

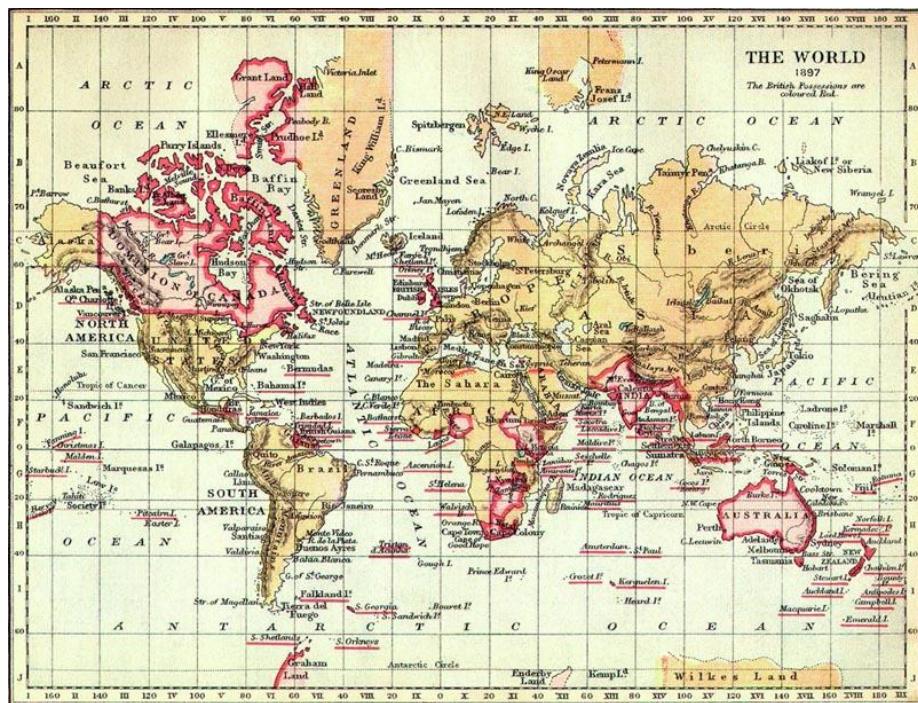
NORWICH SCHOOL

The British Empire

Part One: The High Water Mark of the British Empire c. 1857 – c. 1914

AEW Grant

2023-2025



AQA History A Level - Component One: Breadth Study

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Introduction: The British Empire, 1857 - 1967

We live in a world that empires have made. Indeed, most of the modern world is the relic of empires: colonial and pre-colonial, African, Asian, European and American. Its history and culture is riddled with the memories, aspirations, institutions and grievances left behind by those empires. The largest if not the grandest of these was the empire laboriously assembled by the British across more than three centuries. No less than one quarter of today's sovereign states were hewn from its fabric. For that reason alone, its impact was second to none.

- John Darwin *Unfinished Empire, 2012*

Component 1: Breadth Study

What's assessed

The study of significant historical developments over a period of around 100 years and associated interpretations

Assessed

written exam: 2 hours 30 minutes

three questions (one compulsory)

80 marks

40% of A-level

Questions

Two sections

Section A – one compulsory question linked to historical interpretations (30 marks)

Section B – two from three essays (2 x 25 marks)

Specification: 1J The British Empire, c1857–1967

This option allows students to study in breadth issues of change, continuity, cause and consequence in this period through the following key questions:

- Why did the British Empire grow and contract?
- What influenced imperial policy?
- What part did economic factors play in the development of the British Empire?
- How did the Empire influence British attitudes and culture?
- How did the indigenous peoples respond to British rule?
- How important was the role of key individuals and groups and how were they affected by developments?

PART ONE: THE HIGH WATER MARK OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE, C1857–1914

The development of Imperialism, c1857–c1890

- The expansion of the British Empire in Africa; the Suez Canal and Egypt
- Imperial and colonial policy; India's administration and defence; international relations, colonial policy and the scramble for Africa; informal empire
- Trade and commerce; the chartered companies
- The role and influence on attitudes to empire of explorers, missionaries, traders, colonial administrators
- Attitudes towards imperialism in Britain; the development of party political conflicts
- Relations with indigenous peoples; the Indian Mutiny and its impact; relations with Boers and Bantu peoples in southern Africa

Imperial consolidation and Liberal rule, c1890–1914

- The consolidation and expansion of the British Empire in Africa
- Imperial and colonial policy; the administration of India and Egypt; 'native policy'; international relations and colonial policy
- Trade and commerce
- The role and influence on attitudes to empire of: Joseph Chamberlain; Cecil Rhodes; colonial administration
- Imperialism: supporters and critics; National Efficiency; the British Empire and popular culture; representations of empire
- Relations with indigenous peoples; challenges to British rule; the Sudan; the causes and consequences of the Boer War

PART TWO: IMPERIAL RETREAT, 1914–1967

Imperialism challenged, 1914–1947

- Expansion and contraction of empire: the impact of the First and Second World Wars; the Mandates; withdrawal from India and the Middle East

- Colonial policy and administration in India, Africa and the Middle East; relations with the Dominions; the Statute of Westminster; imperial defence
- The development of trade and commerce; the economic impact of war
- The role and influence on attitudes to empire of: Gandhi, colonial administration
- Imperialist ideals; popular culture; representations of empire
- Relations with indigenous peoples; protest and conflict; colonial identity; the development of nationalist movements

The winds of change, 1947–1967

- Decolonisation in Africa and Asia
- British colonial policy and administration; the Suez Crisis and its impact; international relations; the Commonwealth
- Trade and commerce; post-war reconstruction
- The role and influence on attitudes to empire of: nationalist leaders, colonial administration
- Post-colonial political, economic and cultural ties; migration; the residual impact of empire; popular culture
- Relations with indigenous peoples; challenges to colonial rule in Africa and Asia; Mau Mau; the growth of nationalist movements and reactions to them; Rhodesia

Over the two years of the Sixth Form, we will cover the above specification according to the following structure:

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ CHAPTER ONE - CONTEXT: THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN THE 1850S ❖ CHAPTER TWO – THE BRITISH RAJ, 1857 - 1914 ❖ CHAPTER THREE – THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN AFRICA, 1857 - 1914 ❖ CHAPTER FOUR – BRITAIN AND ITS EMPIRE, 1857 - 1914 ❖ CHAPTER FIVE – THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND THE INTER-WAR PERIOD, 1914 - 1939 ❖ CHAPTER SIX – THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE FIRST WAVE OF DECOLONISATION (1940s) ❖ CHAPTER SEVEN – THE SUEZ CRISIS AND RAPID DECOLONISATION (1950s – PRESENT)
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Guide to essay writing at A-Level:

The essay is the basic form of expressing yourself as an historian. An essay is, essentially, an argument which argues a case in response to a specific question. It is **not** simply a factual account or a narrative of events.

1. Read The Question Carefully:

Read the question carefully and identify the key terms. Be clear what the question is asking you and note whether the question gives any dates that you need to focus on. The nature of the question can help you decide your structure.

2. Reading:

Once you understand the question, you then need to go through the information that might help you answer it. Look back through your notes carefully and pick out material that might be relevant. This might also be the time to do some selective reading if there are any gaps in your notes or areas you want to develop. As you read, always have the essay question in the back of your mind.

3. Planning:

Once you have all the material you need, you need to write a plan. Planning your essay is essential – you need to know what you are going to say and how you are going to say it before you start writing your final essay. This takes time and Sixth Formers are often reluctant to do it but it really helps to ensure that your final essay is effective. If necessary, you may need to do a bit more reading at this stage

4. Introduction:

Your introduction is one of the most important and complex parts of the essay. Your introduction should not set the scene (you are not writing a novel) but should directly address the question and set out what you are going to argue. You (and the reader) should know where the essay is going from the outset; the reader should be able to work out the essence of your argument simply by reading the introduction. In summary, an introduction needs to do the following things:

- Define the terms of the question and deal with any ambiguous terms/ concepts etc. – don't let the question push you around!
- Outline what the debate in the question is.
- Outline what you are going to argue in your essay.

5. Structure:

There is a range of ways of structuring an essay. However, there are two common approaches that you can often use at A-Level, depending on what the question is:

'Factors' Essay – this is often used in answering causation or consequence questions. The question will state a factor and ask you to consider how important it was. For example, the question could ask whether X was the most important cause of Y. You would need to consider the importance of X (the

stated factor) in your first paragraph, followed by a range of other factors in other paragraphs. (If you don't think X is the most important factor, your second paragraph should explain what is):

- Introduction
- First Paragraph – explain the importance of the stated factor
- Second Paragraph – explain the most important factor (if not X)
- Further Paragraphs – explain the importance of other factors
- Conclusion

'Two Sides' Essay – this is slightly more straightforward and can be used if the question asks you to assess the successes/failures of something, or for other questions that simply offer a binary yes/no answer:

- Introduction
- First few Paragraphs – deal with the points supporting one side of the argument
- Final few Paragraphs – deal with the points supporting the other side of the argument
- Conclusion

6. Paragraphs:

A paragraph should mark a stage in your argument and should itself be structured carefully. The most effective paragraphs have the following straightforward structure:

- Point – the first sentence (sometimes called a 'topic sentence') makes the point that the paragraph is making.
- Evidence – the next few sentences give detailed factual evidence to support the point the paragraph is making.
- Analysis – link the paragraph (the point) back to the overall question and explain the significance of the point you have made.

When planning your essay, it is often a good idea to write down the first sentence of each paragraph so that you have an outline – you can then develop each one later.

7. Conclusion:

This needs to sum up your overall argument and explain, in summary, how the different threads of your essay fit together. The conclusion needs to be consistent with your introduction and everything else that has gone before. At the top end, conclusions also help put the question into a wider context and hint at other questions that have been raised. Conclusions are difficult to write and you will improve as you move through the Sixth Form. Ensure, though, that you leave plenty of time to write your conclusion and don't rush it.

8. Proof Reading:

Once you have written your essay, proof read it to ensure that it makes sense and that the spelling, grammar and punctuation are accurate. If necessary, ask someone else to help you.

Style Guide:

Clarity

This is the most important aspect of any piece of writing. If it is not clear what point you are making, the essay or paragraph needs rewriting. Reread sections that you have completed. If you are unsure what they mean, somebody else will be too. Ask other people to read sections and get them to explain back to you what they think you are trying to say. If they are unsure, you need to make some changes.

Precision

You need to ensure that you sound as though you know what you are talking about. To do this, you need to be precise in the points you make. For example, rather than saying ‘British rule expanded in Africa over many years’, be precise about the dates of his reign. Give dates, names and specific examples as much as you can.

Concision

Try to make your point in as few words as possible. Avoid tautology ('the ice was frozen') and don't try to 'pad' sentences out with superfluous words. In addition, don't try to sound clever by using long words when a perfectly good short one would do as this will affect the clarity of your writing.

Formality

Ensure that you always use formal English in your essay. Avoid slang and colloquialisms and also avoid hackneyed phrases ('The British bit off more than he could chew'). Certainly avoid gratuitous abuse ('Cecil Rhodes was a complete idiot') as this will detract from any serious analysis. In addition, avoid using contractions ('could have' rather than 'could've'). Avoid using acronyms that aren't in common currency (e.g. don't use 'S.F.A.' in place of the Scramble for Africa).

Avoid use of the first person

The first person makes the essay sound less formal and you can still express your own view without using it. For example: 'William Gladstone was largely motivated by moral concerns' is a clear expression of your view and there is no need to rephrase it as 'I believe that William Gladstone was largely motivated by moral concerns.' The former is obviously your opinion as you are the one writing the essay and making the argument!

Spelling, Grammar and Punctuation

Ensure that you check spelling, grammar and punctuation carefully. Don't just rely on spell check as this frequently gets things wrong (particularly when dealing with foreign names or words). In addition, check that you have capitalised all proper nouns. It is well worth asking a tolerant friend or parent to read your essay through to check it for any errors.

When to use quotations from historians in an essay:

- Don't just chuck them in for no reason or to pad out your paragraph. They need to serve a particular purpose.
- Avoid including quotations that just refer to factual information (unless it is particularly obscure and only that historian mentions it).
- Instead, you should look for the historians' opinions and arguments, whether they agree with your perspective or not.
- You can also include quotations when they put a point in a particularly pithy and memorable way.
- Try to keep quotations as short as you can
- Integrate quotations into the flow of your own writing – they should sound as if they naturally fit into your paragraph
- Think about whether a paraphrase of the historians' view would work better than a quotation
- Always reference a historian's view whether it is a quotation or a paraphrase to avoid plagiarism

Guide to answering interpretations questions:

The phrasing of the question will always be:

'Using your understanding of the historical context, assess how convincing the arguments in these extracts are in relation to...[issue/ theme linked to a key question of the specification]'

- There will always be a range of interpretations.
- They will collectively cover a theme/ issue spanning a 20-30 year period (individual extracts may be more focused).
- Engage with each interpretation in turn – essentially three separate exercises.

Structure of answer/ analysis of each interpretation:

1. Comprehension:

- Identify in summary the overall argument – one point
- 3 points to identify the supporting points/ arguments that show how the author comes to their interpretation
 - 'The main argument of X is...'
 - 'X supports this claim by arguing...'
 - 'In addition, they argue...'

2. Challenge/ Corroboration using own knowledge:

- ❖ 5 points from your own knowledge that either corroborate or challenge the interpretation (or parts of the interpretation) given in the extract

- 'X is most convincing in their claim that... because, it is clear that...'
- 'X is astute to identify that...'
- 'X is correct to identify that...'
- 'X is correct to mention'
- 'X's assertion that... is convincing because...'
- 'However, what is less convincing about X's argument is...' (in red)
- 'X neglects to mention...' (in red)
- 'X could emphasise more...' (in red)
- 'X is incorrect to emphasise...' (in red)
- 'X is incorrect to suggest...' (in red)

3. Reach a judgement on the interpretation:

- 'Therefore, X's arguments are relatively (un)convincing, although their claim that... is perhaps too emphatic/ not emphatic enough. Overall, this is the most/least convincing argument of the three extracts.'

4. Repeat the process for the other two interpretations

Bibliography:

At Sixth Form, you are expected to be more independent in your studies. A large proportion of your time should be spent reading around the subject to enhance and consolidate your knowledge. Indeed, if you are aiming for an A or an A* it is essential that you read widely and don't just rely on your basic textbook or the information you get in lessons. Fortunately, there is a wealth of excellent historical writing on the British Empire:

General academic surveys of the British Empire – asterisked books are ‘key texts’ - particularly recommended or required reading and there are multiple copies within the department.

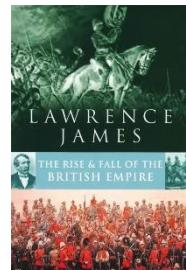
❖ ***Bernard Porter *The Lion's Share (5th edn.)* (Pearson; 2012)**

- An excellent narrative of Britain’s imperial story from 1850 to the present. Particularly good on explaining the international economic and geopolitical context.



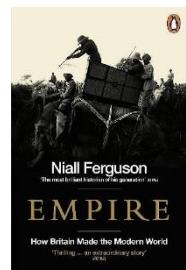
❖ ***Lawrence James *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire* (Abacus; 1995)**

- Covers the whole of the British Empire from c. 1600 – the latter sections will be more useful for this course. A good narrative with a focus on the domestic impact of empire in Britain, as well as events overseas.



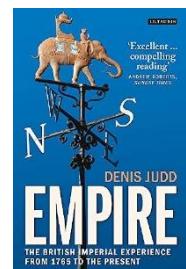
❖ **Niall Ferguson *Empire* (Penguin; 2004)**

- A controversial book that accompanied a TV series. His central thesis is that British imperialism produced most of the concepts and values that shape the modern world – a positive gloss on the imperial story.



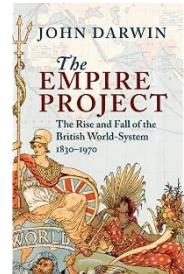
❖ **Denis Judd *Empire: The British Imperial Experience from 1765 to the Present* (IB Tauris; 2011)**

- An engaging narrative of the empire from the eighteenth century, taking as its structure a series of defining moments that convey the essence of the imperial period.



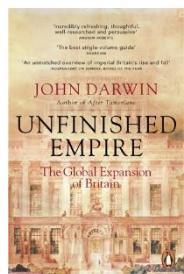
❖ John Darwin *The Empire Project* (Cambridge; 2011)

- A detailed look at the main components of empire from the 1830s to decolonisation. A key feature of this book is the importance it gives to the impact of Britain's geopolitical position.



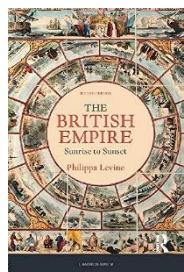
❖ *John Darwin *Unfinished Empire* (Penguin; 2013)

- A superb look at British imperial history from a thematic perspective. Darwin is excellent at identifying what is important in such a vast and potentially confusing topic.



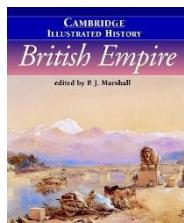
❖ Philippa Levine *The British Empire (2nd edn.)* (Routledge; 2013)

- A brief thematic look at key aspects of imperial history



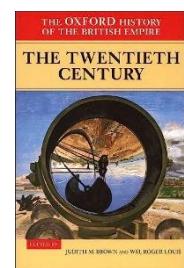
❖ PJ Marshall *Cambridge Illustrated History of the British Empire*

- A good narrative overview followed by chapters covering various important themes by different authors.



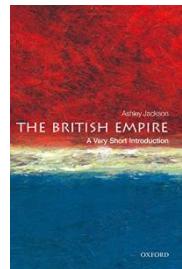
❖ *The Oxford History of the British Empire (volumes III and IV)*, edited by WM Roger Louis (Oxford; 2001)

- A collection of essays covering all aspects of the empire. Volume III focuses on the 19th century, while volume IV focuses on the 20th century. They are an essential companion for serious academic study of this topic.



[The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography](#) is available online through the school library and has accounts of the lives of all significant individuals covered in this course.

- ❖ **Ashley Jackson *The British Empire: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford; 2013)**
 - Part of the Very Short Introduction series – this does what it says on the tin and gives a helpful orientation to the topic. Available online through the school library website.



More specialised texts:

The study of the British Empire incorporates the study of a very large number of countries in the world today. There are more specialist works available on India, or parts of Africa, as well as other regions. The history department and library have a selection of resources – please do ask Mr Grant for further details.

On wider context:

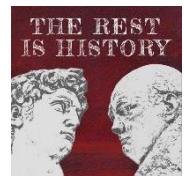
The following are useful if you want to broaden your knowledge of the period. If you are thinking of applying to read History at university, you might benefit from looking at the following:

- ❖ **David Cannadine *Victorious Century* (Penguin; 2018)**
 - An overview narrative of British history in the 19th Century
- ❖ **Peter Clarke *Hope and Glory* (Penguin; 2004)**
 - An overview narrative of British history in the 20 Century
- ❖ **John Darwin *After Tamerlane* (Penguin; 2008)**
 - A compelling account of the rise and fall of global empires since c. 1400 – an excellent introduction to world history

Podcasts:

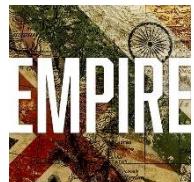
Podcasts are a fantastic way to give you an overview or a greater understanding of unfamiliar topics. Some of the best are as follows:

The Rest is History: Historians Tom Holland and Dominic Sandbrook are interrogating the past, attempting to de-tangle the present for their new podcast "**The Rest Is History**". They question the nature of Greatness, why the West no longer has civil wars and whether Richard Nixon was more like Caligula or Claudius. They're distilling the entirety of human history, or, as much as they can fit into about thirty minutes.



HistoryExtra podcast episodes are released every week, featuring interviews with notable historians on topics spanning ancient history through to recent British to American events. Episodes feature history stories and perspectives on everything from crusading knights to Tudor monarchs and the D-Day landings.

Empire: How do empires rise? Why do they fall? And how have they shaped the world around us today? William Dalrymple and Anita Anand explore the stories, personalities and events of empire over the course of history. The first series looks at the British in India, covering the East India Company, the Raj, Gandhi, Independence and Partition.



In Our Time (Radio 4): The legendary broadcaster, Melvyn Bragg, chairs a regular discussion about a matter of academic interest on Radio 4. The back catalogue is available as podcasts online – many of them have a historical theme and some, such as that on the Indian Mutiny, are directly relevant to our course.

1. Context: The British Empire in the 1850s



William Dyce, '*Neptune resigning the empire of the seas to Britannia*' – Osborne House, 1847

Overture: The Opium Wars

Canton (Guangzhou) is a city on the southern coast of China. By the 1830s several European countries had established small trading outposts ('factories') there, but these were limited to a small area on the river-front; the Chinese emperors were reluctant to open up their countries more widely to European trade and the interior of China was closed off to European trade and influence.

The British were enthusiastic participants in the trade through Canton; the British bought tea from the Chinese (worth £2 million a year), and sold various products in return. One of the most lucrative products that the British sold was opium which the Chinese market bought in vast quantities in exchange for silver.

Opium is an addictive drug that causes physical and mental deterioration in those who smoke it and its use by the Chinese had grown enormously. British traders grew it in India (a British possession), and, by the 1830s, it amounted to around 40% of India's exports.

The Chinese authorities were hostile to European traders, believing them to be uncivilised, and in 1839 Chinese Emperor Daoguang tried to crack down on the opium trade in his country. He sent a commissioner to Canton who executed numerous addicts and raided the European trading outposts. There were skirmishes between Chinese and British ships and this was used by the British as a *casus belli* for war.

Many British viewed the Chinese as backward and uncivilised, and believed that it was Britain's responsibility to bring 'civilisation' and the benefits of free trade to China. The British Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston, believed that to defend British honour and assert the principles of free trade, military action had to be taken.

The British sent the warship *Nemesis*, a 630 ton paddle-steamer, to China. It was capable of sailing inland up rivers and devastated Chinese defences. The Chinese, defending with bows and arrows, rusty cannon, and monkeys with explosives strapped to them, faced little chance and, in 1842, the Treaty of Nanking was imposed on China.

This treaty gave large amounts of compensation to the British opium traders, guaranteed British trading access to five Chinese ports (the 'Treaty Ports', which included Canton and Shanghai), and the British also gained sovereignty over the island of Hong Kong which quickly became a naval and trading hub off the south coast of China. The Treaty of Nanking confirmed to Europeans that China was an empire in perpetual decline.



In 1856 another conflict (the 'Second Opium War') erupted after the Chinese authorities seized a British-registered ship *The Arrow* which they suspected of piracy. Palmerston again responded with military force; a European army was assembled and, in 1860, this marched to Beijing. The Chinese were humiliated and the Emperor's beautiful Summer Palace was sacked. The subsequent treaties

forced the Chinese to legalise the opium trade, opened further treaty ports to Europeans, and allowed Europeans to trade inland too. In the words of the time, an ‘open door policy’ was forced upon China.

Responses to these events in Britain were varied. Many supported Palmerston’s robust action and believed that the British were firmly in the right. However, there was also shock at the destruction of the Summer Palace and there were some who doubted Britain’s claim to moral superiority. The Liberal politician, William Gladstone, argued that a war in defence of the opium trade covered the entire country in disgrace. The celebrated Head Master of Rugby School, Thomas Arnold, claimed that Britain had committed ‘a national sin of the greatest possible magnitude’. Nevertheless, European commercial dominance in China (and British possession of Hong Kong) would remain an important geopolitical reality until well into the 20th Century.



Location of treaty port cities are approximations only. Present-day city names are used, with some commonly referenced alternative spellings/names listed in parentheses.

The sequence of events that make up the opium wars introduce us to several important themes in British imperialism in the 19th century:

- The central importance of free trade and commercial advantage
- The use of naval force and superior technology to exploit the relative weakness of non-European powers
- The conquest of territory and the establishment of direct rule (but as a least-preferred option)
- The importance attached to ‘informal empire’ and spheres of influence
- Hypocrisy and the assumed superiority of British civilisation, alongside the racial contempt for non-European societies
- The empire as a cause of controversy and debate within Britain itself

Important Concepts

Empire

Imperialism/ Colonialism

Colonies

Nationalism

Metropole

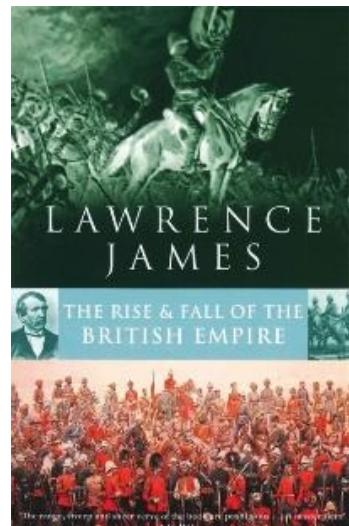
Periphery

Hegemony

Reading Lawrence James

pp. 169-183: Power & Greatness: Commerce, Seapower and Strategy, 1815-1870

1. What did Victorians see as the three sources of Britain's power in the mid 19th century?
2. Why was Britain seen as an instrument of universal progress?
3. Why was free trade seen as a positive?
4. What laws were repealed/ removed in the 1840s, ushering in a period of free trade?
5. Where (which countries/ regions) did Britain expand its exports to?
6. What happened to the economy of the West Indies from the 1840s onwards? Why did this happen?
7. By 1867, what value of British goods did India import?
8. What was Britain's most dominant export in the 19th century?
9. In what sense was London at 'the hub of an unseen empire of money'?



10. What was the 'informal empire'?
11. Why did Britain sometimes need to rely on the threat of force? Can you give an example?
12. Why did Britain fight wars with China in the mid 19th century?
13. What was 'gunboat diplomacy'?
14. What were the purposes of 'informal empire'?
15. What did informal empire depend upon?
16. What was the 'two power standard' that Viscount Castlereagh instituted in 1817?
17. Who was Britain's greatest rival? When did they nearly come to war?
18. Why was Britain so worried about Russia?
19. Which was the only imperial war fought against another European power in the 19th century? What was the outcome of this?

Context: The British Empire before 1850s

Britain had a considerable formal empire in the 1850s. It had little to do with her contemporary needs and interests, having been inherited from a previous age when those interests were different. The British West Indies had their origin in a now defunct system of Atlantic trade and a few long-forgotten naval victories. Canada had been secured for Britain by a famous battle in 1759 which the British would probably not have bothered to fight 100 years later. Australia had been taken in the late eighteenth century with less fuss than Canada, mainly because no one else wanted it. The European settlement in South Africa originated in a musty religious quarrel of 200 years before, which few remembered now except the settlers themselves. British India had come into being through an earlier manifestation of 'creeping imperialism', and the cavalier empire-building of a few freelance adventurers... in the eighteenth century. Other colonies had come as booty from the French revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. These were the largest units of the old empire. It was not a negligible inheritance. The formal empire posed a constant dilemma to the mid-Victorians. At the time it had been seized it had seemed like a good idea, but now it was difficult to justify it from anyone's point of view.

- B Porter, *The Lion's Share (5th edition)*, 2012

'First' to 'Second' British Empire

The British Empire originated in the 16th Century activities of explorers and traders; it was largely a private affair in search of profits and adventure, with little government involvement. In 1497, under royal patronage, John Cabot had discovered Newfoundland but attempts during the reign of Elizabeth I to colonise areas of North America ended in failure.

In 1607 the Virginia Company established at Jamestown the first permanent English colony in North America. In 1624 it came under direct royal jurisdiction. Thereafter, the English colonial presence expanded along the eastern seaboard of North America in a series of colonies.

This 'first' British Empire was centred on the Atlantic. Migrants from the British Isles settled in colonies on the mainland. Moreover, parts of the West Indies were also colonised and these became lucrative territories, supplying sugar, tobacco and cotton. Slavery was a key component of this empire and much of Britain's wealth rested on the exploitation of enslaved Africans who were shipped across to the West Indies.



Britain also became active in areas away from the Atlantic; the East India Company (founded 1600) established trade with India and other parts of Asia where it competed with similar companies from other European powers. The Seven Years War, which ended in the Treaty of Paris in 1763, saw significant expansion of Britain's overseas empire at the expense of France in Canada and India.

In 1776, however, thirteen of Britain's North American colonies declared independence and, following a war, their independence was recognised by Britain in 1783. The United States was now a rival and Britain's dominance of the Atlantic was diminished significantly.

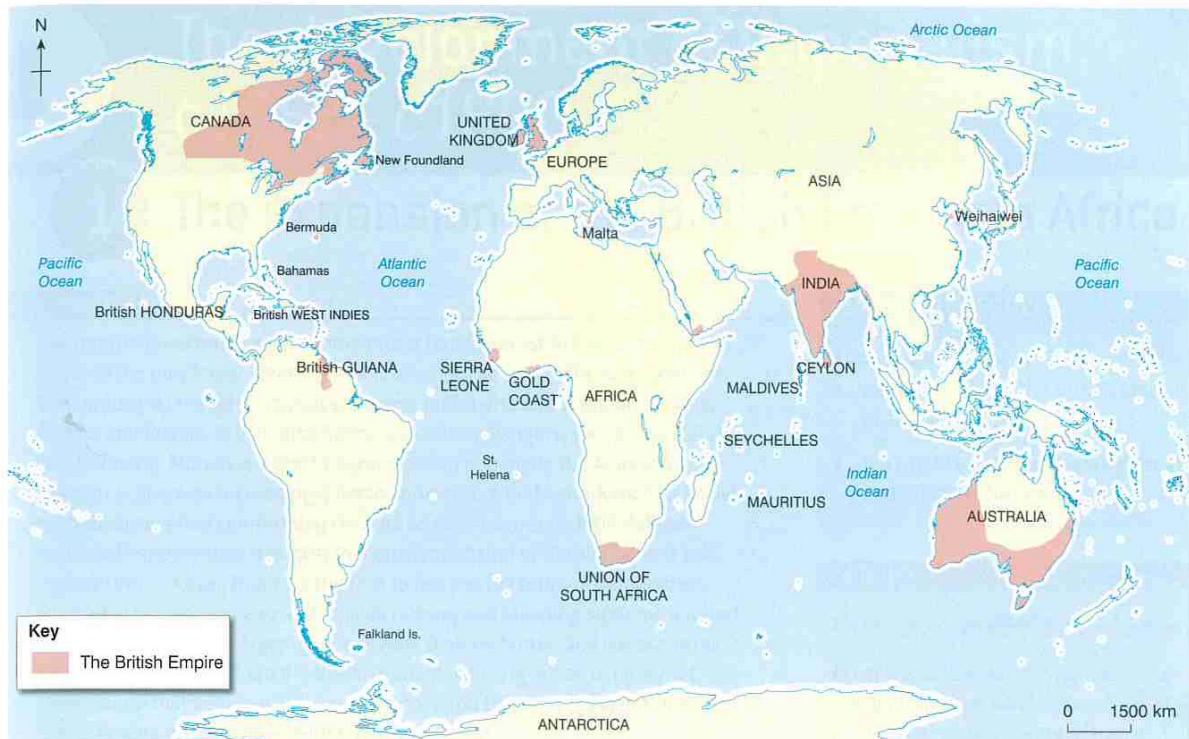
A humanitarian campaign to abolish the slave trade was successful in 1807 (slavery itself being abolished in 1834) and this further lessened the importance of the Atlantic. While Atlantic trade remained important, the early Nineteenth Century saw a 'swing to the east' as India became the focus of British expansion in what would be termed a 'second British Empire'.

Britain by the mid-19th Century

Britain was the first country in the world to industrialise and, by the 1850s, Britain's economy was growing rapidly and it dominated world trade. The prosperity of Britain, as well as its military might, made it the greatest power in this period.

Furthermore, Britain also had a unique political system which helped ensure stability; from the 17th Century Britain had inherited a parliamentary system of government which upheld the rule of law, as well as important freedoms. Britain, while not yet a democracy, had much more liberal political climate than most of its European rivals. The monarchy was a largely symbolic institution, although no less significant for that, and it took on a new, unifying role as the Victorian empire expanded.

Britain's mid-19th Century Empire



The British Empire in the 1850s

The main components of the formal empire in the mid-19th Century:

The United Kingdom – The Metropole

British India

Settlement Colonies

Crown Colonies

Protectorates

The governing institutions of empire

Central Institutions:

Crown and Parliament - London

Government Departments responsible for Empire:

- The Foreign Office
- The War Office
- The Admiralty
- The Colonial Office
- The India Office (from 1858)

Means of control:

The British Army

The Indian Army ('an English barrack in the Oriental seas' – Lord Salisbury)

The Royal Navy (steam ships e.g. HMS Warrior (1860)) – the 'blue' on the map, as well as the 'red'

Railways (esp. in India after 1857)

The electrical telegraph (1830s onwards - 'the annihilation of distance')



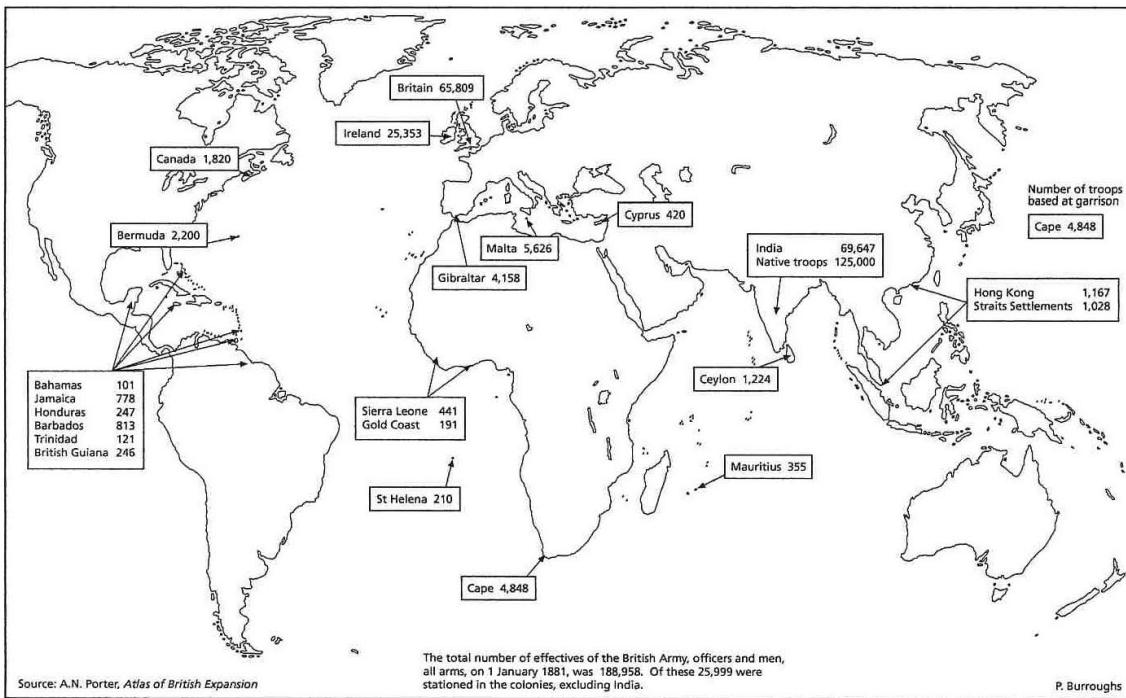
Peripheral Government:

The East India Company

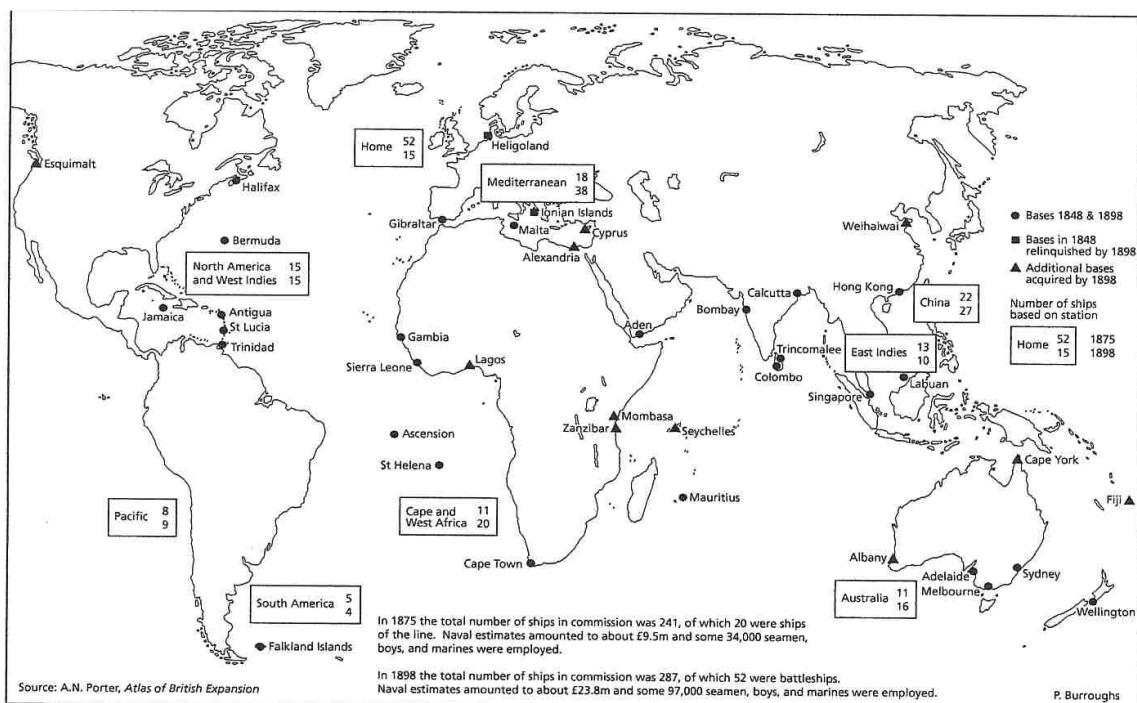
Administration of Crown colonies – direct rule

Administration of settler colonies – self-government

Limitations of control – local autonomy and reliance on indigenous authority and structures



Map 3 Distribution of British troops, 1881



Map 4 The Royal Navy and its stations, 1875 and 1898

Migration & the colonies of settlement

Movement of people as well as goods was a very important feature of the imperial experience. Between the 1850s and the First World War over 20 million people left the British Isles (emigrated) to live permanently overseas; primarily these were economic migrants who sought new opportunities. A very large number of these went to the United States but a significant number also went to Britain's colonies of settlement: Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand.

In the 18th century the most important colonies of settlement were on the eastern seaboard of what would later become the United States. The mismanagement of these thirteen colonies by the British government helped cause the colonies to declare their independence in 1776; the resulting American War of Independence led to a humiliating withdrawal of British authority and the birth of a new rival power.

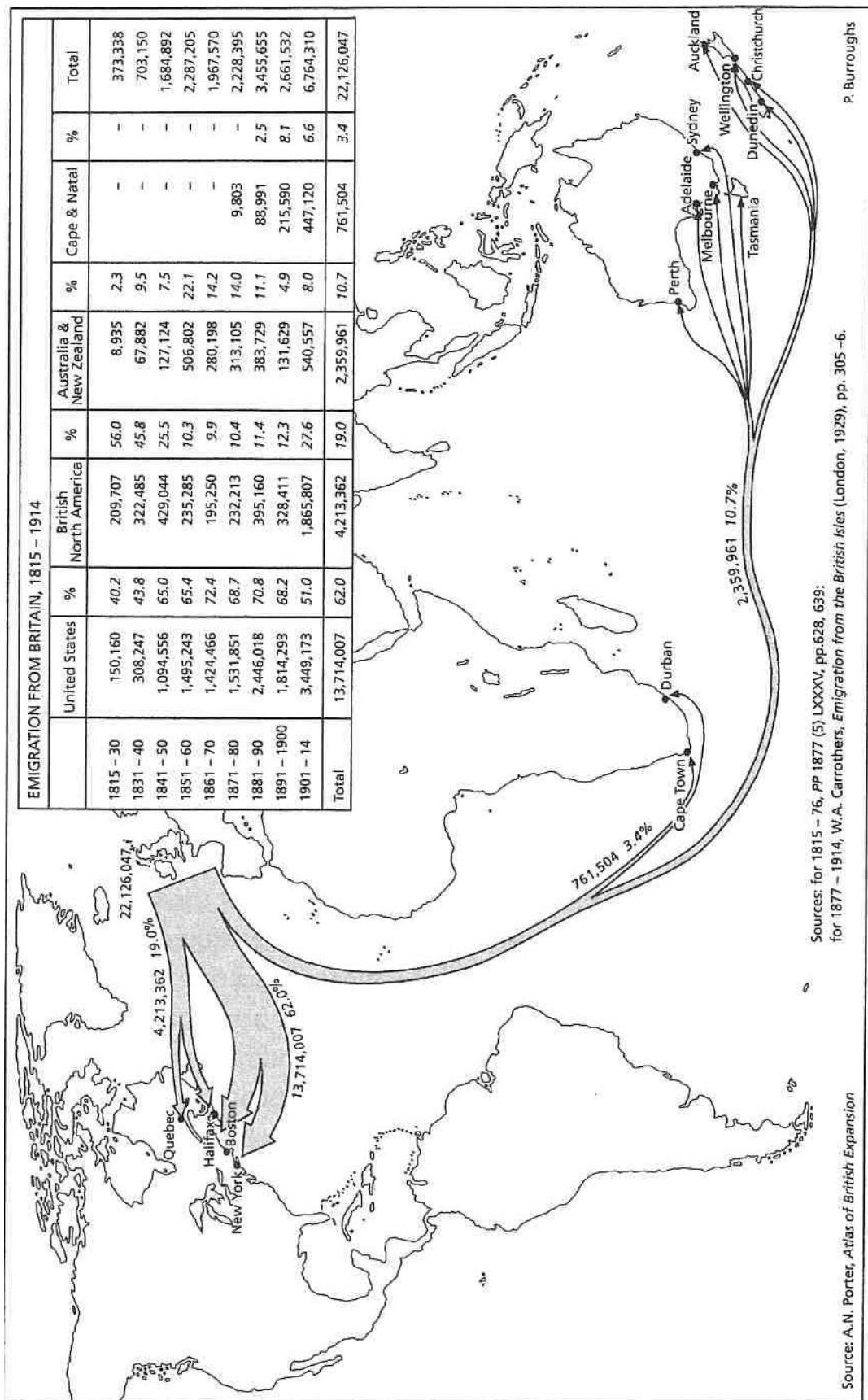
Stung by the American experience, over the course of the 19th century, the remaining colonies of settlement became largely self-governing in relation to domestic matters; the British did not want to risk causing resentment through interference in local matters which could have led to complete separation. After a rebellion in Canada in 1837, the Durham Report recommended the introduction of 'responsible government'. Canada became federated and self-governing in 1867 and was the blueprint for all other 'white' settler colonies.

Devolution of decision-making to local representative assemblies and politicians paradoxically strengthened the remaining bonds with Britain. Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa remained part of the empire and ultimate political authority remained in London, especially when it came to matters of foreign policy and defence, and also when it came to protecting the rights of the local indigenous populations. Throughout the 19th century the settlers in these colonies generally regarded themselves as 'British' and retained close ties to the 'mother' country where they usually still had relatives (see extract from Darwin below). (The exceptions to this sense of British identity were the French-speaking Quebecois population in Canada and the Boer population in South Africa).

Emigration from Britain was an extremely important dimension of British 'cultural imperialism' in the late 19th Century and early 20th Century as the English language and British political and cultural practices were spread overseas.

'Among the ethnic British majorities in Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Newfoundland, and the large 'English' minority among South African whites, a sense of shared British identity (to be sharply distinguished from any subservience to Britain) was deeply ingrained. Dominion politicians declared over and over again that Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Newfoundland were 'British countries' or 'British nations'. To them and their constituents, the 'Empire' was not an alien overlord, but a joint enterprise in which they were, or claimed to be, partners.'

- John Darwin, *The Empire Project*



International Relations and Strategic Threats

Between 1857 and 1967 the international situation and balance of power changed enormously. In the 1850s Britain's main rivals in the mid-19th Century were:

- France
- Russia

Germany and Italy were not unified countries until 1870 and 1871 respectively. Therefore, they were not yet rivals. (Towards the end of the 19th Century they became much more significant powers). The USA was still focused on its own development and expansion westwards – it had little interest in affairs outside its hemisphere and in the 1860s would be preoccupied with its own civil war. Japan only started opening up to the world and developing as a modern world power from 1868 onwards.

The main potential areas of tension with other powers were therefore:

- The 'Great Game' with Russia – North West Frontier and the importance of Afghanistan
- The route to India – the Cape of Good Hope, the Mediterranean, Suez and the importance of the Ottoman Empire
- The lengthy Canadian land border with the USA (this was settled in a series of agreements throughout the 19th Century)

Potential areas of tension:

- Africa – largely unexplored by Europeans in the mid-19th Century
- China – declining as an empire and vulnerable to incursions from European powers

Both of these areas saw intense competition in a series of 'scrambles' in the late 19th Century.

Concert of Europe:

Since the Battle of Waterloo in 1815, Europe had largely been at peace. The great powers of Europe (The UK, France, Prussia, Russia and Austria) had regularly met at Congresses to settle disputes between them and resolve tensions. The only significant conflict between 1815 and 1870 was the Crimean War (1853-1856) in which the Russian Empire lost to an alliance comprised of Britain, France and the Ottoman Empire. *Pax Britannica* is the name often given to the 1815-1914 period as the British were the hegemonic power and there were few serious conflicts between the great powers of the world.

Trade and Commerce

Read:

- Chapter 3 in AQA
- pp. 169-183 in James

- Britain the foremost trading nation and leading industrial economy
- Replacement of mercantilist theories with theories of free trade (repeal of Corn Laws, 1846)
- Aggressive promotion of free trade – Opium Wars with China
- Importance of colonial markets (c. 20% imports to Britain c. 1850-75):
 - Periphery (raw materials) → Britain (turned into finished products) → Periphery
(products sold to colonial markets)
- Importance of City of London → investment overseas

❖ What was the relationship between trade and empire in the mid-nineteenth century?

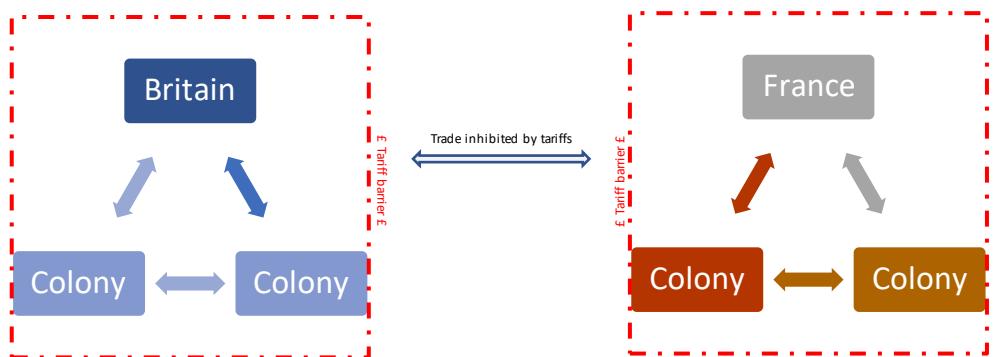
The infrastructure of trade:

- Shipping routes – clippers, steamships etc.
 - Suez Canal (from 1869)
- Railways – the opening up of inland areas
- Canals and rivers

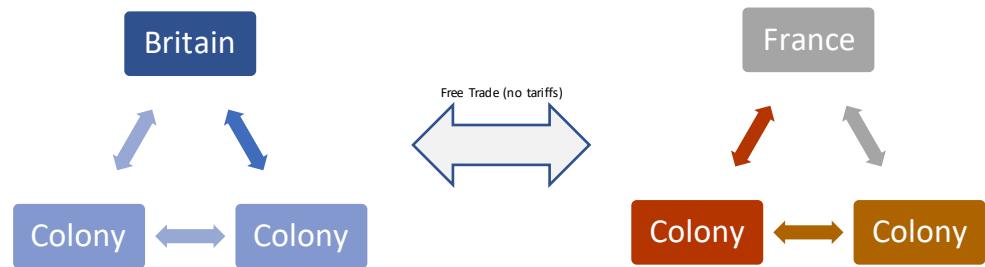
Significant aspects of trade and commerce (identify specific examples of the following):

- Visible Products:
 - Agriculture
 - Mining
 - Industry
- Invisible Products (banking, insurance etc.)
- Overseas investment

A simplified diagram of mercantilist trade:



A simplified diagram of free trade:



❖ What are the strengths and weaknesses of these two trading systems?

Britain's conversion to free trade in the 1840s coincided with a determined effort to open up new markets. The volume of Britain's overseas trade had expanded steadily since 1815. The largest outlets were Europe and the United States, which together accounted for two-thirds of the £50 million earned by exports in 1827. This pattern continued for the next forty years. In 1867, when Britain's exports totalled £181 million, goods sold in countries outside the empire accounted for £131 million. There had been expansion everywhere, most spectacularly in South America where, in 1867, Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Peru imported products worth just over £12 million.

- Lawrence James, *The British Empire*

What do these details suggest about the importance of direct control of overseas territory to Britain's trade and commerce?

Had the conversion to free trade made empire redundant? In the Western world, the answer might have been 'nearly, but not quite.' By the mid nineteenth century, the British West Indies had become a commercial backwater, left behind by lower-cost sugar producers such as Brazil, Cuba and Java. The United States had become Britain's greatest trade partner (in the nineteenth century Britain's *imports* from the US usually exceeded in value its whole trade with Asia). Its slave South produced the raw cotton that fed Lancashire's mills, the source of Britain's largest and most valuable export up to 1914, cotton cloth... Indeed Liverpool lived by American trade...From the merchants' point of view, the ill-feeling aroused by the relics of imperial power in North America... made empire an encumbrance to commerce, not an aid.

- John Darwin, *Unfinished Empire*, 2013

What does Darwin argue about the importance of empire to Britain's commerce?

Informal Empire

To focus solely on colonial possessions in examining Britain's expansion overseas in the nineteenth century is to ignore the multifaceted nature of Britain's international position. The increases in foreign trade, in the balance of credit abroad, and in the numbers of emigrants settling overseas in these years were but part of a wide-ranging expansion of British society that also took military, naval, religious, and cultural forms and spread far beyond the territorial holdings of Britain's Empire. The naval officer in the Atlantic, the missionary in Africa, and the trader in China were as much agents of potential British influence as the colonial administrator in India. Yet the nature and significance of this influence, its impact, and the British government's role in sustaining it remain elusive.

- **Martin Lynn, 'Policy Trade and Informal Empire' in *Oxford History of the British Empire* vol. 4 (1999)**

Read:

- pp. 20-21 in AQA
- pp. 171-180 in James

- China (trade & commerce)
- Latin America (trade & commerce)
- Ottoman Empire (strategic)

- ❖ What was Britain's 'informal empire'?
- ❖ Why did Britain seek to influence other areas of the world? Why did they not become part of Britain's formal empire?

Historiography: The Imperialism of Free Trade

The traditional view of Britain's empire in the 19th Century was that the mid-Victorian period marked an 'era of indifference' to empire and that the late 19th Century marked an 'era of imperialism'; that the mid-century was 'anti-imperialist' but that the late-century saw 'enthusiasm' for empire; that free trade made formal control of colonies obsolete but that, towards the end of the century, there was a marked change in policy towards formal annexation of territory as the 'scramble for Africa' got underway. Thus, in the traditional view, there was a significant discontinuity in Victorian imperial policy. This view saw a clear difference between geographical areas under formal control (marked red on the map) and those where there was a more informal economic influence.



Certainly there were fewer annexations in the mid-19th Century, politicians in Britain rarely advocated annexation of territory (Benjamin Disraeli called colonies 'millstones round our necks'), and in the 1860s there was even a proposal to withdraw from Britain's West African colonies. By contrast, the 1880s and 1890s saw enormous swathes of Africa annexed, as well as parts of Asia.

However, in 1953 Professors John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson published a seminal article entitled 'The Imperialism of Free Trade' which overhauled the traditional 'discontinuity' thesis. In its place, they argued for a basic continuity in Britain's imperial policy and that much less of a distinction should be made between the formal empire (coloured red) and the informal empire.

Gallagher and Robinson argued that '*the conventional view of Victorian imperial history leaves us with a series of awkward questions. In the age of 'anti-imperialism' why were all colonies retained? Why were so many more obtained? Why were so many new spheres of influence set up? Or again, in the age of 'imperialism', as we shall see later, why was there such reluctance to annex further territory? Why did decentralization, begun under the impetus of anti-imperialism, continue? In the age of laissez-faire why was the Indian economy developed by the state?*' In the mid-Victorian period, Britain retained and expanded its position in India and no colonies were actually surrendered. By contrast, in the later period, British politicians always formally annexed territory only as a last resort, and there was always reluctance in London to take on more territory.

Instead, Gallagher and Robinson argued that '*a concept of informal empire which fails to bring out the underlying unity between it and the formal empire is sterile.*' Instead, '*throughout, British governments worked to establish and maintain British paramountcy by whatever means best suited the circumstances of their diverse regions of interest. The aims of the mid-Victorians were no more 'anti-imperialist' than their successors', though they were more often able to achieve them informally; and the late-Victorians were no more 'imperialist' than their predecessors, even though they were driven to annex more often. British policy followed the principle of extending control informally if possible and*

formally if necessary. To label the one method 'anti-imperialist' and the other 'imperialist', is to ignore the fact that whatever the method British interests were steadily safeguarded and extended. The usual summing up of the policy of the free trade empire as 'trade not rule' should read 'trade with informal control if possible; trade with rule when necessary'.

'One principle then emerges plainly: it is only when and where informal political means failed to provide the framework of security for British enterprise (whether commercial, or philanthropic or simply strategic) that the question of establishing formal empire arose. In satellite regions peopled by European stock, in Latin America or Canada, for instance, strong governmental structures grew up; in totally non-European areas, on the other hand, expansion unleashed such disruptive forces upon the indigenous structures that they tended to wear out and even collapse with use. This tendency in many cases accounts for the extension of in-formal British responsibility and eventually for the change from indirect to direct control. It was in Africa that this process of transition manifested itself most strikingly during the period after 1880.'

In the mid-nineteenth century British economic and political influence overseas expanded considerably. Latin America, China, the Ottoman Empire, and Africa experienced growing British involvement, economic, political and military. The theme of these years is of a Britain attempting to negotiate relationships with such societies to her own benefit, with the free trade treaty playing a central role. At its simplest, the aim was thereby to increase British economic interests in that region, although in some cases this underpinned strategic ambitions... In the mid-nineteenth century such linkages with these regions as successive British governments did achieve through the promotion of free trade are less impressive, in retrospect, than they might initially appear. There are conceptual limitations in using metaphors such as 'informal empire' or 'informal control' to understand Britain's relations with these areas. The metaphors not only distort what should be seen as a more ambiguous, fluid and infinitely graded continuum of influence between Britain and the wider world.

- Martin Lynn, 'Policy Trade and Informal Empire' in *Oxford History of the British Empire* vol. 4 (1999)

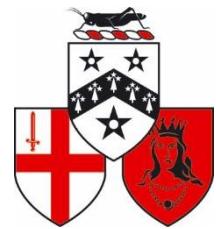
What does Lynn argue about the concept of 'informal empire'?

WATCH: Gresham College Lecture

Professor Sir Richard Evans, Gresham College, October 2011

- **Informal and Formal Empire in the Nineteenth Century**

<https://www.gresham.ac.uk/lectures-and-events/formal-and-informal-empire-in-the-nineteenth-century>



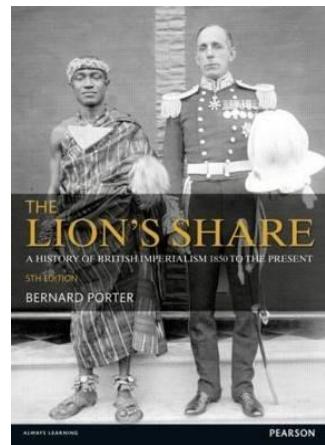
European priorities were always economic. The experience of colonial revolutions and wars of independence since the mid-eighteenth century made European states reluctant to acquire new colonial possessions. Even in 1860 many parts of the globe, particularly in Africa, were still uncolonised. Yet the drastically changed balance of power between Europe and other parts of the world, following on the development of industry, the military reorganization of the European states during the wars of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and the beginnings of decline and disintegration in some of the great non-European empires, the Ottoman, Mughal and Chinese empires in particular, made it easy for European states to gain territories overseas. The imperative here was trade: not exclusive mercantilist controls any more, but the opening up of new markets in a world of free trade dominated by British maritime supremacy. There was no ideological drive to acquire territory, but again and again, the disruptive effects of European trade, exploration and missionary activity on indigenous societies and political systems caused conflict and led European states to recover their prestige and secure their economic interests by intervening, in many cases leading to outright annexation or at the very least behind-the-scenes control. The whole process was haphazard and there was no idea that colonial and imperial policy would be governed by international agreement.

- **Richard Evans, Gresham Lecture, *Informal and Formal Empire in the 19th Century*, 2011**

- ❖ **What is Evans' argument?**

Reading Porter's *Lion's Share*

1. In what sense was there 'no kind of overall logic' to Britain's empire?
2. What did provide some underlying rationality?
3. Give two examples of informal empire:
4. How was Britain's economy dependent on other countries for its prosperity?
5. What role did the British government play in commercial expansion?
6. Why did many British believe free trade had a positive effect on the rest of the world?
7. In what ways did the commercial connection end up getting deeper?
8. Why was Britain's trading relationship with other countries never truly equal?
9. In what sense was Argentina's relationship with Britain 'colonial'?
10. Why might imperial control of a more formal kind develop?
11. What did Britain twice do to China between 1839 and 1860, and why?
12. Why did British control on the west coast of Africa grow?
13. Give two more examples of places where Britain reluctantly expanded her control ('creeping colonialism')?
14. Why did some mid-Victorians (such as Richard Cobden) believe colonies were wasteful?



15. Why did these view not dominate British government? Whose views did?
16. What other justifications were provided for direct imperial control?
17. Why was India such a useful possession?
18. How did Britain treat the settler colonies?
19. Why was responsible self-government not introduced to the colonies of the West Indies?
20. What moral responsibility did some (such as the 3rd Earl Grey) envisage Britain to have towards its colonies?
21. What did Britain's 'native policy' towards India in the early 19th Century?
22. How did Thomas Babington Macaulay propose to anglicise India?
23. What limited 'the room for humanitarian manoeuvre' in India and other colonies?
24. What activities was the British East India Company limited to after 1833?
25. What, in India, was the 'strange kind of parasitic nationalism' that developed?
26. Why did Britain retain ultimate responsibility for indigenous populations in settler colonies?
27. What was the concept of 'trusteeship'?
28. What role did Christianity play in British imperialism?

29. Why was the ‘progress’ of missionaries usually slow?

30. What were Britain’s ‘silent ambassadors’? What does this phrase mean?

ESSAY: ‘Direct control of colonial territories was essential for Britain’s prosperity and trade’ How accurate is this view in relation to the mid-19th Century?

Evidence in support:

- *Imports from key colonial possessions (e.g. cotton from India)*
- *Exports to key colonial markets*
- *Investment in colonial possessions and the security of direct control*
- *Control of key possessions that were essential to trade and security of maritime routes (e.g. Gibraltar etc.)*

Evidence in opposition:

- *High volume of trade with non-imperial markets – USA and Europe*
- *Free trade emphasis in 1850s meant that colonial possessions were not considered necessary for prosperity (arguments of free traders etc.)*
- *Informal empire preferred – lack of direct control (S America, China etc.)*

2. The British Raj, 1857 - 1914



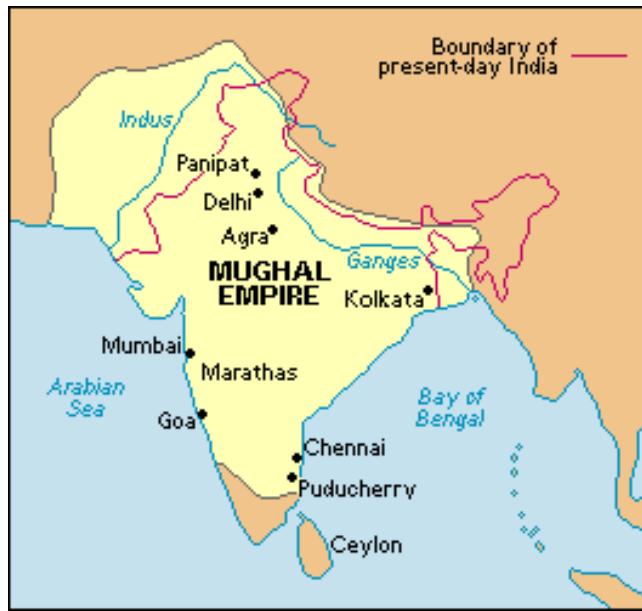
The insignia of the Order of the Star of India

Context – The East India Company and rule up to 1857

Today India is an independent country. However, the area that the British once ruled actually covered not just today's India, but also Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and, for a time, Burma. This is an enormous area and it is perhaps more helpful to think of 'India' as a subcontinent rather than a single 'country' as this word conveys more of a sense of its enormity and diversity.

The Mughal Empire

Between the Fifteenth and Eighteenth Centuries, the dominant power in India was the Mughal Empire. The first Mughal Emperor was Akbar the Great who came to power in 1556 and he managed to unite most of the disparate Indian states. He established his capital at Delhi where he constructed the famous Red Fort from where he ruled over his expanding empire. The Mughals were Muslim and enforced Persian as the official language on their Indian subjects. Under the Mughals, Islam became an important cultural force throughout the sub-continent and many people, particularly poorer people, converted to Islam to escape their low status in Hindu caste society. The North West and the East (Bengal) became Muslim-majority areas.



However, most Indians continued to be Hindus and the Mughals were tolerant enough to allow them to continue practising their religion freely. Although the Emperor was in ultimate authority, powerful Muslims never formed more than a privileged elite. Most of India was divided into smaller kingdoms and principalities, each ruled over by local Hindu kings and princes who, in turn, paid homage to the Mughal Emperor.

In the Sixteenth Century, the Mughal Emperors encouraged the growth of a separate religious movement called Sikhism which fused elements of Hinduism and Islam. This religion centred on the holy city of Amritsar in the Punjab in North-West India. Sikh leaders developed a distinct identity for their religious group with a militant attitude and military discipline.

The Mughals reached the peak of their power under the rule of Emperor Shah Jahan (1628-1658) who became famous for constructing the Taj Mahal. The Mughal Empire became well known as a place of great literature, architecture and religious tolerance.

However, although their position was secure in the north, the Mughals never consolidated their rule in the south of the country. The repeated attempts to wage war required constant taxation and this eventually wore down the will of both rulers and ruled. From the time of Emperor Aurangzeb (d. 1707), the Mughal Empire started to shrink.

Into this power vacuum moved a Hindu group known as the Marathas who expanded their influence in the south and centre of India. Under occasionally brilliant leadership, the Marathas were able to control a large part of the country and rejected the authority of the Mughal Emperors in Delhi. However, the Marathas were never able to consolidate their territory into a proper state and the 'Maratha Confederacy' was really

just a loose collection of warlords. They were relatively poor and found it difficult to sustain large-scale armies. This meant that, by the Seventeenth Century, India was politically fragmented.

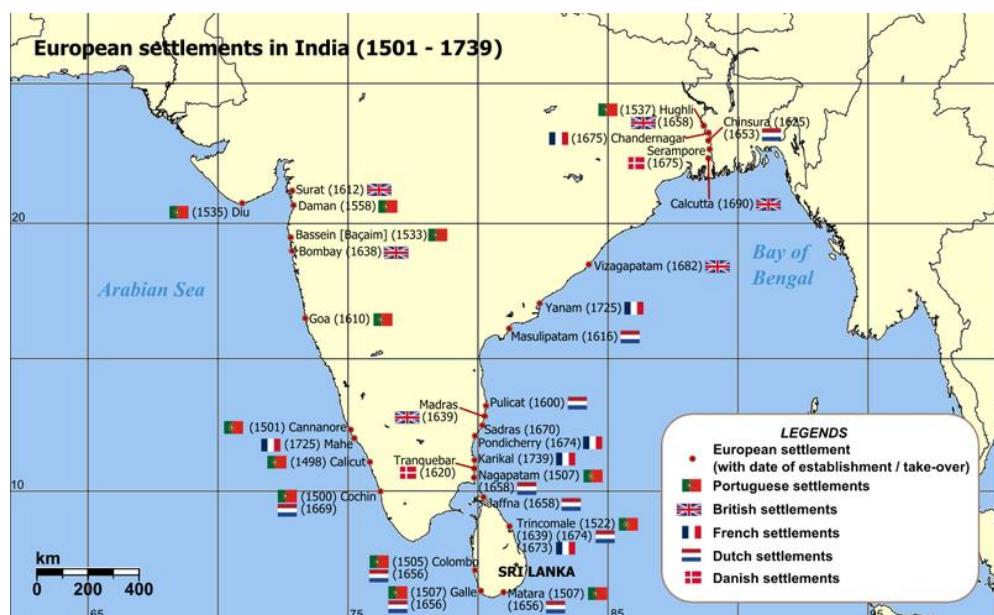
By this point, Europeans had started to arrive to trade with India. In particular, they were interested in exporting spices, cotton and silks. The political instability was a mixed blessing for the European traders; on the one hand, it meant that the security of their trading interests was subject to political volatility and insecurity. On the other hand, it meant that there was a vacuum of authority to take advantage of.

- What were India's vulnerabilities in the late Mughal period?



The Rise of the East India Company

The East India Company was set up during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. It started trading in India in 1612 and made deals with the local Indian rulers. The Company set up a number of trading posts along the Indian coast. Its largest bases were in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. It became a very powerful company and, because of the political turmoil within India, had its own army to defend its interests.



Other European powers also set up rival companies. The most important rival was France which, in 1756, allied with the Indian Nawab (ruler) of Bengal against the British East India Company. During the Seven Years War between Britain and France (1756-63), the Nawab attacked the East India Company's Fort William in Calcutta. He imprisoned a number of British men, women and children who perished in a cell which became known as the black hole of Calcutta.

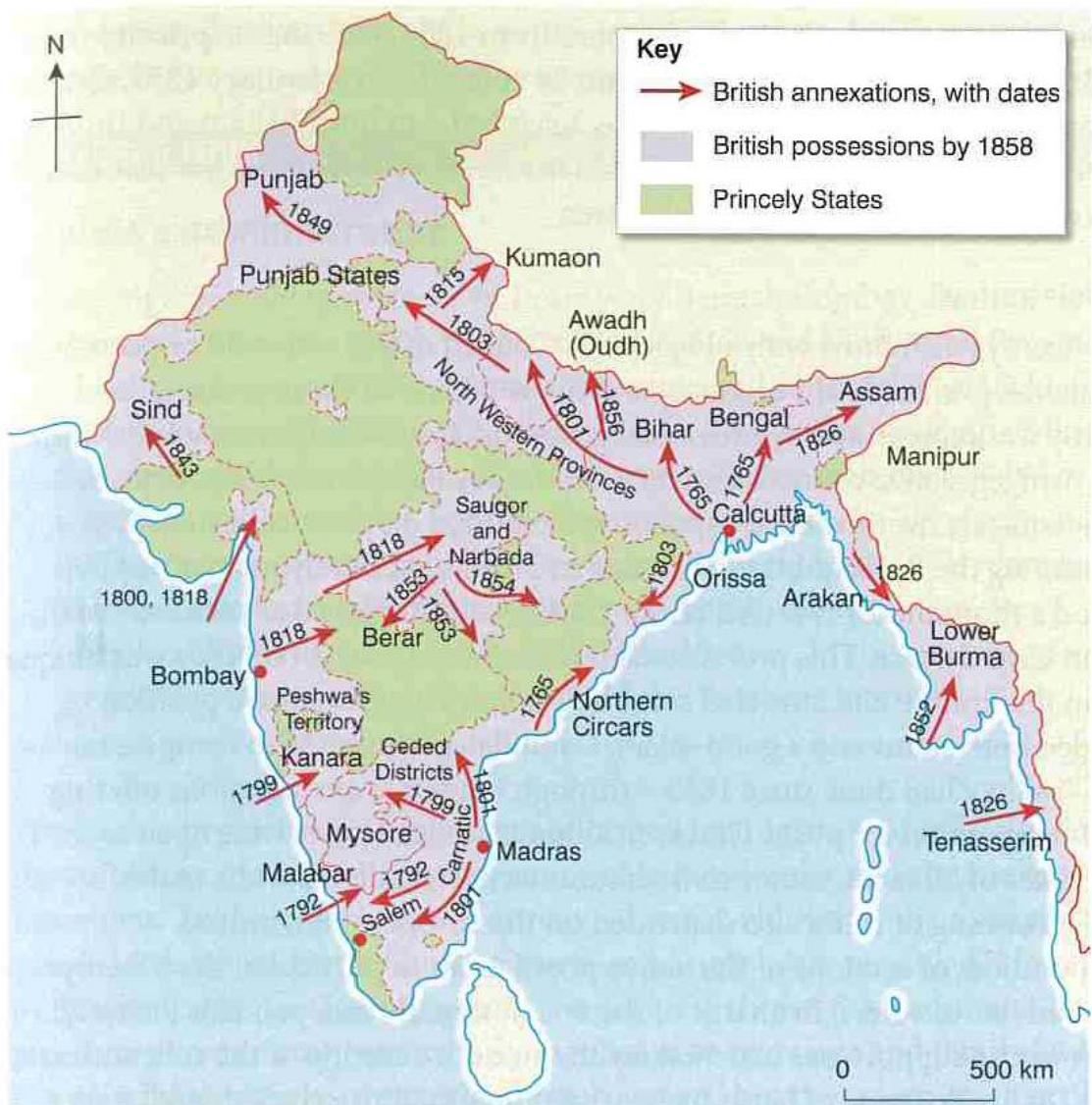
In response to this, the British sent Colonel Robert Clive to defeat the Nawab of Bengal. He achieved a major victory over the Nawab's forces at the Battle of Plassey in 1757. This gave the East India Company control over the large territory of Bengal; the British conquest of India had started. From this point onwards, the other European powers were not in a position to challenge the British.

East India Company rule in India:

Gradually, the East India Company increased its control over more and more Indian territory. Sometimes they would use their army to take land by force. However, on many occasions they simply played other Indian rulers off against each other or bribed Indian rulers to hand over their territory. Following the India Act of 1773 the British government possessed the legal powers to guide the EIC in the administration of India. In 1784 an Indian Board of Control was set up in London to supervise Indian affairs. The British Government nominated the Governor-General who headed the Company regime in Calcutta (Simla in the hot summer months). The Company Army became a formidable force, staffed with British officers and native Indian 'sepoy' (junior ranks). In 1813 the British government ended the Company's monopoly over trade with India and the EIC became solely an administrative body, ruling Indian territory.

The British introduced a land taxation system known as the Permanent Settlement which adopted western notions of land ownership and, after 1800, British rule steadily expanded. There was a power vacuum after the decay of the Mughal Empire and, when met with resistance, the British used force to impose their interests, often deposing hostile rulers. By the 1850s, the East India Company controlled much of the Indian sub-continent.

This period of rapid expansion was accompanied by a new policy of actively trying to 'reform' or 'westernise' India. This was most associated with Governor General Lord William Bentinck (1828-1835) who made English the official language for law, education and administration, and took action against 'barbaric' practices such as *sati* and the *Thugee* cult. Missionaries were also encouraged to enter India to spread Christianity amongst the native population.



The Great Rebellion 1857

Read:

- pp. 50-51 & pp. 12-15 in AQA
- pp. 246-258 in Darwin
- pp. 34-41 in Porter
- pp. 217-234 in James
- WATCH: Paxman Episode 1: A Taste for Power (14.10 – 20.00)

Causes

- ❖ Why did the uprising happen?
- ❖ Who rebelled?

- The trigger: the affair of the greased cartridges
- Problems within the Army – grievances of the sepoys
- Wider causes:
 - Expansion of territory – ‘doctrine of lapse’
 - Economic causes
 - Cultural/ religious causes

Where the flames of rebellion did take hold, it was in a sense a reactionary movement intending to restore old rulers and old institutions – the symbols, perhaps, of a reborn Hindustan nation; but its positive, constructive side was never very strong. What united its participants was not any very clear vision of the future, but a hatred of the British. That hatred was fanned by the recent policies of the East India Company, and also by the manner in which they had been implemented. To the rebels British policy appeared as a deliberate attempt to seize their lands, humiliate their rulers, impoverish their people, subvert their customary ways of life and destroy their religions, often in the teeth of solemn promises not to do so, by a group of infidels with dubious motives and unpleasant manners. That this was how they saw the intentions of the British denoted, to say the least, a failure of communication between rulers and ruled; but even the best of imperial public relations officers would have found it difficult to disabuse Indians of these ideas, for many of them were true, and indeed were never contradicted by the British.

- B Porter *The Lion's Share* 2012

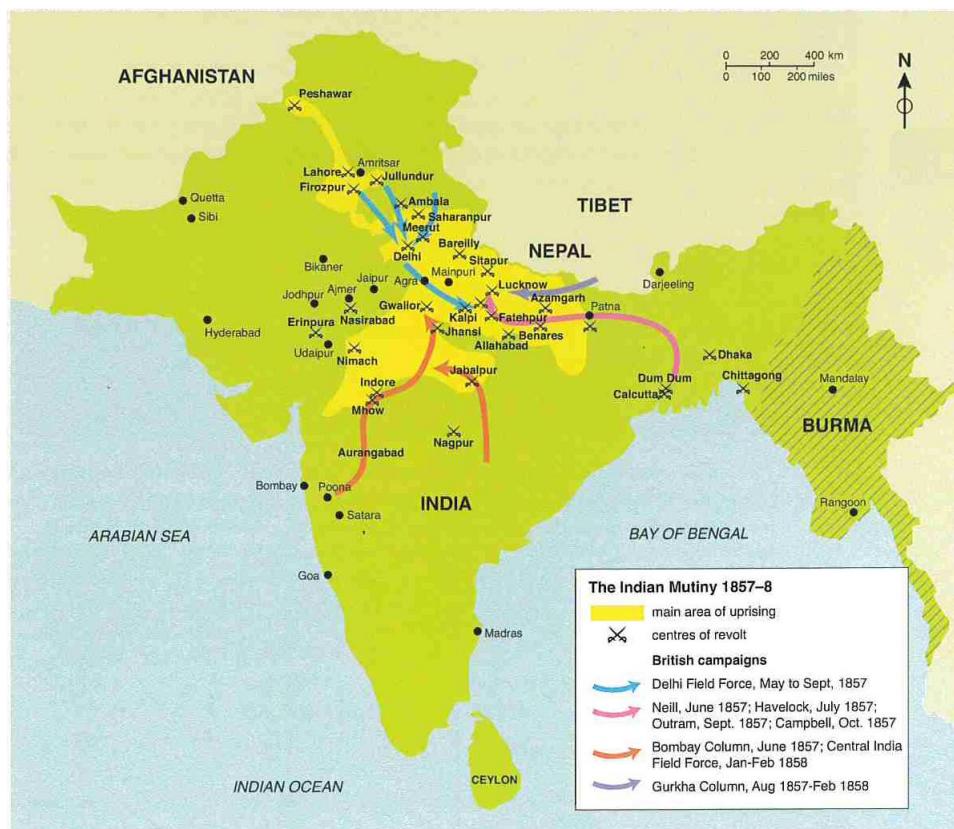
- What is Porter’s argument about the causes of the Mutiny?
- Give further details on the causes that Porter mentions.

Events:

- March 1857 – mutiny of Mungul Panday in Calcutta → executed → unrest in army throughout April
- May – garrison at Meerut mutinies → spreads within days (Delhi; Awadh; Jhansi etc.) (c. 70,000 mutiny, c. 30,000 desert)
 - Involvement of former elites (Rani of Jhansi; Nana Sahib; Mughal Emperor)
 - Rural revolt
→ British retreat to strongholds (e.g. siege of Lucknow residency)
- September – British recapture Delhi
- November – relief of Lucknow
- June 1858 – final defeat of rebels at Gwalior
- July 1858 – ‘state of peace’ formally declared by Governor-General

Atrocities: the appearance of a race war – no mercy on either side

- Massacre of British by Nana Sahib at Cawnpore (the well of Cawnpore)
- British indiscriminate in killing villages suspected of disloyalty; 1,400 murdered when Delhi recaptured. Severe reprisals (blown apart by cannon)
- British dead: c. 2,000 killed (c. 9,000 dead from disease)
- Indian dead: ?c. 100,000?



- Why was the Mutiny unsuccessful?

- **Historiography: How and why has the Mutiny been contested in history?**

- **Indian Mutiny?**
- **Great Rebellion?**
- **First Indian War of Independence?**

Even though the Awadh mutineers once referred to themselves as 'the Army of India', there is nothing in what they said or did to suggest that they could have comprehended, let alone wanted, an equivalent to the Indian state that emerged during the twentieth century. Individually and collectively, Indians were not bent on the creation of a unified nation state. Instead what came out of the mutiny was a fragmentation which would have gathered momentum if more men like Devi Singh had been free to emerge. The old ways returned in the district around Mathura almost the moment that British authority dissolved. In some places, domestic slavery and suti made a comeback. Where national consciousness was evident among the rebels, it was defined as a loathing for the British which, at times, seemed so intense that it appeared that they were waging a racial war of extermination. There was wholesale destruction of all things British including railway engines which were shattered by cannon fire at the orders of the rioters at Allahabad. Intelligent Indians shared the British horror at this manic Luddism. The barrier and prejudices created by religion, caste, clan and tribes were still too strong to allow the cultivation of national sentiment or cohesion even if the rebels attempted to do so. The princes were unwilling to commit themselves to a rebellion. Once the war began to swing in Britain's favour, it was prudent to show active support.

From: Lawrence James, *Raj. The Making and Unmaking of British India*, 1997.

The events of 1857 have often been taken to mark a watershed in both British rule and the Indian response to it. But the interpretation of these events remains controversial, and so does their title. Known to the British as 'the Sepoy', 'Bengal' or 'Indian Mutiny', to Indians as the National Uprising or the First War of Independence, and to the less partisan as the Great Rebellion, what happened in 1857 defies simplistic analysis. Equating the rebellion with the traditional, even 'feudal' form of reaction, whose failure would usher in the new age of nationalism, and politically organised protest is no longer acceptable. Many different groups with different grievances became aligned with either side in the Great Rebellion. The rights and wrongs of British rule were not always a decisive factor and the frontier between the two sides sliced through both agrarian and urban communities, both settled and nomadic peoples, both high caste and low, both landlord and tenant, Muslim and Hindu. There was something of a national character in both those who opposed the rebellion as well as in that of those who supported it.

From: John Keay, *India: A History*, 2000.

- ❖ **What do these two extracts argue about the Indian Mutiny?**

The British Raj after the Mutiny

Fears concerning ‘native’ sensitivities to social and religious changes of any sort inaugurated an era of social and religious laissez faire which put an end to reform legislation in India for more than three decades after 1858. There was an indifference to the plight of women, untouchables, and exploited children. Missionaries were instructed to cut back their attempts at conversion. With the government of India pressed to pay back the entire cost of the British military operations, spending on education was the first to be cut. The one institution in which reforms were made was the army. The ratio of Indian to British troops was reduced. The British were given exclusive control over artillery. Princes and lesser gentry were wooed. Dalhousie’s egalitarian policy of treating all natives as equal was reversed, but his policies of technological modernization were continued. The post-war era was a period of unprecedented capital investment. Railway construction advanced rapidly. Perhaps the most pervasive impact of the war, however, was the psychological wall of racial distrust it raised between Britain’s white and India’s native populations. The bitter legacy of atrocities in 1857 remained to poison the memories of Englishmen and Indians alike. The wall that insulated white sahib society from the natives loomed impervious to any but a handful of princes and landed gentry. By 1877 Britain’s new order had taken such firm hold over the subcontinent that Disraeli was able to convince Queen Victoria of the wisdom of adding ‘Empress of India’ to her regalia.

From: Stanley Wolpert, A New History of India, published in 1977.

- ❖ **What does Wolpert argue about British rule in India after the Mutiny?**

- Changes in attitude:
 - An end to ‘Westernising’, ‘improving’ reforms
 - Collaboration with and embrace of traditional elites (the Princely States) – contempt shown towards Anglicised ‘babus’
 - Legacy of racial mistrust and separation
 - Economic investment and development (strategic as well as economic reasons)
- Direct relationship with the British Crown

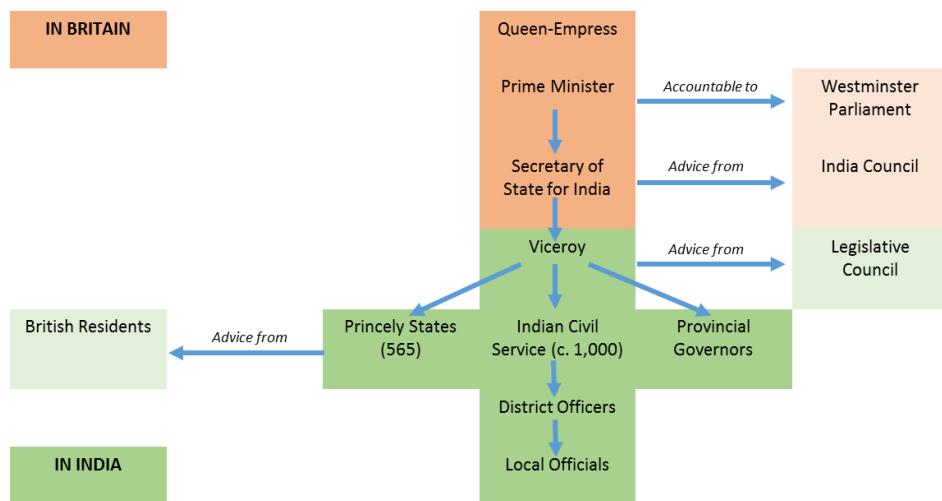
After 1857, the Mutiny was important as a myth and inspiration; what it was later believed to have been was more important than what it actually was. The really disastrous and important effect of the Mutiny was the wound it gave to British goodwill and confidence. Whatever the expressed intentions of British policy, the attitude of the British in India was from this time influenced by the memory that Indians had once proved almost fatally untrustworthy. The mythical importance of the Mutiny grew with time. The atrocities that had actually been committed in 1857 were bad enough, but unspeakable ones that had never occurred were also used as grounds for a policy of repression and social exclusiveness.

- J M Roberts, *The Pelican History of the World*, 1980

❖ What were the main consequences of the Mutiny?

Government of India Act, 1858:

- Abolition of East India Company
- **Secretary of State for India** – a Cabinet post – advised by Council of India
- Governor-General now a Crown appointment, termed Viceroy (Calcutta & Simla)
- **Indian Civil Service** an elite force under the control of the Secretary of State – open to all through competitive examinations
- End of the ‘doctrine of lapse’ – collaboration with Princely States (e.g. Hyderabad) through the **Indian Political Service**
- 1877 – Royal Titles Act – Victoria now Empress of India (Delhi Durbar)
- Low-level administrative responsibilities carried out by native Indians
- The importance of collaboration – ‘Ornamentalism’ (Cannadine)



Reforms to the armed forces in India:

- EIC Army now the British Indian Army – Crown control (no artillery)
- Bengal regiments disbanded – heavy reliance on more ‘loyal’ and ‘martial’ groups from Punjab etc.
- Permanent British Army garrisons (1:2 ratio of British: Indian troops)
- 1880s: 70,000 British / 125,000 Indian troops in India
- Imperial Police Force established
- 3,000 miles railway track laid in 1860s
- All paid for by Indian taxation



The Viceroy's House, Calcutta

Key Individual: Lord Curzon (1859-1925)

Profile: ODNB entry by David Gilmour; pp. 94-95 in AQA

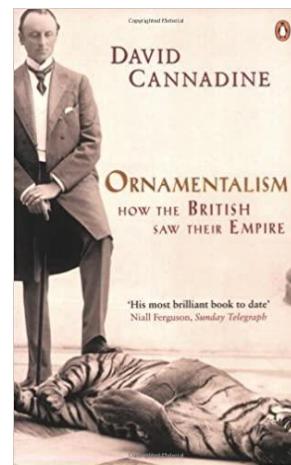
- Background and upbringing
- Appointment as viceroy
- Reforms as viceroy
- Responses to the 'Great Game' with Russia
- Attitude towards Indian culture
- Partition of Bengal (1905) and resignation





Adapted from David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism* (Penguin; 2001), chapter four

After the Mutiny of 1857, the Bentinck-Macaulay-Dalhousie policy (and stereotype) of overturning the corrupt, despotic, ruling regimes that they had believed India to be was largely given up. This was replaced by the alternative policy (and the alternative stereotype) that regarded the established order much more favourably, and as something that ought to be promoted and preserved. 'Traditional', 'timeless' and 'unchanging' South Asia now became an object to cherish rather than to criticise: once the target of reformers, India had now become the hope of reactionaries. But India was a large and complex country, an entire subcontinent populated by teeming millions embracing two powerful and competing religions. There were territories administered by the British, which were ruled from Calcutta (and later from New Delhi), and there were between five and six hundred autonomous princely states, which constituted roughly one third of the subcontinent. How, in the decades after the mutiny, did the British re-envision and re-establish this most resonant and romantic part of their empire, 'ordering into a single hierarchy all its subjects, Indian and British alike'?



One way in which they did so was by giving more attention to the concepts and categories of caste. During the closing decades of the rule of the East India Company, the theory of caste had become more rigidified, and its influence spread into areas ranging from the ritual practices of South Indian temples to the honours system of Indian princes. As such, and further instrumentalised by the courts, caste penetrated deep into South Asian society, restructuring the relations of public worship, physical mobility, marriage and inheritance. The result was an immobile, status-bound vision of the Indian social order, which in the second half of the 19th century became even more attractive to the British than in the years of the Company. The British came to look upon caste as 'the essential feature of the Indian social system', as the analogue to their own carefully ranked domestic status hierarchy, which seemed to make Indian society familiar. By 1901 caste was used in the Indian census as the equivalent to the social categories used in Britain. Thus regarded, India seemed to the British to be an integrated and coherent hierarchy, with an accepted order of social precedence that they could grasp and understand... The particular, localised form that this society took was the village community... Agricultural communities were seen as the essence of the existing social and economic order.

It was atop this layered, agrarian image of Indian society that the British constructed a system of government that was simultaneously direct and indirect, authoritarian and collaborationist, but that always took for granted the reinforcement and preservation of tradition and hierarchy. The imperial presence, in the two thirds of the country directly ruled, took the form of a fixed official order... When it came to the implementation of justice and the collection of revenue, the Raj needed dependable allies. Just as British local government had always depended on the resident aristocracy and gentry [in Britain], so their chosen partners in South Asia were the 'natural leaders': large landowners, men of 'property and rank', of 'power and importance', who 'exercised great influence' in rural society. As the British saw them, Indian landlords were to fulfil the assigned role of English notables, because they possessed traditional status and authority in the localities that made their participation in the imperial enterprise both valuable and reliable. The Talukdars in the United Provinces, with their landed estates, or the Pirs of Sind, wielding religious, social and economic influence, were significant examples.

The remaining third of India consisted of the princely states, those 500-odd personal fiefdoms ruled over by rajahs and maharajahs, nawabs and nizams, which after 1857 were no longer reviled as alien and corrupt, but acclaimed as familiar and traditional. 'The policy of suppressing, or suffering to go to ruin, all the aristocracy and gentry of India, is a mistake', opined Sir Charles Wood, the Secretary of State for India in the aftermath of the Mutiny. During his period of office, it was put promptly into reverse, as criticism was replaced by celebration, disruption by preservation. The princes were to be attached directly to the British crown; there were to be no

further annexations; and they were reassured that on the failure of natural heirs, the adoption of a successor would be recognised. Put more positively, this meant the British resolved to rule one third of India indirectly through the princes, and through the deeply-rooted hierarchical social structure of which they were both the expression and the apogee. As nominally autonomous native states, they administered themselves under British paramountcy, with residents from the Indian Political Service assigned to them as advisers. They were carefully ranked and ordered, they were obsessed with protocol and the number of guns they received in salute... They seemed, then, just like the British aristocracy and gentry.

The view of the basic structures of Indian society, as caste-ridden, village-living and princely-led, became the conventional British wisdom in the decades immediately after the Mutiny, and as the last quarter of the 19th century opened, it was more deliberately encouraged and energetically projected. Here, Benjamin Disraeli was a crucial figure. For it was he who, as Prime Minister, passed the Imperial Titles Act in 1876, which declared Queen Victoria to be Empress of India. This audacious appropriation consolidated and completed the British-Indian hierarchy, as the queen herself replaced the now defunct Mughal emperor at the summit of the social order. As a result, the position of her representative [the viceroy] was ceremonially inflated and extravagantly enhanced. The first climax of this knew culture of ornamentation was the proclamation of the queen as Empress of India by the viceroy, Lord Lytton, at the great durbar of 1877. From one perspective, this represented the successful appropriation of the indigenous, South Asian symbolic form of the durbar, or ceremonial meeting between rulers and ruled, which articulated the traditional social order and legitimated the position of the queen-empress at the head of it. But it was also an improvised, pseudo-mediaeval spectacular of rank and inequality which indicated that the British were increasingly projecting an image of their South Asian empire as a 'feudal order'. Appropriately enough, special emphasis was placed upon the role of the ruling princes, who were hailed and presented as the native aristocracy of the country.

This image of India protected and projected by the Raj - glittering and ceremonial, layered and traditional, princely and rural, reached what has rightly been called its 'elaborative zenith' at the coronation durbar of 1911 when, at his own insistence, the King-Emperor George V appeared in person with a newly made imperial crown, thereby surpassing even Curzon's extravaganza of 1903... The king and queen journeyed to Delhi, where a canvas city had been constructed, accommodating people in strict order of social precedence, along with pavilions, a reviewing ground and an amphitheatre; and there they resided, among princes, governors, heralds, troops and escorts, and 200,000 visitors. They made their formal state entry in a five-mile long procession, and they later appeared in full coronation finery to receive the homage of the princes. 'It was', the king recalled with rare effusiveness, 'the most beautiful and wonderful sight I ever saw'.

For the British in India, and for their friends, allies and collaborators, hierarchy was indeed 'the axis around which everything turned'. The same could, of course, be said of Britain, and this was scarcely coincidence. Perhaps that was why India exercised such an appeal for so long to the romantic, Disraelian side of the British imagination. As the late 19th century drew on into the early 20th, and again in the unstable inter-war years, India's was a hierarchy that became the more alluring because it seemed to represent an ordering of society that perpetuated overseas something important that was increasingly under threat in Britain. The interests of those within metropolitan society who were dissatisfied with their own industrial-urban-democratic order were better served by what they regarded as the splendid, traditional hierarchies that still flourished east of Suez.

➤ What are Cannadine's main arguments about the British Raj after the Mutiny?

In some ways the Raj was a bluff. By the end of Queen Victoria's reign, some 300 million Indians were ruled by barely 1500 administrators of the Indian Civil Service. There were perhaps 3000 British officers in the Indian Army. Leaving aside the British regiments serving in India, the total number of Britons in the sub-continent at the end of Victoria's reign was something like 20,000. If the Indian people had chosen to throw off their overlords in a fashion more consistent and concerted than that of 1857, there would have been little to prevent them. The regiments of infantry tramping down the Grand Trunk Road, the double firsts from Oxford and Cambridge who served in the Indian Civil Service, the social exclusiveness of the British clubs, the justice apparently handed out so even-handedly, would have been of no avail. The divisions within Indian society, however, meant that such concerted action was very unlikely to occur. The British continued to maintain their authority, and the power and strength of the Raj, through the exploitation of the differences and divisions within the sub-continent.

- Dennis Judd, *Empire* (2001)

❖ What does Judd argue about British rule in India after the Mutiny?

What was the impact of the British Raj on India

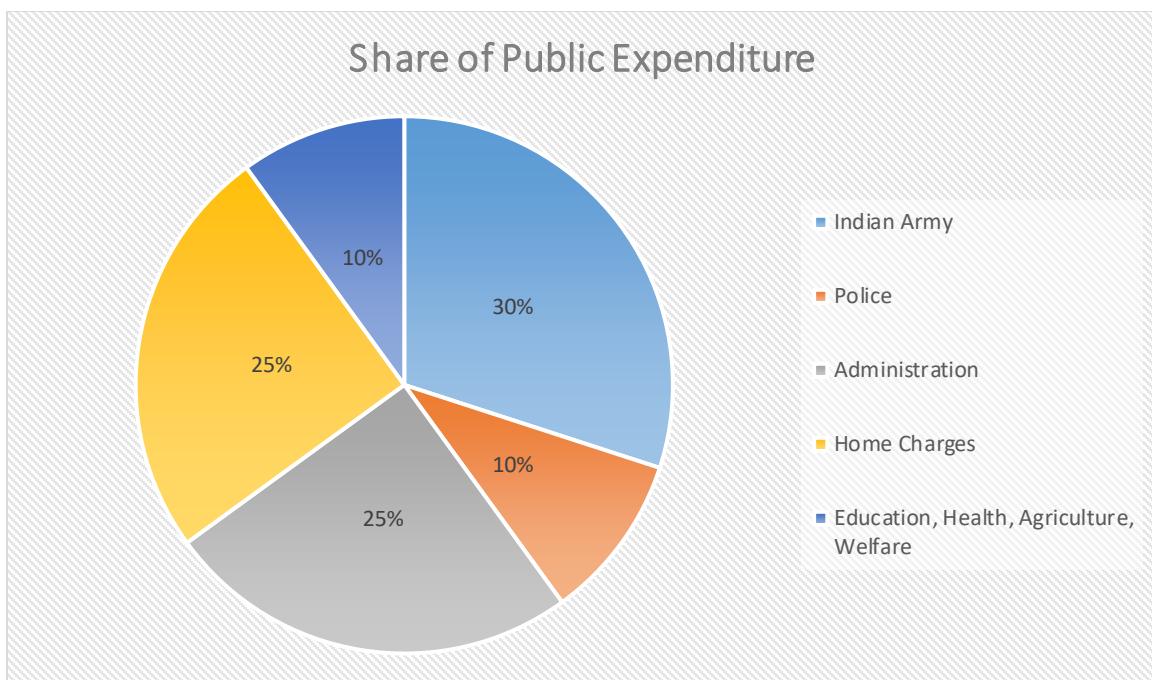
Read:

- pp. 52-54 in AQA text
- pp. 41-49 in Porter
- chapter 9 in Jon Wilson's *India Conquered*
- chapter 7 in Shashi Tharoor's *Inglorious Empire*

- Economic development and trade with Britain
- Political and legal institutions
- Taxation
- Extension of education
- Developments in transport and infrastructure (rail etc.)
- Agricultural development and famine relief
- Attitudes towards Indian culture and religion/ racial and class attitudes

- ❖ What was the impact of the British Raj after 1857?
- ❖ To what extent did India benefit from British rule (or *vice versa*)?

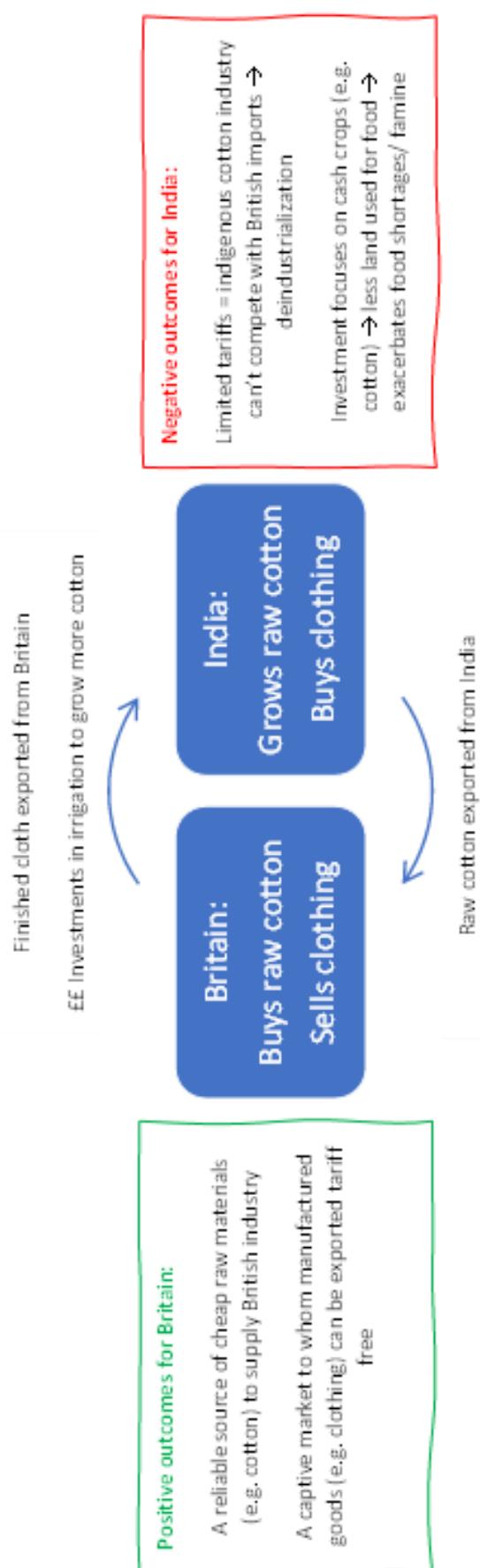
Public spending in the British Raj in the 1890s



Approximate figures taken from Ian Copland, India: 1885-1947 (Longman; 2001), pp. 32-33

What can we learn from this about the British Raj in the late 19th century?

A simplified diagram of the cotton/ cloth trade between Britain and India:



Historiography: the impact of British Rule in India

Since 1857 the British in India had been on the horns of an East/West dilemma. In order to maintain stability they felt obliged to rule an oriental despotism by the sword and support the old order. On the other hand, enlightened Victorians could hardly deny that good government was the *raison d'être* of the Raj. 'Sanitation, Education, Hospitals, Roads, Bridges, Navigation', intoned Lord Mayo who became viceroy in 1869, 'We are trying to do in half a century what in other countries has absorbed the life of the nation.' Moreover, conservative as well as liberal Viceroys helped to foster the growth of Indian nationalism. This was partly because the British, despite their proclaimed genius for government, ruled India badly. On the one hand, Mayo took advice from Florence Nightingale about hospitals; he promoted public works such as ports, railways and canals and irrigation schemes, and encouraged his lonely officers to establish a 'pure, powerful and just regime'. Every year he travelled thousands of miles, wearing out his breeches. Yet, on the other hand, he involuntarily presided over a subcontinental muddle. Even during the famines that ravaged India, humanity was sacrificed to economy. British civil servants, often pig-sticking, gin-swilling public school men were impossibly remote from their subjects.

From: Piers Brendon, *The Decline and Fall of the British Empire 1781-1997*, published in 2007.

What does Brendon argue about British rule after 1857?

Eventually, of course, railways changed social conditions, allowing large numbers of workers to congregate in centres of production as never before, speeding up the flow of commodities and creating and creating new settlements. They intensified the flow of primary produce from India's hinterland to the great port cities. They also allowed Indian enterprise to disperse out from these increasingly European-dominated cities into small towns and settlements on railway lines. But these changes were slow, and did not work out in the way British officers imagined. Neither railways nor irrigation systems had much of an impact on the livelihood of most Indian workers for some time. Most importantly, they did not prevent famine. Canal-building didn't prevent some of the world's worst famines occurring in India during the 1870s and 1890s. Without the kind of political leadership able to coordinate the productive activity of Indians for the benefit of society as a whole, the dreams of 'improvement' projected by the prophets of modernity in the 1840s and 1850s ended up as illusory fantasies.

- Jon Wilson, *India Conquered*, 2016

What does Wilson argue about the British impact on India in the later 19th Century?

Far from crediting Britain for India's unity and enduring parliamentary democracy, the facts point clearly to policies that undermined it – the dismantling of existing political institutions, the fomenting of communal division and systematic political discrimination with a view to maintaining British domination.

In the years after 1757, the British astutely fomented cleavages among the Indian princes, and steadily consolidated their dominion through a policy of divide and rule. Later, in 1857, the sight of Hindu and Muslim soldiers rebelling together, willing to pledge joint allegiance to the enfeebled Mughal monarch, alarmed the British, who concluded that pitting the two groups against one another was the most effective way to ensure the unchallenged continuance of empire. As early as 1859, the then British governor of Bombay, Lord Elphinstone, advised London that "*Divide et impera* was the old Roman maxim, and it should be ours".

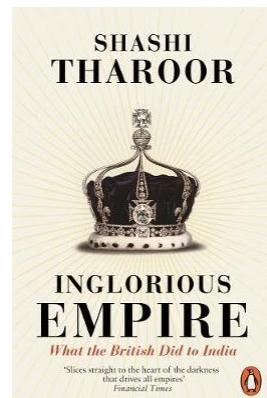
Since the British came from a hierarchical society with an entrenched class system, they instinctively looked for a similar one in India... Thus colonial administrators regularly wrote reports and conducted censuses that classified Indians in ever-more bewilderingly narrow terms, based on their language, religion, sect, caste, sub-caste, ethnicity and skin colour. Not only were ideas of community reified, but also entire new communities were created by people who had not consciously thought of themselves as particularly different from others around them.

Large-scale conflicts between Hindus and Muslims (religiously defined), only began under colonial rule; many other kinds of social strife were labelled as religious due to the colonists' orientalist assumption that religion was the fundamental division in Indian society... The creation and perpetuation of Hindu–Muslim antagonism was the most significant accomplishment of British imperial policy: the project of *divide et impera* would reach its culmination in the collapse of British authority in 1947. Partition left behind a million dead, 13 million displaced, billions of rupees of property destroyed, and the flames of communal hatred blazing hotly across the ravaged land. No greater indictment of the failures of British rule in India can be found than the tragic manner of its ending.

- Shashi Tharoor, *Inglorious Empire* (2017)

Extension:

- Shashi Tharoor *Inglorious Empire: What the British did to India* (2017)



Given the size of India (20% of the world population in 1820) and its centrality to the empire, it is a devastating accusation to say that it was deliberately or even accidentally impoverished by British policy. What is the verdict? Asian living standards had begun to fall relative to Europe long before imperialism, partly due to political instability; and British rule did not see a further fall, but a slow rise. Asia's export successes had depended on cheap skilled labour: and the low cost of Indian labour made early technology unviable. Rapid early-nineteenth-century improvements in technology meant that English cotton goods suddenly became both cheaper and better than those of India, which consequently lost its global markets. In the space of a generation (roughly from the 1830s to the 1850s) India this became 'de-industrialised, as did China. However, modern mechanised cotton mills began to be built in the 1850s, and by 1876 India reached the 'one million spindle' mark – twenty years before Japan and thirty before Brazil. Famous names appeared at this time: JN Tata visited Lancashire in 1872 and six years later opened modern cotton mills at Nagapur; his son, Sir Dorabji Tata, established a huge steelworks in 1911. By 1900 India had the fourth-largest cotton industry in the world, after England, the USA and Russia. It also had the fourth-largest railway system in the world (paid for by Indians but with British technical direction and aided by cheap British capital), with three quarters of Asia's total track – thirty-five times more than China. Agricultural export growth in India was comparable to Brazil's. Indian industry began competing successfully with British imports – especially as the imperial government gave preference to Indian-produced goods. The colonies, including India, were very lightly taxed – probably less so than if they had been independent: Indian taxes were 20-40 per cent lower than in the non-European world in general, and lower in British India than in the semi-autonomous princely states.

But, even if all this is accepted, the worst accusation is that colonial rulers, by encouraging export-oriented commercial agriculture and building railways, destroyed traditions subsistence farming, using free-market economics as a 'mask' for 'holocaust' and 'colonial genocide'. The worst famines in 1876-9, 1889-91, and 1896-1902, caused by severe droughts connected with variations in the 'El Nino' current, were worldwide, but particularly deadly in India, China, Brazil, Russia and east Africa. To what extent was Britain responsible? A popular view – propagated today in a range of American universities and radical websites – blames it for every disaster from Brazil to China because it fostered a globalisation that brought political, social, economic and ecological catastrophe. Imperial government failed disastrously to prevent a terrible death toll. Yet the Famine Codes, drawn up in India in the 1880s were the world's first modern anti-famine policy, still consulted today. They proclaimed that 'the object of State intervention is to save life... all other considerations should be subordinated to this'. Nor did colonial authorities refuse funds – the spending of famine relief in India in 1873-4 and 1896-7 was equivalent to over £700 million in today's values, and tens of millions of people were assisted. But the authorities did fear that mass relief would encourage dependency and prove financially unsustainable, and so they cut relief too quickly. They also over-estimated the ability and willingness of the market to mobilise resources in these unprecedented crises, and were too hierarchical, complacent, dogmatic and financially parsimonious. Was this 'genocide'? Imperial government did not do enough in the face of mass hunger, and this is widely accepted as an intrinsic failing of unrepresentative governments, colonial or other. Did British policy of encouraging commercial agriculture aggravate natural disaster? The answer is not simple. It depends on whether one assumes that traditional agriculture could have averted similar famines at a time of exceptional climate disturbance.

- Robert Tombs, *The English and their History* (2014)

The British preferred to emphasize their investment in infrastructure, especially railways and irrigation works ('trains and drains'). They pointed to the country's generally favourable balance of payments. Critics, though, were less impressed by India's theoretical prosperity and more exercised by Indians' actual poverty. As early as 1866 Dadabhai Naoroji, a future Congress leader, had begun to wonder whom the trains benefited and where the drains led. His 'drain theory' maintained that India's surpluses, instead of being invested so as to create the modernized and industrialised economy needed to support a growing population, was being drained away by the ruling power. The main drain emptied in London with a flood of what the government called 'home charges'. These included salaries and pensions for government and army officers, military purchases, India office expenses, debt repayments and returns to investors in Indian railways. These came to nearly a quarter of India's annual revenue. It was not surprising that Indians lived in such abject poverty or that famines were so frequent. Lord Lytton's 1877 Imperial Assemblage at Delhi was the sort of wasteful extravaganza to which Indians of almost every perspective took exception. It coincided with the worst famine of the century which claimed perhaps 5.5 million lives in the Deccan and the south.

From: John Keay, *India: A History*, published in 2000.

The British rule saw a uniformity being established in India. Laws were framed that applied to all and taxes like *Jizzia* (the land tax) were abolished. For the first time the Hindus regained their religious freedom. The British and foreign scholars also started a study of the Indian scriptures and the result was a concerted effort to save Indian heritage, such as the temples at Khujaraho which were in decay were restored. The British also set up colleges and universities and a fair and efficient judicial system that traces its origin to British rule. In addition they set up the framework of administration by setting up the Indian civil service and the police service. These are now the backbone of Indian democracy. The British created an excellent road and rail network that crisscrossed the entire country and for the first time a resident from Lahore could travel to Calcutta or the Deep South without hindrance. Not content with these achievements, the British also abolished the evil practices like Sati and thuggism which were the bane of Indian society. For this alone the British rulers deserve our admiration. The British also created the postal services and the armed services. The British rule brought in knowledge and enlightenment and for the first time the concept of India as a nation took shape. The monuments to British rule are legion. Suffice it to say that India progressed more in 200 years of English rule than in 600 years earlier. The concept of equality and fair play is something we learnt from the English as well as the concept that an officer of the Indian army was also a gentleman. There were no doubt some aberrations, but when we consider everything it is not hard to appreciate that this period was almost close to the earlier Golden Age of India. Later historians will probably give due credit to the Raj as a period of development and enlightenment after the dark period of Mughal rule.

From: M. G. Singh, *The British Rule over India, an Assessment*, published in 2005.

- ❖ Using your understanding of the historical context, assess how convincing the arguments in these two extracts are in relation to British rule in India after 1857.

The first generation of Indian nationalists alleged that the consequences of British rule for India's socio-economic development were dire. The case against imperialism was marshalled by Dadabhai Naoroji in his *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India* (London, 1901) and RC Dutt in *The Economic History of India in the Victorian Age* (London, 1906). They draw upon the 'drain theory' to explain India's rural backwardness, widespread poverty, and recurrent famines. They asserted that India's wealth was being drained off to Britain, by the high costs of a foreign army and of civil administration, and in returns on British investments. It was argued that imperialism had warped and crushed the pre-colonial economy, largely as a result of British manufactures displacing Indian products. A process of de-industrialisation was alleged. Modern scholarship has, while acknowledging the existence of 'the drain', been sceptical of its significance, believing it too small to explain the persistence of poverty. It has also found difficulty in testing the theory of de-industrialisation: while manufacturing employment failed to rise, any fall defies accurate calculation. Some handicraft industries survived, while the emergence of factories for the manufacture of cotton goods was a success story. By 1914 India had the fourth largest cotton goods industry in the world and its cotton spinning industry was three times the size of Japan's. India's cotton industry was predominantly owned and managed by Indians themselves, rather than by British agencies.

What is more certain is that under the Raj neither official nor private agencies injected sufficient funds to stimulate the economy at large. For reasons of national security fiscal policy remained conservative, leaving governments with only meagre capacity for expansive activity, although they might have directed their purchasing policies more to Indian suppliers. Concern for security and social conservatism also meant that governments were reluctant to countenance rural upheaval. In the Deccan (1879) and the Punjab (1900) there was legislative intervention to inhibit the alienation of land from agriculturalists; elsewhere tenancy acts protected rights of occupancy. In 1900 almost three-quarters of male workers were employed in rural activities and the urban population was only about 10% of the whole.

- Robin J Moore 'Imperial India, 1858-1914' in *Oxford History of the British Empire volume III* (Oxford; 1999)

Indian viceroys and major famines, 1857-1914

Viceroy	Significant Events	Famine
Viscount Canning, 1856-1862	Great Rebellion of 1857 Known as 'Clemency Canning' Government of India Act, 1858	1860-61 – Famine in northern India (c. 2 million fatalities)
Brief terms: Elgin, Napier, Denison		
Sir John Lawrence, 1864-1869		1866 – Orissa Famine (c. 4-5 million fatalities)
Earl of Mayo, 1869-1872	1870 – Red Sea cable laid – much faster communications between London and India	1869 – Rajputana Famine (c. 1.5 million fatalities)
Lord Northbrook, 1872-1876		1873-74 – Famine in Bihar and Bengal (limited mortality due to intervention – British cabinet agreed to £6-10 million loan to move grain stocks ¹)
Lord Lytton, 1876-1880	Appointed by Disraeli's Conservative government 1 st Delhi Durbar – proponent of 'neo-feudalism' 2 nd Anglo-Afghan War	1876-1878 – Famine in south/ southwestern India (c. 8 million fatalities)
Marquess of Ripon, 1880-1884	Appointed by Gladstone's Liberal government Failure of Ilbert Bill, 1883	
Earl of Dufferin, 1884-1888	INC established	
Marquess of Lansdowne, 1888-1894		
Earl of Elgin, 1894-1899		1896-1896 – Famine (c. 1 million fatalities)
Lord Curzon, 1899-1905	High Tory & Imperialist 2 nd Delhi Durbar Partition of Bengal	1899-90 – Famine in central and western India (c. 3-10 million fatalities)
Earl of Minto, 1905 – 1910	Worked with Liberal India Sec Morley Morley-Minto reforms	

¹ Andrew Roberts, *Salisbury* (1999), p. 134

Lord Hardinge, 1910-1916	3 rd Delhi Durbar – visit of George V Revocation of partition of Bengal Movement of capital to Delhi	
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EXAMPLE ESSAY 1: 'British policies towards India completely changed in the years 1857 to 1877.'

Explain why you agree or disagree with this view.

The year 1857 is often taken as a key turning point in Britain's policies towards India owing to the Indian Mutiny. Whilst vast areas of India remained untouched, the impact the rebellion on British authority was sufficient to cause a series of complete changes in politics, the military and public opinion in the years from 1857 to 1877, and in the development of the economy and, more gradually, in education.

The most obvious and far reaching change in British policy to India was political, with the introduction of the Government of India Act in 1858. This transferred all the political powers enjoyed by the East India Company directly to the British Crown and furthermore meant that Queen Victoria later became the Empress of India. In order to bolster support from the Indian nobility, the loyalty of the majority of India's princes was recognised through the removal of the much hated 'doctrine of lapse' and an elaborate hierarchy of status was created conferring prestige on the princes. This particular policy had a degree of continuity insofar as Europeans had always had to work with the existing rulers in India, but the significance of the change was that it formalised such arrangements with Victoria as the princes' undisputed superior. Another key political development during this period was the creation of a new structure to govern India. The November 1858 Proclamation created the position of Secretary of State for India to be advised by the Council of India which consisted of fifteen members who had experience of India. This was designed to limit the worst excesses that had occurred under the East India Company and give the British Government the ability to direct policy in India. Meanwhile, the position of Governor-General became known as the Viceroy, emphasising the fact that he was now the monarch's representative in India as well as head of the Government in India. Overall, British policies in terms of political control completely changed in this period as they constituted a clear signal that Britain was to exercise total authority over her Indian subjects, a point reinforced with Victoria becoming Empress of India 1877.

Alongside political changes, the period 1857-77 also included significant military reforms. The British Indian army was immediately reformed as a result of the Mutiny. The armies of the East India Company were brought under the control of the British Crown. Elements that had been disloyal to the British were disbanded and recruitment increased from more loyal sections of Indian society, the Sikh, North West Muslim and Ghurkha communities. The number of British officers and troops was increased to improve control and greater respect shown to sepoy beliefs and traditions and Indian regiments were not permitted to have artillery in order to safeguard against future revolts. Whilst further military changes occurred after this period with the Kitchener reforms in 1903, the transfer of military power from the East India Company to the British Crown represented a complete change from before 1857.

Alongside political and military developments there was also a marked change in British attitudes towards Indians between 1857 and 1877. Victorian morals had been outraged by the (sometimes exaggerated) tales of torture, rape and the killing of women and children in 1857. The brutality of British reprisals created fear, hatred and greater separation where coexistence, or in some cases British admiration for an unfamiliar culture, had been the norm. Whilst superior attitudes towards 'native populations' existed before the Mutiny, the violence served to harden these beliefs and create a greater degree of separation between the British and the Indians, even though the majority had not rebelled. The need for stability against this background was reflected by significant legal change during the 1860s. East India Company courts were merged with the Crown courts and the British introduced a system based largely on English law. However, after the Mutiny there was also a growing recognition that imposing European cultural values on the Indian population could prove counter-productive so greater care was taken over religiously sensitive areas in relation to the registering of women for census purposes or the age at which children could marry. Mindful of such religious sensitivities British missionary activity was also discouraged. The events of 1857 clearly had a profound impact on British policies to India, both in the political and military sense, but also in the way the British public and the British in India, perceived Indians themselves.

In terms of the economy it could be argued that British policies in the period 1857-1877 certainly grew but did not completely change. The East India Company had already established an overwhelmingly significant economic presence in India, dominating European trade to the subcontinent and involving itself in the lucrative markets of jute, cotton, saltpetre and opium. Moreover, India provided a profitable market for British goods before 1857. The Company's monopoly on trade in India had ended in 1833 and so an increasing number of independent British and European traders and merchants had already started to establish themselves. Bringing India under British political control led to far greater British and European investment after 1857, with the number of tea plantations increasing from one in 1851 to 295 by 1871. Similarly, the first railways started to be developed in the 1850s, with 15,000 miles of track laid by 1880. However, though the first European-

style factories were introduced in the 1850s, the vast majority of manufactured goods still came from Britain during this period and there was virtually no heavy industry. By 1877 the majority of Indians remained engaged in subsistence farming, suggesting that British policies to India had not yet caused complete economic change, with the major changes in Indian economic development such as the growth in domestic production of cotton coming later in the decades after 1877.

A final aspect of British policy in India that developed rather than completely changed was that of education. The need for British educational influence in India was championed by Macaulay as early as 1835. The creation of an education system to create anglicised Indians to serve as go-betweens in assisting the British to manage their interests in the sub-continent was therefore well established before 1857. Despite a background of some government hostility in London, a clear commitment to a western form of instruction conducted in English was achieved. Hundreds of schools were founded and the tens of thousands of Indians educated, a third of whom entered into public administration. Moreover the first universities in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were established in 1857, at the start of the period in question. This policy of providing an English education therefore was not a complete change, as it started before 1857, but it continued to develop to meet the needs of the Raj over the next decades.

In conclusion, whilst there had been attempts to curtail the powers of the East India Company before 1857, and education reforms were established as early as 1835, it is fair to say that British policies towards India did change significantly, if not completely, in the years 1857-1877. The Mutiny reshaped the way in which India was governed and how the military was structured and organised in the subcontinent. Moreover, the shock that the brutality of the Mutiny caused shifted political and public attitudes towards Indians and the nature of colonialism. Whilst any change took time to take effect, the formal transfer of power to Britain, greater economic development, the position of Viceroy and Victoria's crowning as Queen Empress during this period are sufficient in scale to suggest that British policies in India underwent a complete change from 1857-1877.

Commentary – Level 5 This is an excellent response; detailed, accurate and with range in relation to how policies changed and why. The only weakness is the extent which there is a consistent assessment of ‘complete’ change, although there are references to this towards the end of the answer and the conclusion reaches a judgement as to whether change was complete. Given the detail, control and relevance, this is a strong Level 5 response.

EXAMPLE ESSAY 2: ‘British rule in India combined self-interest with an arrogant attitude of racial superiority towards the native population.’ Assess the validity of this view with reference to the years 1857 to c1900.

After the 1857 Indian Revolt, the way in which Britain ruled India was re-examined. The British government realised that the coercion and brute force would not be enough to retain control of Britain’s ‘jewel in the crown’. Reforms were undoubtedly needed and these were introduced under the 1858 ‘Government of India Act’. Whilst the educational and infrastructure reforms were beneficial to India and helped to reduce the risk of further uprising, to a great extent they were introduced merely to solidify British hegemony over India and to satisfy self-interest. British attitudes towards the native population were characterised by an air of arrogance which was integrated into Anglo-Indian society. There were some attempts to promote racial equality. Nevertheless, it would be hard to argue that an equilibrium was ever reached. It is clear that there were multiple aspects to British rule in India; whilst there is evidence to suggest that reforms were introduced to improve India, self-interest and self-proclaimed racial superiority played major roles in the running of the subcontinent.

The idea of racial superiority is evident in the way India was governed. The viceroy, and all the senior officials in government were British. Whilst the Indian Civil Service did accept Indian applicants after 1858, they only made up 5% of the civil service by 1900. Many British did not believe Indians to be intelligent or reliable enough to run the country and felt an India ruled by Britain was much more efficient. One third of the country was ruled by Indian princes suggesting that certain Indians were deemed to be acceptable rulers by the British state. However, arguably this was just a strategic decision made by Britain a bid to run an ‘empire on the cheap’. The princes were given British advisors so as to ensure loyalty to Britain, showing that the princes’ powers were severely limited; whilst the princes were respected, they would be forced to conform to what Britain believed was a superior foreign government. A belief in the racial inferiority of the Indian population was endemic to British rule. Ultimately, the British posted in India did not trust the indigenous people to be in charge of their own country.

Another example of this self-proclaimed superiority can be seen in the way the British officials separated themselves from Indian society. Many high ranking British civil servants migrated to high altitude hill stations to find refuge from both the summer heat and what they thought to be an ‘unclean’ native population. The British made attempts not to associate themselves with Indian culture or ‘go native’. Instead they introduced British culture into these areas, building cricket pitches, churches and clubs. At Darjeeling, a tunnel was dug underneath the botanical gardens so the British would not have to lay their eyes on the natives in this area. The British inhabitants refused to allow ‘unclean’ Indians to buy houses in these hill stations, leading to a high concentration of British nationals living in these areas. Towns such as Shimla could have been mistaken for English market towns. The annual hill station migration was incontrovertibly driven by a sense of racial superiority and a desire for an isolated British community; the inhabitants felt that the natives were merely savages who would dirty a pure and clean British culture.

Self-interest too played a significant role in British occupation of India. By 1900, Britain was the third largest industrial power and used India as a marketplace for its goods. Cotton goods were sold in India, undercutting local equivalents. In addition, railway tracks were made in England and exported to India which greatly benefited British manufacturing companies. Indentured labourers from India were also exploited by Britain, working as unofficial slaves in Africa until they were freed after five years of service. There was an economic imbalance between Britain and India (known as the ‘Drain Theory’) in which Indian resources and markets were exploited by Britain. Companies from Britain saw India as a ‘cash-cow’ (25% of all British investment was targeted at India), and were able to make huge profits from the sub-continent. Furthermore, an arrogant attitude of racial superiority led to low wages being paid to Indian workers, which of course meant improved profits for British companies.

British rule in India could also be seen as a way for the British government to save money. The Indian Army was made up of around 140,000 soldiers and could be sent to British war zones for a lower cost due to reduced journey times (such as in south Africa during the Boer Wars). The army was seen as expendable because it was made up of mostly sepoys and therefore made it an extremely effective tool for Britain; Lord Salisbury (Prime Minister from 1895-1902) stated that India was simply an ‘army barrack’. Ultimately, Britain used India for its own economic benefit and economic interests undoubtedly played a role in the way the country was governed.

Whilst there is strong evidence to suggest that self-interest and arrogance did play parts in British rule, there is evidence of benevolent government in India. Although the Indian civil service appointed very few Indians, British members were educated in Indian cultures and languages and, after the Mutiny, they were particularly sensitive of native attitudes and

traditions. Civil servants were often overworked and underpaid. Gopal Krishna Gokhale (an Indian moderate) stated that many civil servants possessed 'a high level of ability', 'a keen sense of duty' and a 'conscientious desire' to do good to those with restricted opportunities; many involved in Indian government was not driven by self-interest but rather, a genuine desire to improve the country. Notable efforts were made to modernise India; Britain had laid down 20,000 miles of railway track by 1900 and the railway lines helped to reduce the effects of famine as food could be more easily distributed across the country. Implementing and maintaining this infrastructure required labourers, leading to an increase in the number of job opportunities for local workers. Irrigation systems were also introduced which greatly assisted Indian farmers; an area of 80,000 square miles had been irrigated by 1900. Farmers and peasants were the main beneficiaries of these infrastructure improvements which highlighted a selfless aspect of British rule. There is clearly evidence, therefore, that the British government was keen to improve India and the lives of its population.

The introduction of an education system in India further supports the idea that the British were not entirely self-interested. By 1901 there were 191 arts/professional colleges in India and 5,124 secondary schools. Although some Indians opposed the English education system, feeling that it was an attempt to nurture a conformist attitude in young Indians, it did help to educate over half a million Indians by the turn of the century. Sixty-thousand potential doctors, lawyers, teachers and other skilled workers had been trained by 1900. By educating these individuals, Britain was able to provide India with a foundation of middle-class natives who would be instrumental in the future development of the country. The education system also promoted the English language, which would improve relations between Indian communities and help to unify India. A common language would also strengthen Anglo-Indian relations, ultimately leading to more effective governance. Again, this is evidence to show the British involvement in India did benefit the country, suggesting that the British Raj was not solely driven by selfish motives.

Altogether, British rule in India was certainly fuelled to some extent by self-interest and arrogance. Very few Indians were given positions of power due to the widespread British belief that the native population were not competent to 'self-rule'. Partly because the natives were treated with such low regard, Britain saw India as exploitable and used its resources for economic benefit. Low wages and an army based in India also helped the British government to save money. However, the British Raj was driven by benevolence as well as self-interest. Farmers, peasants and middle-class workers all benefited from Britain's efforts to modernise India. New infrastructure helped to provide work for many locals and also improved the quality of life for many individuals. The efforts of the Indian Civil Service and the creation of educational institutions left an important legacy which would help create the conditions for independence in the 20th century. Ultimately, British rule was complex and individuals would often have a range of conflicting attitudes; there is no doubt that British interests and a belief of racial superiority played major roles in the government of India. However, this was often tempered with benign intentions.

Commentary – Level 5: This is a well-controlled, balanced and relevant assessment with very impressive detail which rarely turns into narrative description. The terms of the question are both corroborated and challenged and this is a Level 5 response.

ESSAY: 'India greatly benefitted from British rule between 1857 and 1900.' Assess the validity of this view.

ESSAY: The ruthless suppression of the 1857 Indian Mutiny was the main reason Indians did not challenge British rule in the years 1857 to c1890.' Explain why you agree or disagree with this view.

The emergence of nationalism in India

Read:

- p. 112 in AQA text

After the Mutiny the British had tied themselves to the traditional indigenous elites (the princely states) and tried to impose a Victorian neo-feudal concept of society on India (Tory-entalism – Ferguson). Lytton and later Curzon can be seen as the Viceroys most supportive of this concept.

Simultaneously the British disparaged the educated Indian middle classes – the Bengali *babus* – as being unrepresentative of India. The Anglicised Indian classes that had been created before the Mutiny were now openly mocked and not regarded as an authentic voice of India.

➤ What is ‘nationalism’? How is it defined? What problems did it face in India?

Key Concept: ‘Imagined Communities’ (Benedict Anderson, 1983)

Changing Contexts: In the later 19th Century there had been something of an educational revolution, especially in Bengal (amongst the *bhadralok* – Bengali middle classes). 1855: 47 English language schools in Bengal; 1902: 1,481. There had also been a growth in university education, especially in Calcutta which contained the world’s largest university (8,000 students) by 1900.

Furthermore, there had been an enormous growth in the Indian press: by 1885 there were 319 vernacular titles and 96 English language ones. The spread of the railway and the telegraph also meant that news travelled fast. The nationalist *Bangabasi* in Calcutta circulated 20,000 copies a week.

Growing Frustration:

Despite these educational advances, there were few prospects for advancement for the educated Indians. In particular the ICS: in 1909 only 65/1,244 were Indian.

Indian Association formed 1876 – pressured for greater opportunities for Indians within the ICS

Ilbert Bill (1883): Lord Ripon was appointed by Gladstone as a Liberal viceroy to replace Lord Lytton. (Sir Courtenay Ilbert was the legal member of the Viceroy’s Council). The Ilbert Bill would have enabled native Indian magistrates to pass judgment over Europeans.

This caused outrage amongst the European community (especially non-official Anglo-Indians – planters, railway managers etc.). Anglo-Indian and European Defence Association lobbied successfully to drop the most contentious parts of the Bill (a European could now opt for a European judge).

Indian National Congress formed 1885 in the wake of the furore of the Ilbert Bill (1883) – a belief that organisation (in the style of British campaigning groups) might form a powerful pressure group:

- The problems of creating ‘nationalism’ in India – little national awareness amongst the peasantry – chiefly a middle class phenomenon.
- Focus on campaigning in Britain and Calcutta – much sympathy in London from Liberals and Irish Home Rulers → Dadabhai Naoroji elected as MP for Finsbury in 1892

The difficulties of nationalism, 1885-1914

Divisions: Pre-1914 leadership of ‘moderate’ **Gopal Krishna Gokhale** (influenced by British Liberalism) and ‘extremist’ **Bal Gangadhar Tilak** (emphasis on Hindu heritage (Maratha inspired) and violent resistance) → conflict and tension between an emphasis on ‘progress’ and social improvement vs. a respect for tradition and religion. Hostility to the latter would alienate the vast majority of the Indian population (as the British had found in 1857).

Curzon hostile to nationalism and liberalism – determined to reassert autocratic and traditional rule in India. Deeply hostile to the INC. Partition of Bengal an attempt to neuter the political criticism within Bengal. Responses to Curzon’s viceroyalty:

- Impact of the partition of Bengal (1905) – *swadeshi* (self-sufficiency – boycott of British goods) campaign – (the first successful nationalist resistance to the Raj?)

The anticipation of future divisions: Formation of the All India Muslim League (1906)

Violence:

Emergence and growth of nationalist newspapers (*Kesari & Kaal*) – *Kesari* published by Tilak → 1896 attempts to stop the spread of plague in Bombay led to hostility from the press as rumours spread → two British officials killed

Abhinav Bharat (Young India) – founded 1903 – a secret society dedicated to armed revolution and violence against British rule.

1907 – unrest in the ‘canal colonies’ (newly irrigated regions) over high charges and new regulations – unrest spread to peasantry and the army → reforms dropped by Viceroy Minto

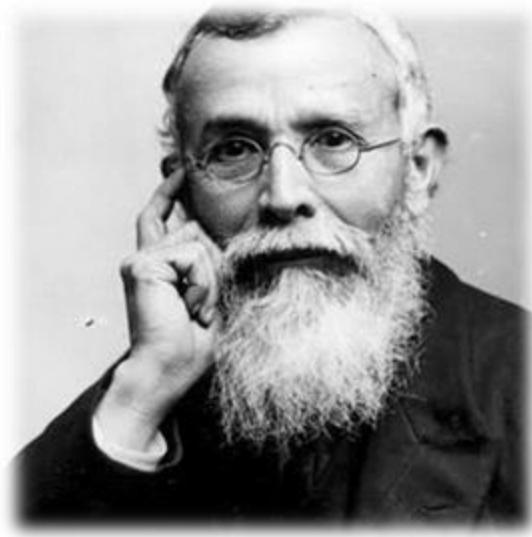
Assassinations:

- 1908 – two British women killed by a bomb meant for a British District Judge
- Sir William Curzon Wyllie – ADC at India Office (July 1909) – in London
- 1912 – attempted assassination of Viceroy Lord Hardinge in Delhi

- ❖ **How much of a threat was Indian nationalism by 1914?**
- ❖ **How did Britain respond?**

Case Study: Sir Surendranath Banerjea (1848-1925) Adapted from the ODNB entry by Tapan Raychaudhuri

Surendranath Banerjea was born in Calcutta in November 1848. His father was one of the leading doctors in the city and had received an English education. Educated at Doveton College, Calcutta, Banerjea left for England to sit the ICS exams in 1869. He was successful and was admitted to the service, being appointed assistant magistrate in Sylhet in 1871. He was dismissed for 'negligence' in 1873, however, having signed a document marking an adjourned case as 'closed'. This heavy-handed response to a minor clerical error was widely perceived to be a consequence of racism, especially as Banerjea and his wife had tried to claim equality of social status with white magistrates.



Banerjea travelled to Britain and unsuccessfully tried to appeal his dismissal. He then tried to become a barrister in England but, because of the dismissal, his call to the bar was refused. He returned to Calcutta in disgrace and became a teacher which remained his profession for the following 37 years. He established a new college in 1882, later renamed Ripon College.

In speeches to the Calcutta Students' Association, Banerjea quickly gained a reputation as an inspirational speaker. He was inspired by nationalist movements in Europe and sought to inspire a 'genuine, sober and rational interest in public affairs' amongst the young men he encountered. A moderate who favoured constitutional methods, he rejected violent action. The Indian Association, established in 1876, became a forum for middle-class Indians who sought greater representation and involvement in the political system of their country. Banerjea's speaking tours would attract audiences of around 30,000 people and he focused on issues such as ending discrimination in the criminal justice system, freedom of the press, and the abolition of the hated salt tax.

He recognized that there was a growing class of educated Indians who were frustrated by the limited opportunities and he campaigned for greater Indian access and admission to the ICS. He started editing a newspaper, *The Bengalee*, in 1879 to propagate his ideas. This became a daily paper in 1900. An article criticizing a Calcutta judge in 1883 led to Banerjea's imprisonment which caused widespread resentment amongst his supporters. Indeed, at times Banerjea was spoken of as the uncrowned king of Bengal.

The disagreements over the Ilbert Bill sharpened the sense of grievance amongst many Indians and the Indian National Congress was founded in 1885. Banerjea was a key member from its inception and was twice elected its president (in 1895 and 1902). He was a member of the Bengal legislative council for eight years from 1893, and visited Britain as a member of a Congress mission to plead for increased Indian representation in decision-making bodies.

Banerjea adopted confrontational tactics in campaigning against Curzon's partition of Bengal in 1905 – he was arrested and fined for leading a banned procession. Yet, fundamentally Banerjea was a moderate and eschewed the more violent resistance favoured by some members of Congress.

After the First World War, Banerjea cooperated with British reforms and was knighted in 1919. He joined the Bengal cabinet as minister for local government in 1921 and, amongst younger nationalists, his credibility began to weaken. In 1923, he was defeated in the local elections and, for a man once regarded as the father of national consciousness, this was an intolerable humiliation. He died, a broken man, in Calcutta on 6 August 1925.

- What do you notice about Banerjea's background and education? Was this typical of most Indians? What role do you think this played in shaping his subsequent political views?
- What form did Banerjea's nationalism take? What methods did he use to challenge the Raj?
- What do you notice about how the British treated Banerjea? Does this give us any clues as to how the British dealt with the challenge of nationalism more broadly?
- To what extent was the nationalist movement united? What disagreements existed?

Liberal Reforms: Morley-Minto

Read:

- pp. 74 in AQA text
- pp. 180-185 in Porter

The Raj lacked the means for mass coercion → concessions were the only alternative: attempts to split the moderates from the extremists. In particular there was a fear of censure from liberal voices in London if coercion was excessive.

Viceroy Minto (1905-10) replaced Curzon. He was supported by the new Liberal government in Britain that was elected with a landslide in 1906. The Liberal Party were determined to take a different approach to the empire than the preceding Conservative government and the new Secretary of State for India, John Morley, worked with Minto on introducing a limited set of reforms to India. Moderation and conciliation were intended to be the dominant themes:

- Greater consultation with Congress – a desire to engage with the ‘moderates’ for fear that the ‘extremists’ might otherwise gain support. NOT democratic reforms however.
- Dismissal of Sir Bampfylde Fuller, Lt Governor of East Bengal in 1906 for using overly coercive measures against unrest associated with the *swadeshi* movement
- Indian Councils Act (1909) – elected Indians to Viceroy’s Council
- 1910 – reforms to provincial councils – elected Indians to local legislative councils
- Accompanied by repressive measures against ‘extremists’ → Tilak arrested in July 1908 – sentenced to six years in prison.
- Delhi Durbar of 1911 – visit of George V
 - Reunification of Bengal
 - Movement of capital from Calcutta to Delhi (construction of New Delhi)
- Islington Commission, 1912 – ‘Indianisation’ of the civil service



❖ To what extent was the British Raj secure by 1914?

The British had set out to create Indians in their own image. However, when they alienated the Indian Anglicised elite, they produced a Frankenstein's monster. In the late nineteenth century the British had called into being an English-speaking, English-educated elite of Indians; a class of civil service auxiliaries on whom their system of administration had come to depend. In time, these people naturally aspired to have some share in the government of the country, just as some Victorians had predicted. But, in the age of Curzon, they were spurned in favour of decorative but largely defunct Maharajas. The result was that by the Empress-Queen Victoria's twilight years. Around the turn of the century, British rule in India was like one of those palaces Curzon adored. It looked simply splendid on the outside. But downstairs the servants were busy turning the floorboards into firewood.

- Niall Ferguson, *Empire*

❖ What is Ferguson's view of British rule by 1900?

Before 1914, despite periodic outbreaks of unrest and a bomb-throwing campaign in Bengal, there was little sign that the British regime was in real danger. The idea that British rule would be swept away in little more than thirty years would have seemed absurd to any rational observer, British or Indian. That rule had its foundation, as the British admitted themselves, in its monopoly of armed force. The large British garrison, and an Indian army recruited deliberately from minority elements in the Indian population, were strong enough to destroy any armed insurrection (and India was now a disarmed society) with comparative ease. The memory of the brutal 'second conquest' of India in 1857-8, and the 'white terror' that followed, died hard: to almost all Indians, the forcible overthrow of the British was the idlest of fantasies.

- John Darwin, *Unfinished Empire* (2013)

❖ Using your understanding of the historical context, assess how convincing the arguments in these two extracts are in relation to British rule in India by 1914

ESSAY: To what extent was Britain facing significant challenges to its rule in India by 1914?

Strategic Vulnerability: The Great Game

Read:

➤ pp. 76-81 in Porter

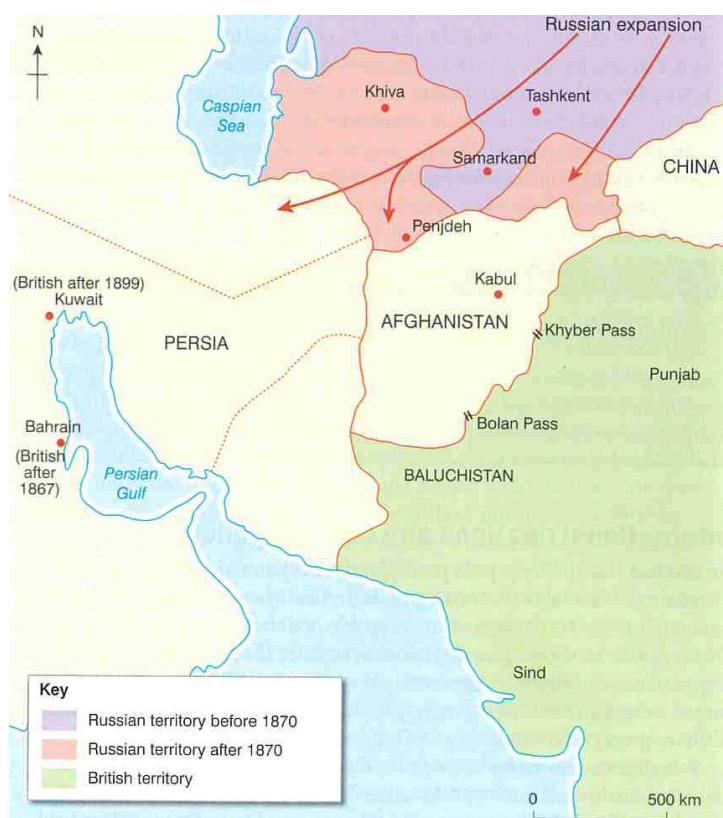
Context: Russia had expanded into central Asia and, by 1885, controlled most of the territory north of Afghanistan. This was seen by British statesmen as a significant threat to British India. The 'Great Game', as it was known, was the struggle to keep the north-west frontier safe from any potential Russian threat. In 1839-42 the First Anglo-Afghan War saw the British invade Afghanistan to forestall Russian influence. This ended in catastrophe and the entire destruction of a British Army. However, by the later-19th Century the British were looking to Afghanistan with renewed interest:

(See information sheet on the Great Game for more details)

- Russian expansion to Tashkent
- Second Anglo-Afghan War
 - Fear of Russian influence over Afghan Amir Sher Ali
 - Lord Lytton (viceroy) – failed invasion of Afghanistan, Sept. 1878 – no permission from London
 - Successful invasion, Nov 1878 – new Amir installed + British agent in Kabul (murdered)
- Liberal Government (from 1880) – Afghanistan became a client state
- Penjdeh Incident, 1885
- Diplomatic overtures to Persia
- Creation of the North West Frontier Province (1901)
- Younghusband expedition to Tibet – 1903-4

Entente – the British remained prepared for a confrontation with Russia, although this never actually appeared. By the early 20th Century, both countries recognised a looming common threat in the form of Germany. There were agreements over spheres of influence in Persia (1907) and the two would be bound in alliance during the First World War.

- ❖ To what extent was Britain's position in India under threat from Russian expansion?
- ❖ How did Britain respond to this threat?



Continued expansion in Asia

Read:

- pp. 131-138 in Porter
- pp. 235-250 in James

Beyond India, the main aim of the British in the rest of Asia was to ensure British commercial access to potentially lucrative markets. The British, using the might of the Royal Navy, would resort to force to achieve this if necessary. This became known as the 'open door policy'.

China

The Manchu dynasty ruling China pursued a policy of isolationism and limited trade with the rest of the world. The British, on the other hand, were determined to open up China to trade and the 'open door policy' was relatively successful; the opium wars opened up China to British trade and, by 1880, Britain was responsible for 76% of all Chinese overseas trade. China was never very significant to British trade (between 1815 and 1914 it never made up more than 1% of British overseas trade). Nevertheless, because of China's vast size and population, the potential was considered to be enormous.

The 'Scramble for China'

The realisation that China was a weak, declining power meant that, in the 1880s, the European powers started to look upon Asia as a potential space in which to expand their empires. For the British, the old policy of 'informal empire' seemed to be failing:

- 1894-5 Sino-Japanese War launched a 'scramble for China': Russia, Japan, Germany and Britain started to claim parts of China itself → an agreement to partition China into different trading concessions where each power would be dominant. Yet, China survived as a nominally independent state.
- 1898 – British gain Wei-hai-wei and Kowloon + British sphere of influence in the Yangtze valley.
- 1900 – 'Boxer Rebellion' against foreign interference in China (crushed by western powers)
- 1902 – British alliance with Japan (a counter-weight to Russia) – relieved pressure on Britain in the Far East (renewed 1911)
- 1911 – Chinese Revolution



Burma:

Although the North-West Frontier was always considered to be the most vulnerable part of India, there were also concerns on the North-Eastern Frontier where India bordered the unstable kingdom of Burma. The British fought two wars with the Burmese in 1824-26 and 1852 which led to the annexation of Lower Burma, including the capital Rangoon, in 1852 and the concession of trading rights to British merchants. Upper Burma remained a landlocked rump state where the Burmese monarchy relocated its capital to the city of Mandalay.



The loss of territory weakened the monarchy and there were several factors that led to a third war between the British and Burma in 1885:

- 1880s – the French took control of Indo-China (present-day Vietnam) and sought to establish preferential trade with Upper Burma. There was fear of French encroachment towards India's borders.
- British merchants sought to secure the land trade route through Burma to southern China and the potentially lucrative markets there.
- The Burmese king from 1878, Thibaw, was fundamentally unstable; he had massacred much of his family in his efforts to secure the throne and the British Resident had withdrawn from Mandalay. In 1885 Thibaw attempted to restrict the rights of British merchants to trade in the country.
- Domestic British politics also played a role; the India Secretary, Lord Randolph Churchill, was determined to demonstrate the strength and resolution of the Conservative Government after the supposed embarrassments of Gladstone's Liberal rule.

An ultimatum was issued in 1885 which Thibaw rejected. A British force then invaded Upper Burma and occupied Mandalay within two weeks. 30,000 troops were then required to 'pacify' the country in a brutal *guerrilla* campaign that lasted until 1890. Contrary to post-Mutiny policy in India, King Thibaw was deposed, the monarchy abolished, and direct rule introduced; Upper Burma was formally annexed as a province of British India in 1886.

Commercial exploitation followed; rice, timber and, later, oil became the most important exports. A small minority of Indians came to dominate much of Burma's banking and commerce. British rule came to have an enormous cultural impact as Buddhism and monasticism declined without support from the traditional social structure and monarchy. By 1906 the establishment of the Young Men's Buddhist Association signified the emergence of a cultural and national revival which would challenge British rule.

- **How does the Burmese experience contrast with other examples of British imperialism in the late 19th century?**

Malaya & North Borneo:

Between 1785 and 1824 the British had taken possession of the Straits Settlements on the Malay peninsula, the most important of which was Singapore (founded by Sir Stamford Raffles in 1819). These were small, coastal settlements that acted as trading and naval bases. Singapore in particular became a crucial trading *entrepot* because of its strategic location between the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea.

Malaya became more unstable in the 1870s after an influx of Chinese migrants (due to the increase in tin mining) and there was significant upheaval in 1873-4. To protect the interests of the Straits Settlements, the British government were pressured to establish formal protectorates over Malaya in 1875. This was an example of indirect rule similar to the Princely States in India, the sultans remain in place but with British advisors who determined major policies. Over the following decades, Malaya became a significant source of tin, as well as rubber.

By 1841 James Brooke had established himself as Rajah of Sarawak in North Borneo, from where he led anti-piracy campaigns – another addition to Britain's informal empire. The British Borneo Company was granted a charter in 1881 to run north Borneo in the interests of British traders.

The Pacific:

After pressure from humanitarian and commercial lobbyists, Fiji was annexed in 1874. Australia and New Zealand were concerned about their own security in the Pacific, especially after Germany moved to take control of several islands in the Pacific in the 1880s and 1890s. The USA also took control of the Philippines in 1898. South-eastern New Guinea was, therefore, formally annexed by the British as a protectorate in 1884. However, the Pacific Islands were of little economic importance and the native inhabitants suffered from declining populations.

- ❖ **Why did British power expand in the Far East and the Pacific?**
- ❖ **To what extent was British power threatened in the Far East and the Pacific?**



Important as events in Africa were for the European and global balance, they were dwarfed by the struggle for mastery in the Far East. ‘The storm centre of the world has shifted to China,’ the US Secretary of State, John Hay, remarked, ‘whoever understands that empire... has a key to world politics for the next five centuries.’ Here the void left by the weakness of the Chinese Empire sucked in powers searching for resources, prestige and markets and seeking to deny them to their rivals. The Russians pressed in from the north, outraging the Japanese by, in March 1898, leasing the Liaotung peninsula, which Tokyo had handed back to China under international pressure three years earlier. The Germans, French, British and others all pressed their claims on the Celestial court. Chinese nationalists saw the ‘Middle Kingdom’ under attack from all sides and rose in revolt against foreign domination. This ‘Boxer Rising’ provoked an international intervention to suppress it, not because the powers were united in occidental outrage against the orient, but because they feared that their competitors might seek unilateral advantage. The widely expected complete partition of the Chinese Empire never actually happened, because the balance of power in the region did not permit it.

- Brendan Simms, *Europe: The Struggle for Supremacy* (2014)

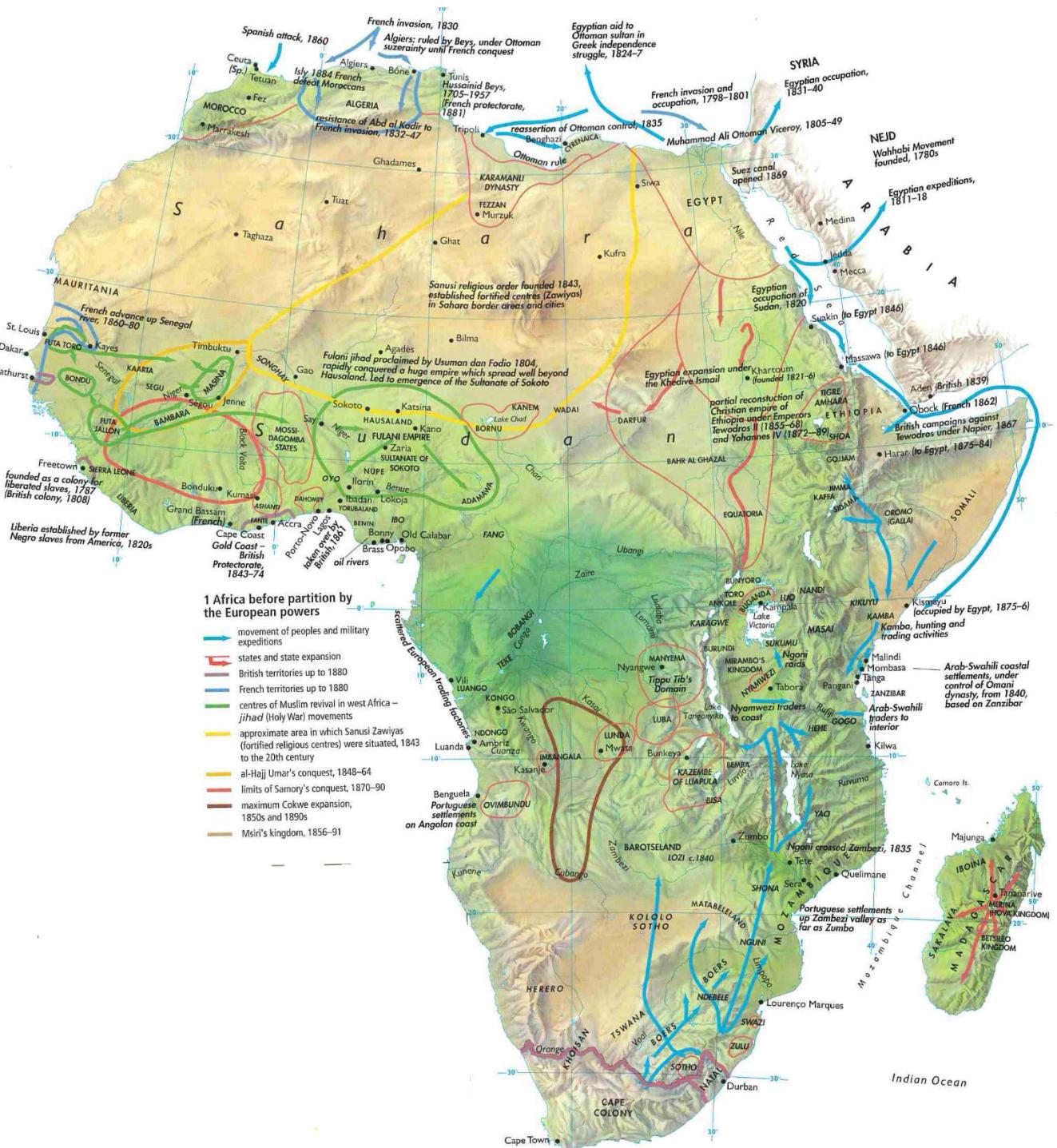
3. The British Empire in Africa, 1857 - 1914



Context – Africa in the mid-19th Century

Read:

➤ chapter 2 in Chamberlain



As late as 1963 the British historian Hugh Trevor Roper could say, ‘perhaps in the future there will be some African history to teach. But at present there is none: there is only the history of Europeans in Africa. The rest is darkness...and darkness is not a subject of history.’ Indeed, European images of the ‘Dark Continent’ would be pervasive well into the 20th Century.



However, these views of Africa tell us more about European prejudice than they do about Africa. Indeed, although there were few cultures with detailed written records, Africa had produced great civilisations throughout its history and art (such as the 13th century bronze heads of Ife) and structures such as the ruins of Great Zimbabwe stood as testament to this. Although African forms of political organisation were unfamiliar to Europeans who thought in terms of ‘states’, there were an enormous range of complex societies.

Africa was (and is) geographically diverse. The north coast, separated from the rest of Africa by the Sahara desert, had long been in contact with Europe and Asia, and Europeans were conscious of the great and long-established civilisation of Egypt. In addition, Abyssinia (Ethiopia) was known to be a Christian empire surrounded by Islamic territory.

By contrast, sub-Saharan Africa was much less known by Europeans, although the Arab world and Islam had long penetrated these societies; East Africa was linked with the Arab world; Arabic slave traders were influential inland and there were trading routes by sea between what is now Kenya and Tanzania with Asia. However, until the middle of the 19th Century, most of the interior of the African continent was completely unknown to Europeans. Indeed, if the climate and tropical disease made it difficult for Europeans to survive at all.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, Europeans had taken part in the trans-Atlantic slave trade – exploiting pre-existing African slaving societies on the west coast of Africa to take Africans to colonies in the Americas where they would be forced to work on plantations. It is estimated that, in total and prior to the abolition of the trade in 1807, between 11-13 million Africans were forcibly transported across the Atlantic as slaves. Europeans had little need to explore inland in West Africa as important societies such as Benin and the Ashanti kingdom traded directly with the Europeans. Even once slavery had been abolished, the British felt no need to gain more territory as the anti-slavery patrols of the West Africa squadron only needed small bases on the coast.

By contrast, the temperate climes of Southern Africa were sparsely populated. Dutch had settled in the area as farmers in the eighteenth century (the Boers). As they moved inland, they came into contact (and conflict) with Bantu societies who were steadily migrating south. One example of these were the powerful Zulu people who formed a successful, highly militarised state under King Shaka from 1818 onwards.



The European image of Africans

European views of Africans could be complex; a fascination with these unfamiliar societies was often mixed with contempt for their perceived ‘backwardness’. Generally, and as a consequence of the huge technological gap that had opened up between Europe and Africa during the Industrial Revolution, Africans were viewed with a patronising attitude. Their climate was believed to explain their lack of development (abundance, it was believed, had made Africans lazy and meant they had not needed to form complex societies). Africans were viewed as ‘barbaric’ or ‘uncivilised’ as well as child-like. As notions of ‘Social Darwinism’ developed during the 19th Century, it was believed by many that Africans were racially inferior to Europeans.

Yet, attitudes could also be benign (if no less patronising) and many Europeans, particularly missionaries, saw it as their duty to ‘civilise’ and develop Africans, to convert them to Christianity, and introduce them to Western forms of commerce. The latter, in particular, was seen as an essential part of the process to eradicate the continuing slave trade.

Victorians in Africa

Read:

- pp. 30-35 in AQA text
- pp. 64 – 68 in Porter
- pp. 21-29 in Chamberlain
- pp. 279-291 in Darwin *Unfinished Empire* on missionaries
- Also see individual entries in the ODNB online for more information on individuals
- WATCH: Paxman, Episode 3: Playing the Game (2:30 – 8.50) – Burton and Speke
- WATCH: Paxman, Episode 5: Doing Good (2.25 – 18.40) – Livingstone and missionaries

- What brought individual Europeans into the interior of Africa?



Religion and Empire

'Religion and Empire frequently mingled, but were as likely to undermine each other as they were to provide mutual support.'

– Andrew Porter, Oxford History of the British Empire Volume III

What was the religious context in Britain?

Christianity in Victorian Britain – dominant moral issues intertwining with politics

- C of E (links with Tories)
- Nonconformists (links with Liberals)
- Roman Catholics (Ireland)

How was religion exported from Britain?

Religion exported in two ways:

- With settlers
- Missionaries converting native inhabitants of colonial territory

Surges in missionary activity:

- 1790s – societies established (e.g. Wesleyan Missionary Society; Church Missionary Society)
- 1836-44
- 1850s
- Evangelical, nonconformist societies established first, with the Anglican Church following
- Missionary activity part of an international movement

What were the aims of missionaries? What was their attitude towards indigenous people?

- Conversion – proselytising/ spreading British culture
- Generally not racist and hostile to ideas of social Darwinism BUT often quite dismissive of non-European cultures and religions (impact on British attitudes towards non-European societies)
- Yet, often a developing interest in indigenous languages and cultures

What was the impact of missionaries?

- Mixed success in conversion
- Complex interaction between missionaries and indigenous communities – not simply an imposition of Western culture – often a liberating influence for many – also a route to personal advancement in colonial society
- Spread of ‘secular’ skills (English language, literacy, education etc.) – e.g. Mary Carpenter (1807-77) worked for female education in India from 1866 founded Indian training college for female Indian teachers in 1868

What was the relationship between religion and colonial authorities?

- Faith could precede the ‘flag’ (e.g. Eastern Africa; Fiji) or follow it (e.g. India)
- Missionaries often viewed as unhelpful by authorities (e.g. in India after 1857; China after Boxer Rebellion; Islamic northern Africa)
- ‘Secular’ skills promoted by missionaries often undermined colonial rule – creation of an educated, literate nationalist group
- Limited central control of churches, even C of E – new dioceses established overseas but churches not established as in England.

Home and colonial governments supported ecclesiastical expansion wherever it was likely to buttress their authority and promote social order. However, religious dynamics proved unpredictable and often at odds with Imperial needs... Imperial authorities with few exceptions initially distrusted missionary enterprise, and missions rejected all political involvement. Both sides, however, learned gradually that cooperation had its uses. Missions won extensive popular support at home and, inescapably dependent on their hosts, often acquired considerable influence with non-European communities. They could therefore not be ignored, and might be turned to Imperial advantage. Missionaries came to regard secular authorities in a similarly utilitarian way. British missionary enterprise thus sometimes provided channels through which Imperial controls followed; at other times it delayed annexation and colonisation, or even subverted Imperial authority. In many places (sometimes on purpose, often unintentionally) Christians and their churches provided powerful stimuli for local resistance and opposition to colonial rule.

- Andrew Porter, ‘Religion, Missionary Enthusiasm, and Empire’ in *Oxford History of the British Empire volume III*

❖ What does Porter argue about the relationship between missionary activity and empire?

Explorers and Missionaries

Christianity is a proselytising religion and missionaries had long left Europe to convert non-Christian societies to Christianity. Missionary societies had been established in Britain in the eighteenth century (Methodists were particularly enthusiastic). By 1800 the London Missionary Society was active in Southern Africa; in 1842 the Church Missionary Society was operating around the Niger; and in 1842 the Wesleyan Methodist Mission was attempting to spread Christianity in Ashantiland. Missionary work was also an activity that offered women an opportunity to engage in non-European societies. In the years after the 1857 Indian Mutiny, missionaries were no longer encouraged to be in India and so many turned their attention to Africa where there seemed to be greater opportunities.

At the same time, a number of individuals also sought adventure and knowledge through exploration. (Often, in fact, missionaries and explorers could work together or be one and the same person). Mungo Park had been one of the first British explorers in Africa in two expeditions (1795-7 and 1805) around the river Niger. Explorers and missionaries were often had a range of motives and they were not usually encouraged by the authorities in London. Indeed, their relationship to colonial expansion was ambiguous; they could frustrate as well as encourage commercial expansion and the annexation of territory.

Nevertheless, they became hugely popular in Britain and helped construct the image of Africa in the minds of the British public. Missionaries and explorers became the archetype for the Victorian imperial hero.

- ❖ **How did the following individuals contribute to the development and expansion of British power in Africa?**
- ❖ **What motivated them?**

David Livingstone (1813-1873)



John Kirk (1832-1922)



Sir Richard Burton (1821-1890) & John Hanning Speke (1827-1864)



Henry Morton Stanley (1841-1904)



Livingstone had believed in the power of the Gospel; Stanley believed only in brute force. Livingstone had been appalled by slavery; Stanley would connive at its restoration. Above all, Livingstone had been indifferent to political frontiers; Stanley wanted to see Africa carved up. And so it was. In the time between Livingstone's death in 1873 and Stanley's death in 1904 around a third of Africa would be annexed to the British Empire; virtually all the rest would be taken over by a handful of other European powers. And it is only against this background of political domination that the conversion of sub-Saharan Africa can be understood. Commerce, Civilisation and Christianity were to be conferred on Africa, just as Livingstone had intended. But they would arrive in conjunction with a fourth 'C': Conquest.

- Niall Ferguson, *Empire*, 2004



Case Study: Nyasaland

Nyasaland (present-day Malawi) is an example of colonial expansion being driven by the work of missionaries, of ‘the flag following faith.’ David Livingston had explored the area during his Zambezi expeditions of 1858 and encouraged further missionaries to work in the area. Scottish missionaries in particular, from the Church of Scotland, as well as the English Universities’ Mission established a series of missions in the area in the 1860s and 1870s, followed by businessmen looking for commercial opportunities.

By the 1880s the Portuguese, who ruled neighbouring Mozambique, started to assert their own sovereign rights over Nyasaland, leading to pressure from the missionaries for the British Government to intervene. The fact that some of the indigenous tribes were involved in slave trading added a further moral case in favour of annexation. In 1889 the British Government declared Nyasaland a protectorate (named the British Central African Protectorate, later renamed to Nyasaland Protectorate in 1907).

Despite its formal designation as a protectorate, direct rule was established and (apart from the powerful Ngoni king in the north), local tribal chiefs were left with little autonomy and the missionaries continued their work. Although businesses took an interest and land was parcelled out to European interests, Nyasaland remained economically insignificant; it contained no significant natural resources, beyond a suitable climate for agriculture. Cotton, tea, tobacco and coffee were grown and exported in small quantities, but no railway to the coast was constructed until 1907.



Egypt: The Suez Canal

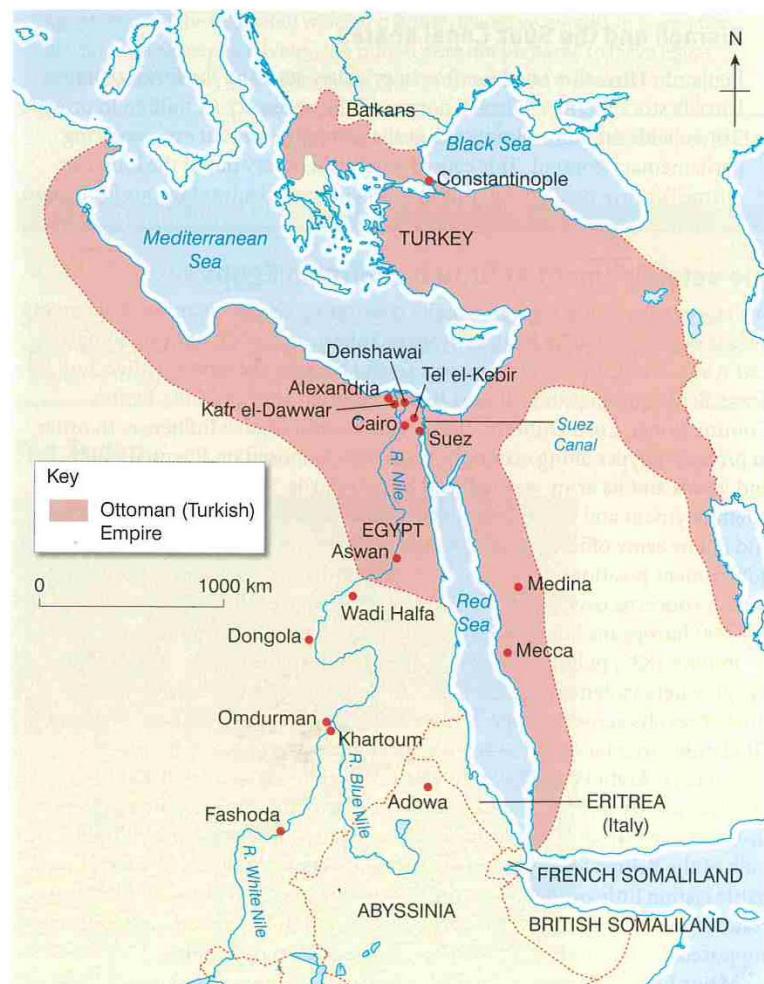
Read:

- Pp. 6-9 in AQA text
- pp. 81-85 in Porter
- pp. 269-274 in James

Context: Formally part of the Ottoman Empire had always had strategic importance to Britain because of its geographical position on one of the main routes to India. Napoleon had recognised this and had sent troops to occupy Egypt in 1798 so as to disrupt Britain's trade. The French were forced by the British to withdraw in 1801. In 1805 a new Egyptian leader, Muhammad Ali, came to power and asserted his independence from the Ottomans. He established a new dynasty and was succeeded by his sons, the third of which, Isma'il Pasha, became *khedive* (ruler) of Egypt in 1863.

1877-78 Eastern Crisis – War between Ottomans and Russia → Treaty of San Stefano: Russians impose harsh terms on Turkey. Britain object and threaten war → resolved at Congress of Berlin (Disraeli and Bismarck) → Britain receives Cyprus and Ottoman Empire protected

- 1863 onwards – modernisation of Egypt + increased British investment and trade
- 1859-1869 – construction of the Suez Canal (Ferdinand de Lesseps) – French dominance
- Significant impact on world trade → impact on Cape
- 1875 – sale of shares → purchased by British Government for £4 million (Benjamin Disraeli)



- ❖ Why was the Suez Canal important to Britain?
- ❖ How did Britain end up owning some of the canal shares?



British control in Egypt, 1882

Read:

- 75-78 in AQA text

During Ismail Pasha's reign, the foreign debt of Egypt increased from £3 million to £100 million:

- New irrigation canals
- 1,000 miles of railway

Investigations revealed the essentials of the Egyptian economy to be sound – Ismail Pasha's modernisation was necessary. Some economic problems – drop in the cotton price after US Civil War ended + problems with developing sugar industry. Also little capital to invest within Egypt

BUT heavy borrowing at high interest rates from European investors → sale of Suez Canal shares (see above)

1876 – Stephen Cave (British minister) sent to advise on finances + French ministers

Commission of the Public Debt established (one Frenchman and one Englishman (Evelyn Baring)) – essentially dual Anglo-French control of state finances until 1882 – assigned revenues got the debt under control.

BUT PROBLEMS:

- Poor harvests in 1876-77 – some starvation and famine
- Pay in arrears in the army

→ 1879 – Isma'il Pasha deposed by the army; replaced by Tewfiq (his son) – believed to be more amenable to European powers than his father

Arabi Pasha's revolt:

Development of a nationalist movement. Hostile to European demands and to the growing European community in Egypt (c. 100,000 – exempt from taxation)

Anglo French Joint Note of 8 January 1882 – expressed support for the Khedive and opposed growing army influence – particularly French concern about the interests of bondholders. The army feared that it was the prelude to an invasion.

11 June 1882 – riot in Alexandria against Europeans (50 killed)

11 July 1882 – British fleet bombarded Alexandria

Full scale revolt from the army led by Arabi Pasha – laid siege to Alexandria and threatened the canal

Gladstone wanted joint Anglo-French involvement but the French Assembly would not grant the money.

August 1882 – British forces (led by Sir Garnet Wolseley) suppress Arabi Pasha's rebellion → British occupation of Egypt begins (defeat of Arabi Pasha at Tel-el-Kebir on 13 September)

Power vacuum – British occupation continued. Gladstone was 'a reluctant imperialist'. (the whole policy seemed to contradict the anti-imperial Midlothian campaign against 'Beaconsfieldism' in the 1880 election)

The French were annoyed that the British remained in Egypt. A temporary occupation that would last for 70 years.

- Dufferin Report and Evelyn Baring established as Consul-General – a '**veiled protectorate**'

Why did the British come to occupy Egypt in 1882?

Did the British intervene to protect bondholders or to protect the canal? Were the motives economic or strategic? Chamberlain believes the latter.

Darwin – fear of loss of prestige after the Alexandria massacre – reminders of the Indian Mutiny

Strategic Consequences - Britain now had an extremely vulnerable possession in the Middle East that could be threatened by Continental powers. Huge investment in the fleet to remain the dominant power in the Mediterranean. The strategic corridor to Egypt and India was a vulnerable but vital centre to Britain's empire from the 1880s onwards. Rivalry with other powers prompted the calling of the Berlin Conference in 1885.

- **Why did Britain occupy Egypt?**

It has been contended by some historians, and strenuously denied by others, that the Anglo-French estrangement over Egypt had repercussions all over Africa, that indeed it was the trigger that began and unexpected and unintended chain reaction which resulted in the partition of tropical Africa among the European great powers.

The Egyptian case attracted immense attention from later imperial theorists. To some, JA Hobson among them, it went far to prove that the whole imperialist movement was financial in origin, a fraud on the whole nation by a sectional interest. If this were the case then the insights gained from an analysis of the Egyptian example would be generally applicable and would provide a general theory of imperialism. Some writers have held that that was so. Others, however, have questioned it, pointing out that the financial motives that are so obvious in Egypt are by no means so easily proven in tropical Africa. If the latter school of thought is correct, Egypt must be treated as a special case, a unique combination of strategic and financial interests, not a general explanation of imperialism, and other cases must be investigated to see what pattern, if any, emerges from them.

- ME Chamberlain, *The Scramble for Africa* (1999)

- **Why does Chamberlain suggest the 1882 occupation of Egypt is important to the wider historiography of empire?**

The occupation was the single most important forward movement made by Britain in the age of partition which set in after 1880. There is no convincing evidence that it was undertaken primarily to recoup the fortunes of British investors in Egyptian bonds. But, equally, it is too schematic to argue that it was merely the culmination of a long-standing interest in the safety of the route to India: a pure question of strategy. The complex reaction to Egyptian politics in London did not spring from the wish merely to *conserve* the existing strategic link with India, still less to recover funds... The leading ministers, and the wider public who had celebrated Disraeli's purchase of Canal Shares in 1875, recognised that Britain's stake in the Canal (and therefore in Egypt) was growing rapidly. An entire shipping system was being built around it, and the commercial and military value of India was rising steeply. The Canal was not the symbol of a decaying mid-Victorian pre-eminence, but of the dynamic expansion of late-Victorian Britain... In the same way, the hard line towards Arabi reflected the late-century view that economic and social progress was too urgent to be obstructed by Afro-Asian regimes whose capacity for self-improvement was now regarded with ever heavier scepticism. In the decade after 1882, Egypt became the test case for arguments about 'progressive imperialism' and the matrix of a new imperial consensus on politics and strategy.

- John Darwin, *The Empire Project* (2009)

- **What does Darwin argue about the reasons for the British occupation of Egypt?**

Key Individual: Evelyn Baring, Earl of Cromer (1841-1917)

Profile: ODNB entry by JG Darwin; pp. 38-39 & pp. 95-96 in AQA

- Background and values
- Role in Egypt as Consul-General
- Dufferin Report, 1883 and 'veiled protectorate' in Egypt
- Attitudes towards Arabs and Islam
- Economic and moral reforms in Egypt
- Retirement in 1907



The ‘veiled protectorate’

- ‘Occupation’ rather than a formal colony – technically the Ottoman sultan remained the khedive’s overlord.
- Dufferin Report, 1883
- British ‘advisers’ to Egyptian ministers – the ‘Granville Doctrine’
- Presence of 6,000 British troops under Lord Kitchener to preserve British interests
- Reforms to the Egyptian Army
- Limitations to British freedom of action:
 - The Capitulations
 - The Mixed Courts
 - The *Caisse de la Dette*
- Moral reforms to Egyptian society:
 - Stopping Arabic slavery
 - Outlawing physical punishments
 - Halting the import of *hashish*, regulation of alcohol licences, closing gambling houses
- Limited investment in education (University of Cairo only founded in 1909)
- Reforms to the Egyptian economy:
 - Cuts to government spending
 - Establishment of National Bank and Post Office Savings Bank
 - Improvements in irrigation and infrastructure (e.g. the Aswan Dam, 1902)
 - Improvements to working conditions and sanitation

- Increased exports of cotton and sugar
- Growing population (7 → 10 million)
- Growth of tourism to Egypt

Egypt's economy under British occupation:

- The fiscal priority was to pay off debts and keep the government financially responsible. This was always prioritised over domestic investment.
- Industries owned by the khedive were sold off (usually to foreign investors).
- 63% of total exports went to Britain. There was a focus on developing the cotton industry (mainly to export back to Lancashire): $\frac{1}{2}$ million acres of desert were irrigated – Aswan Dam (1902); cotton was 76% of all exports by 1880; 93% by 1912.
- Large landowners benefitted from British rule – they consolidated their landholdings and focused on export crops (i.e. cotton). Other crops (including food) were neglected and had to be imported.
- The peasant 'fellahin' classes often struggled and worked as employed labour on the dominant, large farms. The population rose from 7 to 10 million which increased pressures on food and land.

The immediate outcome of the occupation was to limit the income-generating possibilities of the average Egyptian, and to displace many by non-Egyptians. It entrenched a new class system, composed of large landowners, a business oligarchy, and small middle class of government bureaucrats, and a large class of workers and peasants. It exacerbated the chasm between the elites and the masses by encouraging foreign elements in the administration, and created groups with totally different world outlooks as a consequence of different kinds of education and cultural upbringing. Last, but not least, it inhibited industrialisation and the search for alternative sources of wealth while entrenching a large landowning class depending for its income on the sale of cotton to Britain. For Imperial Britain, the occupation provided a naval base and strengthened control of an indispensable passage to Asia. It provided a market for British goods and a guaranteed source of raw materials for British industries. Lastly, it acted as a safety valve for surplus youth, allowing young men to find positions overseas that they could not have found at home.

- Afaf Lutfi Al-Sayid-Marsot, 'The Occupation of Egypt' in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Nineteenth Century* (Andrew Porter ed.) (Oxford; 1999)

What then kept the British in Egypt? Free passage through the Suez Canal appeared a compelling reason since most of its traffic was British registered shipping. At no time in 1882 did the rebel leader Arabi Pasha indicate that he would interfere with the running of the Canal, but there was no way of knowing what Egyptian nationalists might do in the future. Most important of all, if Britain did nothing, another power could step in. In the end, occupation was the only alternative to annexation by another country. International developments in the late nineteenth century added weight to this argument.

- Adapted from Lawrence James, *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire*, 1994

The British government officially maintained that its occupation from 1882 was temporary. Britain's intention was to 'rescue' Egypt from 'disorder' and the Egyptian throne from a nationalist movement, referred to as a 'military mutiny', and then to 'retire'. However, in reality, there was no general agreement or planned policy. While liberals anticipated rapid restoration of Egyptian political control, hard-liners in Whitehall and men on the spot, notably Sir Evelyn Baring, argued otherwise. Strongly supported by the Foreign Office, for over twenty years Baring persuaded successive Imperial governments of the need to remain and reform, not only Egyptian finances, but a wide range of other institutions.

- Adapted from Araf Lufti Al-Sayyid-Marsot, 'The Occupation of Egypt', in Andrew Porter (ed), *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, 1999

❖ Using your understanding of the historical context, assess how convincing the arguments in these extracts are in relation to the British occupation of Egypt.

The emergence of nationalism in Egypt

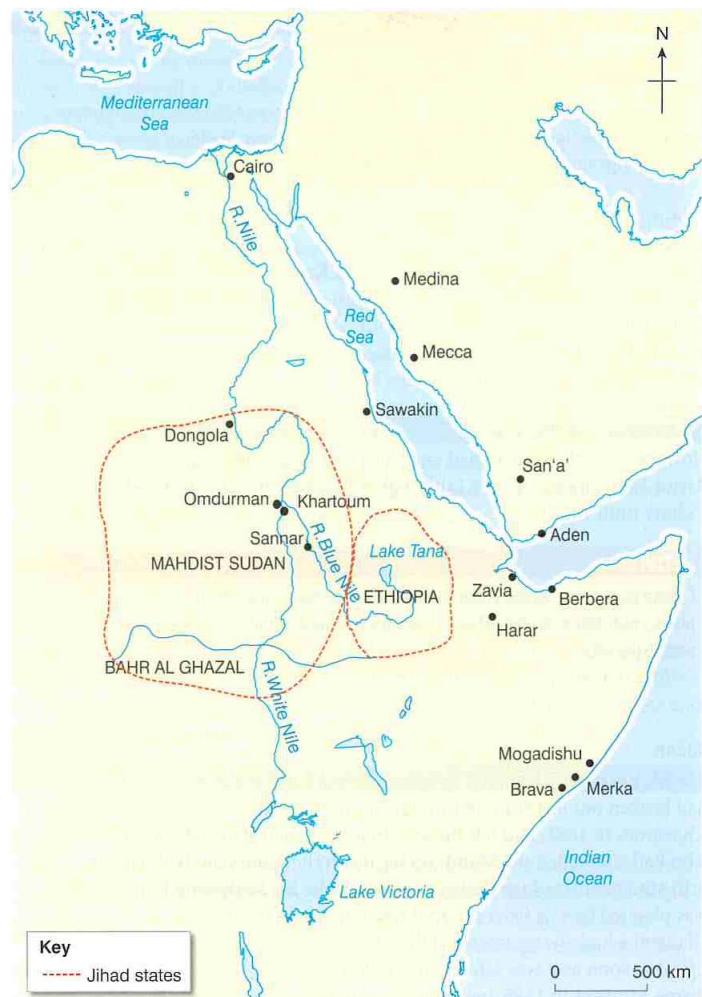
- 1892 – Tewfiq's death – attempts by Abbas Hilmi II to throw off British rule - unsuccessful
 - Middle-class nationalist movement. Grievances: corruption; poverty; poor development of cotton industry; lack of educational opportunities
 - Egyptian National Party (al-Hizb al Watani) – formed 1881
 - Denshawai incident, 1906 – pigeon-shooting gone wrong!
 - Sir Eldon Gorst as Consul General (1907-11):
 - Conciliation – involvement of nationalists in government
 - Tighter censorship of the press, 1909
 - Lord Kitchener as Consul General (1911-14):
 - Legislative Assembly created (1913) representing land owners
 - Declaration of formal protectorate in 1914
-
- **How seriously was British dominance in Egypt threatened by nationalism?**

The Sudan

- pp. 65-67 & 113-114 in AQA text
- pp. 274-287 in James
- pp. 138-141 in Porter
- WATCH: Paxman, Episode 3: Playing the Game (19.55-36.30)

Sudan is an area to the south of Egypt which was formally under Egyptian administration. This, therefore, became an area of British interest after the occupation of Egypt. The British sent administrators to govern Sudan, based in the capital Khartoum.

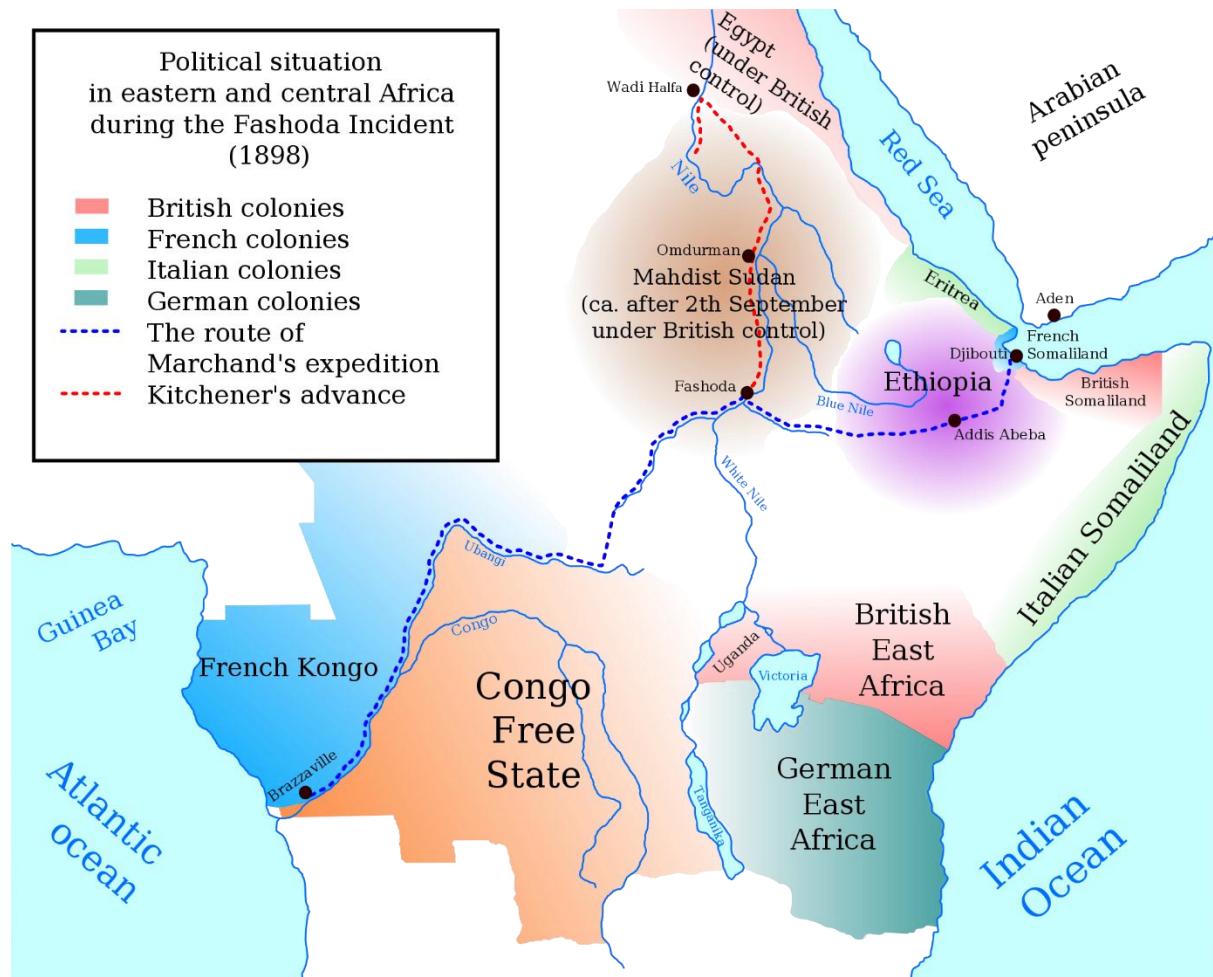
In June 1881 a rebellion broke out led by an Islamic cleric called Muhammad Ahmed, who proclaimed himself to be the Mahdi – the final successor to mankind. His extreme interpretation of Islam and millenarian beliefs generated a significant following in Sudan. He created a jihadist movement to remove outside influence from the country and, by 1882, had taken control of much of Sudan.



- 1883 – Colonel William Hicks launched a joint Anglo-Egyptian expedition to defeat the Mahdists that was defeated.
- 1884 – General Charles Gordon was sent to evacuate British and Egyptian forces from Khartoum. Instead, he resolved to defeat the Mahdist army, although the British were horribly outnumbered.
- 1885 - Liberal Prime Minister, William Gladstone, eventually caved in to pressure to send a relief force to Khartoum to help Gordon. However, it arrived too late and Gordon and his army had already been overrun and killed.
- The British withdrew from Sudan to avoid further loss of men and money.

The return to Sudan

- Conservative government of Lord Salisbury from 1885 – concerns over other European countries' expansion in Africa, especially control of the upper Nile.
- Agreements over spheres of influence – treaty with Germany in 1890; Italian intervention in east Africa diverted the Mahdist state but Italian defeat at Adowa in 1896 provided an excuse for a campaign to conquer the Sudan.
- 1896-98 campaign led by General Sir Herbert Kitchener → victory at Battle of Omdurman, 1898 – a demonstration of the power of the Maxim gun
- Fashoda Incident, 1898 – confrontation with France ending with an agreement in 1899 over spheres of influence.
- Sudan established as an Anglo-Egyptian condominium, governed by Lord Kitchener.



British rule in Sudan up to 1914

Continued resistance:

- Difficulty controlling the tribes in the south of the country
- Inter-tribal feuds and resistance to British rule and taxation led to 33 punitive expeditions mounted to force the Sudanese to accept British rule
- Further Mahdist uprisings: 1900, 1902-03, 1904, 1908 – followed by repression from British authorities

Development and modernisation:

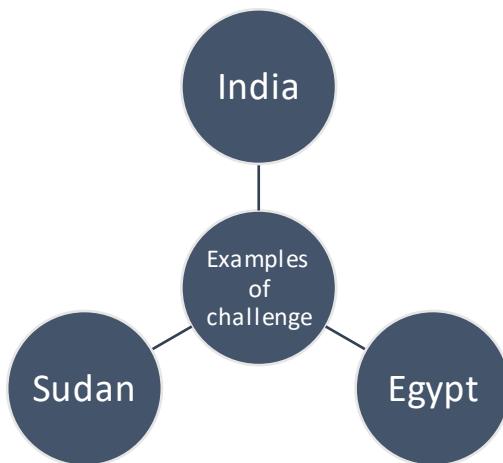
- New penal codes, land tenure rules and a formal system of taxation
 - Extension of railways and telegraphs into Sudan, improvements in irrigation
 - Port Sudan opened in 1906 – an outlet to the sea for trade
 - 1911 Gezira Scheme to provide high quality cotton for Britain's textile industry
-

As so often in the history of the empire, one thing led to another. By taking control of Egypt, the British had also assumed responsibility for Sudan, the biggest country in Africa. Ministers were worried that if they did not take control of that region, then the French might and with it the headwaters of the Nile. There was the usual worry – in this case certainly nonsensical – about the risk to the Suez Canal and there was the death of General Gordon to avenge. Britain's involvement in Egypt and the Sudan shows that not all empire was acquired by design. There was, of course, a large element of racial prejudice in the self-appointed responsibility of the British which could not sit back when other races were getting out of hand. Businessmen who believed their money was at risk roared on demands for military action. The jingoism was shared by public opinion and whipped up by the press. Succumbing to that pressure put the Sudan mission in the hands of the zealot, Kitchener who, like many empire-builders, presented the task he had been given as a moral instruction.

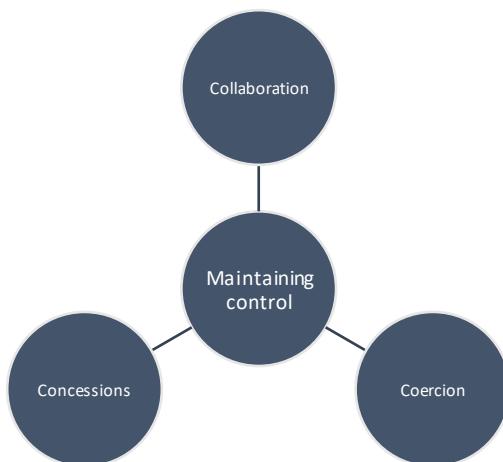
- Adapted from Jeremy Paxman's *Empire* (2012)

- ❖ Why did Britain consolidate its position in the Sudan?
- ❖ To what extent did Britain develop Sudan?
- ❖ To what extent did the British face significant resistance in the Sudan?

ESSAY: To what extent was British rule challenged by indigenous peoples in India and North East Africa in the years 1890 to 1914?



How extensive? How significant?



The ‘Scramble for Africa’

Read:

- pp. 17-19 in AQA

Context – International Relations: Germany became a united country in 1871, after a short war with France. It quickly became an enormously powerful state, with considerable industrial potential and a powerful military, headed by its Chancellor, Otto von Bismarck. France recovered quickly from the war and developed its armed forces. Russia continued to consolidate its hold over eastern and central Asia. Italy also became a united country in 1870 and sought to take its place amongst the great powers. By the 1870s Britain, therefore, faced several competitors; its domination of the seas and of the world economy could no longer be taken for granted.

Context – ‘New Imperialism’ - By this point possession of colonies was considered a key attribute for ‘great power status’ – an overseas empire bestowed upon the metropolitan country great prestige and, in this period of ‘new imperialism’, colonies were also popular with an increasingly literate and politically-aware public. Some have argued that, as democratic participation expanded, imperialism was a means by which elites could manipulate the public mood, unite the nation, and distract populations from domestic matters ('social imperialism').

Context – the ‘Great Depression’: The 1870s also saw the onset of the ‘Great Depression’; a prolonged period of lower economic growth which encouraged Europeans to look overseas for new markets and raw materials. Germany and other states introduced a new system of tariffs as protectionism again became a fashionable economic position. Africa was a continent which was still seen to have a great deal of economic potential and, in a new era of tighter economic competition, control of African territory was seen by many to be a crucial means of securing markets, raw materials and continuing economic growth.

These developments in Europe, plus the expansion of British control into Egypt and North Africa, helped to prompt what has become known as the ‘Scramble for Africa’ between c. 1880 and 1900; a rapid carving-up of almost the entire continent into colonies controlled by different European powers. The ‘scramble’ consisted of struggles between rival European powers, but also between European powers and indigenous African peoples.

- ❖ How was the Scramble for Africa carried out? What principles underpinned it?
- ❖ What were some of the reasons for the Scramble for Africa?

Enablers of expansion:

Several technological and scientific developments meant that Europeans were enabled to take possession of Africa where before this had been impossible:

- **Medical advances** – in 1817 French scientists discovered quinine was a solution for malaria. Links were also discovered between mosquitoes and yellow fever in the 1890s. These medical advances meant that it was possible for Europeans to survive in Africa whereas beforehand Africa had been known as ‘the white man’s grave’.
- **Transportation and communication advances** – the development of the steamship and the telegraph meant that troops, wealth and resources could be mobilised quickly. It also meant that important waterways such as the Niger and the Congo were more easily navigable. Railways would later also be an important means of transport and communication (e.g. Sudan campaign, 1898)
- **Military advances** – the invention of the breech-loading rifle and the machine gun (e.g. the Maxim gun) gave the Europeans a temporary edge over African societies. This is perhaps most obviously seen at the Battle of Omdurman in 1898. European defeats such as the British at Isandlwana (1879) and the Italians at Adowa (1896) were extremely unusual.

Two Conferences:

On one level the ‘Scramble for Africa’ happened, not in Africa, but in diplomatic conferences in Europe as the European powers carved up maps of the continent around the conference-room table:

- **The Brussels Conference, 1876** – Leopold II and the Congo
- **The Berlin Conference, 1884-85** – the principle of ‘effective occupation’

On a general level, there certainly was a change in the international atmosphere at the end of the 1870s, when the German government ended the era of free trade by introducing import duties into Germany to protect domestic grain producers. International rivalries did intensify, as the steady expansion of European possessions overseas began to create collisions between rival European powers, for example in West Africa between the British, the French and the Belgians. The growing penetration of indigenous economies by European traders and merchants increasingly produced crises to which European powers now felt they had to respond by annexing territory. Nevertheless, when all this is said, it remains very striking how quickly, how suddenly European powers decided to divide Africa and key regions of the Pacific amongst themselves in the 1880s.

The key factor here was the foreign policy of the German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck. The Iron Chancellor was adamant that Germany did not need formal colonies for their own sake. They would, he declared, mean unnecessary trouble and expense. "I am no man for colonies", he said. But he did think that the declaration of interests in particular potential colonies could be a useful bargaining point in the European power-game. In 1883, Bismarck's intervention in an already volatile colonial situation turned a set of problems into a mad scramble for territory.

[Bismarck] began claiming colonies or rather declaring a German protectorate over key areas – Angra Pequena in South-west Africa, where the German flag was raised in May 1884, Togoland and the Cameroons in July 1884, New Guinea in December 1884, and East Africa, Tanganyika, in February 1885. Typically the moving forces on the ground were explorers – Gustav Nachtigal in West Africa, Carl Peters in East Africa – and traders and planters. But they were all there was: they were not followed by any significant involvement on the ground by the German state. In this way, the German Chancellor demonstrated that you did not need actually to occupy a territory in order to annex it; he did not even bother to send troops. This of course made annexation much easier than European states had thought.

Bismarck's actions created something like a panic as European states rushed to annex their own territories before somebody else got there first. Other states after all had existing claims to defend. To underline his friendship with France and his new colonial policy, Bismarck agreed with the French government to call a conference in Berlin on colonial claims, which met from November 1884 to February 1885. It focused almost exclusively on the Congo, where it recognized the claim of Leopold II, King of the Belgians, to annex it as his personal property, as well as ratifying the French claim to the northern bank of the Congo river. Apart from this, however, it achieved nothing. Its declaration that a claim to a colony required 'effective occupation' was a dead letter, since it applied only to coastal areas, and its insistence on free trade along major rivers like the Congo and the Niger was more or less ignored. But by laying down ground rules for annexation the conference effectively declared that the scramble had begun, so it hugely stimulated further annexations.

- Richard Evans *The Scramble for Africa* Greshams College Lecture

❖ What does Evans argue about the Scramble for Africa?

In 1870 barely one tenth of Africa was under European control. By 1914 only about one tenth – Abyssinia [Ethiopia] and Liberia – was not. Most of the partition of Africa, colloquially but accurately described as the ‘scramble’ or ‘grab’ for Africa, had taken place during a period of only ten years between the Berlin West African Conference of 1884-85 and a series of ‘tidying-up’ agreements in 1895-96. To the Victorians, this seemed not only natural but inevitable. One explanation is obvious. Europe had undergone an industrial revolution and Africa had not. For the first time in History there was an enormous gap, economic, technological and military, between the two continents with the balance entirely in Europe’s favour. The second explanation is less obvious but equally important – the mind-set of the Europeans. Europeans were at the forefront of progress and civilisation; Africans, ‘primitive’ and ‘backward’. Naturally the Europeans would take over. This was sometimes justified by a debased form of ‘Social Darwinism’ which had little to do with what Charles Darwin had really argued about ‘natural selection’ in the animal world.

- ME Chamberlain, *The Scramble for Africa*

•

- ❖ What does Chamberlain argue in this extract about the Scramble for Africa?

The colonial powers superimposed their domains on the African Continent. The African politico-geographical map became a permanent liability that resulted from three months of ignorant, greedy acquisitiveness, during a period when Europe’s search for minerals and markets had become insatiable. The European colonial powers shared one objective in their African colonies: exploitation.

- HJ de Blij and Peter O Muller, *Geography: Realms, Regions and Concepts* (2003)

- ❖ To what extent is this an accurate assessment of British participation in the Scramble for Africa?

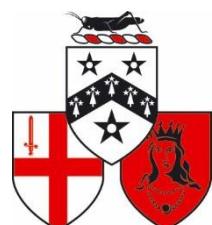
Initial acquisition of territory	Expansion and consolidation of British rule 1890–1914
Sierra Leone 1808	Protectorate established 1896
Gold Coast 1867	Incorporation of Ashantiland into Gold Coast Colony in 1902
Transvaal 1877 (until December 1880)	Integrated into British Union of South Africa 1902
Egypt (and Sudan) 1882	From 1899, Sudan was a condominium of Britain and Egypt Egyptian Protectorate established 1914
Southern Nigeria 1884	Royal Niger Company (RNC) rule converted into British Colony 1906, before establishment of united Nigeria in 1914
Northern Nigeria 1885	RNC rule converted into British Colony 1900, before establishment of united Nigeria 1914
British East Africa 1888	Imperial British East Africa Company (BEAC) rule replaced by formal Protectorate in 1895
Uganda 1888	BEAC rule replaced by formal Protectorate in 1894
Zanzibar 1890	Formal Protectorate established, albeit maintaining the rule of the Sultan of Oman
Nyasaland 1891	British South Africa Company (BSAC) rule replaced by formal Protectorate in 1907
Matabeleland 1893	Territory incorporated into Rhodesia 1895
Rhodesia 1895	Southern Rhodesia Protectorate established 1901 and Northern Rhodesia in 1911, both under BSAC administration

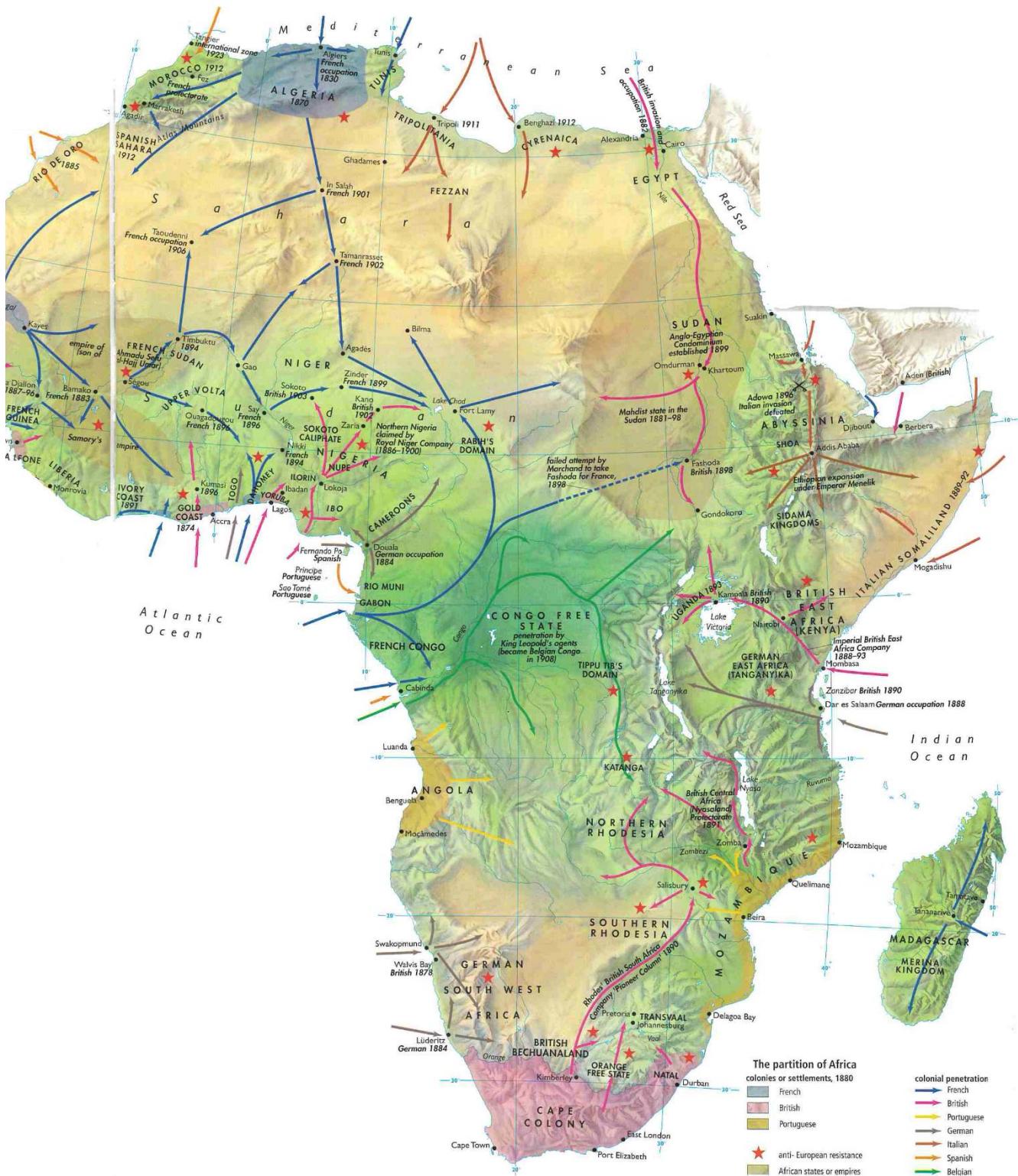
WATCH: Gresham College Lecture

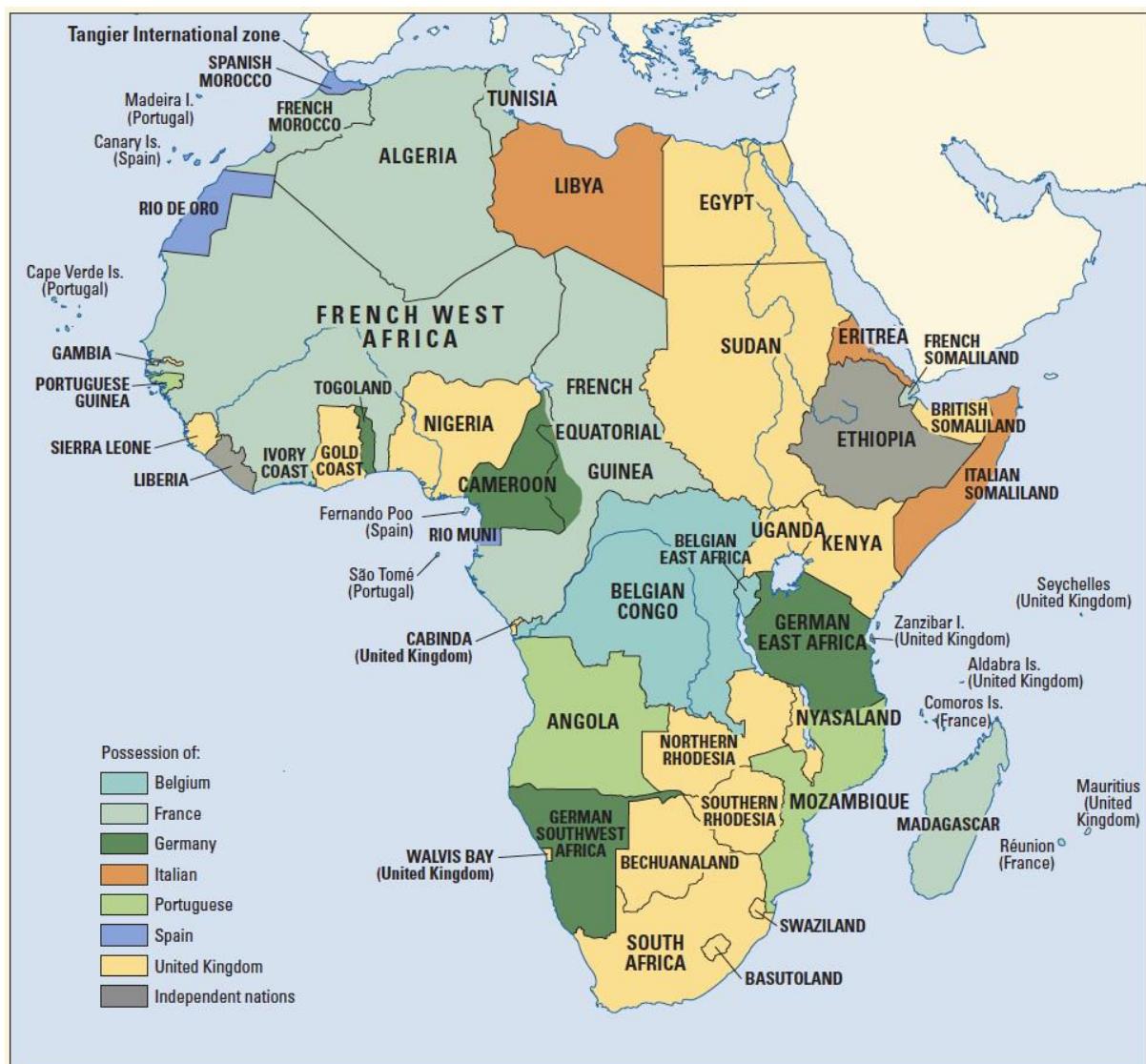
Professor Sir Richard Evans, Gresham College, February 2012

- **Exploitation and Resistance**

<https://www.gresham.ac.uk/lectures-and-events/exploitation-and-resistance>





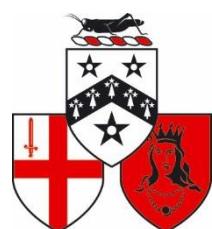


WATCH: Gresham College Lecture

Professor Sir Richard Evans, Gresham College, November 2011

- The Scramble for Africa

<https://www.gresham.ac.uk/lectures-and-events/the-scramble-for-africa>



Was the Scramble for Africa all about economics?

A few facts (taken from B Porter):

- In the 1890s Britain did more trade with **Belgium** than it did with the whole of **Africa**.
- 1909 Trade:
 - **Imports from sub-Saharan Africa: £12.3 million**
 - **Imports from Europe: £241.6 million**
 - **Exports to sub-Saharan Africa: £25.8 million**
 - **Exports to Europe: £119 million**

❖ What were the reasons for the Scramble for Africa? What is your initial hypothesis?

British West Africa

Read:

- chapter 5 in Chamberlain
- pp. 296-306 in James

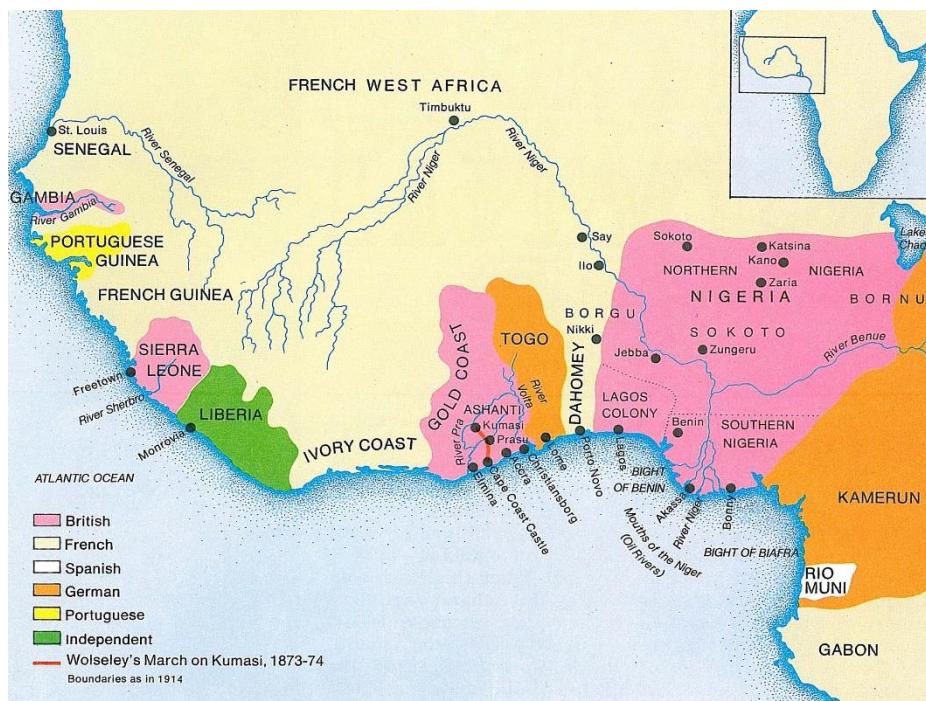
At the start of this period, Britain held four small colonies on the West African coast: Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Nigeria. These colonies were economically rather unimportant as they were essentially legacies of the eighteenth century trans-Atlantic slave trade. Since the 1830s it had been the base from which the Royal Navy's West Africa squadron pursued its worthy but difficult task of trying to eradicate the slave trade. In 1865 there was a proposal to withdraw from these territories completely. West Africa was largely an area of French interest, as well as growing German interest. Partly because of this, the closing decades of the nineteenth century saw significant consolidation and expansion into the hinterland of some of these areas. They remained important for British trade:

Gambia:

- Surrounded by French Senegal – limited consolidation/ expansion
- Proposals to exchange with the French for a more ‘useful’ area blocked by ‘Gambia lobby’ in UK – supply of groundnuts

Gold Coast:

- Wars with Ashanti Confederation (powerful slaving state) (four wars between 1823 and 1896) ending with removal of King Prempeh (1896)
- Ashanti Uprising of 1900
- Incorporation of Ashantiland into Gold Coast Colony (1906)



Sierra Leone:

- Originally founded in 1787 as a colony for freed slaves + a coaling station for the RN
- Resistance to British rule – the ‘Hut Tax’ war of 1898

Nigeria:

- 1862 – Lagos occupied as a base for anti-slaving operations
- Economic importance of palm oil (lubricant + soap)
- George Goldie’s United Africa Company established 1879 – chartered as Royal Niger Company in 1886
- 1885 – Berlin Conference recognised Britain as the dominant power on the Niger
- 1894 – fear of French expansion into upper Niger region → Frederick Lugard sent to negotiate treaties in upper Niger – confrontations with French to establish boundaries.
- 1897 – a show of force by the Company army to assert control in upper Niger (use of Maxim guns to intimidate) → Formation by Lugard of West African Frontier Force.
- Boundaries fixed with French in 1898
- Formal Crown control over North (1900) and South (1906) established (Company abolished)
- Administration by Lord Lugard – an example of indirect rule (preservation of old customs except slavery)
- 1905 – Mahdist uprising – defeated.

- ❖ Why did Britain expand its rule in West Africa?
- ❖ What form of rule was established?
- ❖ To what extent did Britain develop these territories? To what extent did it exploit them?
- ❖ To what extent did the British face resistance?

Key Individual: Sir George Goldie (1846-1925)

Profile: ODNB entry by Scarborough and Flint; pp. 36-38 in AQA

- Establishment of Central African Trading Company, 1876 – focus on the Niger river
- United African Company, 1879 – palm oil, coffee, chocolate
- Agreements with local indigenous rulers
- British Protectorate over northern and southern Niger – chartering of the Royal Niger Company, 1887
- Later role as a colonial administrator



British East Africa

Read:

- **Chapter 6 in Chamberlain**
- **pp. 293-296 in James**

British interests in East Africa were less commercial and more strategic; it was on the Cape route to India and also included the upper reaches of the Nile – by the late 1880s it was clear the British were not going to evacuate Egypt any time soon. In the 1880s the Germans also started expanding their interests in the region.

Zanzibar:

- Sultan of Zanzibar - a British puppet. Sir John Kirk, British Consul-General from 1873.
- 1884 – German explorer Karl Peters in East Africa → 1885 – Germans claimed mainland
- Agreement with Germany in 1886 (and then tidied up in 1890) over spheres of influence (Germany retained Tanganyika; Britain Kenya and Uganda with Zanzibar as a protectorate)
- Establishment of Protectorate, 1890
- 1896 – 38 minute war and the overthrow of Sultan Khalid (1896)

Uganda:

- British Imperial East Africa Company chartered in 1888, headed by Sir William Mackinnon
- British and French Missionaries murdered in Buganda (by King Mwanga) – civil war
- Lord Lugard led the British East Africa Company (1889-90) to occupy the area
- Powers transferred to the Crown, 1894 after pressure from missionary interests not to give up the area.
- Construction of the Uganda railway to link Lake Victoria with the coast (Mombasa)

Kenya:

- Route to Uganda – construction of the Uganda railway – backed by the government
- Resistance from Sheikh Mbaruk bin Rashid
- A plantation economy: some white settlement from 1903 (10,000 by 1920 + 23,000 Indian migrants) – a new Australia? Difficulties of economic development – difficulty finding private capital

Somaliland:

- Establishment of British protectorate (1888) – security and resources for Aden – little trade
 - Resistance from ‘Mad Mullah’ Sayyid Hassan – victory over the British ‘Camel Constabulary’ at battle of Dul Madoba, 1913.
-
- **Why did Britain expand its rule in West Africa?**
 - **What form of rule was established?**
 - **To what extent did Britain develop these territories? To what extent did it exploit them?**
 - **To what extent did the British face resistance?**

From c. 1890 the Victorians saw an almost unbelievable revolution in their political relations with Africa. Against all the trends of previous expansion, the British occupied Egypt and staked out a huge tropical African empire. At the centre of this lies an apparent paradox. The main streams of British trade, investment and migration continued to leave tropical Africa practically untouched; yet it was tropical Africa that was bundled into empire. The flag was not following trade and capital; nor were trade and capital as yet following the flag. The late Victorians seemed to be concentrating their imperial effort in the continent of least importance to their prosperity. The collapse of African governments under the strain of earlier Western influences may have played a part, even a predominant part in the process. It is also quite possible that they did not acquire a new empire for its intrinsic value, but because Africa's relationship to their total strategy in Europe, the Mediterranean or the East had altered.

- Ronald Robinson, John Gallagher and Alice Denny, *Africa and the Victorians* (1961)

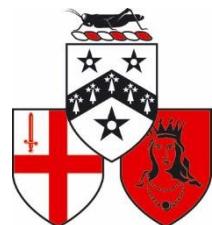
- Using your understanding of the historical context, assess how convincing the arguments in this extract are in relation to British expansion in Africa in the late nineteenth century?

WATCH: Gresham College Lecture

Professor Kathleen Burk, Gresham College, May 2001

- Great Britain and the Scramble for Africa

<https://www.gresham.ac.uk/lectures-and-events/great-britain-and-the-scramble-for-africa>



South Africa – Context

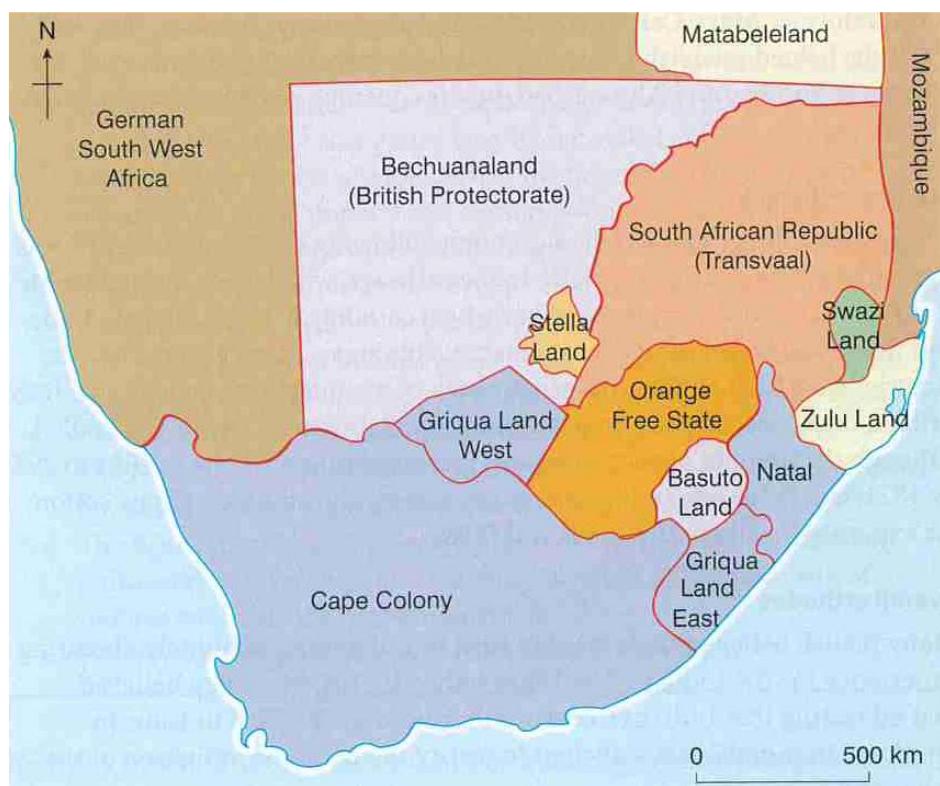
The Boers and the British:

The first Europeans in South Africa were Dutch who settled in the Cape during the 18th century. They became known as Boers (farmers), spoke a dialect of Dutch called Afrikaans and established themselves as farmers in the area. They were a self-reliant people who subscribed to a strict form of Protestantism. During the Napoleonic Wars the British took the Cape off the Dutch between 1795 and 1815 and Cape Colony became a British colony. Before the opening of the Suez Canal, possession of the Cape was of strategic importance to Britain as it lay directly on the sea route to India where British ships could refuel. British settlers arrived in the Cape after 1815 and also in the colony of Natal which was annexed in 1845.

Many Boers resented British rule and, from 1835, large numbers migrated north, inland, in what was known as the 'Great Trek'. They established their own states, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, which the British recognised in the 1850s. Nevertheless, whether the Boers were formally independent from Britain remained ambiguous and tensions between the British and the Boer republics developed considerably in the second half of the 19th century.

The Bantu:

Aside from European settlers, South Africa was also home to large numbers of native Africans. There was (and is) a large number of different ethnic groups that include the Xhosa and Zulu tribes. Collectively, they were known as the Bantu peoples as a generic term for the 300-600 different linguistic groups who inhabited the region from the African Great Lakes down to the Cape. As their dominance in South Africa grew over the later 19th century, the British also came into conflict with several Bantu peoples.



Relations with Bantu and Boers

Read:

- pp. 54-57 in AQA text
- pp. 85-90 in Porter
- pp. 251-258 in James
- pp. 69-72 in Chamberlain

Discovery of diamonds:

- Discovery of diamonds in Kimberley, 1867 → 'diamond rush'
- Annexation of Basutoland, 1868 → protection from the Boers
- Annexation of West Griqualand, 1871
- Annexation of East Griqualand, 1873

Attempts at Confederation:

- Lord Carnarvon, Colonial Secretary – desire for confederation to consolidate British dominance (Canada model)
- Appointment of Sir Bartle Frere as High Commissioner → ambition to confederate (decision-making largely independent from London) → Transvaal pressured into annexation in 1877
- Xhosa War, 1877-78
- Annexation of the Transvaal, 1877
- Provocation of Zulu War (1878-79)
- Frere dismissed by Liberal Government in 1880

Zulu War, 1878-79:

- Defeat of British at Isandlwana
- Defence of Rorke's Drift
- Defeat of Zulus at Ulundi, 1879
- Defeat of Pedi, 1879

First Boer War, 1880-81:

- Boers declare independence from Britain, 1880
- Defeat of British at Majuba Hill, February 1881
- Convention of Pretoria – independence of Boer republics but recognition of British 'suzerainty'
- Embarrassment of Gladstone's Liberal Government

❖ Why did the British Empire expand in Southern Africa?

Key Individual: Cecil Rhodes (1852-1902)

Profile: ODNB entry by Shula Marks & Stanley Trapido; pp. 35-36 & p. 93 in AQA

- Background and move to Natal
- Role in diamond mines of Kimberley (1871 onwards)
- Enters SA politics as an MP in 1880
- De Beers Consolidated Mines Company (1888)
- British South Africa Company – chartered in 1889
- Expansion into Matabeleland from 1890 (and the creation of the Rhodesias)
- Prime Minister of Cape Colony, 1890-9
- Relations with the Boers (Jameson Raid etc.) and resignation (1896)
- Ideas about the British Empire and imperialism



Expansion north

Read:

- Pp. 259-263 in James
- pp. 72-78 in Chamberlain

Bechuanaland:

- Bechuanaland – the route to the north ('Missionaries' Road')
- Rivalry with Germany (German presence South West Africa from 1884)
- Fear of Boer alliance with Germany
- Annexation of Bechuanaland, 1885

Zambesia/ Rhodesia:

- Mashonaland (north of Transvaal) dominated by Ndebele (Matabele), led by Lobengula – belief that gold was present
- 1888 - Rudd Concession – Lobengula granted exclusive mining rights to Rhodes
- Establishment of British South Africa Company, 1889, by Cecil Rhodes – granted a charter by London to forestall Germans, Portuguese and Boers. (The legality of this was dubious)
- 1890 – establishment of Fort Salisbury in Mashonaland by Rhodes' 'Pioneers'
- 1893 annexation of Matabeleland → wars with Ndebele (Matabele) and Mashona (1893-94 and 1896-97)
- 1891 – agreements with Germany and Portugal for Britain to annex Barotseland (Northern Rhodesia) for the BSAC
- Thwarted ambitions for a Cape-Cairo railway
- Establishment of Northern and Southern Rhodesia as Crown colonies, 1890s

Nyasaland

- Conflict between missionaries and Portuguese-backed Arabs
- Control established by British South Africa Company by 1897
- Protectorate of Nyasaland established, 1907

❖ Why did the British Empire expand in Southern Africa?



Key Individual: Alfred Milner (1854-1925)

Profile: ODNB entry by Colin Newbury; pp. 35-36 & p. 96-97 in AQA

- Background and views on Imperialism
- High Commissioner for South Africa, 1897-1905
- Aggressive stance towards the Boers
- Role after the Boer War – promotion of economic growth
- Chinese ‘slavery’ scandal – resignation and retirement in 1906



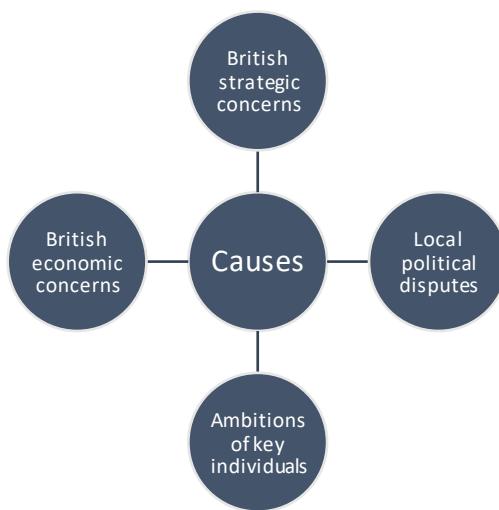
The Boer War

Read:

- pp. 264-268 in James
- pp. 143-152 in Porter
- pp. 68-69 & pp. 115-118 in AQA text

Causes:

- 1886: Discovery of gold at Witwatersrand in the Transvaal → growing power of Transvaal
- Revival of interest in confederation by Cecil Rhodes and Joseph Chamberlain, Colonial Secretary
- Disputes over rights of Uitlanders in the Transvaal → Jameson Raid (1895) → British humiliation and Rhodes' resignation
- 'Kruger Telegram' from Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany (1896) → fear of German influence over Boers
- Transvaal President Paul Kruger – nationalistic and popular
- British High Commissioner Alfred Milner (from 1897) – aggressive policy
- Killing of Tom Edgar by a Transvaal policeman, December 1898 and continued concerns over Uitlander rights
- Bloemfontain Conference (May-June 1899)
- Kruger's ultimatum demanding British withdrawal from the borders of the Boer Republics, October 1899 → British refusal → War.



ESSAY: 'The British government was entirely to blame for the breakdown in British relations with the Boers in the years 1877 to 1902.' Explain why you agree or disagree with this view.

Tension with the Transvaal and the Orange Free State had been escalating since the Jameson fiasco. Simple mineral wealth, the fabled gold and diamond deposits was not the main issue. South Africa was of vital geopolitical importance because it served as the crucial hinterland of the naval base at Durban from which the route to India was defended. It could not be allowed to fall into the hands of another European power, especially Germany, which was already ensconced to the north-east (in present-day Tanzania) and north-west (in present-day Namibia). Knowing that annexation was on the cards, Kruger decided to strike first.

- **Brendan Simms, *Europe: The Struggle for Supremacy* (2014)**

Britain did not go to war in 1899 because of its existing or future stake in the Transvaal, which was not thought to be at risk, but because it feared the political consequences of the growing economic power of the Transvaal for the region as a whole. The British government did not go to war to protect British trade or the profits of capitalists in the Transvaal. It was not only there that capitalists suffered at the hands of an inefficient and corrupt government. Political control of the Transvaal was not sought in order to control the gold-mines, nor to supply access to the supply of gold which would continue to flow to London as the bullion and financial capital of the world. It was not gold that Britain was after in 1899 but the establishment of British power and influence over the Transvaal on a firmer basis to advance the unification of the region within the British Empire.

- **Adapted from Christopher Saunders and Iain Smith, *Southern Africa*, in Andrew Porter (ed)
The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Nineteenth Century, 1999**

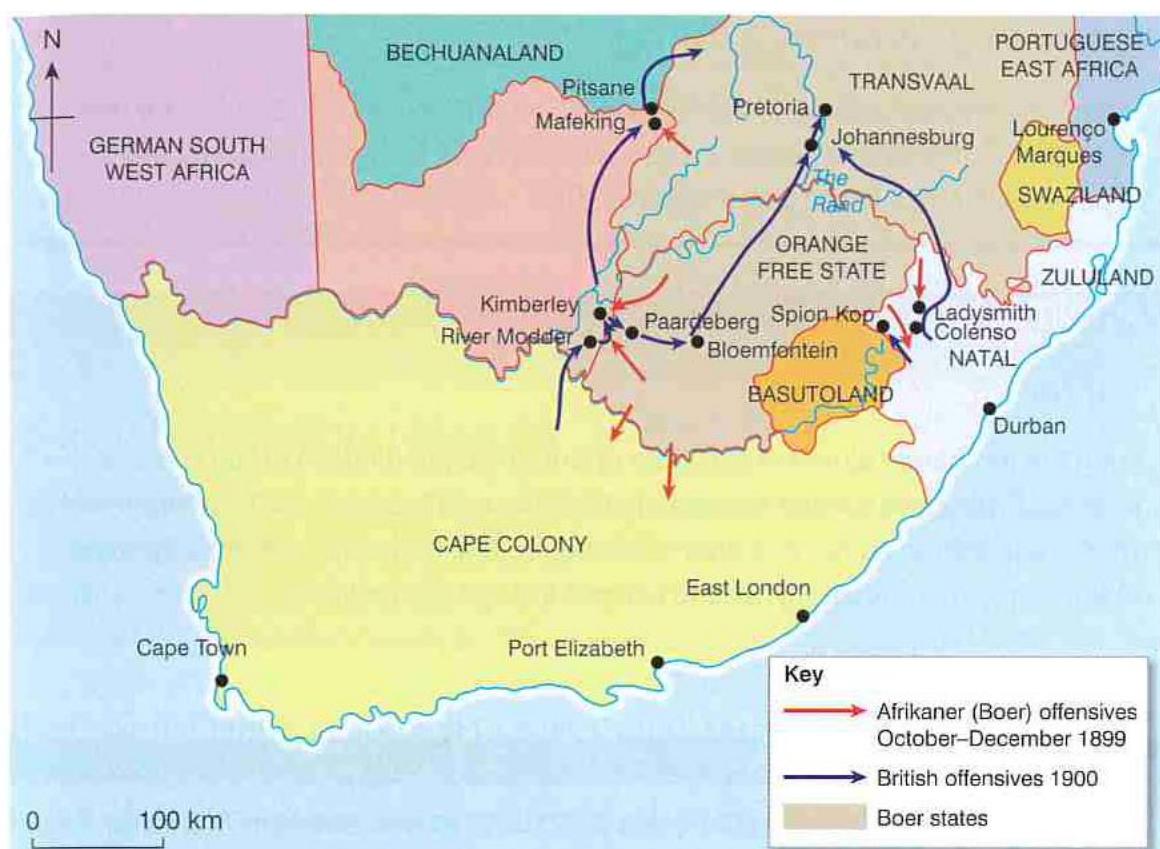
The South African War of 1899–1902 marked the completion of a process begun in the 1870s. The British conquest of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State paved the way for a single South African state. There has been much debate about the causes of the war. Imperial rivalry with a growing Afrikaner nationalism and with other European powers, especially Germany, defence of the sea route to India and the ambitions of particular individuals such as Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, Rhodes, the Cape Prime Minister, and Milner, the British High Commissioner, all played a role, but the essential catalyst was economic. Whereas the conquests of the 1870s and 1880s were fuelled by the diamond discoveries, the South African War was caused by the development of gold mining on the Witwatersrand. This made the region one which Britain, fearful of the industrial and imperial rivals of the late nineteenth century, was unable to ignore.

- **Adapted from Nigel Worden, *The Making of Modern South Africa*, 2000**

Using your understanding of the historical context, assess how convincing the arguments in these three extracts are in relation to Britain's policies in South Africa in the late nineteenth century.

The course of the war (1899-1902):

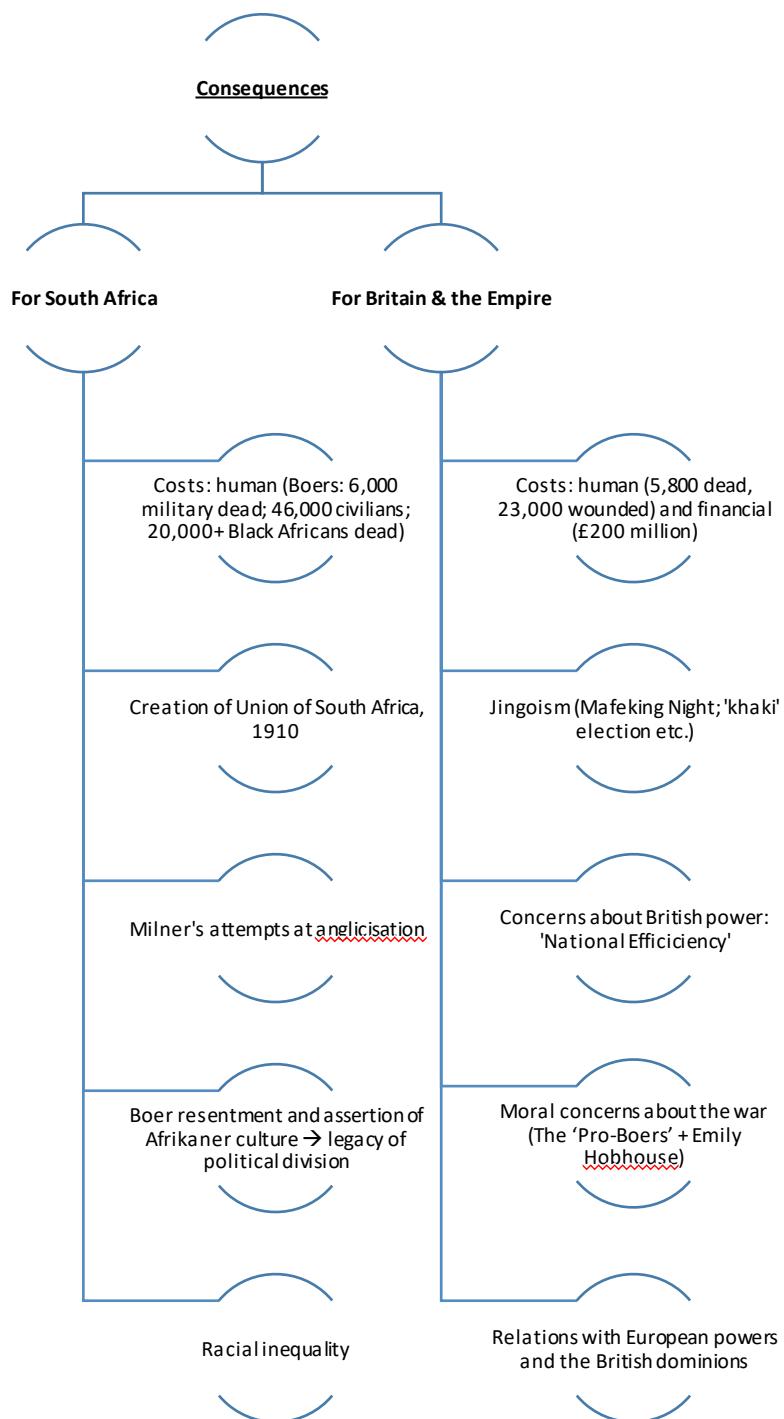
- **First phase (late 1899-spring 1900):** Boer success – Boers laid siege to Ladysmith, Kimberley and Mafeking; ‘Black Week’ (Dec 1899); Battle of Spion Kop (Jan 1900)
- **Second phase (spring-autumn 1900):** British success – 450,000 troops in total sent to South Africa led by Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener – sieges relieved and Boer cities captured (Mafeking relieved May 1900) – Transvaal and Orange Free State annexed (September 1900)
- **Third phase (1900-1902):** guerrilla fighting and British scorched earth policy under Lord Kitchener (incarceration of 120,000 Boer women and children into concentration camps → 10,000 dead)
- **Peace of Vereeniging, May 1902**



Consequences of the Boer War:

Read:

- pp. 94-102 in McDonaugh
- pp. 176-179 in Porter



'Native Policy', colonial development and the impact of colonial rule

Read:

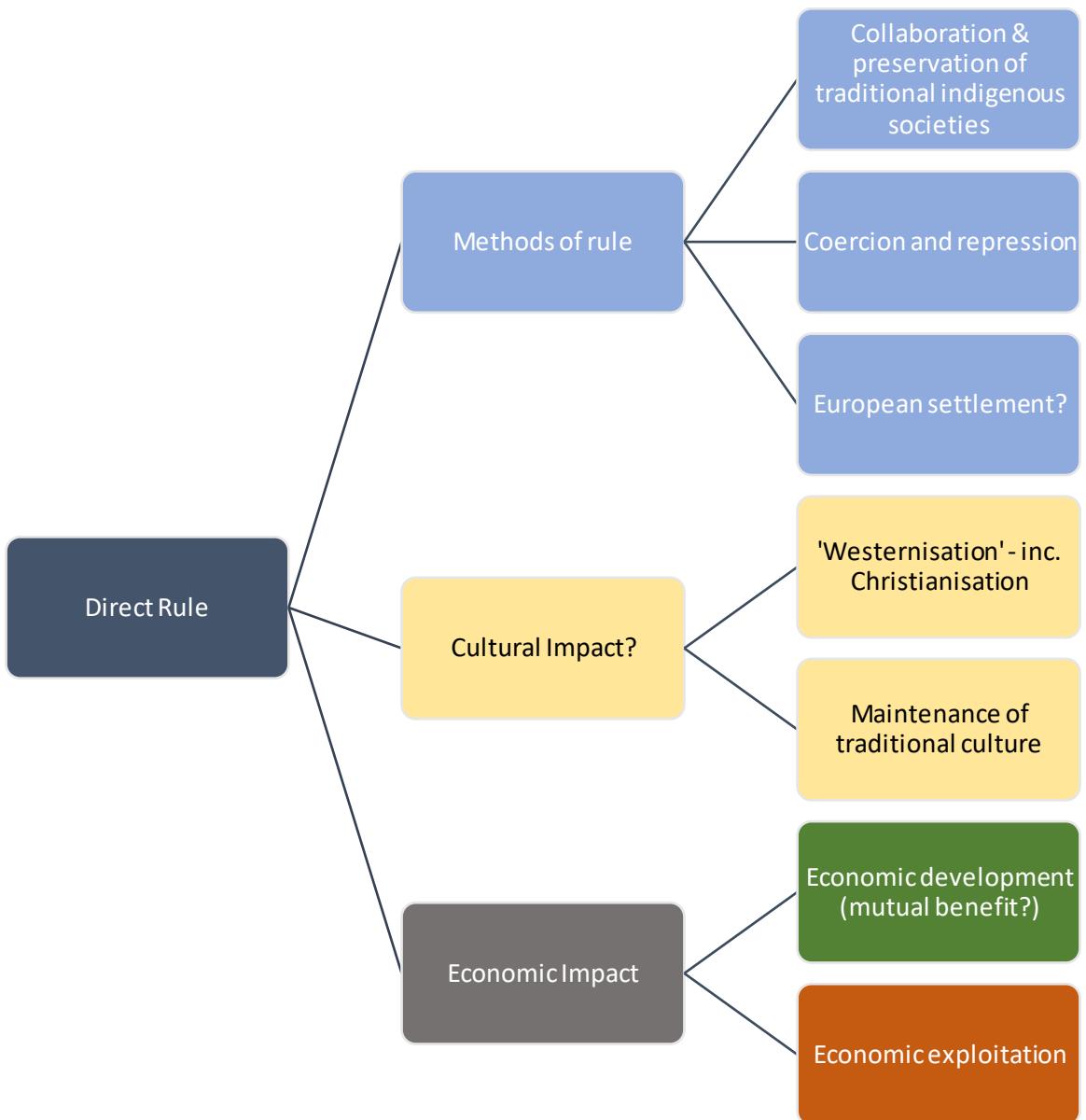
- pp. 153-163 in Porter & pp. 186-191 in Porter
- chapters 7 & 8 in Levine

'Native policy' was the phrase used to describe British policy towards the indigenous (i.e. non-European) peoples of the empire. In practice, policy would vary across time and place; there was no such thing as a 'typical' colony and, therefore, no such thing as a 'typical' native policy. In addition, attitudes of British administrators, both in London and in the colonies, developed considerably between the mid-19th century and the mid-20th century. Native policy would depend on Britain's interest and priorities in the colony, and policy would often cover a range of sometimes contradictory ideas. The 'policy' of officials might differ from British business interests or British missionaries. Complicating matters further, changing British concepts of race also led British administrators to make simplistic assumptions as to the appropriate treatment of different ethnic groups.

The Native Policy within a particular colony would then determine the scale of the impact of colonial rule on the indigenous population, both in economic and cultural terms. In some places colonial rule came as a profound disruption to traditional patterns of life in Africa and Asia, whereas in other places colonial rule had a lighter, more subtle impact. Most obviously, colonies where Europeans settled tended to disrupt the lives of the indigenous peoples much more significantly than colonies where traditional societies and political structures were left more-or-less intact through a system of 'indirect rule'. Identifying complete consistency in what John Darwin calls the 'Unfinished Empire' is impossible. However, it may be possible to identify some common patterns.

The following are the central questions to consider:

- How did Britain rule its colonial possessions? To what extent did they rely on collaboration? Was there any consistency?
- What cultural impact did Britain have on its possessions?
- What was the economic relationship between Britain and its colonial possessions? Was it purely exploitative?



ESSAY: To what extent did Britain have a consistent 'native policy' between 1857 and 1914?

Both sides came to rely on a form of political bargain, or what has sometimes been called ‘collaborative politics’. Collaboration allowed local elites to protect their own social privileges and helped them to control the vertical links binding their districts to imperial rule. Many communities, tribes and individuals were well placed to offer their services – as soldiers, clerks, policemen and teachers – to the colonial regime and reap the reward. The limits on their manpower meant the British had to rely on collaboration with indigenous teachers, clerics and lawgivers. This was all the more necessary because the British were obsessed with the need to codify. They wanted fixed schedules of rights and claims so that their men on the spot should not be too much in the dark. They consulted learned men and turned to chiefs, scholars, and native lawyers for help. Thus, far from assaulting local traditions, the British more often allied with interested parties to fabricate a ‘traditional’ order, in which the past was re-invented to suit the mutual convenience of both parties.

- **John Darwin, *Unfinished Empire*, 2013**

- ❖ **What point does Darwin make about administration in the colonies?**
 - ❖ **From your own knowledge, did this form of administration apply in all cases?**
-

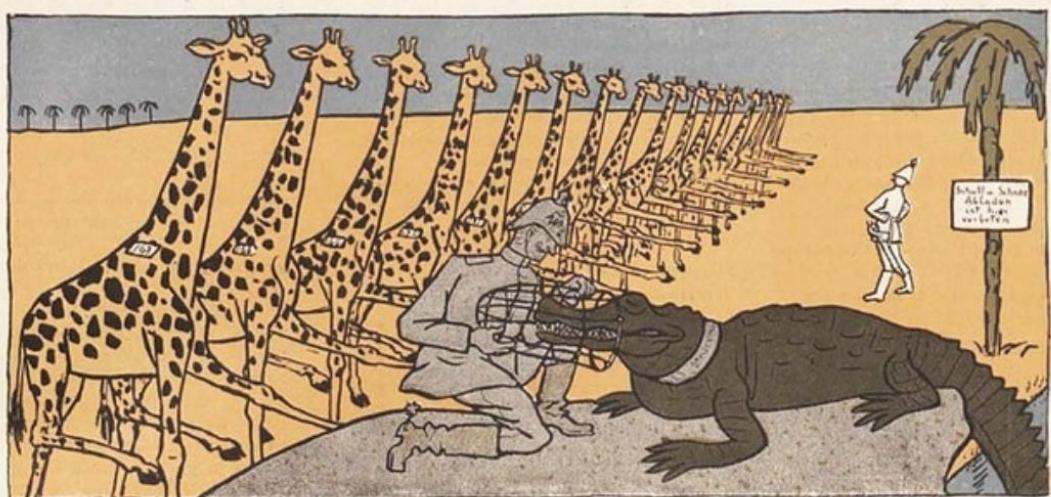
The larger African kingdoms had all imposed tight economic constraints, so British colonial rule acted as a liberating force. The British generally desired a free labour market; in the imperial scheme of things there was accordingly no place for domestic slavery. Imperial rule and the demands of a wider market economy did away with the restrictions on trade and production imposed by indigenous authorities. Imperial rule involved a vast transfer of physical and human capital to Africa, and colonial Africa benefited from enormous public and private investments. However, there were generally too few capitalists rather than too many and, for many colonies, it was not the extent of business enterprise that was the problem, but its relative absence.

Adapted from L H Gann and Peter Duignan, *Burden of Empire*, 1967

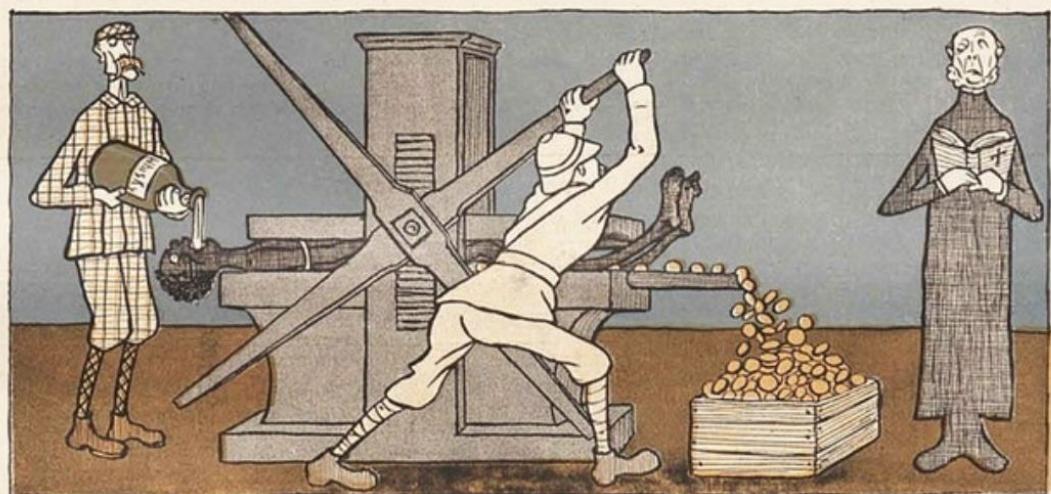
Using your understanding of the historical context, assess how convincing the arguments in this extract are in relation to the development of Britain’s colonies in Africa prior to 1914.

Kolonialmächte

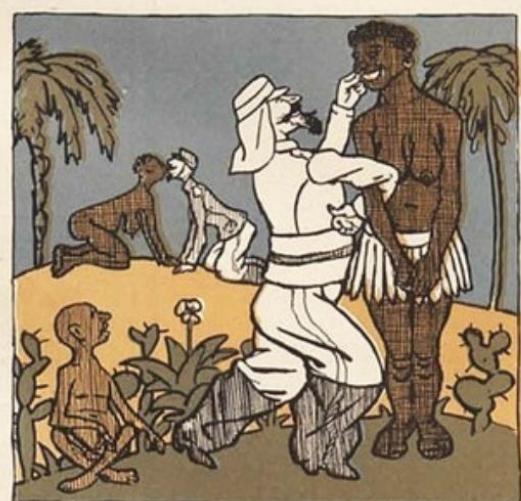
(Zeichnungen von Ch. Ch. Reine)



So kolonisiert der Deutsche,



So kolonisiert der Engländer,



So der Franzose



und so der Belgier.

A German cartoon satirising and contrasting the native policy of different European powers

Key Individual: Frederick Lugard (1858-1945)

Profile: ODNM entry by AHM Kirk-Greene; also see Darwin pp. 214-222 on Lugard and methods of indirect rule

- Background
- Involvement in British East Africa Company – Uganda (1889-90)
- Royal Niger Company → consolidation of Nigeria
- Governor of Nigeria – proponent of indirect rule
- Concept of the ‘Dual Mandate’ (*The Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa*, 1922)

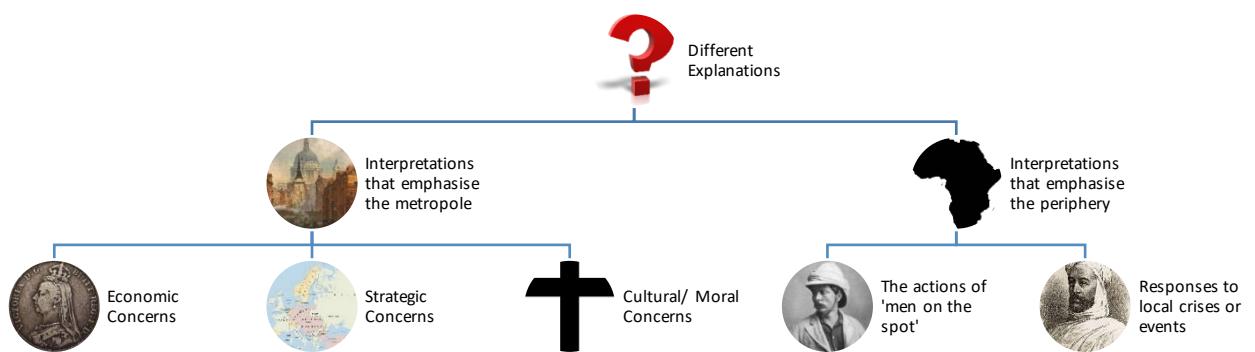


Lugard's life and work spanned all but the final stage of the whole history of British rule in tropical Africa. Three periods were of special importance: his vigorous action in Uganda in 1890–92, his influential administration of Northern Nigeria in 1900–06, and his amalgamation of the two Nigerias into one administrative entity in 1912–18. The consequences of both Nigerian exercises were identifiable long after his death and into the country's independence. His ultimate objective, running through *The Dual Mandate*, was progressively to prepare colonial peoples for some form of self-rule, yet to be defined in detail, under a tutelage which would give prominence to their own cultural institutions without the deracinating impact of premature modernization through European influences. The key lay in gradualism—his own precept of *festina lente*—and in his confidence that this could best be achieved under British rule. At the same time, his experience left him in no doubt that the best results could be gained only through the maximum measure of responsibility being devolved by Whitehall to its man on the spot.

- **ODNB entry by AHM Kirk-Greene**

Historiography: Explaining Empire

The reasons for European imperialism have been much debated, particularly the flourish of imperialism in the later 19th Century associated with the 'Scramble for Africa.' Generally, historians of imperialism recognise multi-causal explanations. However, they place emphasis on certain factors they consider to be important. Generally, they either tend to emphasise the metropole (i.e. Britain) in explaining imperialism, or they tend to emphasise events in the periphery (i.e. the colonies):

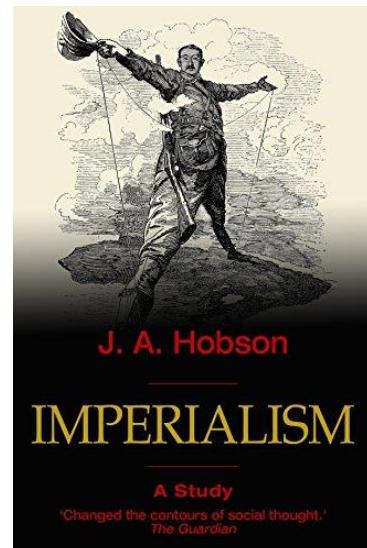


Read the following interpretations and identify the following for each one:

- **What explanations are given for imperialism in the later 19th Century?**
- **Where does each historian place most emphasis?**
- **How convincing do you find each interpretation?**

J.A. Hobson, *Imperialism: A Study* (1902)

Seeing that the Imperialism of the last six decades is clearly condemned as a bad business policy, in that at enormous expense it had procured a small, bad, unsafe increase of markets, and had jeopardised the entire wealth of the nation in rousing the strong resentment of other nations, we may ask, 'How is the British nation induced to embark upon such unsound business?' The only possible answer is that the business interests usurp control of national resources and use them for their private gain... Careful analysis of the existing relations between business and politics shows that the aggressive imperialism which we seek to understand is not in the main the product of blind passions of races or of the mixed folly and ambition of politicians... It is not too much to say that the modern foreign policy of Great Britain has been primarily a struggle for profitable markets of investment. To a larger extent every year Great Britain has been becoming a nation living upon tribute from abroad, and the classes who enjoy this tribute have had an ever-increasing incentive to employ the public policy, the public purse, and the public force to extend the field of their private investment, and to safeguard and improve their existing investments.



Popular imperialism [was] a depraved choice of national life. It is only the competing cliques of businessmen that are forcing the Empire to the top of the political agenda. Imperialism is motivated not by the interests of the nation but by those of certain classes who impose the policy of the nation for their own advantage. Imperialism also favours the general cause of Conservatism by diverting public interest and attention away from domestic agitation and the tension it causes in international relations encourages military expenditure and provides a justification for not implementing social reform.

V.V.I. Lenin, Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism (1917)

It is characteristic of capitalism in general that the ownership of capital is separated from the application of capital to production, that money capital is separated from industrial or productive capital, and that the rentier who lives entirely on income obtained from money capital, is separated from the entrepreneur and from all who are directly concerned in the management of capital. Imperialism, or the domination of finance capital, is that highest stage of capitalism at which this separation reaches vast proportions...

Typical of the old capitalism, when free competition had undivided sway, was the export of *goods*. Typical of the latest stage of capitalism, when monopolies rule, is the export of *capital*...

It goes without saying that if capitalism... could raise the standard of living of the masses, who are everywhere still half-starved and poverty-stricken, in spite of the amazing technical progress, there could be no talk of a surplus, of capital... But if capitalism did these things it would not be capitalism... As long as capitalism remains what it is, surplus capital will be utilised not for the purpose of raising the standard of living of the masses in a given country, for this would mean a decline in profits for the capitalists, but for the purpose of increasing profits by expanding capital abroad to backwards countries...

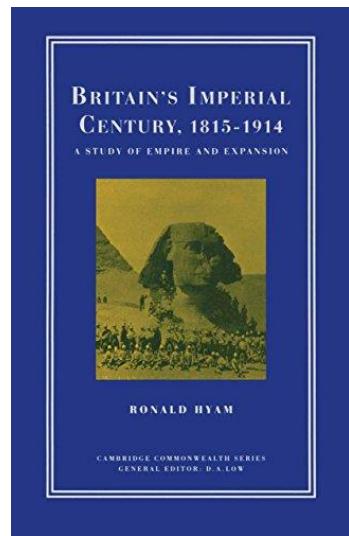
But when nine-tenths of Africa had been seized (by 1900), when the whole world had been divided up, there was inevitably ushered in the era of monopoly ownership of colonies and, consequently, of particularly intense struggle for the division and redivision of the world...

From all that has been said in this book on the economic essence of imperialism, it follows that we must define it as capitalism in transition or, more precisely as moribund capitalism.



Ronald Hyam, Britain's Imperial Century (1976)

The economic impulse was to find markets and outlets for the new manufacturing potential set in motion by industrialization, together with an increased need to find the raw materials to feed it. Britain became the 'workshop of the world' and entrepreneurs looked well beyond the confines of their homeland. It is important, however, not to pre-date the movement into many overseas regions; some did not feel the impact before the 1850s. The industrial revolution proceeded by a process of anticipating potential demand overseas. Where demand did not exist, as among the unclothed inhabitants in Africa, it could be created.



Without a doubt the products of Manchester and Birmingham spread widely and sources of supply were also remarkably diffuse. W S Jevons in 'The Coal Question' (1865) enthused: The plains of North America and Russia are our corn fields; Australasia contains our sheep farms; the Hindus and the Chinese grow tea for us, and our coffee, sugar and spice plantations are in all the Indies' Here we see the intoxication of a sense of world mastery, the exciting feeling of having organized the entire world for the purpose of satisfying the needs of the expanding British economy.

Above all, it was Palmerston who led the movement into exotic new regions. He pointed out, 'One way in which a government may assist the commerce of the country is by opening new markets for our trade' The foundations of a vast new opening for commerce had, he hoped, been laid in China. Securing so big a market for British manufacturers, was, he claimed, a matter of the highest importance. The solution to domestic distress, said Palmerston, was the extension of foreign trade. The dynamic vision which drove exertions forward was based for example on the expectation of British manufacturers that all the mills of Lancashire could not make stocking stuff sufficient for one of the provinces of China. A market of over 300 million people was a tempting prospect.

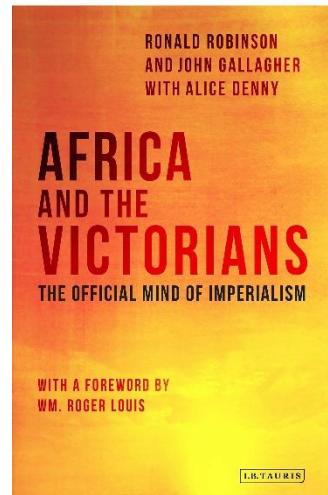
The Victorians had a tremendous sense of being in some way in harmony with the progressive forces of the universe. God was on their side. Prince Albert regarded the 1851 Exhibition as a festival of Christian civilization. There was a general conviction that the British had reached the top of the ladder of progress, and that it was their duty to improve the lot of others. The usual British attitude to foreigners was that expressed by Dickens' Mr Podsnap, that other countries were a 'mistake'. More important were the views of Palmerston. He rejoiced in nature's favours, the people's virtues and the blessings of British freedom. He declared, 'Our duty is not to enslave, but to set free, and I may say that we stand at the head of moral, social and political civilization.' Upon what facts did this confidence rest? Upon four, mainly. First, upon economic pre-eminence. Second, upon the unchallengeable power of the British navy. Third, upon internal stability. Fourth, underpinning everything there was a deep religious justification and driving force. To a remarkable extent the ideological motive for expansion was religious. Ideologically the Victorian desire was to improve the rest of the world by a programme of Christian regeneration, spreading civilization on the British model. This was, they believed, the only perfection open to mankind, and it was God-ordained.

Gallagher and Robinson, *Africa and the Victorians* (1961)

In all the long annals of imperialism, the partition of Africa is a remarkable freak. Few events that have thrown an entire continent into revolution have been brought about so casually... It used to be supposed that European society must have put our stronger urges to empire in Africa at this time; and all sorts of causes have been suggested to support the supposition. One and all, however, they suffer from a tiresome defect: of powerful new incentives there is remarkably little sign. Only after the partition was longer over and done with did capital seek outlets, did industry seek markets in tropical Africa. As late as the end of the century the European economy went on by-passing these poor prospects in favour of the proven fields of America and Asia.

Neither is it realistic to explain the movement by some change in the temper of the European mind. The pride and pomps of African empire did not suit the popular taste until late in the 1890s when the partition was all but completed... Scanning Europe for the causes, the theorists of imperialism have been looking for answers in the wrong places. The crucial changes that set all working took place in Africa itself. It was the fall of an old power [the Khedivate in Egypt] in its north, the rise of a new [the Transvaal] in its south, that dragged Africa into modern history... Imbroglios with Egyptian proto-nationalists and thence with Islamic revivals across the whole of the Sudan drew the powers into an expansion of their own in East and West Africa... The last quarter of the century has often been called the 'Age of Imperialism'. Yet much of this imperialism was no more than an involuntary reaction of Europe to the various proto-nationalisms of Islam that were already rising in Africa against the encroaching thraldom of the white men...

[The gaudy empires spatch-cocked together] have fallen to pieces only three-quarters of a century after being thrown together. It would be a gullible historiography which could see such gimcrack creations as necessary functions of the balance of power or as the highest stage of capitalism.



At the centre of late-Victorian imperialism in Africa lies an apparent paradox. The main streams of British trade, investment and migration continued to leave British tropical Africa practically untouched; and yet it was tropical Africa that was now bundled into the empire. The late-Victorians seemed to be concentrating their imperial effort in the continent of least importance to their prosperity.

It cannot be taken for granted that positive impulses from European society or the European economy were alone in starting up imperial rivalries. The collapse of African governments under the strain of previous Western influences may have played a part. Hence, crises in Africa, no less than imperial ambitions and international rivalries in Europe, have to be taken into account. Allowance has also to be made for the diversity of interest and circumstance in the different regions of Africa. It seems unlikely

that the motives in regions as different as Egypt, the Niger and South Africa can be fitted easily into a single, simple formula of 'imperialism'.

A first task in analyzing the late-Victorians' share in the partition is to understand the motives of the ministers who directed it. Policy-making was a reading of the long-run national interest which stayed much the same from government to government. This is not to say that they were fully aware of the forces at work. Their recorded assumptions did not always bring out fully their unconscious assumptions. What is more, there are many things too well understood between colleagues to be written down. There is no denying limitations to the study of how and why policy was decided.

Did new, sustained or compelling impulses towards African empire arise in British politics or business during the 1880s? The businessman saw no greater future there, except in the south. The evidence seems unconvincing. The late-Victorians seem to have been no keener to rule and develop Africa than their fathers. Their territorial claims were not made for the sake of African empire or commerce as such. They were little more than by-products of an enforced search for better security in the Mediterranean and the East. It was national safety that moved the ruling elite.

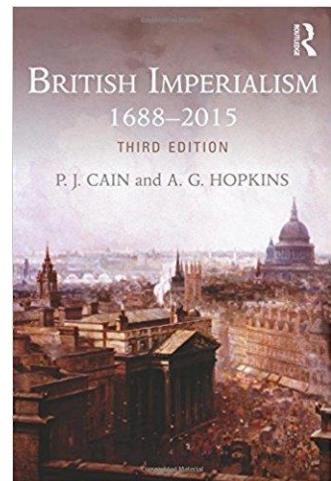
Why could the late-Victorians after 1880 no longer rely upon influence to protect traditional interests? What forced the late-Victorians into imperial solutions? The answer is to be found in the nationalist crises in Africa itself. From start to finish the partition of tropical Africa was driven by persistent crisis in Egypt. By 1882 the Egyptian government had cracked. It was the internal nationalist reaction against a decaying government which switched European rivalries into Africa. Britain's overriding purpose in Africa was security in Egypt, the Mediterranean and the Orient.

Because it went far ahead of commercial expansion and imperial ambition, because its aims were essentially defensive and strategic, the movement into Africa remained superficial. That British governments before 1900 did very little to pacify, administer and develop their spheres of influence shows the weaknesses of any commercial and imperial motives for claiming them. The partition preceded the invasion of tropical Africa by the trader, the planter and the official. It was the extension of territorial claims which in time required commercial expansion.

Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism* (1993 + later edns)

Nowhere does the weight of historiography press so insistently upon the study of imperialism as in the case of the partition of Africa... Marxist and Marxisant interpretations have performed particularly badly... largely because of their failure to relate partition to the realities of capitalist development. Liberal interpretations have flourished on the diversity revealed by recent research [but] to claim that imperialism was the result of crises on the periphery is to report the symptoms, not to diagnose the cause.

By 1900... Britain had secured the most valuable parts of Africa... Just as there are well-known difficulties in finding 'surplus' capital and conspiracies of bond-holders, so there are equally serious problems with the currently influential view that Britain was an ageing, defensive power struggling to fend off new challenges to her dominance.



The interpretation advanced here suggests that Britain had independent reasons for taking action to increase her grip on Africa. The impulses motivating policy can be traced to the metropole... The main weight of her interests lay in Egypt and Southern Africa, where City and service interests were most prominently represented, and it was there that Britain showed the greatest vigour in promoting her claims.

Our own argument will be that the central weakness in existing accounts of imperialism is that they underplay the relationship between the British economy and Britain's presence abroad. Putting the metropolitan economy at the centre of the analysis makes it possible to establish a new framework.

The imperial mission was the export version of the gentlemanly order. The empire was a superb arena for gentlemanly endeavour, the ultimate testing ground for the idea of responsible progress, for the battle against evil, for the performance of duty, and for the achievement of honour. We have constructed a central proposition, based on gentlemanly capitalism, and tested it against various case studies.

The character and purpose of Britain's presence on the moving frontiers of empire can be fully understood only by linking events in diverse parts of the world to causes that can be traced back to the metropole itself. Our own interpretation attempts to connect metropole and periphery by linking innovations in the finance and service sector to the priorities that shaped Britain's presence abroad. One of these innovations was the rise of gentlemanly activities centred on London. City finance performed a vital function of integrating countries that lacked adequate capital markets of their own. By funding export development overseas, the City enabled newly incorporated regions to raise an increasing volume of foreign loans. The City acquired a world role, and London became the centre of a system of global payments.

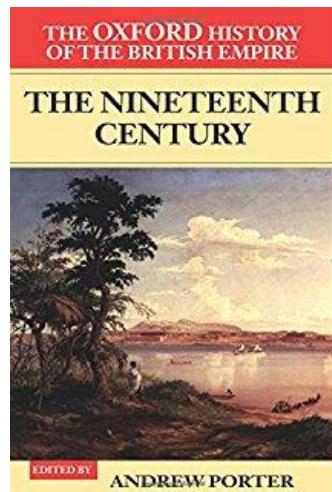
The impulses drawing Britain overseas merged economic considerations with a wider programme of development that aimed at raising the standard of civilisation as well as the standard of living.

The colonies of white settlement fell more firmly under British influence during the second half of the nineteenth century. As they increased their formal political independence, so they became reliant on flows of British capital to an extent that limited their freedom of action. A very similar pattern can be discerned in the case of the South American republics, where British finance was heavily involved in funding the apparatus of government as well as the growth of exports, thereby helping them both to build new nation states and to subordinate them to external control. As Disraeli observed, 'Colonies do not cease to be colonies because they are independent.'

We have questioned the widespread and long-standing assumption linking the 'triumph of industry' to imperialist expansion, and have emphasised instead the role of finance. Shifting the basis of causation has also required us to reconsider some of the standard divisions of imperial history. Linking imperialism to the process of industrialisation has produced a number of well-known landmarks: an informal empire in the mid-Victorian era followed by the defensive imperialism of a declining power. In fact, Britain's informal influence was growing at precisely the time when it is thought to have been in decline. Britain's strategy still lay in the hands of officers and gentlemen whose vision of a world order managed from London remained undimmed.

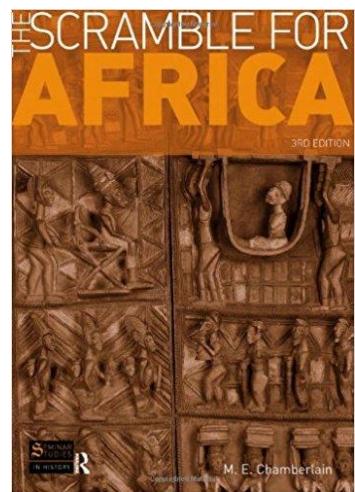
TC McCaskie, 'Cultural Encounters: Britain and Africa' in *Oxford History of the British Empire, volume III* (1998)

The explorers Burton and Stanley were unusual individuals, but in their views and writings both gave pointed expression to shifting attitudes towards Africa and Africans. European ideas of African culture were increasingly formed by new ideological currents against which Britain assessed herself and her experience of Africa. These included a burgeoning power and concomitant sense of a superior British destiny, reinforced by imperial gains elsewhere and underpinned by the sedulous rise of pseudo-scientific racism; a growing confidence that Africa might be civilised in its own interest, not simply by missionary enterprise and free trade but also by exposing its peoples to all of the many ordering technologies and secular disciplines of modern bourgeois life. As corollaries, the failure to effect wholesale Christian conversion despite the expenditure of money, effort, and lives, the lack of success in fostering an export-oriented plantation economy, the continuing stain of the slave trade, despite abolition (now combined with more information – and misinformation – about the extent and nature of African domestic slavery), and the presumed barbarism of great African states and cultures (Asante, Dahomey, Buganda, the Congo) were all intimations that, perhaps, Africans were irredeemable if left to govern themselves. Such ideas were the prelude to the Imperial Age in Africa.



ME Chamberlain, *The Scramble for Africa* (1974)

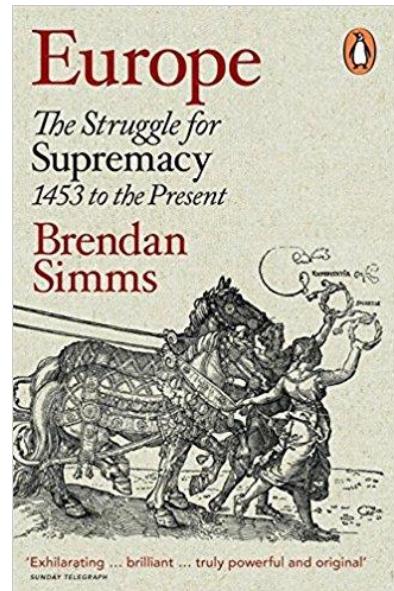
Over-arching theories are still in retreat before multi-causal explanations. The defence of India or a rear-guard defence of declining economy might offer a plausible reason for British actions but can hardly be extrapolated to other Powers. More intangible factors may be due for reassessment. The mind-set of late Victorians is so alien to the world view of Europeans (especially young Europeans) in the 21st Century that it can be almost incomprehensible. Yet it was the milieu in which the Victorians operated. Imperialism was believed to be right in the sense that it was in the national interest. It was believed to be right in other ways too. It was benefiting the ‘backward’ native, bringing him up to the standards of western civilisation. This made imperialism attractive to many liberals and humanitarians... Imperialism was accepted as right in a third way too. Although some intellectuals raised doubts, most people in the late nineteenth century accepted the idea of progress in human affairs as self-evident. Theories of evolution were generally applied to societies. Western societies were further advanced than African or Asian societies. It was both proper and inevitable that the more advanced would conquer and rule the less advanced. In the end it would be to the advantage of both. But above all it was inescapable. Many imperialists – Cecil Rhodes was perhaps the most striking example – felt that they were in tune with the *zeitgeist*, the spirit of history, and this gave them both a comforting assurance that they were on the winning side and a kind of absolution for any dubious acts they might have to commit in fulfilling an inevitable and ultimately benevolent destiny.



Brendan Simms, Europe: The Struggle for Supremacy, 1543 to the Present (2013)

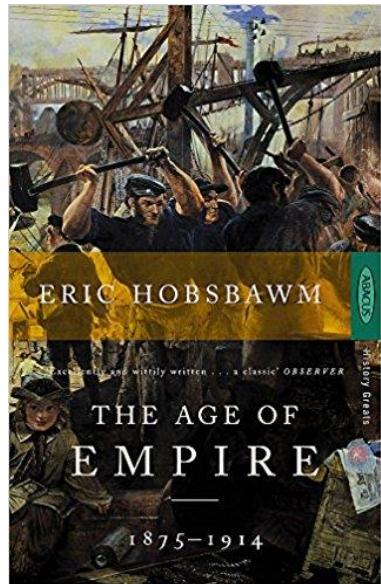
Throughout the late nineteenth century, the great powers engaged in imperial expansion and reorganisation to secure manpower, economic resources, territory and prestige which could be deployed against European rivals... Imperialism was not just a geopolitical, but also an ideological project: the two motivations were inseparably intertwined, especially in Africa. The existing colonies were constantly threatened by the instability of neighbouring states and tribes. Colonial powers now applied a principle which they had long practised on their own continent. When a state became 'permanently anarchic and defenceless', the long-serving Foreign Secretary and Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, remarked with reference to Europe, neighbouring states were obliged to impose either a 'tutelage of ambassadors' or 'partition'... British strategists sought to neutralise the predatory Zulus, and the equally restive Afrikaners to the north of the Cape Province. Above all, the great powers wanted to fill the vast 'vacuum' in the African interior, partly to secure their existing colonies against attacks from that quarter, partly to secure its resources and partly to pre-empt their rivals. Central to this project was the campaign to abolish the East African slave trade, which was seen not only as a moral imperative by many Europeans, but also as necessary to the establishment of good governance and stability across the continent. Here British naval measures had proved unsuited to stopping the Arab trade, which was carried on in thousands of small boats across the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden. If the Africans were to be freed from the curse of bondage, and civilised norms were to prevail, there would have to be a robust 'continental' expansion into the belly of the beast, to smash the Arab slave emirates and their local black African auxiliaries. British public opinion would accept nothing less. The alternatives for the local populations were Arab slavery or European colonialism and the choice would be made for them, either way.

All this made central Africa briefly the fulcrum of European geopolitics. The French pressed in from the north-west, the British from the south and north-east. Bismarck feared that the Congo basin would become the source of coloured soldiers which the French would use against him in Europe. The map of Africa was closing in on him. He therefore called a conference of European powers in Berlin, which met from December 1884 to late February 1885 to discuss the future of the area, and to ensure the neutralisation of the Congo basin in the event of war. In the resulting 'scramble' most of the continent was divided up.



Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire* (1987)

Essentially strategic explanations of imperialism have attracted some historians, who have tried to account for the British expansion in Africa in terms of the need to defend the routes to, and the maritime and terrestrial glacis of, India against potential threats. It is indeed important to recall that, speaking globally, India was the core of British strategy, and that this strategy required control not only over the short sea-routes to the subcontinent (Egypt, the Middle East, the Red Sea, Persian Gulf and South Arabia) and the long sea-routes (the Cape of Good Hope and Singapore), but over the entire Indian Ocean, including crucial sectors of the African coast and its hinterland. British governments were keenly aware of this. It is also true that the disintegration of local power in some areas crucial for this purpose, such as Egypt (including the Sudan), drew the British into establishing a much greater direct political presence than originally intended, and even into actual rule. Yet these arguments do not invalidate an economic analysis of imperialism. In the first place, they underestimate the directly economic incentive to acquire some African territories, of which Southern Africa is the most obvious. In any case the scramble for West Africa and the Congo was primarily economic. In the second place they overlook the fact that India was the 'brightest jewel in the imperial crown' and the core of British global strategic thinking precisely because of her very real importance to the British economy... In the third place, the disintegration of indigenous local governments, which sometimes entailed the establishment of European rule over areas Europeans had not previously bothered to administer, was itself due to the undermining of local structures by economic penetration. And, finally, the attempt to prove that nothing in the internal development of western capitalism in the 1880s explains the territorial re-division of the world fails, since world capitalism in this period clearly was different from what it had been in the 1860s. It now consisted of a plurality of rival 'national economies' 'protecting' themselves against each other. In short, politics and economics cannot be separated in a capitalist society...The attempt to devise a purely non-economic explanation of the 'new imperialism' is unrealistic.



In the early 1880s, the slow movement towards an Anglo-French partition of West Africa, arising from the commercial penetration of the interior, was both speeded up and complicated by the appearance on the African scene of new European powers which had not previously shown any interest in Africa. The result of these interventions was to force all the European powers, including Britain, to look beyond their immediate economic needs. Each power felt compelled to enter the scramble for territory in order to reserve the largest possible sphere for its own future activities.

- Adapted from Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore, *Africa since 1800*, 1981

Britain's part in the African scramble was driven by the overwhelming need to preserve the Suez route to the old Empire in India and Australasia. There is no doubt that many British statesmen and military leaders became obsessed with the need to protect the Indian Empire from the imagined foreign threat, and thus by the need to secure the Suez Canal during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. In this sense, imperial expansion in Africa was essentially defensive, and a new empire was brought into being to protect the old.

- Adapted from Denis Judd, *Empire: The British Imperial Experience from 1765 to the Present*, 1996

- Using your understanding of the historical context, assess how convincing the arguments in these two extracts are in relation to British expansion in Africa in the late nineteenth century?

Colonisation was not produced by any blind 'structural forces' but was consciously decided by men; historical human agents working for a variety of motives and reasons. And the men who made the ultimate historical decisions on the partition of Africa were neither industrialists nor other capitalists, nor lobbyists, but holders of state power. They were sovereigns, top ministers and a handful of high officials in the major European countries. The partition of Africa was essentially a state action, not a private venture. If there is one conclusion which emerges from the extensive study of diplomatic correspondence, it is that the men who embodied the official mind were not thinking as much in terms of rates of profit and monetary inputs and outputs, as in terms of power and prestige and, ultimately, war and peace. It is not for nothing that the historians of diplomacy are fond of speaking of the 'chessboard of European power politics.'

- Juhani Koponen, *The Partition of Africa – A Scramble for a Mirage?* (1993)

- Using your understanding of the historical context, assess how convincing the arguments in this extract are in relation to British expansion in Africa in the late nineteenth century?

ESSAY: 'It was mainly for economic reasons that Britain expanded its empire in Africa between 1870 and 1914.' Assess the validity of this view.

Introduction:

- Define 'economic' reasons → pursuit of markets; pursuit of raw materials; protect investment etc. These economic reasons generated in the metropole
- Link to historiography – **Hobson & Marxist** view of history (e.g. **Lenin & Hobsbawm**); also **Cain and Hopkins** arguments relating to 'gentlemanly capitalism'
- Indicate response to question – economics certainly play a role
- But other factors significant – outline other factors

Economic Reasons:

- **Point:** e.g. '*There is certainly compelling evidence that Britain expanded into Africa for economic reasons that can be located to the metropole.*'
- **Historiography:** e.g. '*This has been a dominant theme in the historiography of imperialism. For example, Hobson argued that... QUOTE*' [link back to historiography mentioned in introduction]
- **Evidence:**
 - Pursuit of markets – **give details** – link to European context of protectionism
 - Raw materials – **give examples** from across African colonies
 - Protect investment – **give examples**
- **Evaluation** – link back to question – either economic reasons were most significant or their significance has been overstated.

Other Metropolitan Reasons: (follow same paragraph structure as above for each)

- Strategic reasons – **Brendan Simms**
- Moral/ cultural reasons – **Ronald Hyam; ME Chamberlain**

Peripheral Reasons: (follow same paragraph structure as above for each)

- Responses to crises in the periphery – **Gallagher and Robinson** – could link back to strategic reasons
- Actions of 'men on the spot' – could be linked to moral/ cultural or economic reasons

Conclusion:

- Explain overall judgment – 'Thus, it is clear that...'
 - Consider how the reasons inter-relate to consider which was the dominant one
 - Link back to historiography if you consider one to be most accurate

*****Throughout the essay, use examples from across Britain's empire in Africa, and from across the date-range given in the question*****

Metropole: Economic Reasons

Main Points:

Supporting Examples:

Metropole: Strategic Reasons

Main Points:

Supporting Examples:

Metropole: Moral/ Cultural Reasons

Main Points:

Supporting Examples:

Periphery: Responses to local crises

Main Points:

Supporting Examples:

Periphery: 'Men on the spot'

Main Points:

Supporting Examples:

ESSAY: How important were 'men on the spot' in explaining the expansion of the British empire in Africa c. 1870 – c. 1914?

ESSAY: How significant was the pursuit of wealth for Britain's involvement in Africa in the years 1857 to c1890?

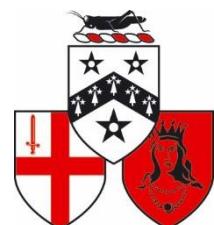
ESSAY: 'Colonial administrators were the people who were most responsible for the extension of British influence in Africa in the years 1857 to 1890.' Explain why you agree or disagree with this view.

WATCH: Gresham College Lecture

Professor Sir Richard Evans, Gresham College, January 2012

- From Conquest to Control

<https://www.gresham.ac.uk/lectures-and-events/from-conquest-to-control>



4. Britain and its Empire, 1857 - 1914



A painting of Victoria's diamond jubilee service, outside St Paul's Cathedral, London 1897

The empire in mid-19th Century British politics

In the mid-19th Century Britain was the dominant economic and naval power in the world. As has been seen, it possessed a substantial colonial inheritance. Nevertheless, it did not consciously think of itself as an imperial power; ‘imperialism’ was associated with the despotism of empires in the past, and the contemporary French Empire of Napoleon III (1848-1870). By contrast, Britain prided itself on its liberal and parliamentary traditions, as well as its embrace of free trade.



There was no plan to manage Britain’s colonial possessions as one coherent unit, nor was there much appetite (in London at least) for expansion. Instead, British politicians hoped to advance Britain’s interests through the methods ‘informal empire’, intervening only where necessary. In terms of acquiring territory, this period can be regarded as an era of indifference.

Yet, that is not to say that British politicians did not believe in acting robustly in the national interest. The Whig/ Liberal politician Lord Palmerston (above) dominated politics and foreign affairs in the mid-19th Century (Foreign Secretary 1830-34; 1835-41; 1846-51, Prime Minister 1855-58; 1859-65). He generally sought to avoid British entanglements in European affairs. He was supportive of liberal movements in autocratic countries and also of nationalist movements in Belgium and Italy. He opposed to the growing power of France and sought to maintain the European ‘balance of power’ as so many of his predecessors had also done. Part of this included the traditional British policy of maintaining support for the Ottoman Empire to prevent Russian influence spreading towards the Mediterranean. Indeed, the only major war in this period was the Crimean War (1854-56).

Moreover, Palmerston was associated with the principles of ‘gunboat diplomacy’; the use of force to maintain Britain’s interests, as seen in the Don Pacifico Affair (1850) and the First Opium War against China (1839-42) which was fought to ensure British access to Chinese markets. Although Britain had a small (by European standards) standing army, her navy remained the pre-eminent force on the high seas and ensured that her colonial possessions and trade routes were secure.

It was only in the 1860s and 1870s that the empire began to appear as a regular theme in British politics and culture. Partly this was a consequence of the expansion of the franchise extending to working class men with the Second Reform Act of 1867 which engaged ordinary people in matters of global interest. Colonial matters became much more important to British foreign policy as other European countries grew in power and became imperial rivals. In part it was the impact or shock of colonial events such as the Indian Mutiny or the Jamaican Rebellion, or the fascination in the exploits of individuals such as David Livingstone. The growing interest in colonial matters was exploited by politicians, particularly in the Conservative Party, who could promote ‘imperialism’ as a positive policy; as the Victorian age wore on, empire became a contested matter of party politics.

Disraeli and the Conservatives

Read:

- pp. 42-45 in AQA text
- pp. 72-75 in McDonough

Benjamin Disraeli, (Prime Minister 1868; 1874-80)

- Born Jewish but baptised, flamboyant dresser and personality, perpetually in debt, novelist
- Ideologically flexible/ unprincipled opportunist
- Architect of 'One Nation Conservatism' / Tory Democracy
- Crystal Palace speech, 1872 – 'New Imperialism' – the Conservatives the party of empire + ferocious criticisms of Liberal policy (encouragement of jingoism):



Key imperial issues as Prime Minister:

- Purchase of Suez Canal shares, 1875
- Victoria proclaimed Empress of India, 1877
- Aggressive stance towards Russia in 1877-78 Eastern Crisis – 'peace with honour' + defence of the Ottoman Empire
- Second Anglo-Afghan War (1879)
- Zulu War (1878-9)



- ❖ What were the attitudes of the Conservative Party towards imperial issues? How did these develop over time?
- ❖ To what extent were the Conservatives successful in their imperial policies?

Gladstone and the Liberals

Read:

- pp. 45-46 in AQA text
- pp. 75-78 in McDonough

William Gladstone, (Prime Minister 1868-1874; 1880-1885; 1886; 1892-1894)



- Pious, High Anglican, extremely learned, deeply serious
- Committed reformer + responsible, low spending government: 'peace, retrenchment and reform'
- Committed to internationalist causes and the rights of other nations to independence
- A 'reluctant imperialist' – hostile to Disraeli's encouragement of jingoism
- Midlothian Campaign (1878-80) – criticisms of Disraeli's imperial and foreign policies: 'justice, moderation and peace over the party of aggression, intrigue and lawless national vanity.'

Key imperial issues as Prime Minister:

- First Boer War, 1880-81 and independence of the Transvaal
- Withdrawal from Afghanistan (& the Penjdeh Incident, 1885)
- Occupation of Egypt, 1882
- Death of General Gordon and the evacuation from the Sudan (Gladstone becomes 'MOG' rather than 'GOM')
- Participation in Berlin Conference on Africa – acquisition of British Somaliland and Bechuanaland
- Reluctance to intervene over German occupation of New Guinea
- Commitment to Irish Home Rule (from 1886) and determination to introduce a Home Rule Bill (resulting in a split with Liberal Unionists including Joseph Chamberlain)

- ❖ What were the attitudes of the Liberal Party towards imperial issues? How did these develop over time?
- ❖ To what extent were the Liberals successful in their imperial policies?

Summary of the imperial policies of Gladstone and Disraeli:

Gladstone	Disraeli
<p>Imperial policy</p> <p>During his First Ministry, Gladstone, and his Colonial Secretary to 1870, Lord Granville, were accused of trying to dismantle the British Empire. The withdrawal of British troops from New Zealand in 1869, the granting of self-government to Cape Colony in 1871 and the attempted sale of Gambia to France were all seen as part of this process.</p> <p>During his Second Ministry, however, Gladstone's Government invaded and occupied Egypt in 1882 and participated in the partition of west and southern Africa. These policies seem contradictory.</p> <p>Gladstone believed in 'freedom and voluntaryism' in imperial relations. Throughout his career he tried to create an association of self-governing nations held together by a common allegiance to the monarchy and a common language, history and tradition. This was to be limited to colonies that were governed by whites, such as Canada, the Australian colonies, New Zealand and Cape Colony. Gladstone's most important statement on the Empire came in September 1878, in 'England's Mission', an article in the periodical <i>Nineteenth Century</i>. Gladstone stated that Britain had a civilising mission to spread the benefits of English civilisation throughout the world. In this respect, British rule in India and Africa was for the benefits of the native inhabitants because Britain provided sound administration and enlightened government.</p> <p>He was, supposedly, opposed to aggressive, expansionist policies to enlarge the Empire. Hence his opposition to Beaconsfieldism in 1876 to 1880.</p>	<p>There has been debate about Disraeli's sincerity in imperial matters. However, since S.R. Stenbridge's 'Disraeli and the Millstones' in the <i>Journal of British Studies</i> (1965) and F. Harcourt's 'Disraeli's Imperialism' in the <i>Historical Journal</i> (1981), it has now become accepted that he had consistent views about the importance of the Empire throughout his career.</p> <p>Although he showed little interest in Canada, the Australian colonies and New Zealand, the Empire, to Disraeli, was the commercial and military basis of Britain's claim to be a world power. At the centre of the Empire was India. He used troops from the British Indian Army in Abyssinia in 1867–68 and in Malta in 1878, during the Near Eastern Crisis. In contrast to Gladstone, Disraeli saw the Empire as a military machine. This helps explain why the Near Eastern Crisis was so important to Disraeli because of its impact on the sea route to India through the Suez Canal.</p> <p>Although in favour of a powerful Empire, Disraeli was not always in favour of imperial expansion. He opposed the war with the Zulus in 1879 and the conflict in Afghanistan. The fact that aggressive policies occurred during his Ministry was due to personal weakness by Disraeli not design.</p>

The Irish Question

Ireland had been controlled by the English Crown since the Middle Ages. Indeed, it can be seen as the first example of English colonialism; after the Reformation, an anglicised Protestant minority dominated Irish politics and society and were the principal landowners. Ireland was rarely a settled place and resistance to British rule led to a rebellion in 1798. The result of this was the Act of Union in 1801 which formally incorporated Ireland into the United Kingdom and gave it representation at Westminster.

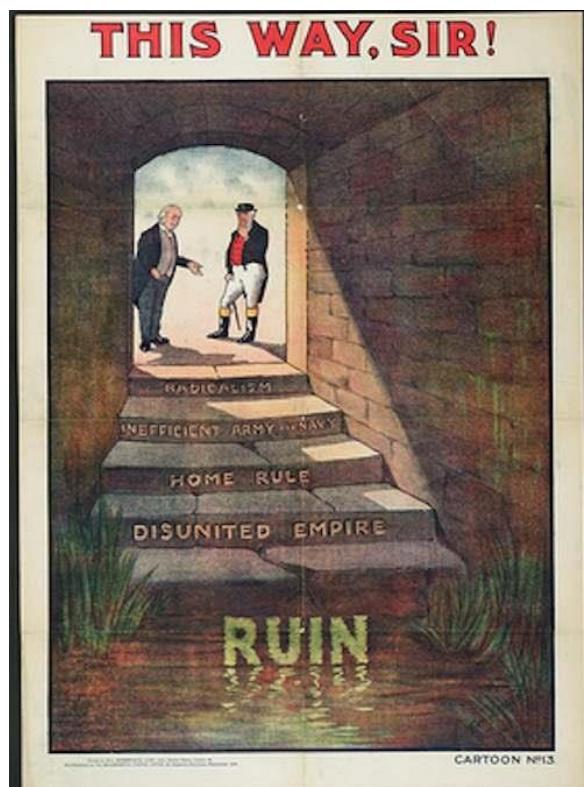
Nevertheless, there was widespread hostility in Ireland to British rule. This was exacerbated by the terrible famine of the 1840s which saw the Irish population plummet as millions either died or emigrated. The misery of the Irish rural population fed demands for greater autonomy. The view from London tended to be to hope that the 'Irish Question' would disappear through a mixture of economic reforms and coercion. However, from the 1860s onwards a substantial body of Irish Nationalist MPs demanded 'Home Rule' for Ireland within the empire.

After deciding that 'pacifying Ireland' was his 'mission', Gladstone came out in favour of Home Rule as a solution to the Irish Question and tried to steer a Home Rule Bill through Parliament in 1886, and again in 1893. Each time it was blocked by the Conservatives and a substantial group of Liberal Unionists, led by Joseph Chamberlain. The situation was complicated by the fact that a large proportion of the Irish population in Ulster (the north of the island) were Protestant and determined to remain part of the Union.

The Conservatives and Liberal Unionists (who would later merge to form the Conservative and Unionist Party) saw Irish Home Rule as the first step to breaking up the British Empire; if Britain couldn't maintain of territory closest to it, then it had little hope of maintaining the rest of the Empire. There was a fear that nationalist ideas could spread from Ireland to other parts of the world. Chamberlain, instead, believed/hoped that his dreams of Imperial Federation would solve the Irish Question in a different way.

Tensions in Ireland rose in the first decade of the 20th Century. The Liberal Government (from 1906) was determined to introduce Home Rule while the Conservative and Unionists encouraged Loyalists in Ulster to fight to remain part of the Union: 'Ulster will fight, and Ulster will be right'.

A third Home Rule Bill was passed in 1912 and its enactment looked set to start a civil war in Ireland. However, it was suspended on the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 – an alternative solution to the Irish Question would emerge from that conflict.



Victorian attitudes towards the empire

Read:

- pp. 46-49 in AQA text
- pp. 184-216 in James
- WATCH: Paxman, Episode 3: Playing the Game (8:50 – 20.00)

Developments within Britain:

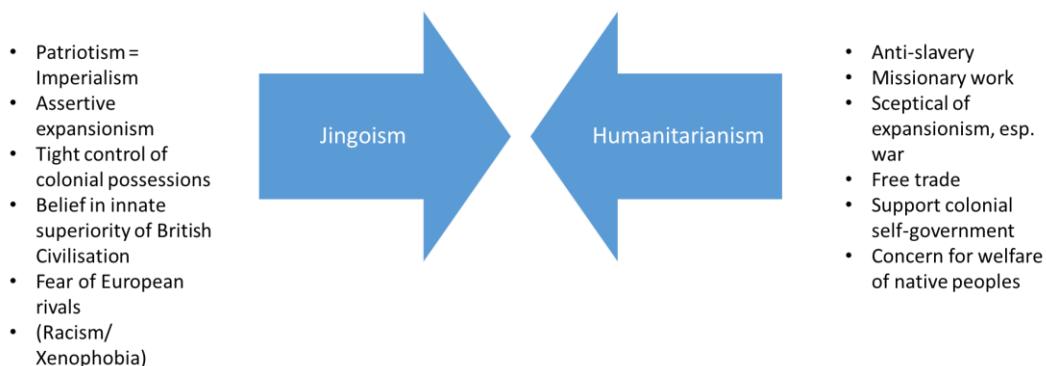
- Increased literacy (esp. after 1870 Education Act) → newspapers
- Extension of the franchise, 1867 + 1884 – the birth of modern political campaigning
- The growth in press coverage of imperial issues – speed of communications (telegraphy)
- The development of racial ideas – ideas of ‘Social Darwinism’ – replacement of earlier ideas which saw Britain as raising up ‘savages’ to the level of ‘civilisation’ (i.e. the view of missionaries and those who had campaigned against slavery)
- Increasing association of the monarchy with the empire (Empress of India, 1877)
- Changing ethos of British institutions: public schools, universities, churches, armed forces etc.

Responses to specific events:

- David Livingstone’s adventures
- The Indian Mutiny, 1857
- The Jamaica Rebellion, 1865
- General Wolseley’s Third Ashanti War, 1873-74
- Zulu War, 1878-9
- Arabi Pasha’s revolt in Egypt, 1882
- Death of General Gordon, 1885

⇒ The creation of the imperial ‘hero’

Public Opinion: Extremely Fickle!



Imperial & Foreign Policy and Victorian Public Opinion: Two Case Studies

Governor Eyre and the Jamaican Rebellion of 1865:

By the mid-19th century, relations between the 15,000 strong white population of Jamaica and the c. ½ million black population there were strained. Since the abolition of slavery in 1834, the Jamaican economy had stagnated and unemployment was high among the black population. Meanwhile political power remained in the hands of the whites through an elected assembly. Riots and disturbances occurred with increasing frequency and these culminated in a riot in Morant Bay in which several white officials were killed. Memories of the Indian Mutiny were fresh. The Governor, Edward Eyre, anticipated a widespread rebellion and responded with ferocity: he declared martial law in Western Jamaica and imposed a reign of terror on the black population: hundreds were hanged and flogged after summary trials, many of whom were almost certainly innocent of any hand in the earlier riots.



New of Eyre's actions sharply divided the British public. The humanitarian lobby called for Eyre's immediate recall and his trial for murder. In response, there were those who hailed Eyre as a hero who had saved the vulnerable white population from another Indian Mutiny. Public figures threw their weight behind each argument: Charles Dickens and Thomas Carlyle supported Eyre, whereas John Stuart Mill and Charles Darwin condemned him. While some focused on the sufferings of the black victims of Eyre's regime, others became convinced of the need to treat the non-white populations of the empire with a firm hand. The debate rumbled on throughout 1866 until Eyre was sacked but, when he returned, the new Tory government refused to indict him and he retired from public service.

The Eastern Crisis of 1876-78:

In 1876 there was a rebellion by Christians in Bulgaria against Ottoman (and therefore Islamic) rule there. The Ottomans responded with ferocity and massacred the civilian population. In Britain, public opinion was outraged; William Gladstone (then in opposition) moved into action denouncing the 'Bulgarian Horrors' and demanding that Britain end its support for the Ottoman regime. Instead, he argued, Britain should support the Christian populations of the Balkans who were struggling for independence. For Gladstone, humanity was more important than propping up the Ottomans to secure the route to India.

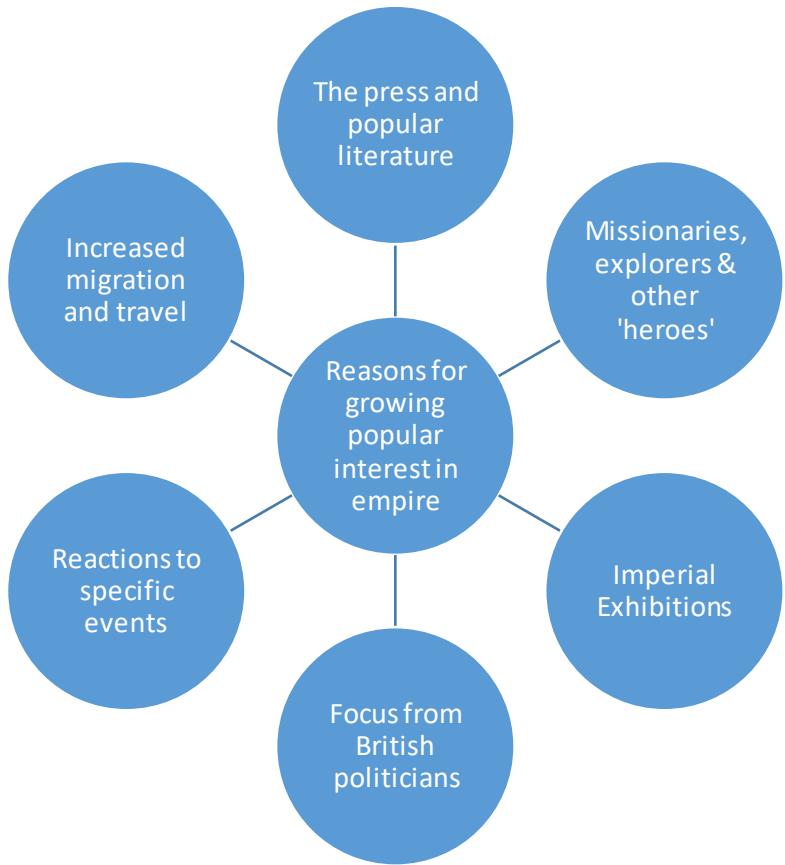
Portraying itself as the defender of the Balkan Christians, Russia declared war on the Ottoman Empire in 1877 and was remarkably successful: it pushed back the Ottomans almost to Constantinople and then imposed a harsh peace, leaving Russia as the dominant power in the Balkans and the Near East. Public opinion now swung against Russia and in support of the Ottomans. Disraeli was prepared to go to war to defend the Ottomans (and therefore the route to India), and mobilised the Indian Army and sent HMS Devastation to the Dardanelles. Music hall audiences bellowed out: '*We don't want to fight, but by Jingo if we do, we've got the ships, we've got the men, we've got the money too!*' and the word 'jingoism' was born.

Otto von Bismarck convened the Congress of Berlin in 1878 to diffuse the crisis without conflict: Russia withdrew its initial plans and Ottoman integrity was preserved. Britain also collected Cyprus as a new colonial possession to ensure its dominance in the eastern Mediterranean. Disraeli proclaimed 'peace in our time' and his aggressive, Palmerstonian stance, was wildly popular.

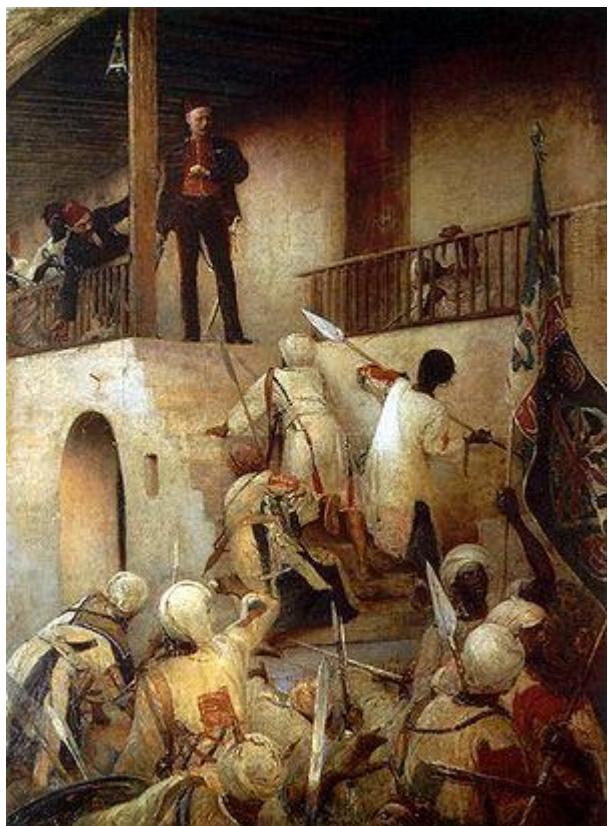


However, between 1878 and 1880 Gladstone would launch his Midlothian campaign which criticised the aggressive imperialism of 'Beaconsfieldism', especially in the aftermath of the Zulu War and the 2nd Anglo-Afghan War. Public opinion again swung behind his humanitarian ideals and Disraeli lost the 1880 election.

- ❖ **What do these two case studies reveal about public attitudes to empire and foreign policy in later 19th century Britain?**



❖ Why did public interest in the empire grow in the mid-Victorian period?



'General Gordon's Last Stand' by George W Joy (1893)



'The Defence of Rorke's Drift' by Lady Elizabeth Butler – commissioned by Queen Victoria and inspired by survivors' accounts (1880)

The missionaries bore a special responsibility for the increasing ‘cultural arrogance’ of the British public and misrepresenting African society in a way calculated to give rise also to racial arrogance. The reasons are not difficult to discern. The missionaries were entirely dependent on public support and subscriptions to carry on their work. Missionaries were urged to send home detailed reports of their activities and of the conditions they found. These reports were then given a very wide circulation. To gain public sympathy, missionaries were inevitably tempted to stress the earthly as well as the spiritual aspects of their work and to represent the life of the unconverted African as brutal and barbarous. Some resorted to a kind of ‘before and after’ picture, representing the converted African as in a much happier condition. This form of propaganda did at least portray the African as capable of improvement, but it also, of necessity, belittled his indigenous culture. African religion was often ill-served by missionary observation.

- Adapted from M E Chamberlain, *The Scramble for Africa*, 2010

- What does Chamberlain argue about the impact of missionaries on popular opinions in Britain?
-

It was the Indian Mutiny that helped to generate the atmosphere of hero-worship so characteristic of late nineteenth century imperialism. The military leaders of its suppression, figures such as Sir Henry Havelock, became evangelical knights, defenders of the faith as well as of the Empire. Religion, heroism, and empire were joined in a potent mix. Nineteenth-century heroes, most notably Livingstone and General Gordon, were essentially religious figures, portrayed as moral giants facing dark forces which martyred them in a Christ-like sacrifice. The churches and missionary societies were important sources of the popular culture of empire. The myths of the Mutiny fed into the visual, theatrical, and fictional representations of imperial action in the later part of the century.

- John M Mackenzie, *Empire and Metropolitan Culture*, 1999

- Using your understanding of the historical context, assess how convincing the arguments in this extract are in relation to the reasons for growing public interest in the empire in the Victorian period?

Public Schools and Empire

The British public schools became seen as the institutions that bred the rulers of the empire. The ethos within these schools (an emphasis on sport, teamwork, 'muscular Christianity', discipline, self-sacrifice and the moulding of character, the prefect system, and a study of the Classical world) was seen as the most appropriate training for the demands of imperial governance.

Vitaï Lampada by Sir Henry Newbolt (1892)

There's a breathless hush in the Close to-night—
 Ten to make and the match to win—
 A bumping pitch and a blinding light,
 An hour to play and the last man in.
And it's not for the sake of a ribboned coat,
 Or the selfish hope of a season's fame,
But his captain's hand on his shoulder smote
 'Play up! play up! and play the game! '

The sand of the desert is sodden red,—
Red with the wreck of a square that broke; —
The Gatling's jammed and the Colonel dead,
And the regiment blind with dust and smoke.
The river of death has brimmed his banks,
 And England's far, and Honour a name,
But the voice of a schoolboy rallies the ranks:
 'Play up! play up! and play the game! '



ESSAY: 'British explorers were responsible for the increase in popular support for imperialism in Britain in the years 1857 to 1890.' Assess the validity of this view.

Developing concepts of race

Read:

- pp. 364-367 in David Cannadine *Victorious Century*

Concepts of race and racism are extremely important to consider when studying British attitudes towards non-European people in the 19th and early 20th centuries. However, they were concepts that developed and adapted over the course of this period, and they were shaped by the events and intellectual currents of the time.

Empire depended on a belief in superiority. The most powerful notions were cultural, civilizational and racial. The superiority of the British, and this their right to rule others, was established by their allegedly 'higher capacities'. In future times, under proper tutelage, non-Europeans might match or emulate their achievements. The justification of empire was to create such conditions: it was essentially an educational or civilising enterprise. This belief was widely voiced around 1900. The turn of the century was also the apex of the belief that differences in culture or technological achievement reflected biological ones; 'scientific racism'. Closely linked to the role of racial beliefs in imperial ideology was that of violence, repression and atrocity; the seemingly standard assumption that quite different rules applied when fighting 'savages' than in warfare between European powers. The idea of colonialism as a modernising force also accords with the self-image of the empire builders.

- Stephen Howe, *Empire and Ideology* (2008)

British racial attitudes were not all arrogance and condescension. Even in the glaring noon of empire, much generosity and respect still gave nobility to the Pax Britannica. The higher motives of the imperialists were not all humbug. The Colonial Office in London consistently stood for fair play towards the subject races, often against bitter criticism from white men on the spot. There were countless acts of individual kindness. It was not viciousness, nor even conceit, that fostered the general aloofness of the British. It was partly a sense of ordained separateness, partly the natural reserve of islanders and partly, no doubt, the awkwardness people feel when they do not understand a foreigner, or more especially do not speak the language. Many a British official learnt to love his charges with a passionate sincerity. Even Alfred Milner, writing from Cairo in 1893, regarded the Sudanese with half-amused, half-admiring and inoffensively patronising affection.

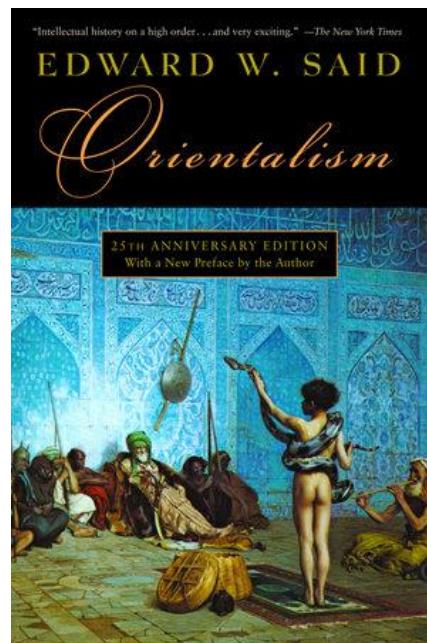
- Jan Morris, *Pax Britannica* (1968)

- How did racial attitudes change over the course of the 19th Century?

Historiography: *Orientalism*

In 1978 the Palestinian-American literary critic, Edward Said, published a hugely influential work entitled *Orientalism*. He further developed his ideas in *Culture and Imperialism* (1993). Said essentially mounted a critique of Western conceptions of the non-Western world. He argued that, over the last two centuries, Western culture and attitudes had consistently portrayed the non-Western (Oriental) world in a negative, non-flattering way, for which he coined the term 'orientalism'. In Said's view, orientalism had become a dominant discourse within Western societies; a common set of assumptions that became widely accepted and internalised as a result of repetition, and that this was embedded within the language and culture of the West. In Said's view, 'the Orient' was an idea created by Europeans and defined by how it differed from the 'civilised' or 'rational' West; indigenous people and societies in the rest of the (largely colonised) world were seen as 'backward', 'exotic', 'irrational' or 'uncivilised' and these stereotypes dehumanised colonial or non-western peoples and justified (to Westerners) exploitation and empire. Western knowledge of non-Western societies and cultures seen as a reflection of this 'orientalist' discourse rather than as an objective truth.

Said's work has been extremely influential and has encouraged Western academics and writers to re-evaluate their attitudes to non-Western culture, and to consider the ideological bases of global inequality and the legacies of imperialism, both in Western countries, and in the developing world. Nevertheless, Said's ideas have also been subjected to vigorous criticism and debate.



In Said's notorious description, a coterie of Western intellectuals was able to disparage the intellectual and cultural life of every part of the world beyond Europe as stagnant at best, retrogressive at worst; and the societies that sustained it as variously corrupt, despotic, cruel and effeminate – when not actually barbaric. European colonial regimes – the British foremost amongst them – he saw as zealous enforcers of this self-serving doctrine. By the relentless condemnation of indigenous cultures and the systematic promotion of forms of 'colonial knowledge' that favoured their power, they destroyed the cultural self-confidence of those they ruled over. The application of Western science and technology, the imposition of Western geopolitical forms (the territorial state), the dissemination of Western literary forms (especially the novel), even the writing of history itself, added up to the claim that there was only one escape from tradition (and backwardness) and only one form of modernity: the one purveyed by colonial rule.

As might be expected, this sweeping analysis proved hugely attractive, and has continued to be so despite a robust critical onslaught. It chimed with the widespread belief that the persistence of racism in the post-colonial world sprang from the 'deep' mental structures that had sustained colonialism in its prime and which remained as its legacy. It affirmed the conviction that Western modernity and European empires (of which the British was the biggest) had been brothers-in-arms. As a challenge to

previous complacency or indifference, the ‘orientalism’ formula has been a powerful addition. But, as is often the case, by exposing its assumptions, we can edge a bit closer to the more complex reality that it is in danger of masking.

There are three obvious ways in which orientalism falls short as a convincing description of the cultural impact of British expansion. Firstly, it ignores the importance of time and change, as if a single attitude and a uniform approach prevailed over the whole period up to 1914 and beyond. In fact, British thinking about non-Western peoples and cultures passed through a series of changes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, amounting at times to the dramatic reversal of previous orthodoxy. Secondly (a point that has often been made), Said’s thesis is almost quaintly monolithic. It assumes that British opinion towards the non-Western world was all of a piece; that no major debates upset the smooth ideological mould; that cultural practice was invariably draconian; and that those who formed opinion and governed the discourse were the willing allies and agents of the imperial state – as intellectuals were to be later in the Nazi and Stalinist states. Thirdly (and worst), it treats the ‘victims’ of this ‘cultural imperialism’ as precisely that: hapless and helpless. The rich and fascinating record of non-Western responses to Western ideas – exploiting, adapting, embracing, rejecting, revising, recycling – disappears into a crude caricature in which only two reactions were possible – resistance or compliance – and only one permitted.

The actual picture was much more confused and complicated. This is not just an obvious and tedious truism, but it goes to the heart of the cultural impact of empire. For its most striking feature was the strength of mutual ambivalence. Of course, in any colonial setting there were those who celebrated imperial power, the colonising ‘mission’ and its supposed triumphs of ‘progress’. But there were always those who were doubtful, dismissive, uneasy or critical – both on the spot and at home. Their influence was intermittently but sometimes critically powerful. Among the colonised there were many who resented – deeply, bitterly and uncompromisingly – the alien cultural intrusion for a number of reasons, not all altruistic. But there were also many who looked towards it for group opportunity, spiritual promise and personal liberation. They sought to propitiate, serve, manage and exploit it for purposes to which their foreign political masters were often quite blind. There were even those orphans of history whose security, identity and even ethnicity came to be bound up with it.

- John Darwin, *Unfinished Empire*, 2013

- What was ‘Orientalism’ as defined by Said?
- How does Darwin challenge these ideas?

Lord Salisbury and Tory 'High' Imperialism

Lord Salisbury presided over the British Empire when it was at its zenith. Although he was a reactionary grandee who was deeply suspicious of democracy, he was remarkably successful at it. He was Prime Minister on three occasions (1885-86; 1886-92; 1895-1902) during a period of Conservative dominance after the Liberal split over Irish Home Rule. His principal interest was foreign affairs and he appointed himself Foreign Secretary. For his final term in office he appointed the Liberal Unionist Joseph Chamberlain as Colonial Secretary.

Although he was personally rather sceptical of the value of increasing Britain's colonial possessions, his government presided over several key imperial events as was generally associated, in the public mind at least, with a 'forward' imperial policy:

- Consolidation of Britain's possessions in Africa – agreements on borders with other powers in 1890
- Hostility to Irish Home Rule
- Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, 1897
- Sudan campaign and the Fashoda incident, 1898
- Consolidation of Britain's position in the Far East – acquisition of Wei-hei-wei (1898)
- The Boer War, 1899-1902

Salisbury was not above exploiting imperial matters for domestic political gain; in 1900 he called and won the 'khaki' election after a series of British victories in the Boer War.

Salisbury's foreign policy is generally associated with the concept of 'splendid isolation' whereby Britain avoided firm European alliances and entanglements and, instead, relied on the power of its navy to defend its international position. The increasing power of Germany and the humiliations of the Boer War led many in Britain to re-evaluate this doctrine after Salisbury resigned in 1902.

'High' or 'Forward' Imperialists: This Conservative-dominated period saw the dominance of several individuals who were almost fanatically in favour of the British Empire. They believed the empire was 'the greatest force for good the world has ever seen' (Curzon). However, whether these individuals were the main shapers of British policy, or ever enjoyed popular support, is a very different matter:

- **Joseph Chamberlain**
- **Lord Curzon**
- **Alfred Milner**
- **Cecil Rhodes**
- **Lord Cromer**



Growing Anxiety, 1890-1914

In 1871 a best-selling book *The Battle for Dorking* by Sir George Chesney described a Prussian invasion of England and the occupation of London. This was symptomatic of a growing anxiety about the future amongst some politicians and opinion-shapers in Britain in the later 19th century. Although the British Empire had grown at an astonishing rate and, superficially, seemed incredibly strong, this period saw a period of introspection and a growing sense that Britain had less and less reason to feel confident about the future. Other, younger, more dynamic countries were believed to be snapping at Britain's heels and its future hegemony was increasingly called into question.



There were several strands to this growing sense of anxiety:

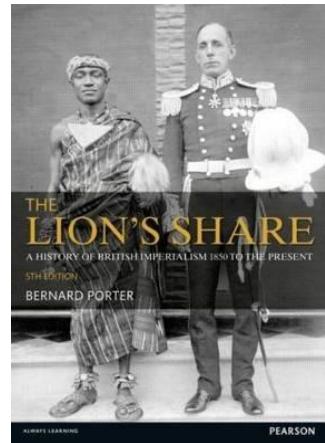


Key Idea: 'Declinism'

Reading Porter's *Lion's Share*

Read chapter 5: 'Struggles for Existence: 1890'

1. Why was the 'impression' of Britain's empire misleading by the 1890s?
2. How was Britain 'falling back in the world' economically?
3. To what extent did the empire help the economic situation?
4. Why did the size of Britain's empire make it a strategic liability?
5. Where were the vulnerable points?
6. Were Britain's armed forces capable of defending the empire?
7. What were the problems of 'splendid isolation'? What did many in Britain fear?
8. Why was the growth in foreign navies regarded with suspicion?
9. In what ways did some regard international relations as an example of 'Social Darwinism'?
10. What did a 'realistic' foreign policy look like?
11. Why was empire and imperialism considered important in this context?
12. What was the link between imperialism and social reform?
13. In what ways were women and femininity seen, by some, to be undermining the empire?
14. What was 'national efficiency'?



15. What were Cecil Rhodes' ambitions for the empire?
16. Why did some regard imperial unity as desirable?
17. What did the late Victorian imperialists believe about the 'British race'?
18. In what respect was British imperialism seen to be a force for good?
19. What evidence is there for popular support for imperialism?
20. Does Porter believe the working class to have been genuinely imperialist?
21. How powerful were the leading imperialists in reality?
22. Why, in the end, were the leading imperialists disappointed?
23. Why did Britain's economic specialism make her dependent on other countries?
24. What did Britain rely on by 1900 to ensure her balance of payments?
25. What criticisms were made of a reliance on overseas investment?
26. What link was there between lagging industry and capital flowing overseas?
27. In what three ways were developing economies (i.e. colonies) important to Britain's economy in the 1890s?
 - i.
 - ii.
 - iii.

28. In what ways were foreign countries seen to be 'loading the dice' against Britain when it came to trade?
29. To what extent did British governments remain committed to the ideas of free trade by 1900?
30. Why were there high economic stakes in South Africa and China?
31. Why were some economically worthless territories still worth possessing?
32. To what extent was imperial policy manipulated by a 'capitalist lobby'?
33. Why was Britain exposed and vulnerable towards the end of the 19th Century?
34. What were the essentials of Britain's 'national interest' assumed to be in the 1890s?

Britain's changing economic position, 1880-1914

Read:

➤ Chapter 9 in AQA text

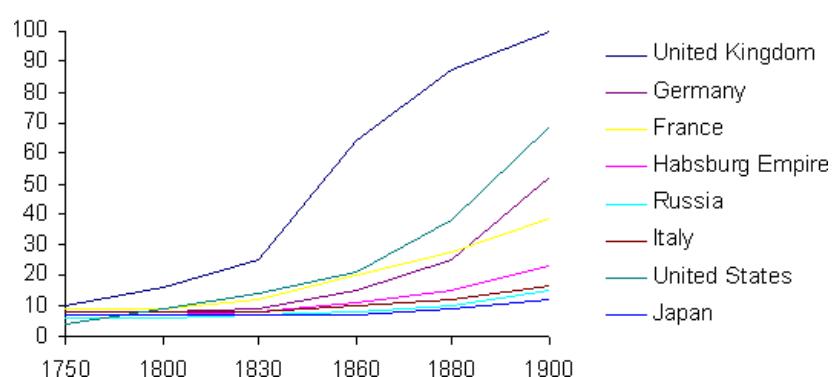
In statistical terms, the economic trends for Britain did not look encouraging:

- Britain's share of world trade:
 - 1880: 23%
 - 1910: 17%
- Share of global industrial capacity in 1910:
 - Britain: 15%
 - Germany: 16%
 - USA: 35%

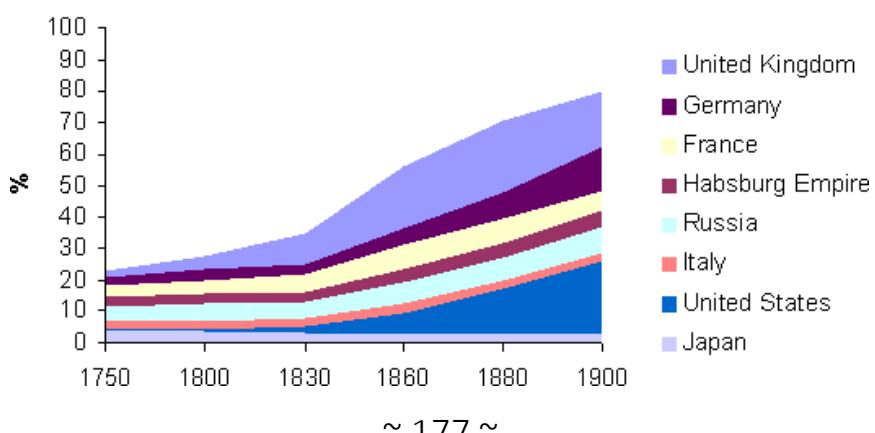
Britain was clearly slipping from its mid-19th century position as the dominant manufacturing and trading power. Other countries were fast industrialising and seemed to have more potential for fast economic growth.

Relative Levels of Industrialization, 1750-1900

(U.K. in 1900 = 100)



**Relative Share of World Manufacturing Output,
1750-1900**



Changing contexts:

The international trading environment that had favoured Britain in the middle years of the nineteenth century was profoundly altered in the later years of the century by the growing political power of Britain's two traditional rivals, France and Russia. Britain also faced two new challengers, the United States and Germany. Moreover, rapid industrialisation had made the American and German economies increasingly fierce competitors in the markets that British manufacturers had comfortably claimed as their own. Even little Belgium had established a steel industry that challenged that of Birmingham. It was agriculture, however, that was the first to feel the full brunt of competition. The global spread of cheap and reliable railway and shipping systems allowed North American grain, Argentine beef, New Zealand butter, and various other agricultural goods to flood the British market, causing prices to plummet. The trade slump that began in 1873 seemed to many Britons a taste of things to come.

- Dane Kennedy, *Britain and Empire 1880-1945*, 2002

❖ What does Kennedy argue about Britain's economic position in the later 19th century?

Several developments led many in Britain to re-evaluate Britain's commitment to free trade and, therefore, the importance of empire to Britain's prosperity:

- The impact of the Great Depression (c. 1873 – c. 1896) → this led to protectionism from some powers (e.g. Germany)
- The growing industrial might of other powers such as Germany, Japan and the United States mean that Britain's share of global manufacturing production was in relative decline.
- The growing colonialism associated with the Scramble for Africa and the new colonial acquisitions in the Far East meant that it was harder to enforce free trade through an 'informal empire'. As Britain's influence in an informal empire lessened, it relied increasingly on its colonial possessions.
- The costs of empire increased as the international situation altered: although India paid for its own defence, the maintenance of the British fleet was increasingly expensive and many colonies did not cover their costs.

Was it all bad news?

The later years of the nineteenth century witnessed the relative decline of the British economy, caused by the slow growth of manufacturing output. Manufactured exports grew much more slowly after 1870 than before and Britain's share of world visible trade fell. Invisibles, on the other hand, increased rapidly until 1914 with profits being made from the growing service sector, led by the global extension of the sterling standard and credit from the City of London. The influence of industry on central government and on economic policy continued to be limited by its relative lack of access to the major sources of power and influence. Manufacturers were still largely outside the circle of gentlemanly culture and did not 'speak the same language' as the aristocratic elite

- **PJ Cain and AG Hopkins, *Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Expansion Overseas: New Imperialism, 1850-1945*, 1987**

- **What do Cain and Hopkins argue about the British economy in the later 19th Century?**

Even as Britain had to compete increasingly with other manufacturing economies, it remained the pre-eminent power in terms of financial services ('invisibles') and capital investment. Huge earnings from services such as insurance and banking offset any imbalance in imports/ exports in goods. The City of London remained the world's financial capital and, as Cain and Hopkins have argued, the importance of these aspects of the economy grew as the 19th century drew to a close. British overseas investment doubled between 1900 and 1913 from £2 billion to £4 billion, but an increasing share of this was with non-imperial countries. For instance, an enormous share of British capital flowed to the USA and Latin America.

Colonial markets still provided safe returns on investment. The Colonial Loans and Colonial Stocks Acts of 1899 and 1900 facilitated a number of infrastructure projects such as rail links in Africa. Yet, there was often a disincentive to invest in some colonial projects. For example, investment in Indian textile manufacturing would compete with the British textile industry and so was not encouraged.

Should free trade be abandoned?

As the 19th Century drew to a close, Britain remained committed to the principles of free trade that it had pursued since the 1840s. Most British people regarded free trade as the source of their prosperity and power. Consequently, it had always been assumed that direct control of colonial territories and markets were not essential; although British trade with its colonies was significant, of greater and growing importance was Britain's trade with non-colonial markets in Europe, the USA and other parts of the world. In the 1890s Britain did more trade with Belgium than with the whole of Africa.

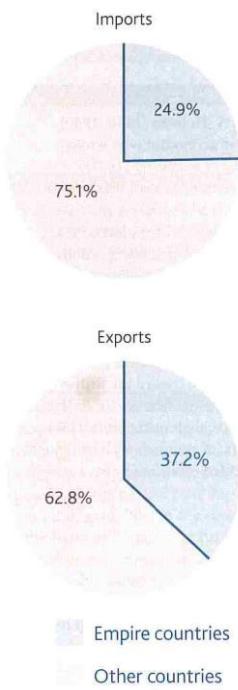


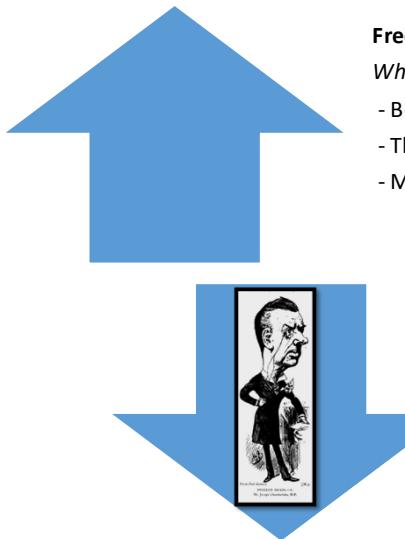
Fig. 2 The proportion of British imports and exports from Empire countries and other countries in 1913

The mere fact that Britain ruled a particular market as a colony did not necessarily mean that she only traded with it because it was a colony. The ideological free traders in the first half of the nineteenth century argued that she might have done even more business with the country if it had not been. They offered the example of the United States – with whom Britain's trade actually rose after the War of Independence [1775-1783] – to prove their case.

- Bernard Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists*, 2006

Yet, with the growing challenge posed by rival economies, many of which were introducing protectionist tariffs, was the empire a solution and should free trade be abandoned?

Growing debate over trade and empire:



Free Trade

Why?

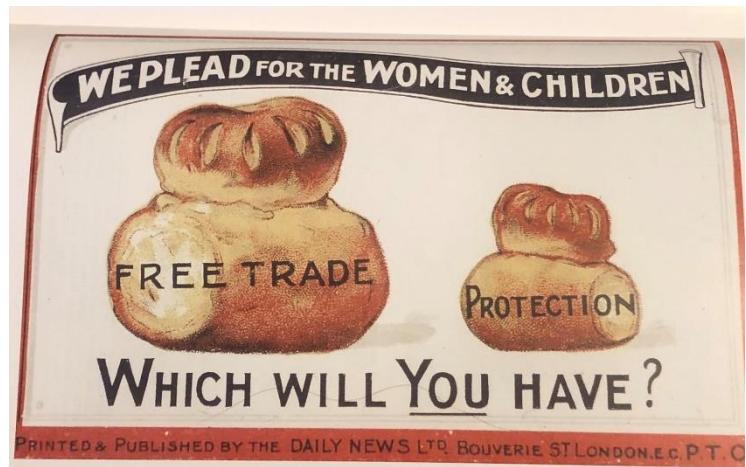
- Better for consumers (lower prices)
- The source of Britain's strength in the past
- More trade with non-imperial markets



Tariff Reform/ Imperial Preference (Protectionism)

Why?

- Protect British businesses from 'unfair' foreign competition
- Promote unity in the empire, potentially laying the groundwork for an **Imperial Federation** (thus also solving the Irish Question)
- Raise government income from tariffs for social reform



The result: Imperial Preference rejected by 1902 Colonial Conference by Dominion leaders + landslide defeat of Conservatives in 1906 election → Dominions start creating their own customs policies

ESSAY: 'Empire remained important for Britain's trade and commerce in the years 1890 - 1914.'
Assess the validity of this view.

ESSAY: 'The Empire brought few economic benefits to Britain in the years 1890 to 1914.' Explain why you agree or disagree with this view.

What was the concept of 'Greater Britain'?

Concerns about Britain's relative decline led to a search for solutions. For some the empire was seen to be the key that could safeguard the future. This was outlined most eloquently by JR Seeley, Regius Professor of History at the University of Cambridge who published his account of Britain's empire in 1883, *The Expansion of England*:



"We seem, as it were, to have conquered and peopled half the world in a fit of absence of mind".

"A separation (from the settler colonies) would leave England on the same level as the states nearest to us on the Continent, populous, but less so than Germany and scarcely equal to France. But two states, Russia and the United States, would be on an altogether higher scale of magnitude, Russia having at once, and the United States perhaps before very long, twice our population".

"The other alternative is that England may prove able to do what the United States does so easily, that is, hold together in a federal union countries very remote from each other. In that case England will take rank with Russia and the United States in the first rank of state, measured by population and area, and in a higher rank than the states of the Continent".

"It may be fairly questioned whether the possession of India does or ever can increase our power or our security, while there is no doubt that it vastly increases our dangers and responsibilities... When we inquire then into the Greater Britain of the future we ought to think much more of our colonial than of our Indian Empire".

- What does Seeley argue about the empire and the future?

Key Ideas: 'Greater Britain' & Imperial Federation

'Greater Britain' - The British 'Dominions'

Read:

- pp. 307-318 in James
- For more detail: chapter 18 in Norman Lowe *Mastering Modern British History*

Migration from Britain to the settler colonies continued throughout the 19th Century. This accelerated during periods of recession and many migrated from Ireland to escape the poverty there. 1.8 million emigrated from Britain between 1900 and 1910, half of these to the settler colonies. By 1900 20% of the white population of the empire were living in the settler colonies.

To avoid the sort of resentment that had prompted the American Revolution in 1776, and for reasons of cost, these colonies became self-governing as soon as this was practicable. They could raise their own taxes, were responsible for their territorial security, and could make their own laws. London remained responsible for foreign policy, constitutional matters, and defence. Rather than 'colonies', by the 20th Century, they became known as dominions:

- **Canada** – federated in 1867
- **Newfoundland** – self-governing from 1854
- **Australia** – federated in 1901 (although individual colonies/states self-governing long before then)
- **New Zealand** self-governing from 1856
- **South Africa** – creation of federal Union in 1910 (although component parts had been self-governing long before then)

Native policy in these different colonies would vary. In Australia, the aboriginal people were regarded as having forfeited any rights of the land and were treated brutally; in Tasmania, for example, all native people had died out or been killed by 1869. In New Zealand, the Maori were a more assertive force and fought a series of wars against the settlers over land rights. Maoris were given the right to vote alongside the settlers. In South Africa, to avoid alienating the Boers, black Africans and mixed-race people were denied the franchise in the Transvaal and Orange Free State. In Canada, there was a rebellion in 1885 by native people which was quickly crushed.

The relationship with Britain was retained, despite self-government and a growing awareness that the dominions were developing their own 'national' identities. (One feature was that settler societies tended to be much more egalitarian than hierarchical and class-bound Britain). The monarch remained head of state, there were ties of kinship, and there was an obvious continuation of cultural links through the English language and sport. Moreover, as international relations darkened towards the late 19th Century, the dominions reinforced their military attachment to Britain. The Royal Navy remained responsible for the overall defence of Australia and New Zealand and financial contributions were sent to the Admiralty in London. Furthermore, the dominions sent troops to aid Britain in the Sudan campaign of 1885 and the Boer War (where some 30,000 joined the British forces). Although attempts to institutionalise the relationship through Imperial Federation came to nought, it was evident that the dominions would significantly bolster British power in the 20th Century.

Australia and the other dominions were becoming increasingly aware of the political and strategic value of the imperial connection. So too was Britain which, since the mid-1870s, was endeavouring to survive in a mutable and none too friendly world. As she entered into competition with hostile powers whose strength matched her own, it became imperative for Britain to cultivate colonial goodwill. The colonies were becoming valuable assets, since their assistance might prove vital in the event of conflict with France and Russia. Shifts in the global balance of power generated anxieties within the dominions, which had for the first time to come to terms with their own isolation and vulnerability. The possibility of an Anglo-Russian war in 1877-8, and with it seaborne raids by Russian warships on the Pacific coastlines of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, made the governments of each appreciate the extent of their dependence upon the Royal Navy.

- Lawrence James, *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire*, 1994

- What does James argue about the relationship between Britain and its dominions in the later 19th Century?

How strong was the concept of 'Greater Britain' and Britannic identity?

Watch the following documentary: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qeGYaUFF83I>

- How did perceptions of the settler colonies change?
- What was the variety of conceptions of 'Greater Britain' and Britannic/ British identity?
- To what extent was the concept of 'Greater Britain' racialised? What were the limits on the idea of 'Greater Britain'?

Key individual: Joseph Chamberlain (1836-1914)

Profile: ODNM entry by Peter T Marsh; pp. 91-92 in AQA; pp. 78-81 in McDonaugh; pp. 254-258 in Lowe

- Background (Mayor of Birmingham)
- Elected as Liberal MP
- Opposition to Gladstone's Irish Home Rule Bill – Liberal Unionists
- Colonial Secretary, 1895-1903
- Expansion in Africa and role in the Boer War
- Colonial Loans Act, 1899 - £3 million for colonial development
- Advocate of Imperial Federation
- 1903 resignation and campaign for 'Imperial Preference' (tariff reform)



1. How can Chamberlain be seen as responsible for dividing both main political parties in Britain?
2. What were Chamberlain's views on the British Empire? What did he want to achieve?
3. What was Chamberlain's involvement in the Boer War (especially its causes)?
4. To what extent can we see Chamberlain's political career as a success?

'Joseph Chamberlain's attempts to strengthen the British Empire ended in failure.' How far do you agree?

The dream of 'Imperial Federation' dies:

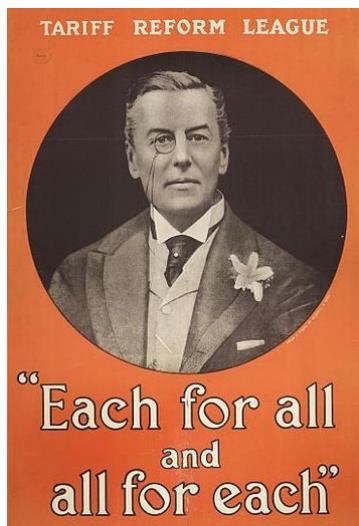
Imperial Federation was seen by some as a solution to Irish Home Rule, as well as the fear that the empire could disintegrate as more colonies became self-governing. The creation of an Imperial Federation was seen as necessary to preserve British power in the face of the rising fortunes of the USA, Germany and Russia.

The Imperial Federation League was founded in 1884 to pressure for this policy, and it established branches in Canada and Australia. The idea of federation was supported by many Conservative and Liberal politicians, as well as individuals such as Alfred Milner and Cecil Rhodes.

Joseph Chamberlain became the most prominent proponent with his tariff reform scheme for 'imperial preference' and split the Conservative Party with his proposal to abandon free trade. The general election of 1906 saw a Liberal landslide which indicated widespread popular hostility towards imperial preference.

The closest to reality that Imperial Federation came was in a series of Colonial Conferences held in London between senior figures from each self-governing colony: 1887, 1894, 1897 and 1902. At the latter two, Joseph Chamberlain's imperial preference policy was discussed, but decisions were non-binding and nothing came of the plan. Indeed, the Imperial Federation League was wound up in 1894 due to lack of public support.

By the end of the First World War, the self-governing dominions sought to be treated as equal and independent states and the hopes for Imperial Federation were at an end. In the 1930s, schemes for imperial preference were revisited in the context of the Great Depression, but these were discussions between independent members of the Commonwealth and there was no appetite for formal political integration.



Despite the ever-greater polarisation of international politics between 1902 and 1904, there was no reordering of the Empire. The wish of the settler colonies to preserve control of their own affairs, the attractions of free trade to the British electorate in 1906 and the weight of the United Kingdom's non-imperial interests, were sufficient to defeat the imperial consolidationists' onslaught. This was perhaps just as well. Attempts at a stronger subordination of the tropical colonies to British needs might have overwhelmed more constructive approaches to their administration. The evidence of local political mobilisation in India and Egypt after 1900 suggests that it would also have provoked serious indigenous protest. Centralisation at the expense of the Dominions before 1914 could have jeopardised those compromises which subsequently enabled cooperation to continue and the Dominions to make vital contributions to Imperial defence and welfare during the First World War.

- Andrew Porter, *The Oxford History of the British Empire, volume IV*, 1999

An alternative solution? ‘National Efficiency’

Read:

- pp. 102-103 in AQA text

The Boer War and the rising German threat also provoked a debate about the state of British society. If the military had made such a meal of a few farmers totting rifles, how could Britain expect to match a real European adversary equipped with modern artillery? There were also severe doubts as to whether the population was fit for a long struggle: the poor physical condition of many urban recruits suggested that the national stock had ‘degenerated’. These sentiments gave rise to the ‘national efficiency’ movement, designed to make Britain a more productive, rational, and thus more powerful society. In February 1902, the National Service League was set up to agitate for the introduction of conscription, thus ‘distributing the burdens of national defence equally among all classes, instead of allowing them to weigh crushingly upon the proletariat.’

- Brendan Simms, *Europe: The Struggle for Supremacy* (2014)

The performance of the British economy, the difficulties of the Boer War, and the rising strategic challenge posed by other powers (especially Germany) led to much soul-searching within Britain. Poor diet, poor health, and poor living conditions were exposed by the difficulties of recruitment during the war. Britain, it was believed, was both literally and metaphorically unfit to face the challenges of the 20th Century. This led to calls from all corners of public life for a focus on ‘**national efficiency**’ to prevent the country’s decline. A series of specific actions followed:

- 1902 Education Act
- Imperial College founded, 1907
- Modernisation of the Royal Navy – HMS Dreadnought (1906)
- Boy Scout Movement, 1908
- ‘New Liberal’ reforms after 1906: free school meals; old age pensions; sickness and unemployment insurance etc. – associated with David Lloyd George and Winston Churchill

The Liberals and the Empire

Read:

➤ pp. 172-176 in Porter

Gladstone had regarded himself as a 'reluctant imperialist' and the Liberal Party were generally sceptical of the New Imperialism associated with the Conservative Party. Nevertheless, they were not an anti-Imperialist party and several key Liberals (including Lord Rosebery, Prime Minister, 1894-95) were enthusiastic supporters of Britain's imperial mission. By contrast, several Liberal critics (including David Lloyd George) had been portrayed as pro-Boers by the Conservatives due to their criticisms of the Boer War.

In 1906, the Liberal Party won the general election, in large part due to their criticisms of Conservative imperial policy: the conduct of the Boer War and the scandal that engulfed Milner over 'Chinese slavery' in South Africa; also the contentious issue of Imperial Preference which was seen by many members of the electorate to threaten the price of food.



Herbert Asquith led the Liberals as Prime Minister from 1908 to 1916, with David Lloyd George as his Chancellor. The Liberal government, despite accusations from their opponents, were not in any way opposed to empire. Rather they wanted to pursue imperialism in a very different way. Together, they introduced a series of reforms to address the deficiencies revealed in the Boer War, counter the growing international threat, and develop the empire in a different direction from that pursued by the Tory 'forward' imperialists:

- Promotion of free trade and an ending of ideas of imperial federation/ imperial preference
- Avoidance of the use of force to achieve security
- Measures to address the problems of 'national efficiency'
- Development of the Royal Navy
- End of 'splendid isolation' → alliances with Japan, France and Russia
- Minto-Morley reforms in India
- Irish Home Rule

❖ In what ways did the Liberal Government's imperial policies differ from those of the preceding Conservative Government?

Popular attitudes towards the empire, 1890 – 1914

Read:

- pp. 98-109 in AQA text
- pp. 319-333 in James
- 166-172 in Porter

Enthusiasm:

- Jingoistic responses to the Boer War (e.g. Mafeking Night; 'Khaki' election, 1900)
- The Empire Day Movement (founded, 1896) + Empire Day (started 1902)
- Boys' Empire League (founded, 1900)
- Boy Scout Movement (founded, 1908)
- The Round Table Movement (founded, 1909)
- Girl Guides (founded, 1912)

An Imperial Culture:

- Children's books and literature
 - Adult books and literature: Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936); GA Henty (1832-1902)
 - Advertising (especially of colonial products)
 - Music Hall (e.g. Gilbert and Sullivan)
 - Newspapers: *Daily Mail* (started, 1896)
 - Religion: Church youth organisations – idealisation of missionary culture
 - Music: Edward Elgar (1857-1934)
 - Architecture: Edwin Lutyens
 - Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, 1897
 - King George V's coronation, 1911 + Festival of Empire
 - The infusion of empire into key British institutions: monarchy, the aristocracy, public schools, the armed forces, the universities, competitive sport, the City etc. – 'gentlemanly culture'
- (Cain & Hopkins)

An Imperial People?

Recap: give three pieces of evidence to support the idea that Britain had an imperial culture or that the empire was popular in Britain:

1.

2.

3.

Watch the documentary: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ud8IL1QDIRU&t=2s>

What are the main arguments that are made in this documentary about popular attitudes towards the empire in Britain in the period c. 1890-1914?

Key historiographical debate: John Mackenzie vs. Bernard Porter

What are the main arguments presented by Bernard Porter in his article, 'What did they know of empire'?

Give four or five pieces of evidence that he uses to support his main arguments:

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

A growing minority view: hostility towards empire

- Negative responses to the Boer War – Emily Hobhouse
- John A Hobson's *Imperialism*, 1902
- The radical left (parts of the nascent Labour movement)
- Campaign against Leopold II's rule in the Congo
- 1906 election – a reaction against Conservative 'High' Imperialists?

A developing debate about the morality of empire within Britain itself (see Kipling's *White Man's Burden* vs. Labouchere's *Brown Man's Burden*)

❖ **To what extent did the empire have widespread popular appeal in the period 1890-1914?**

The later nineteenth century witnessed the elevation of the monarchy into an institution endowed with patriotic and imperial symbolism, enjoying a world-wide significance. With the great climax of the Diamond Jubilee in 1897, Queen Victoria came to almost represent an 'Imperial Britannia' herself. An imperial ideology; a powerful mixture of patriotism, excitement about adventure and colonial warfare; reverence for the monarchy; the application of British cultural values to other peoples; admiration for military virtues and an almost religious approach to the obligations of world-wide power came to dominate many aspects of popular culture. Throughout society, sporadic excitement about imperial affairs turned patriotism into jingoism, attitudes to other peoples often shaded into outright racism and imperial self-righteousness was capable of being transformed into extreme bellicosity.

- John M Mackenzie *Empire and Metropolitan Cultures*, 1999

- Using your understanding of the historical context, assess how convincing the arguments in this extract are in relation to British attitudes towards the Empire in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

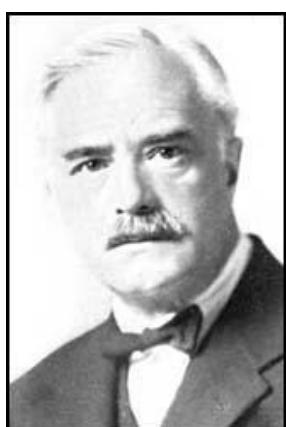
'Heart of Darkness' – the Congo Free State

There are several examples of appalling atrocities committed in Africa by Europeans that pricked the conscience of the public back in Europe. These events helped create a humanitarian argument against imperialism.

The Congo had been awarded to King Leopold II of the Belgians at the Congress of Berlin; he convinced the other nations that he was supportive of humanitarian work there. He ruled the Congo as a vast personal estate and it was not overseen by the Belgian government.

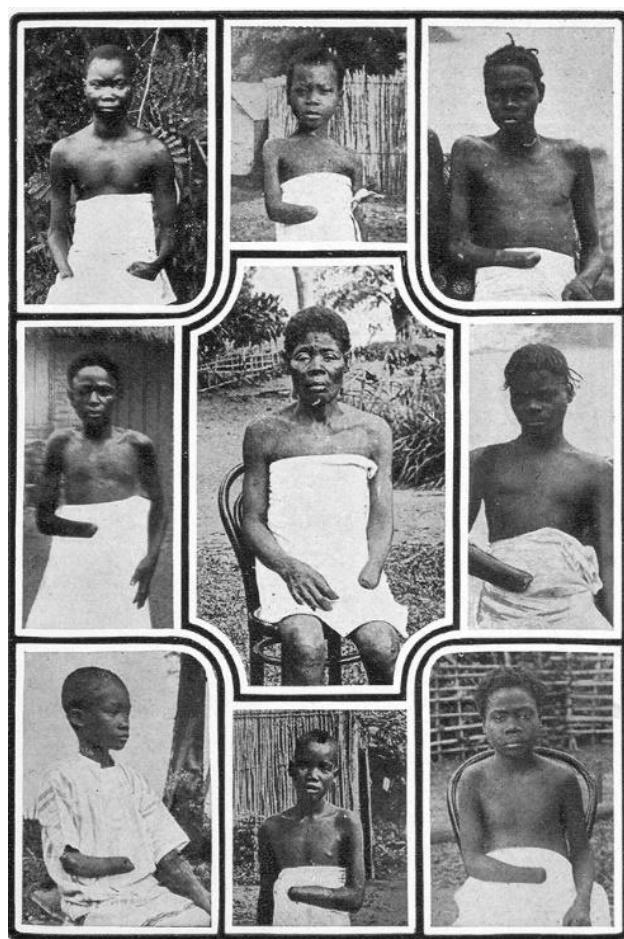
In fact, the Congo became a grotesque example of predatory capitalism; the native population were reduced to the status of slaves and exploited with no concern for their welfare. The aim was simply to generate profits for Leopold and his companies. Rubber, in particular, was the principal export from 1891 after the invention of the pneumatic tyre created large demand in Europe. Leopold instructed his *Force Publique* (his own private army) to enforce the collection of rubber quotas. If labourers did not collect the required 8 kilos of sap in a fortnight, their hands and feet were cut off. The appalling treatment, the spread of disease, and the lack of food led to very high death rates. The following native song expressed the misery of the exploited:

*We are tired of living under this tyranny,
We cannot endure that our women and children are taken away
And dealt with by white savages.
We shall make war...
We know that we shall die, but we want to die.*



Numbers are difficult to pin down but estimates of those killed range from 1 million to 10 million.

The author Joseph Conrad published the novel *Heart of Darkness* in 1899 which exposed the horrors of Leopold's regime. In the novel, Kurtz, a station manager deep in the jungle, has been driven insane by the isolation and brutality. When Marlow, the narrator, finds him, he discovers a pamphlet that Kurtz has written on the native population. It simply ends, 'exterminate the brutes.'



The treatment of the Congolese led to an outcry, particularly in Britain, where the humanitarian lobby campaigned against Leopold's rule. The British Congo Reform Association was founded in 1904 and led by Edmund Morel (left), an eyewitness to the crimes who had served as a clerk on a shipping line. Another key campaigner was Sir Roger Casement (later an Irish nationalist) who served as British consul to the Congo from 1901.

As international criticism grew, Leopold was eventually pressured into handing over the Congo to the direct administration of the Belgian government who instituted a more humane regime. In total, it is estimated that Leopold had made 47.5 million francs from the Congo. He never expressed any remorse.

Rudyard Kipling – ‘The White Man’s Burden’ (1898)

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.

Take up the White Man's burden--
The savage wars of peace--
Fill full the mouth of Famine
And bid the sickness cease;
And when your goal is nearest
The end for others sought,
Watch sloth and heathen Folly
Bring all your hopes to nought.

Take up the White Man's burden--
And reap his old reward:
The blame of those ye better,
The hate of those ye guard--
The cry of hosts ye humour
(Ah, slowly!) toward the light:--
"Why brought he us from bondage,
Our loved Egyptian night?"

In his above poem, how does Kipling describe the native peoples of the Empire?



What does he suggest is ‘the white man’s’ role?

Why, according to Kipling, should ‘the white man’ behave in this way?

Henry Labouchere – *The Brown Man's Burden* (1899)

Pile on the brown man's burden
To gratify your greed;
Go, clear away the natives
Who progress would impede;
Be very stern, for truly
'Tis useless to be mild
With new-caught, sullen peoples,
Half devil and half child.

Pile on the brown man's burden;
And, if ye rouse his hate,
Meet his old-fashioned reasons
With Maxims up to date.
With shells and dum-dum bullets
A hundred times made plain
The brown man's loss must ever
Imply the white man's gain.

Pile on the brown man's burden,
And if his cry be sore,
That surely need not irk you--
Ye've driven slaves before.
Seize on his ports and pastures,
The fields his people tread;
Go make from them your living,
And mark them with his dead.

This poem was written as a parody of Kipling's poem by Liberal politician Henry Labouchere in 1899.



What does he suggest about British notions of imperialism of the type that Kipling expresses in his poem?

ESSAY: 'There was widespread support for the Empire in Britain in the period 1890-1914' Assess the validity of this view.

Strategic Threats

Read:

- pp. 334-349 in James

By the end of 1903... the German threat had replaced the Russian menace as the principal concern for British foreign policy. This had profound implications for maritime strategy and imperial governance. Over the past two decades, Britain had assumed that her global status depended on the empire. 'As long as we rule India,' Lord Curzon, the viceroy, had remarked in January 1901, 'we are the greatest power in the world. If we lose it we shall drop straightaway to a 3rd rate power'. Now a large army capable of intervening on the continent would be needed, and the Army Reform Bill of 1901 was a first step in this direction. The creation of the Committee of Imperial Defence, a body which despite its name was firmly focused on the military situation in Europe, followed in 1902. That same year saw the establishment of the new 'Home Fleet' in response to the German naval challenge and which soon absorbed most of the Admiralty's attention and resources. If Britain was going to do less on the global stage, however, then the empire would have to do more. The white settler colonies were already coming to this conclusion themselves. Australia and New Zealand observed German advances in the Pacific, and especially the Japanese victory over China in 1895, with concern. The New South Wales statesman Sir Henry Parkes therefore stepped up the negotiations for federation begun in 1889. In 1900, New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, Tasmania and South Australia finally came together to form a federation. This reflected not the rise of separatist nationalism, but the opposite: a determination to keep the British connection as security provider of last resort, and a realisation that the burden of imperial defence would have to be shared more equally. Britain was to remain the global sheriff, but Australia would serve as her deputy in the South Pacific.

- Brendan Simms, *Europe: The Struggle for Supremacy* (2014)

Rising tensions with Germany:

- Ambitions of Kaiser Wilhelm II – 'Weltpolitik'
- German involvement with Boer Republics – Kruger Telegram
- Increasing German ambitions in Far East – occupation of New Guinea
- Moroccan Crises of 1905 and 1911
- 1898 visit of Wilhelm II to Istanbul → military arrangements with Ottomans and construction of the Baghdad railway
- Arms race with Germany – creation of the Home Fleet and abandonment of the 'two power standard' in favour of a 60% margin over Germany. 1912: movement of much of the Mediterranean Fleet to Scapa Flow in the Orkneys.

The end of ‘splendid isolation’:

- Alliance with Japan, 1902 → Japanese defeat of the Russians in 1905
- Entente Cordiale with France, 1904
- Triple Entente with Britain, France and Russia, 1907 – agreements over Central Asia with Russia
- Imperial Conference on Defence, 1911

➔ Outbreak of First World War, August 1914 – British Empire declares war on Germany and Austria-Hungary.



ESSAY: ‘The period between 1890 and 1914 revealed the British Empire to be essentially weak’
Assess the validity of this view.

In the years before the First World War, British thinking about the Empire was overwhelmingly pessimistic. Periodicals and journals were surprisingly full of defeatist talk. The reason is not hard to find. The South African War (1899–1902) cast a long and exceedingly sober shadow. The confidence of the years leading up to this conflict and the mindless patriotism of Mafeking night on 17 May 1900 soon faded, in the aftermath of the most important and divisive imperial war since the loss of the American colonies in the late eighteenth century. The war in South Africa destroyed the idea that the Englishman was the born ruler of the world.

Adapted from R Hyam, The British Empire in the Edwardian Era, 1999

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the British people, regardless of the political party they supported, were committed to the Empire. Some may have argued against the expansion or abuse of imperial power, but it was beyond the imagination of contemporary Britons to argue against the continuation of the Empire itself. The new century had begun with a disturbing colonial war that caused some anxiety and this brought about a critical examination of Britain and its place in the world. What stands out in the various official and unofficial recommendations that followed is the emphasis placed on the Empire as a remedy for the nation's ills.

Adapted from D Kennedy, Britain and Empire 1880–1945, 2002

- Using your understanding of the historical context, assess how convincing the arguments in this extract are in relation to British attitudes towards the Empire in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Rudyard Kipling – ‘Recessional’ (1897)

God of our fathers, known of old,
Lord of our far-flung battle line,
Beneath whose awful hand we hold
Dominion over palm and pine—
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget!

The tumult and the shouting dies;
The Captains and the Kings depart:
Still stands Thine ancient sacrifice,
An humble and a contrite heart.
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget!

Far-called our navies melt away;
On dune and headland sinks the fire:
Lo, all our pomp of yesterday
Is one with Nineveh and Tyre!
Judge of the Nations, spare us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget!

If, drunk with sight of power, we loose
Wild tongues that have not Thee in awe,
Such boastings as the Gentiles use,
Or lesser breeds without the Law—
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget!

For heathen heart that puts her trust
In reeking tube and iron shard,
All valiant dust that builds on dust,
And guarding calls not Thee to guard,
For frantic boast and foolish word—
Thy Mercy on Thy People, Lord!

Generic Mark Scheme

Section A – Interpretations Questions

Target: Assessment Objective 3:

Analyse and evaluate, in relation to the historical context, different ways in which aspects of the past have been interpreted.

Generic Mark Scheme:

L5: Shows a very good understanding of the interpretations put forward in all three extracts and combines this with a strong awareness of the historical context to analyse and evaluate the interpretations given in the extracts. Evaluation of the arguments will be well-supported and convincing. The response demonstrates a very good understanding of context. 25-30

L4: Shows a good understanding of the interpretations given in all three extracts and combines this with knowledge of the historical context to analyse and evaluate the interpretations given in the extracts. The evaluation of the arguments will be mostly well-supported, and convincing, but may have minor limitations of depth and breadth. The response demonstrates a good understanding of context. 19-24

L3: Provides some supported comment on the interpretations given in all three extracts and comments on the strength of these arguments in relation to their historic context. There is some analysis and evaluation but there may be an imbalance in the degree and depth of comments offered on the strength of the arguments. The response demonstrates an understanding of context. 13-18

L2: Provides some accurate comment on the interpretations given in at least two of the extracts, with reference to the historical context. The answer may contain some analysis, but there is little, if any, evaluation. Some of the comments on the strength of the arguments may contain some generalisation, inaccuracy or irrelevance. The response demonstrates some understanding of context. 7-12

L1: Either shows an accurate understanding of the interpretation given in one extract only or addresses two/three extracts, but in a generalist way, showing limited accurate understanding of the arguments they contain, although there may be some general awareness of the historical context. Any comments on the strength of the arguments are likely to be generalist and contain some inaccuracy and/or irrelevance. The response demonstrates limited understanding of context. 1-6

Nothing worthy of credit. 0

Section B – Essay Questions

Target: Assessment Objective 1:

Demonstrate, organise and communicate knowledge and understanding to analyse and evaluate the key features related to the periods studied, making substantiated judgements and exploring concepts, as relevant, of cause, consequence, change, continuity, similarity, difference and significance.

Generic Mark Scheme:

L5: Answers will display a very good understanding of the full demands of the question. They will be well-organised and effectively delivered. The supporting information will be well-selected, specific and precise. It will show a very good understanding of key features, issues and concepts. The answer will be fully analytical with a balanced argument and well substantiated judgement. **21-25 Marks**

L4: Answers will display a good understanding of the demands of the question. It will be well-organised and effectively communicated. There will be a range of clear and specific supporting information showing a good understanding of key features and issues, together with some conceptual awareness. The answer will be analytical in style with a range of direct comment relating to the question. The answer will be well-balanced with some judgement, which may, however, be only partially substantiated. **16-20 Marks**

L3: Answers will show an understanding of the question and will supply a range of largely accurate information which will show an awareness of some of the key issues and features, but may, however, be unspecific or lack precision of detail. The answer will be effectively organised and show adequate communication skills. There will be a good deal of comment in relation to the question and the answer will display some balance, but a number of statements may be inadequately supported and generalist. **11-15 Marks**

L2: The answer is descriptive or partial, showing some awareness of the question but a failure to grasp its full demands. There will be some attempt to convey material in an organised way although communication skills may be limited. There will be some appropriate information showing understanding of some key features and/or issues, but the answer may be very limited in scope and/or contain inaccuracy and irrelevance. There will be some, but limited, comment in relation to the question and statements will, for the most part, be unsupported and generalist. **6-10 Marks**

L1: The question has not been properly understood and the response shows limited organisational and communication skills. The information conveyed is irrelevant or extremely limited. There may be some unsupported, vague or generalist comment. **1-5 Marks**

Nothing worthy of credit. 0 Marks