, the mass of the population into wage labourers, into —free labouring poor,<sup>ll</sup> that artificial product of modern society. If money, according to Augier, —comes into the world with a congenital blood-stain on one cheek, capital comes dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt.

Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*, 1867, ch. 31: “The genesis of the industrial capitalist”



# Slave compensation claims, House of Commons parliamentary papers, 1837-1838

1837-38 (215) Accounts of slave compensation claims; for the colonies of Jamaica. Antigua. Honduras. St. Christopher's. Grenada. Dominica. Nevis. Virgin Islands. St. Lucia. British Guiana. Montserrat. Bermuda. Bahamas. Tobago. St. Vincent's. Trinidad. Barbadoes. Mauritius. Cape of Good Hope.

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## SUMS OF MONEY AWARDED FOR SLAVERY COMPENSATION

Date of Award.	No. of Claim.	Name of Party to whom the Payment is Awarded.	£	s	d.	SUM.	Date of Award.	No. of Claim.	Name of Party to whom the Payment is Awarded.	£	s	d.	SUM.
7 Mar. 1836	100	Peter Gorse -	3	71	17	-	7 Mar. 1836	190	Elizabeth Merritt -	68	1,283	12	6
—	101	Henry Grishlow -	3	77	13	7	—	191	William S. Scholer -	10	244	12	6
—	102	Deborah Crichlow -	3	77	13	7	—	192	John Clarke -	10	213	12	3
—	103	William Goldard -	2	48	10	11	—	193	Rosetta Clarke -	1	19	6	4
28 Mar. 1836	104	Thomas Lewis -	167	3,410	-	10	—	194	Haynes Walton -	1	19	6	4
7 Mar. 1836	105	Thomas Daniel & John Daniel -	148	3,169	4	10	—	195	Dorothy Walton -	1	7	15	4
—	106	John Briggs -	108	2,138	1	4	—	196	Ann Elcock Walton -	26	468	-	1
—	107	Nathan Smith -	27	687	6	11	—	197	Samuel Hill -	1	38	16	9
—	108	Mary Smith & Sarah Gill Smith -	5	81	11	2	13 Aug. 1836	198	John Wooding Jones & Thomas Henry Jones -	6	91	5	5
—	109	Samuel Partridge Field -	4	64	1	8	7 Mar. 1836	199	Elizabeth A. Jones -	8	147	11	9
—	110	William Richard Phillips -	20	403	18	5	—	200	James Bether -	3	34	19	1
—	111	Sarah Elizabeth Phillips -	1	29	2	7	—	201	John H. Waich -	4	50	9	9
—	112	Elizabeth Phillips -	4	81	11	2	—	202	John H. Waich -	11	297	2	4
7 Mar. 1836	113	- - [Litigated Claim] -	4	-	-	-	—	203	Jonathan F. King -	6	165	1	4
—	114	Elizabeth Sheppard -	2	38	16	9	—	204	Samuel King -	18	273	10	2
—	115	Thomas Griffith -	17	415	12	6	—	205	Joseph Barnes -	10	209	13	9
—	116	Elizabeth Honor Ashby -	8	196	2	9	—	206	Thomas King -	20	612	18	1
7 Mar. 1836	117	- - [Litigated Claim] -	5	-	-	-	14 Mar. 1836	207	Joseph Worrell & Joseph Worrell -	18	425	5	8
—	118	Robert Henry Mayers -	1	29	2	7	7 Mar. 1836	208	Maria A. C. Worrell -	55	1,147	13	8
7 Mar. 1836	119	- - [Litigated Claim] -	173	-	-	-	—	209	William Fields -	43	972	18	3
—	120	Richard Deane -	36	623	7	4	21 Mar. 1836	210	Martha Alleyne & Thomas Marshall -	8	108	14	11
—	121	Christian Frederick Lardy -	3	29	2	7	7 Mar. 1836	211	The Earl of Hereford -	292	6,486	1	6
—	122	Charlotte Gowerley -	16	277	14	-	—	212	Susanus Thorne -	25	384	10	8
—	123	Christian C. Willoughby -	7	79	12	4	—	213	Nathaniel Rosch -	16	343	13	7
—	124	Thomas Brown -	4	58	5	2	—	214	Nathaniel Rosch -	2	36	17	11
—	125	James Sparrock -	1	19	8	4	—	215	Johannes Sainthill -	8	178	13	2
—	126	George Hewitt -	10	198	1	6	—	216	John R. Earl -	17	240	16	-
21 Mar. 1836	127	Mary Jane Gibson -	9	170	17	9	—	217	Elizabeth Spaltes -	7	77	13	6
—	128	Thomas Gibson -	1	7	15	4	33 Jan. 1837	218	Amey Maria Morani -	1	29	2	7
7 Mar. 1836	129	- - [Litigated Claim] -	61	-	-	-	7 Mar. 1836	219	George William Collins -	4	80	6	7
—	130	John Hall -	3	71	17	-	—	220	Mary Susanna Simpson & Isabella Jane Simpson & Elizabeth Christian Simpson -	8	151	9	5
—	131	Richard Scaly -	7	141	15	2	—	221	John Richard Bryant -	8	118	9	2
—	132	Joseph Harding -	8	167	-	1	—	222	Mary Merritt -	2	46	10	11
—	133	Mary Harding -	8	133	19	-	—	223	Rosey Archer -	2	46	12	1
—	134	Adolphus Rd. Henley -	18	384	10	1	—	224	Samuel Bradford Archer -	15	332	1	5
—	135	Rebecca Joanna Ashby -	13	254	7	10	—	225	Elizabeth Margaret Small -	1	7	15	4
7 Mar. 1836	136	- - [Litigated Claim] -	9	-	-	-	—	226	Charlotte Percival -	4	75	14	8
—	137	Richard Roberts -	4	77	13	6	—	227	Robert Bowcher Clarke, jun. -	11	168	18	11
—	138	Richard Thomas Roberts -	1	15	10	8	—	228	John Richard Layne -	2	58	5	2
7 Mar. 1836	139	- - [Litigated Claim] -	120	-	-	-	—	229	Sarah Toppin -	3	31	2	4
—	140	Susannah Ostrehan Collymore -	19	396	3	1	—	230	John Lewis -	47	1,116	13	4
—	141	Frances Leslie Collymore -	34	539	17	3	—	231	George W. Yearwood -	62	678	17	-
—	142	Mary Collymore -	13	241	15	8	—	232	George Washington Yearwood -	2	44	13	8
—	143	Thomas Ashby Collymore -	21	495	3	11	—	233	George Washington Yearwood -	5	62	2	10
28 Mar. 1836	144	Ann Judith Briggs -	1	19	8	4	—	234	Mary Stanton -	8	137	17	6
7 Mar. 1836	145	Maria Thomas Edey -	1	29	2	7	—	235	Mary Stanton -	11	242	14	10
—	146	Aled T. Mathews -	12	231	1	9	—	236	John Warren -	5	110	13	9
—	147	Frances L. Collymore -	1	38	16	9	—	237	Rebecca Anna Webb -	2	44	13	3
—	148	Susannah O. Collymore & Thomas A. Collymore -	1	-	-	-	—	238	Abel Yearwood -	6	102	16	6
—	149	Sarah F. Goodman -	1	19	8	4	—	239	John Edward Squires -	21	483	10	10
—	150	Mary Katharine Rock -	2	46	12	1	—	240	Rebecca McCuskey -	1	15	10	8
—	151	Jane Able Rock -	9	143	14	-	—	241	Jane V. Squires -	2	44	13	3
—	152	Sarah Ann Thorne -	1	19	8	4	17 Oct. 1836	242	Rebecca Mercy Gregory & John Jemmot Gregory & George A. Gregory -	9	126	4	6
—	153	Elizabeth G. Clinton -	7	141	15	2	7 Mar. 1836	243	Frances Mercy Gregory -	8	215	11	1
—	154	George Clinton -	1	1	18	10	—	244	- - [Litigated Claim] -	2	-	-	-
—	155	George B. L. Barclay & George Harper -	22	475	15	6	7 Mar. 1836	245	Alexander W. Kidney -	1	38	16	9
—	156	George Harper -	3	73	15	10	—	246	John William Niles -	18	434	19	11
28 Mar. 1836	157	William Dryton -	3	75	14	8	—	247	- - [Litigated Claim] -	3	-	-	-
7 Mar. 1836	158	Fanny P. Howell -	51	1,145	15	-	—	248	John Mose -	1	29	2	7
—	159	Mary Katharine Chase -	13	231	9	11	—	249	Harriet Cudogian -	3	31	1	5
—	160	Elizabeth Margaret Chase -	10	273	14	7	—	250	Rebecca Jesse King -	10	186	8	6
—	161	Ann Chase -	8	194	3	11	—	251	Thomas Birch -	1	1	18	10
—	162	Sarah Maloney Ince -	1	7	15	4	—	252	Sarah E. Pollard -	2	33	-	3
—	163	Ann Bell Ince -	1	7	15	4	—	253	William Thomas Medford -	3	34	18	1
—	164	Elizabeth Ann Nebbett -	3	71	17	-	—	254	Mary Jane Bayley -	1	29	2	7
—	165	Lucy Jervis -	8	81	11	2	—	255	James Anton -	37	802	-	3
—	166	Elizabeth Ann Nebbett -	4	87	7	9	19 Mar. 1836	256	Mary Elizabeth Lake Anton & James Alexander Anton & Martha Anton -	6	89	6	7
—	167	Richard Austin -	3	85	8	11	7 Mar. 1836	257	John Richard Homeyard -	18	378	13	7
—	168	Elvira Ince -	9	126	4	6	14 Mar. 1836	258 A	G. Beaumont Leslie Barclay -	5	61	12	7
—	169	Edward Grant -	12	273	16	3	—	258 B	James King Went -	21	624	6	6
—	170	Frederick Maidland Cromartie -	10	190	6	2	7 Mar. 1836	259	Elizabeth M. Barday -	9	178	13	2
—	171	Elizabeth Jones -	10	264	2	1	—	260	Eliza Perry -	3	66	-	6
—	172	Mary Ann Hinkson -	20	328	3	8	—	261	Sarah Lovell -	1	38	16	9
7 Mar. 1836	173	- - [Litigated Claim] -	33	-	-	-	—	262	Richard Lenton -	14	308	15	8
—	174	Jobo Lucomb -	10	168	17	3	—	263	- - [Litigated Claim] -	122	-	-	-
—	175	Hennetta Sibbald -	16	304	17	8	7 Mar. 1836	265	William Henry Hall -	4	66	-	6
—	176	Robert Daniels -	7	217	10	-	—	266	Thomas Markland Lovell -	16	374	16	-
—	177	Elizabeth T. Howell -	36	798	-	2	—	267	James Thomas Rogers -	104	2,207	18	8
—	178	John William Jones -	3	62	2	10	—	268	James Johnson -	19	475	15	6
—	179	John Smith Crick -	13	281	11	7	—	269	- - [Litigated Claim] -	325	-	-	-
—	180	William Clarke -	14	246	12	0	7 Mar. 1836	270	Mary E. Woodyear -	13	332	1	5
—	181	Henry Edey -	24	880	13	10	—	271	Thomas P. Ford -	13	271	17	5
—	182	Mary James Heady -	14	231	1	9	—	272	James Marshall Ford -	6	112	12	8
—	183	Mary Elvira Edey -	2	46	12	1	—	273	-	-	-	-	-
—	184	Sarah Teal Edey -	2	46	12	1	—	-	-	-	-	-	-
—	185	Robert Collymore Hendy -	3	87	7	9	—	-	-	-	-	-	-
—	186	Mercy Lytett -	1	38	16	9	—	-	-	-	-	-	-
—	187	Frances E. Farnum -	2	42	14	5	—	-	-	-	-	-	-
—	188	John C. Alder -	11	271	16	7	—	-	-	-	-	-	-
—	189	Ruth Edwards -	1	19	8	4	—	-	-	-	-	-	-

### John Stuart Mill, “On Colonies and Colonisation”(1848)

If it is desirable, as no one will deny it to be, that the planting of colonies should be conducted, not with an exclusive view to the private interests of the first founders, but with a deliberate regard to the permanent welfare of the nations afterwards to arise from these small beginnings; such regard can only be secured by placing the enterprise, from its commencement, under regulations constructed with the foresight and enlarged views of philosophical legislators; and the government alone has power either to frame such regulations, or to enforce their observance.

The question of government intervention in the work of Colonisation involves the future and permanent interests of civilisation itself, and far outstretches the comparatively narrow limits of purely economical considerations. But even with a view to those considerations alone, the removal of population from the overcrowded to the unoccupied parts of the earth's surface is one of those works of eminent social usefulness, which most require, and which at the same time best repay, the intervention of government. To appreciate the benefits of colonisation, it should be considered in its relation, not to a single country, but to the collective economical interests of the human race. The question is in general treated too exclusively as one of distribution; of relieving one labour market and supplying another. It is this, but it is also a question of production, and of the most efficient employment of the productive resources of the world.

Much has been said of the good economy of importing commodities from the place where they can be bought cheapest; while the good economy of producing them where they can be produced cheapest, is comparatively little thought of. If to carry consumable goods from the places where they are superabundant to those where they are scarce, is a good pecuniary speculation, is it not an equally good speculation to do the same thing with regard to labour and instruments? The exportation of labourers and capital from old to new countries, from a place where their productive power is less, to a place where it is greater, increases by so much the aggregate produce of the labour and capital of the world. It adds to the joint wealth of the old and the new country, what amounts in a short period to many times the mere cost of effecting the transport. There needs be no hesitation in affirming that Colonisation, in the present state of the world, is the best affair of business, in which the capital of an old and wealthy country can engage.

John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, 1848.



**Civilization is advancing (1828)**

- Robert\* has been enabled to proceed in the work of translation. He is now going on with a little work of the Rev. W. Brown, entitled 'A Selection of Scripture Passages'; it is very tedious, but he thinks it will be very useful in the school, as well as for public reading. The scholars are making tolerable progress, and the attendance on public worship is very good. A chapel must soon be built, Mr. Hughes dwelling house being much too small. The singing goes on charmingly, and to hear many of them repeat the catechism, with copious extracts from scripture, is very gratifying. The fixed and serious attention of some of them to the preacher induces us to hope that the Spirit is at work in their hearts. We have at present a candidate for baptism, who, may prove the beginning of a Christian church among them. It is Arend, of whom you have heard formerly, a slave who ran away and sojourned many years in the interior, has some years ago purchased his own freedom with ivory, has since lived near the station, and has lately seen the necessity of a decided profession. He is an industrious pushing man, and we have reason to believe that he will be a good example, and that ere long there will be some of our poor people included also to come out and be separate. The temporal affairs of the station are very prosperous. Civilization is advancing. Nearly all our poor people have reaped good crops of wheat from their little gardens, and have now sown maize, which will have time to ripen before the first frost comes, if the locusts do not destroy them. They also grow much tobacco, which they exchange for cattle. Our own gardens are becoming beautiful. The fruit which is just ripening is very abundant; indeed, I am astonished to see what the willing earth yields in so short a time.
- Mary Moffat (Letter to James Smith dated 30 December, 1828)

\*Robert: Mary's husband Robert Moffat, missionary for the London Missionary Society. Robert established a mission center at Kuruman in southern Africa

**Charles Dilke on “Greater Britain” (1868)**

I followed England round the world: everywhere I was in English-speaking or English- governed lands. If I remarked that climate, soil, manners of life, that mixture with other people had modified the blood, I saw, too, that in essentials the race was always one [...]. A conception, however imperfect, of the grandeur of our race, already girdling [to girdle: ceindre] the earth which it is  
 5 destined perhaps to overspread. [...]

Everywhere we have found that the difficulties which impede the progress to universal dominion of the English people lie in the conflict with the cheaper races. The result of our survey is such as to give us reason for the belief that race distinctions will long continue [...] that the dearer are on the whole, likely to destroy the cheaper peoples, and that Saxondom will rise triumphant  
 10 from the doubtful struggle [...]. No possible series of event can prevent the English race itself in 1870 numbering 300 millions of beings – of one national character and tongue. Italy, Spain, France, Russia become pigmies by the side of such a people. [...]

The ultimate future of anyone section of our race, however, is of little moment by the side of its triumph as a whole, but the power of English laws and of English principles of government  
 15 is not merely an English question and its continuance is essential to the freedom of mankind.

Charles Wentworth DILKE, Greater Britain, 1868

## Thomas Babington Macaulay on Indian Education (1835)

We now come to the gist of the matter. We have a fund to be employed as Government shall direct for the intellectual improvement of the people of this country. The simple question is, what is the most useful way of employing it?

All parties seem to be agreed on one point, that the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India, contain neither literary nor scientific information, and are, moreover, so poor and rude that, until they are enriched from some other quarter, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them. It seems to be admitted on all sides, that the intellectual improvement of those classes of the people who have the means of pursuing higher studies can at present be effected only by means of some language not vernacular amongst them.

What then shall that language be? One-half of the Committee maintain that it should be the English. The other half strongly recommend the Arabic and Sanscrit. The whole question seems to me to be, which language is the best worth knowing?

I have no knowledge of either Sanscrit or Arabic.-But I have done what I could to form a correct estimate of their value. I have read translations of the most celebrated Arabic and Sanscrit works. I have conversed both here and at home with men distinguished by their proficiency in the Eastern tongues. I am quite ready to take the Oriental learning at the valuation of the Orientalists themselves. I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia. The intrinsic superiority of the Western literature is, indeed, fully admitted by those members of the Committee who support the Oriental plan of education.

It will hardly be disputed, I suppose, that the department of literature in which the Eastern writers stand highest is poetry. And I certainly never met with any Orientalist who ventured to maintain that the Arabic and Sanscrit poetry could be compared to that of the great European nations. But when we pass from works of imagination to works in which facts are recorded, and general principles investigated, the superiority of the Europeans becomes absolutely immeasurable. It is, I believe, no exaggeration to say, that all the historical information which has been collected from all the books written in the Sanscrit language is less valuable than what may be found in the most paltry abridgements used at preparatory schools in England. In every branch of physical or moral philosophy, the relative position of the two nations is nearly the same.

How, then, stands the case? We have to educate a people who cannot at present be educated by means of their mother-tongue. We must teach them some foreign language. The claims of our own language it is hardly necessary to recapitulate. It stands preeminent even among the languages of the west. It abounds with works of imagination not inferior to the noblest which Greece has bequeathed to us; with models of every species of eloquence; with historical compositions, which, considered merely as narratives, have seldom been surpassed, and which, considered as vehicles of ethical and political instruction, have never been equalled; with just and lively representations

of human life and human nature; with the most profound speculations on metaphysics, morals, government, jurisprudence, and trade; with full and correct information respecting every experimental science which tends to preserve the health, to increase the comfort, or to expand the intellect of man. Whoever knows that language has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth, which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations. It may safely be said, that the literature now extant in that language is of far greater value than all the literature which three hundred years ago was extant in all the languages of the world together. Nor is this all. In India, English is the language spoken by the ruling class. It is spoken by the higher class of natives at the seats of Government. It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East. It is the language of two great European communities which are rising, the one in the south of Africa, the other in Australasia; communities which are every year becoming more important, and more closely connected with our Indian empire. Whether we look at the intrinsic value of our literature, or at the particular situation of this country, we shall see the strongest reason to think that, of all foreign tongues, the English tongue is that which would be the most useful to our native subjects.

The question now before us is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach this language, we shall teach languages in which, by universal confession, there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own; whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which, by universal confession, whenever they differ from those of Europe, differ for the worse; and whether, when we can patronise sound Philosophy and true History, we shall countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines, which would disgrace an English farrier [a horse shoer] -Astronomy, which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding school, History, abounding with kings thirty feet high, and reigns thirty thousand years long, and Geography, made up of seas of treacle and seas of butter.

We are not without experience to guide us. History furnishes several analogous cases, and they all teach the same lesson. There are in modern times, to go no further, two memorable instances of a great impulse given to the mind of a whole society,-of prejudices overthrown,-of knowledge diffused,-of taste purified,-of arts and sciences planted in countries which had recently been ignorant and barbarous.

The first instance to which I refer, is the great revival of letters among the Western nations at the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. At that time almost every thing that was worth reading was contained in the writings of the ancient Greeks and Romans. Had our ancestors acted as the Committee of Public Instruction has hitherto acted; had they neglected the language of Cicero and Tacitus; had they confined their attention to the old dialects of our own island; had they printed nothing and taught nothing at the universities but Chronicles in Anglo-Saxon, and Romances in Norman-French, would England have been what she now is? What the Greek and Latin were to the contemporaries of More and Ascham our tongue is to the people of India. The literature of England is now more valuable than that of classical antiquity. I doubt whether the Sanscrit literature be as valuable as that of our Saxon and Norman progenitors. In some departments,-in History, for example, I am certain that it is much less so.

In one point I fully agree with the gentlemen to whose general views I am opposed. I feel with them, that it is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population.

80  
85 *Thomas Babington Macaulay, « Minute of 2 February 1835 on Indian Education », from Macaulay, Prose and Poetry, ed. G. M. Young (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1957), p. 729.*

## Oriental Languages (1909)

The noble Lord said: My Lords, (...) I am afraid that I shall be accused of taxing your Lordships' credulity when I tell you that whereas in Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburg, Vienna, Italy, and Holland there are well-organised, well-equipped, and well-endowed schools of Oriental languages, in London, which is the capital of the country which, apart from its paramount interest in India, in the Malay Archipelago, and in Africa, has larger dealings, and has had dealings, extending over a larger period of time, with the Far East, with China, Japan, and Korea, than any other country—in London there is no school of Oriental languages. It is true that in London University and in King's College there is some teaching of those very important languages, but whereas there are twenty-five teachers in London University and in King's College, their united salaries amount to only £1,300 a year—that is to say, an average of £52 a year for teachers qualified to teach in Chinese, in the Indian languages, in Japanese, in Hausa, in Malay, and all the various languages with which such a school as we now contemplate will have to deal. (...) Compare with this the way in which those establishments are treated abroad. In Berlin you have grants of something like £10,000 a year spent on these schools; in Paris and St. Petersburg, £7,000; in Italy, £4,000, and if we consider the position of our men as compared with the teachers in Berlin or in Paris it is really a pitiable aspect of things.

(...) We think that a great deal of unnecessary labour and great waste of time might and would be saved if there were such a school as that which we have adumbrated. Sir Robert Douglas, who was one of our chief witnesses in regard to the Chinese language, went so far as to say that six months study in England would save two years work in Peking. That sounds, perhaps, an exaggerated statement, but to anybody who has gone through the mill it is by no means an exaggerated statement. I will tell you why.

§ There is all the difference in the world between learning a European language and learning an Oriental language. (...) We Europeans, no matter what language we speak, draw almost all our imagery from the ancient classics and from the Bible. We talk about a woman being as beautiful as Venus, of a man being as strong as Samson, of the fall of the Walls of Jericho, and we compare a person to Achilles sulking in his tent, and by all Europeans we are understood; but when you talk with an Oriental gentleman you must understand what takes the place of those familiar images in his language. I do not say that that degree of perfection would be attained in six months by preliminary teaching in London, but I do say that it would save the long weary time of trying to acquire some sort of knowledge of the teacher's languages and of getting, as it were, behind his ideas. (...)

§ We have always been pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for the foreigner in the Far East. The Opium War, the Arrow War, the war of 1860 in which the French joined us, and other movements in which we have taken a leading part and in which hundreds of lives and millions of money have been spent, have all been for the benefit of other countries as much as our own. I do not quarrel with that, but I do quarrel with the fact that whereas we have spent all this money, we

have grudged the small sum that would be necessary to take the best advantage of it. The sum that we think would properly equip a school of Oriental studies in London would be something over  
40 £12,000 a year, and I venture to think that the time has come when we should spend that comparatively small amount to enable our people to take advantage of the great sacrifice in money and lives that has been made in the past. (...)

*Lord Redesdale in the House of Lords Deb 27 September 1909 vol 3 cc361-83 361 Lord Redesdale was a member of a Committee appointed to consider the organisation of Oriental studies in  
45 London. A School of Oriental Studies was eventually founded in 1917.*



## Exploration and the Scramble for Africa (1888)

It may be instructive at this time to present the Society with a map of Central Africa showing the extent to which the recent development of “land-eating” among the European Powers has resulted in claims, protectorates, colonies, and “spheres of influence” being applied to every unclaimed territory. The “Dark Continent,” at least on the map, is now illuminated with a variety of colourings: indeed, it must be difficult for cartographers to keep pace with the frequent announcements of territorial acquisitions. [...]

The British Government has always been slow to accept the responsibility of administering foreign possessions, or safe-guarding protectorates, unless its promise were capable of translation into action; hence, there are some large districts in Central Africa, now claimed by other European Powers, in which British merchants, British explorers, or British missionaries and philanthropists, have for years been slowly making their influence felt, exploring and opening up the country, and – when they might naturally look for some compensation – have finally witnessed the fruit of their labour gathered up by new comers. Take for example, the Lakes District of Central Africa, and the approach to them from the South. The student of geography might well suppose, from the colouring on the accompanying maps, that this large and important district owed its present comparative prosperity to the efforts of the Powers who now lay claim to it. But if he searched the annals of Central African history – from the time when Dr. Livingstone nearly thirty years ago entered the threshold of this unknown land, and said, “I have opened the door; I leave it to you to see that no one closes it after me” – to the present date; if he inquired of Geography, “Who discovered these great lakes, explored the rivers and territories, brought a message of peace to the barbarian indigenes, and worked among them as fellow-labourers?” – he would learn that it was mainly to British enterprise that we owe the present state and knowledge of these lands.

*Arthur Silva White, Secretary to the Royal Scottish Geographical Society, “The Partition of Central Africa”, The Scottish Geographical Magazine, 1888, vol. 4, p. 152-153.*



**The Rhodes Colossus, Punch, December 10, 1892, p. 266**

## Jan Smuts and the “British Commonwealth”(1917)

I think the very expression ‘Empire’ is misleading, because it makes people think that we are one community, to which the word ‘Empire’ can appropriately be applied. Germany is an Empire. Rome was an Empire. India is an Empire. But we are a system of nations. We are not a State, but a community of States and nations. We are far greater than any Empire which has ever existed,  
 5 and by using this ancient expression we really disguise the main fact that our whole position is different, and that we are not one State or nation or empire, but a whole world by ourselves, consisting of many nations, of many States, and all sorts of communities, under one flag.

We are a system of States, and not a stationary system, but a dynamic evolving system, always going forward to new destinies. Take the position of that system to-day. Here you have the United  
 10 Kingdom with a number of Crown Colonies. Besides that you have a large Protectorate like Egypt, an Empire by itself. Then you have a great Dependency like India, also an Empire by itself, where civilisation has existed from time immemorial, where we are trying to see how East and West can work together. These are enormous problems; but beyond them we come to the so-called Dominions, independent in their government, which have been evolved on the principles of your  
 15 free constitutional system into almost independent States, which all belong to this community of nations, and which I prefer to call ‘the British Commonwealth of Nations.’ [...]

What I feel in regard to all the empires of the past, and even in regard to the United States, is that the effort has always been towards forming one nation. All the empires we have known in the past and that exist to-day are founded on the idea of assimilation, of trying to force human material  
 20 into one mould. Your whole idea and basis is entirely different. You do not want to standardise the nations of the British Empire; you want to develop them towards greater, fuller nationality. These communities, the offspring of the Mother Country, or territories like my own, which have been annexed after the vicissitudes of war, must not be moulded on any one pattern. You want them to develop freely on the principles of self- government, and therefore your whole idea is  
 25 different from anything that has ever existed before. That is the fundamental fact we have to bear in mind – that this British Common- wealth of nations does not stand for standardisation or denationalisation, but for the fuller, richer, and more various life of all the nations comprised in it.

Even the nations which have fought against it, like my own, must feel that their cultural interests, their language, their religion, are as safe and as secure under the British flag as those of  
 30 the children of your own household and your own blood. It is only in proportion as this is realised that you will fulfil the true mission which is yours. Therefore it seems to me that there is only one solution, and that is a solution supplied by our past traditions – the traditions of freedom, self- government, and of the fullest development for all constituent parts of the Empire.

*Jan Christiaan Smuts, War-time speeches: a compilation of public utterances in Great Britain, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1917, pp. 26-29. [Jan Christiaan Smuts, an Afrikaner war hero, was prime minister of South Africa (1919-24 and 1939-48). A speech he made in London on 15 May 1917 contained the first public use of the phrase ‘British Commonwealth’.]*

## The Balfour Report (1926)

The Committee are of opinion that nothing would be gained by attempting to lay down a Constitution for the British Empire. Its widely scattered parts have very different characteristics, very different histories, and are at very different stages of evolution; while, considered as a whole, it defies classification and bears no real resemblance to any other political organisation which now exists or has ever yet been tried. There is, however, one most important element in it which, from a strictly constitutional point of view, has now, as regards all vital matters, reached its full development — we refer to the group of self- governing communities composed of Great Britain and the Dominions. Their position and mutual relation may be readily defined. They are autonomous Communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic *or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.*

A foreigner endeavouring to understand the true character of the British Empire by the aid of this formula alone would be tempted to think that it was devised rather to make mutual interference impossible than to make mutual co-operation easy. Such a criticism, however, completely ignores the historic situation. The rapid evolution of the Oversea Dominions during the last fifty years has involved many complicated adjustments of old political machinery to changing conditions. The tendency towards equality of status was both right and inevitable. Geographical and other conditions made this impossible of attainment by the way of federation. The only alternative was by the way of autonomy; and along this road it has been steadily sought. Every self-governing member of the Empire is now the master of its destiny. In fact, if not always in form, it is subject to no compulsion whatever.

But no account, however accurate, of the negative relations in which Great Britain and the Dominions stand to each other can do more than express a portion of the truth. The British Empire is not founded upon negations. It depends essentially, if not formally, on positive ideals. Free institutions are its life-blood. Free co-operation is its instrument. Peace, security and progress are among its objects. Aspects of all these great themes have been discussed at the present Conference; excellent results have been thereby obtained. And though every Dominion is now, and must always remain, the sole judge of the nature and extent of its co- operation, no common cause will, in our opinion, be thereby imperilled.

Equality of status, so far as Britain and the Dominions are concerned, is thus the root principle governing our Inter-Imperial Relations. But the principles of equality and similarity, appropriate to status, do not universally extend to function. Here we require something more than immutable dogmas. For example, to deal with questions of diplomacy and questions of defence, we require also flexible machinery □ machinery which can, from time to time, be adapted to the changing circumstances of the world. This subject also has occupied our attention. The rest of this report will show how we have endeavoured not only to state political theory, but to apply it to our common needs. *From Inter-imperial relations committee report (Imperial Conference, London, 1926)*

### **Ulster's solemn league and covenant (1912)**

Being convinced in our consciences that Home Rule would be disastrous to the well-being of Ulster as well as of the whole of Ireland, subversive of our civil and religious freedom, destructive of our citizenship, and perilous to the unity of the Empire, we, whose names are underwritten, men of Ulster, loyal subjects of His Gracious Majesty King George V, humbly relying on the God  
 5 whom our fathers in days of stress and trial confidently trusted, do hereby pledge ourselves in solemn Covenant throughout this time of threatened calamity to stand by one another in defending for ourselves and our children our cherished position of equal citizenship in the United Kingdom and in using all means which may be found necessary to defeat this present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland. And in the event of such a Parliament being forced upon us we  
 10 further solemnly and mutually pledge Ourselves to refuse to recognize its authority. In sure confidence that God will defend the right we hereto subscribe our names. And further we individually declare that we have not already signed this Covenant. The above was signed by me  
 AT

“Ulster Day”, Saturday, 28th September 1912

15 GOD SAVE THE KING

## India's Declaration of Independence (1930)

We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it. The British  
 5 government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India, economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe, therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or complete independence.

10 India has been ruined economically. The revenue derived from our people is out of all proportion to our income. Our average income is 7 pice [less than 5 cents] per day, and of the heavy taxes we pay, 20 per cent are raised from the land revenue derived from the peasantry, and 3 per cent from the salt tax which falls most heavily on the poor.

Village industries, such as hand-spinning have been destroyed, leaving the peasantry idle for at least four months in the year, and dulling their intellect for want of handicraft; and nothing  
 15 has been substituted, as in other countries, for the crafts thus destroyed.

Customs and currency have been so manipulated as to heap further burdens on the peasantry. The British manufactured goods constitute the bulk of our imports. Customs duties betray clear partiality for British manufactures, and revenue from them is used not to lessen the burden on the masses but for sustaining a highly extravagant administration. Still more arbitrary  
 20 has been the manipulation of the exchange ratio, which has resulted in millions being drained from the country.

Politically, India's status has never been so reduced as under the British regime. No reforms have given real political power to the people. The tallest of us have to bend before foreign authority. The rights of free expression of opinion and free association have been denied to us, and  
 25 many of our countrymen are compelled to live in exile abroad and cannot return to their homes. All administrative talent is killed, and the masses have to be satisfied with petty village offices and clerkships.

Culturally, the system of education has torn us from our moorings and our training has made us hug the very chains that bind us.

30 Spiritually, compulsory disarmament has made us unmanly, and the presence of an alien army of occupation, employed with deadly effect to crush in us the spirit of resistance, has made us think that we cannot look after ourselves or put up a defence against foreign aggression, or even defend our homes and families from the attacks of thieves, robbers and miscreants.

We hold it to be a crime against man and God to submit any longer to a rule that has caused  
 35 this fourfold disaster to our country. We recognize, however, that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is not through violence. We will therefore prepare ourselves by withdrawing, so far as we can, all voluntary association from the British government, and will prepare for Civil

40 Disobedience, including non-payment of taxes. We are convinced that if we can but withdraw our voluntary help and stop payment of taxes without doing violence even under provocation, the end of this inhuman rule is assured. We therefore hereby solemnly resolve to carry out the Congress instructions issued from time to time for the purpose of establishing Purna Swaraj.

*Prepared by Mahatma Gandhi and proclaimed by Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, 26 January 1930.*



### Churchill on India (1931)

Now I come to the administration of India. In my opinion we ought to dissociate ourselves in the most public and formal manner from any complicity in the weak, wrong-headed and most unfortunate administration of India by the Socialists and by the Viceroy acting upon their responsibility. It is alarming and also nauseating to see Mr Gandhi, a seditious Middle Temple lawyer, now posing as a fakir of a type well known in the East, striding half-naked up the steps of the Viceregal palace, while he is still organizing and conducting a defiant campaign of civil disobedience, to parley on equal terms with the representative of the King-Emperor. Such a spectacle can only increase the unrest in India and the danger to which white people there are exposed. It can only encourage all the forces which are hostile to British authority. What good can possibly come of such extra-ordinary negotiations? Gandhi has said within the last few weeks that he demands the substance of independence, though he kindly adds that the British may keep the shadow. He declares that the boycott of foreign cloth must be continued until either prohibition or a prohibitive tariff can be put up against it by an Indian national Parliament. This, if accepted, would entail the final ruin of Lancashire. He has also pressed for the repudiation of the Indian bans, and has laid claim to the control of the Army and foreign affairs. These are his well-known aims. Surely they form a strange basis for heart-to-heart discussions— 'sweet' we are told they were— between this malignant, subversive fanatic and the Viceroy of India.

All this is intended by the Socialists to be the preliminary to another Round Table Conference in India to which it is hoped to persuade the extremists to come. At this new gathering the far-reaching and half-baked recommendations of the Round Table Conference will be taken only as a starting-point. From this starting-point will begin the attack upon the safeguards which have hitherto been kept apologetically in the background. I think it vital that the Conservative party should without delay get itself into a strong position of resistance, and should begin to arouse public opinion throughout the country against these most unwise and dangerous proceedings. I intend at any to do my best, and I shall be much strengthened if you put your whole weight behind me. India is no ordinary question of party politics. It is one of those supreme issues which come upon us from time to time. When they arise the men and women who faithfully guard the life of Britain and her Empire in every rank and employment, in every part of the country, feel the same vibration. They felt it on August 4<sup>th</sup> 1914. They felt it in the General Strike. They feel it now.

*Winston Churchill, A Seditious Middle Temple Lawyer, 1931*

## Additional texts on India

### Nehru : “India can only be a rebel” (1941)

“For the past few months that I have been in jail, I have been watching the British Government's policy and the activities of their officials in India, and my conviction has been confirmed a thousand-fold that in these circumstances India can only be a rebel against the British Government which has had the insolence and audacity to speak so often through their officials in patronising terms about moral, political and spiritual values when they themselves have demonstrated to the world that they possess none of these, not even ordinary efficiency either in war or peace. (...)”

When people talk about any kind of co-operation between India and Britain, they seem to forget two factors: one is the bitterness of the people to-day is greater than ever against the British policy in India. Anyone who takes the trouble to find out what the people's feeling is, has only to speak to the man in the street from Peshawar to Cape Comorin.

During my past twenty-five years of political experience I have never known feeling so strained and bitter. No politician, whatever his views might be, can ignore this background. (...) It is true, looking at the international situation, all the manner of considerations arise which induce us to give our sympathy to the props of powers fighting against the Axis powers. If I have been in favour of giving all the possible help to China, I cannot change my attitude now. If I have been in favour, as I am, of assistance being given to the Soviet Union, I cannot change my mind on that subject because of Soviet Russia's Association with Great Britain. Undoubtedly, all these create difficulties. There is no problem in the world free from difficulties. But I cannot under any circumstances act as the camp follower and recruiting sergeant of the British Government and thus support their policy in India and their general policy towards their subject countries.

Some people and some organisations talk about what might happen after the war is over or a year or two later. I am totally unable to understand this attitude. I am only concerned with to-day and here and now. It will not be Mr. Amery or the British Government who will shape things in the future but the vast elemental forces that are already rising in the world.

The British Government have not only to face its hundred and fifty years' past in India and such a past is always in our memory, but even its recent past when it has sown seeds of trouble which will bear their evil fruit. Only by an entirely different policy based on the ending of their empire and imperialist policy can they avoid the effects of this policy and win mass sympathy of the people.” Asked why he did not advocate mass civil disobedience if he was so convinced of the popular feeling against the British Government, Panditji said that mass civil disobedience was and is undesirable from the general point of view. He agreed in general with Mahatmaji's policy.

Asked if he felt that individual satyagraha had succeeded, he said that it depended upon the interpretation one put upon the question. If it was meant that individual civil disobedience had not succeeded in disorganising Government's war effort in India, it was ineffective. Here it must be remembered that it was never the intention to hinder war efforts in India and thus help the Fascist forces. On the contrary if the question related to whether the movement had affected the people's

minds in and outside India, then the answer is in the affirmative. It had been most successful in that it had recorded the unwillingness of the people of India to submit to the policy adopted by the British Government.

- 40 *Bombay, Dec. 17 1941 ; Jagat S. Bright (ed.), Important Speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru, Lahore: The Indian Printing Works, pp. 202-204*

**Jawaharlal Nehru, “A Tryst with Destiny” (1947)**

Long years ago we made a tryst with destiny, and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially.

- 5 At the stroke of the midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance.

It is fitting that at this solemn moment we take the pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity.

- 10 At the dawn of history India started on her unending quest, and trackless centuries are filled with her striving and the grandeur of her success and her failures. Through good and ill fortune alike she has never lost sight of that quest or forgotten the ideals which gave her strength. We end today a period of ill fortune and India discovers herself again.

- 15 The achievement we celebrate today is but a step, an opening of opportunity, to the greater triumphs and achievements that await us. Are we brave enough and wise enough to grasp this opportunity and accept the challenge of the future?

Freedom and power bring responsibility. The responsibility rests upon this assembly, a sovereign body representing the sovereign people of India. Before the birth of freedom we have endured all the pains of labour and our hearts are heavy with the memory of this sorrow. Some of those pains continue even now. Nevertheless, the past is over and it is the future that beckons to us now.

- 20 That future is not one of ease or resting but of incessant striving so that we may fulfil the pledges we have so often taken and the one we shall take today. The service of India means the service of the millions who suffer. It means the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity.

- 25 The ambition of the greatest man of our generation has been to wipe every tear from every eye. That may be beyond us, but as long as there are tears and suffering, so long our work will not be over.

And so we have to labour and to work, and work hard, to give reality to our dreams. Those dreams are for India, but they are also for the world, for all the nations and peoples are too closely knit together today for anyone of them to imagine that it can live apart.

- 30 Peace has been said to be indivisible; so is freedom, so is prosperity now, and so also is disaster

in this one world that can no longer be split into isolated fragments.

35 To the people of India, whose representatives we are, we make an appeal to join us with faith and confidence in this great adventure. This is no time for petty and destructive criticism, no time for ill will or blaming others. We have to build the noble mansion of free India where all her children may dwell.

40 The appointed day has come - the day appointed by destiny - and India stands forth again, after long slumber and struggle, awake, vital, free and independent. The past clings on to us still in some measure and we have to do much before we redeem the pledges we have so often taken. Yet the turning point is past, and history begins anew for us, the history which we shall live and act and others will write about.

It is a fateful moment for us in India, for all Asia and for the world. A new star rises, the star of freedom in the east, a new hope comes into being, a vision long cherished materialises. May the star never set and that hope never be betrayed!

45 We rejoice in that freedom, even though clouds surround us, and many of our people are sorrow-stricken and difficult problems encompass us. But freedom brings responsibilities and burdens and we have to face them in the spirit of a free and disciplined people.

On this day our first thoughts go to the architect of this freedom, the father of our nation, who, embodying the old spirit of India, held aloft the torch of freedom and lighted up the darkness that surrounded us.

50 We have often been unworthy followers of his and have strayed from his message, but not only we but succeeding generations will remember this message and bear the imprint in their hearts of this great son of India, magnificent in his faith and strength and courage and humility. We shall never allow that torch of freedom to be blown out, however high the wind or stormy the tempest.

55 Our next thoughts must be of the unknown volunteers and soldiers of freedom who, without praise or reward, have served India even unto death.

We think also of our brothers and sisters who have been cut off from us by political boundaries and who unhappily cannot share at present in the freedom that has come. They are of us and will remain of us whatever may happen, and we shall be sharers in their good and ill fortune alike.

60 The future beckons to us. Whither do we go and what shall be our endeavour? To bring freedom and opportunity to the common man, to the peasants and workers of India; to fight and end poverty and ignorance and disease; to build up a prosperous, democratic and progressive nation, and to create social, economic and political institutions which will ensure justice and fullness of life to every man and woman.

65 We have hard work ahead. There is no resting for any one of us till we redeem our pledge in full, till we make all the people of India what destiny intended them to be.

We are citizens of a great country, on the verge of bold advance, and we have to live up to that high standard. All of us, to whatever religion we may belong, are equally the children of India with

equal rights, privileges and obligations. We cannot encourage communalism or narrow-mindedness, for no nation can be great whose people are narrow in thought or in action.

70 To the nations and peoples of the world we send greetings and pledge ourselves to cooperate with them in furthering peace, freedom and democracy.

And to India, our much-loved motherland, the ancient, the eternal and the ever-new, we pay our reverent homage and we bind ourselves afresh to her service. Jai Hind [Victory to India].

75 *(This speech was delivered to the Constituent Assembly of India in New Delhi on August 14 1947)*

## Anti-imperialism – some examples

### John Hobson on imperialism (1902)

Not only does aggressive Imperialism defeat the movement towards internationalism by fostering animosities among competing empires: its attack upon the liberties and the existence of weaker or lower races stimulates in them a corresponding excess of national self-consciousness. (...) From this aspect aggressive Imperialism is an artificial stimulation of nationalism in peoples too foreign  
 5 to be absorbed and too compact to be permanently crushed. We have welded Africanderdom into just such a strong dangerous nationalism, and we have joined with other nations in creating a resentful nationalism hitherto unknown in China. The injury to nationalism in both cases consists in converting a cohesive, pacific, internal force into an exclusive, hostile force, a perversion of the true power and use of nationality. The worst and most certain result is the retardation of  
 10 internationalism. The older nationalism was primarily an inclusive sentiment; its natural relation to the same sentiment in another people was lack of sympathy, not open hostility; there was no inherent antagonism to prevent nationalities from growing and thriving side by side. Such in the main was the nationalism of the earlier nineteenth century, and the politicians of Free Trade had some foundation for their dream of a quick growth of effective, informal internationalism by  
 15 peaceful, profitable intercommunication of goods and ideas among nations recognising a just harmony of interests in free peoples.

The overflow of nationalism into imperial channels quenched all such hopes. While co-existent nationalities are capable of mutual aid involving no direct antagonism of interests, co-existent empires following each its own imperial career of territorial and industrial aggrandisement are  
 20 natural necessary enemies. The full nature of this antagonism on its economic side is not intelligible without a close analysis of those conditions of modern capitalist production which compel an ever keener “fight for markets,” but the political antagonism is obvious.

The scramble for Africa and Asia has virtually recast the policy of all European nations, has evoked alliances which cross all natural lines of sympathy and historical association, has driven  
 25 every continental nation to consume an ever-growing share of its material and human resources upon military and naval equipment, has drawn the great new power of the United States from its isolation into the full tide of competition; and, by the multitude, the magnitude, and the suddenness of the issues it throws on to the stage of politics, has become a constant agent of menace and of perturbation to the peace and progress of mankind. The new policy has exercised the most notable  
 30 and formidable influence upon the conscious statecraft of the nations which indulge in it. While producing for popular consumption doctrines of national destiny and imperial missions of civilisation, contradictory in their true import, but subsidiary to one another as supports of popular Imperialism, it has evolved a calculating, greedy type of Macchiavellianism, entitled “real-politik” in Germany, where it was made, which has remodelled the whole art of diplomacy and has erected  
 35 national aggrandisement without pity or scruple as the conscious motive force of foreign policy. Earth hunger and the scramble for markets are responsible for the openly avowed repudiation of treaty obligations which Germany, Russia, and England have not scrupled to defend. The sliding

scale of diplomatic language, hinterland, sphere of interest, sphere of influence, paramountcy, suzerainty, protectorate, veiled or open, leading up to acts of forcible seizure or annexation which  
40 sometimes continue to be hidden under “lease,” “rectification of frontier,” “concession,” and the like, is the invention and expression of this cynical spirit of Imperialism. While Germany and Russia have perhaps been more open in their professed adoption of the material gain of their country as the sole criterion of public conduct, other nations have not been slow to accept the standard. Though the conduct of nations in dealing with one another has commonly been  
45 determined at all times by selfish and short-sighted considerations, the conscious, deliberate adoption of this standard at an age when the intercourse of nations and their interdependence for all essentials of human life grow ever closer is a retrograde step fraught with grave perils to the cause of civilisation.

*J. A. Hobson, Imperialism, 1902*



## Ramsay MacDonald on Labour and the Empire (1907)

However we may desire nowadays to describe the Empire as our « white man's burden », or however enraptured may be our hymns regarded its Heaven-ordained destiny, its origin was no more Divine than our greed for gain. The Empire was not a political but a commercial venture. The Colonial settlements were at first factories in the profits of which the Crown and trading  
 5 companies shared; or they were exploiting outposts of white men where the labour of natives was used to throw glittering riches upon the lap of European powers; or they were depots or plantations for the distribution of European goods and the supply of articles of European consumption. To this day that epoch of Colonial policy survives in cases like the South African Chartered Company, and, though no nominally so, the Congo Free State. Both of these administrations are frankly  
 10 capitalistic. They exist for the purpose of exploitation, with the native as an instrument; they employ the language of patriotism and appeal to the spirit of nationality only to enable them to increase their dividends and divert the attention of the public from their operations. Just as Lord Chesterfield tells us that the Indian Nabob of his day put up the price of constituencies, so the successful Colonial exploiters of modern times have, both in England and Belgium, suborned the  
 15 press, flouted the Corrupt Practices Law, and degraded the tone of both our public and private life.

Even the colony which was to be a permanent settlement of people who were to spread over the land, was an appendage to capitalism. Its markets were kept open for home products by the sovereign decrees of the Home Government; its trade was a monopoly of the home country — in short, it was commercially even more than politically a « possession. » No consideration of  
 20 political or national glory induced the capitalists to view the Empire with favour when it ceased to yield them profits. Then they talked about cutting the Colonies adrift.

The greater part of the energy of the Imperialists of to-day, if they express themselves accurately in their speeches, springs from a hope that the Colonies may improve as a market for British goods, and they worship the flag not as a historical and spiritual symbol but as a trading  
 25 asset. Practically the whole of the band of gentlemen who by subscription and voice are keeping the Tariff Reform League in existence are personally interested in the higher rents and the increased profits which an effective system of Imperial Preference, involving Protection in Great Britain, would bring them. They are mainly concerned with securing economic advantages for their class. They support the Empire for business reasons.

They also monopolise the Imperial offices. The more territory we annex the larger is the income of our governing classes. The army and navy have always been associated with dominions over the sea, and these forces have been the preserves of the well-to-do. In no part of the State has Social influence been more powerful than in the things pertaining to war. The way in which officers are appointed, the methods of training them, the social traditions of army life, the pay and  
 35 the expenses, the class caste of the officer fraternity, make army commands an appendage not only of Society but of the inner rings of Society. What would become of all these younger sons and possible heirs and rich youths if our Empire did not require an army or if our army was

democratised?

40 It is the same with the higher grades of the Civil Service. Gradually these offices drift further  
and further away from the democracy. The entrance examinations are designed more and more to  
secure for a few Oxford Colleges and institutions of the same kind a monopoly of these  
appointments. These sons of the well-to-do are honest as a whole, and painstaking as a rule. They  
are the finest race in the world for keeping in old ruts, and that of itself is some qualification for  
the offices they hold. But they are also the least imaginative and sympathetic of men. Nine-tenths  
45 of them return from their foreign appointments without having understood the mind of the natives  
they were ruling.

*James Ramsay McDonald, Labour and the Empire, London, 1907 (ch. 3)*

### Some Imperialist cartoons



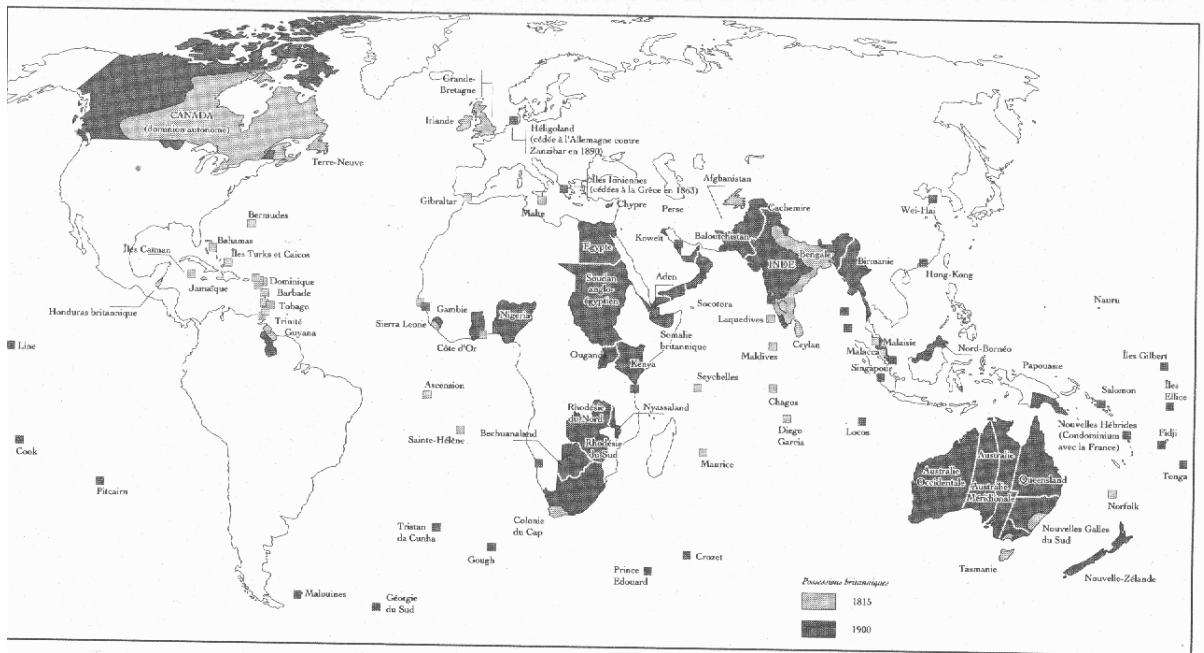
US cartoon 1888: John Bull (national personification of GB) is represented as the "octopus of imperialism". This shows Britain as having a foothold in every part of the world.



French political *cartoon* from 1898: The leaders of the UK, Germany, Russia, France and Japan are seen dividing up a pie, which represents China. There is a Qing in the background throwing his hands up to try and stop them but he is powerless. The UK and Germany are squabbling over a borderland piece and the knife in the pie represents Germany's aggressive intentions. The leader of France not being in the cutting is shown as being diplomatic and her closeness to Nicholas II shows the Franco-Russian Alliance.

More cartoons at:

[https://punch.photoshelter.com/gallery/Imperialism-and-Colonialism-Cartoons/G0000vKN2v8ZjQ.g/\\*](https://punch.photoshelter.com/gallery/Imperialism-and-Colonialism-Cartoons/G0000vKN2v8ZjQ.g/*)



Carte 11 – L'Empire britannique en 1815 et en 1900

## Windrush: archived documents show the long betrayal

David Olusoga, *The Observer*, Sun 16 Jun 2019



The Empire Windrush arrives at the Port of Tilbury on the River Thames on 22 June 1948. Photograph: Alamy Stock Photo

Late one afternoon last month, in a meeting room in the offices where I work in north London, I sat and wept. This is not something I make a habit of. My own tears were provoked by the tears of Judy Griffiths, a central interviewee in *The Unwanted: The Secret Windrush Files*, a documentary we had then just completed.

5 Judy had come to our offices to watch sections of the programme, to let us know if she was happy with how we'd portrayed her story. Tough, educated and resilient, she is one of a number of victims (or perhaps survivors) of the Windrush scandal that we interviewed for the film.

Even for her, with her level of drive and resourcefulness, taking on a cold, officious and target-driven immigration system was draining and damaging. Yet, in one way, Judy was comparatively  
10 fortunate. She happened to have kept hold of some of the documents that the Home Office demanded in order to demonstrate her long residence in the UK. She was also able to track down other scraps of evidence needed to prove something that should never have been in question.

That paper trail, gathered by a woman who has lived and worked in the UK for more than 50 years, included the antenatal records of her now adult children. Others caught in the dragnet of the so-called "hostile environment", and unable to provide similar documents, were dragged into the  
15 lower circles of immigration-law hell.

I cried last month not only because Judy cried, but because I was enormously relieved that our film meant something to her. I don't know exactly what brought her to tears. My guess would be that seeing herself and her story framed within a TV documentary brought home, in new ways, the  
20 staggering injustice of what she has been through, and reminded her of the obvious – that none of it should ever have happened.

But Judy also cried because the film contains an interview with a friend she had recently made and recently lost – Sarah O'Conner, another victim of the scandal. Sarah had moved to Britain aged six and, after 51 years' residence, had suddenly been refused employment and then benefits. Like  
25 Judy she had been forced to become a campaigner for the rights of the so-called Windrush generation. But in September 2018, after a minor operation, she died, aged 57.

The Windrush scandal is raw, shocking and ongoing. The damage done is hard to appreciate until you sit down and listen to the testimony of those affected. When the first of Amelia Gentleman's articles appeared in the *Guardian*, revealing that British citizens, born in the Caribbean but resident

in Britain for many decades, were being denied employment, benefits and healthcare under the hostile environment, a storm of raised voices and hard questions erupted.

David Lammy, visibly angry, gave one of the most impassioned speeches of recent parliamentary history. Even Piers Morgan looked genuinely hot under the collar on breakfast TV when he expressed outrage at the fact that Anthony Bryan – another of the interviewees in *The Unwanted* – was still waiting for his status to be resolved.

It is testimony to the scale and severity of the Windrush scandal that it was able to command enough media bandwidth and enough headspace within the national consciousness to cut through the background Brexit hubbub. For an outrage to metastasize into full-blown, Defcon-1 national scandal in 2018 it needed to be really, really bad.



Jamaican immigrants being welcomed by RAF officials from the Colonial Office after the ex-troopship HMT Empire Windrush landed them at Tilbury. Photograph: PA

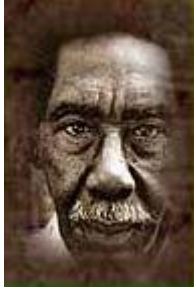
(...) When, in 1948, parliament passed a new British Nationality Act the aim was to reaffirm existing rights that enabled the two-way flow, between Britain and the old Commonwealth, of people who were regularly described in postwar official documents as “our stock”, “our people” or people of “British stock”. What the politicians failed to predict was that even as they were debating the act, 492 black people from the Caribbean would board the Empire Windrush and exercise their rights as British subjects to work and live in the UK.

The big historical truth that we have yet to confront is wrapped up with the same painful truth that explains how the Windrush scandal of 2018 could have happened – that the arrival of the Empire Windrush in 1948 was unplanned and unexpected. The people on board were unwanted and their moment of arrival set in train two oppositional processes.

It established 1948 as the symbolic beginning of the postwar migration that created modern, multiracial Britain. At the same time it provoked a political struggle that saw successive British governments, both Labour and Conservative, set out to design and introduce laws to limit what they called “coloured migration”.

The deeper roots of the scandal lie not in laws but in beliefs. The belief that Britishness is the same as whiteness.

## Vince Reid



Vince Reid

*(V. Reid was thirteen when he accompanied his parents from Jamaica to England on the Windrush, which carried 492 workers from the Caribbean. They had come to Britain to assist with post-war reconstruction)*

My parents brought me on the Windrush - I had no choice in the matter. They didn't have to - it was obvious they came in search of a better life, better opportunities. It was quite a devastating experience. I was thirteen when I arrived so I wasn't a man, I was a boy. Most of the people on the Windrush were men. I had never been out of Kingston same as for anybody, to go on this big ship, for all those days it was quite an experience.

I went to school in Kings Cross. I never associated with white people in any significant degree, and then school I came across real hostility. I mean to say I had no friends for several years that wouldn't be far from the truth.

I only had friends when I had gone through the Airforce and came out. I joined the Airforce when I was sixteen, what they call a boy entrant an Airforce apprentice. By the time I came out there were more black people in this country.

I am 62 years old now. I have been here 50 years . I would prefer to live here. Well, my family is here, my wife, my grandchildren are here.

I have no significant roots in Jamaica. I have been back to Kingston several times. My circumstances were significantly different to everyone else's, but personally I like England, it's a nice place to live. It's not to say it doesn't have its problems, racism and so on.

*More testimonies and facts at:*

<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-43782241>



One of the last of a series of acts, meant to achieve English monopoly in sea trade.

**An Act for the encouraging and increasing of shipping and navigation  
12 Charles II, c. 18**

For the increase of shipping and encouragement of the navigation of this nation wherein, under the good providence and protection of God, the wealth, safety and strength of this kingdom is so much concerned; be it enacted by the King's most excellent majesty, and by the lords and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority thereof, that from and after the first day of December one thousand six hundred and sixty, and from thenceforward, no goods or commodities whatsoever shall be imported into or exported out of any lands, islands, plantations, or territories to his Majesty belonging or in his possession, or which may hereafter belong unto or be in the possession of this Majesty, his heirs and successors, in Asia, Africa or America, in any other ship or ships, vessel or vessels whatsoever, but in such ships or vessels as do truly and without fraud belong only to the people of England or Ireland, dominion of Wales or town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, or are of the built of and belonging to any the said lands, islands, plantations or territories, as the proprietors and right owners thereof, and whereof the master and threefourths of the mariners at least are English.

And it is further enacted by the authority aforesaid that no goods or commodities that are of foreign growth, production or manufacture, and which are brought into England, Ireland, Wales, the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, or town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, in English-built shipping, or other shipping belonging to some of the aforesaid places, and navigated by English mariners, as aforesaid, shall be shipped or brought from any other place or places, country or countries, but only from those ports where the said goods and commodities can only, or are, or usually have been, first shipped for transportation, and from none other places or countries.



## Richard Blome: An Account of Jamaica, 1672

The exposition of a policy for settling and resettling people in colonies as a buffer against Spanish expansion.

### Some considerations why his Majesty should keep, preserve and support this island

1. Jamaica is large and capacious, whose extent I have already noted; so that it is capable of receiving very great numbers of people

2. It is seated in the heart of the Spaniard's American territories, so that the Spanish ships coming into the West Indies, and sailing from port to port, either make this isle or may be immediately met by the ships which ply on this coast, which renders to be of great importance to us as well as to the Spaniards, for all the Plate Fleet which comes from Cartagena steer directly from San Domingo in Hispaniola, and from thence must pass by one of the ends of this isle to recover Havana, which is the common rendezvous of the Armada, before it returns home through the Gulf of Florida [...].

3. Jamaica is found to precede all the English plantations in America in the very commodities that are proper to their several colonies, and produceth also of its own cocoa, hides, tortoise shells, wood for dyers, gums, drugs and other commodities already treated of; and for fruits, fowl and fish, infinite store, many of which are unknown unto them; likewise such abundance of horses and cows that none other of the English plantations can equalize them. And as this island is found thus advantageous in the furnishing us with such good commodities, so is no less profitable in the taking off our manufactures and commodities as well of the product of this kingdom as those from foreign parts [...].

4. It appears to be a place of no small concernment, for it hath not only subsisted at the beginning but bettered its condition, being settled by an army (the worst kind of people to plant) that have had such grand discouragements from England as want of pay, provisions and recruits of men, yet amongst themselves talked of all encouragements to plant, the establishment of justice and government, besides the frequent attempts of the Spanish forces. And if it thus thrived under these and suchlike considerable obstructions it is more than probable it will in a short time become a great and profitable colony both to the king and kingdom, for when well planted it may bring in to his Majesty some hundred thousand pounds per annum, and employing about 150 or 200 sail of ships yearly.

5. This island being so large and so fertile, it is capable of the receiving those great numbers of people that are forced to desert the Caribbee Isles, their plantations being worn out and their woods wasted; as likewise those multitudes of vagrants and beggars that are so great a charge and shame to the kingdom, if transported thither, would by their labours live both honestly and plentifully, here being observed to be no beggars, nor such loose vagabond people.

6. This island, being well settled, will be capable of itself to carry on a war against the Spaniards in the West Indies (as occasion requireth), because of the conveniences of its ports and its strength of inhabitants and shipping, having already about twenty or thirty sail of privateers; and will in a short time be so numerous and potent that they will become so obnoxious to the Spaniards that probably they will rather admit of a trade into his ports (which would prove a grand advantage both to them and this kingdom) than suffer so disadvantageous a war [...].

9. It cannot be imputed a disadvantage that Jamaica lieth so far off, for thereby are more ships employed, and by consequence more sailors, shipwrights, rope-makers and many other tradesmen maintained, whose dependence is thereon [...].

10. And lastly, to conclude, the English have one more considerable advantage by this isle, and that is, the coast of Virginia being subject to gusts of wind, the ships laden with goods and passengers have been often forced forth to sea, and so disabled that they could not ply to any of the outward Caribbee Islands, but have been constrained to bear up and put into the Spanish leeward ports; and likewise some of our merchants have been forced out of the Caribbee Isles by hurricanes (which are there common), and so disabled that they could not keep sea, but (as all vessels thus distressed) have put into some of the Spanish leeward ports, where they have always been made prizes. Now Jamaica, being so far leeward, is a convenient harbour for all vessels thus distressed, and did some few years since save three Virginia ships full of passengers and goods, and formerly others, as also some driven by hurricanes from the Windward Islands; all which, without the conveniency and assistance of this isle, had perished.