

The british empire

I. The East India Compagny [EIC]

1. Landmarks

A) 1600:

EIC: created by Queen Elizabeth 1st
have the monopoly of the Indian market
set factories (comptoirs) in India: warehouse system MADRAS CALCUTTA
by 1652: 23 English factories settled, they controlled all cities
1662: Bombay was rented to UK for 10 £ a year

B) 1740:

purely commercial organization, only worry about trade (no religious goal)

C) 1815:

EIC owned the most powerful army in India and in Asia
They governed large territories in India (Bengal...) directly or indirectly: local princes feared the company so they gave them money for protection(racket).

BUT the EIC had lost the monopole because of Adam Smith book « An inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nation » published in 1776. He was a Scottish economist who promoted competition and private enterprise and division of labour.

SO without this monopoly the company lost $\frac{1}{4}$ of the market > they had to find new ways to make money: -Mass importation of cheap cottonwear produce in Lancashire(as a consequence it destroy the trade of local cottonwear more expensive to produce>no industrial revolution in India)

- Exportation of opium(English grow opium in Bengal) in China, with the money they get from opium they bought tea from the Chinese which they sold in Europe

The EIC needed more and more money so they needed more and more land to collect land taxes(poor but numerous people).

D) 1858

End of EIC caused by the Indian mutiny.

The EIC army revolted so the British completely lost control of India. So the British government decided to take over the running of India and the company was abolished

1st January 1877: Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India. (even if she never went there)

2. The conquest of India

The east was vague and called differently (the east indies, Asia, India) before Europeans reach India trading rules were already existing.

A) Why going there?

- go east for nationalistic reasons (out do the Spanish and Portuguese)
- go east for plunder (pillage) and piracy (make easy money)
- go east for knowledge, discovering new places and things (Sir Francis Drake: first British sailor to sail around the world 1577-1580)
- go east for trade: exotic luxuries (precious stones, spices, ceramic, silk)

The British steal the secret of tea from the Chinese only in the 1850's. Those products were meant for the elite. The sailors and middle men who provided those could become very rich.

B) The Competition (concurrency)

The Portuguese, the Spanish and the Dutch had an edge:

- they were better sailors
 - their financial organizations were better, they already knew how to trade.
- So the competition was strong because the 2 Catholic super powers (Spain and Portugal) had decided to part the world between themselves for religious reasons. The Treaty of Saragossa was signed and recognized by the Pope so every Catholic had to obey. If a British sailor were to be found on a Spanish or Portuguese territory he was put to death and go against it meant war. British were excluded from the trading rules they had to start from scratch.

C) Why did they start in 1600?

London became a very powerful port and a big financial center (bankers) and a big market.

D) The Making of the EIC

full name: the company of merchants of London trading to the east Indies.

- Difficulties:
- dangers awaiting sailors (piracy, shipwreck)
 - little or no interest for British products in the east

The EIC had some privileges:

- monopoly
- special focus on trade (no conquest or converting missions)
- they could carry Bullions (métaux précieux sur lesquels se basent la monnaie d'un pays)

they needed to import goods which suits to Indian consumers.

The EIC was based on a joint stock system (à peu près le système d'une SA coté en bourse) it avoid people to be ruined if the trip failed and they still make good money if the trip is successful; The EIC was ruled almost in the same way as Britain, it has its elected government, the shareholders voted for it and could removed it: A governor, comity (24 individual directors) and deputy all elected by the court (all the shareholders)

The books were really well kept and organized in order to justify any use of the money.

So the shareholders trusted the company, the first trip in 1601 was a success and cost 70000£

3.First Result first crisis and change in trade patterns

Did the early trip answer all the high expectations?

Mitigated success: valuable trade *BUT* it was not possible to establish a bilateral mode of trade.

Why? -Indian were not attracted by British products

-hostility from Dutch and Spanish who owned the market and had an influence on local rulers so they prevents them from doing trade with the British

SO the British had to adapt themselves, they use a revise trade pattern: they left Britain with bullions and goods from other markets in Europe, they travel to the red sea or the Persian gulf and India then they traded their cargo for textile or related products to finally go to east Indian islands like java or Sumatra and on the spot they could exchange their products to get pepper and other products like saltpeter, indigo.

1630:30000£ left Britain and the boat came back with 1 million £ worth of pepper.

Britain wasn't a large enough market for all the pepper so they reexported it onto other European markets(especially the Baltic ones)

But profit generate competition

In 1630 there was a Pepper crisis, some cargo wait 5 or 6 year to be sold completely. It was the end of the pepper era, but there were still other spices like cinnamon or cloves.

Trade with the east revolutionize the taste in Europe and rich people always wanted more. After having developed this new way of trade the EIC had to supply he market permanently that meant long travel and no way to be sure to have spices in the end;

SO the EIC decided to settle down factories like the Portuguese had done. Resident factor were on the spot in charge of a warehouse system. The local merchants couldn't fix their prices anymore, when the vessel arrive they didn't have to negotiate, there was a constant European presence.

In the early 1620 there were factory in the red sea Indian mainland and warehouse in all spices islands and in Japan.

They needed a diplomatic influence to stay in these countries, they had to do diplomatic efforts with local rulers. The traders now had to have some diplomatic skills.

For example in India they had to deal with the Mogol Empire(they ruled most of north and central Asia and ruled the trade)They were Muslim and in 1500 they had taken control of 75% of India with the emperor AKBAR. But when the British arrive the empire wasn't strong anymore, so India was little by little parting into little state ruled by local rulers

So the British started to negotiate with all the local princes as they arrive at a perfect time that is to say when the central power was decreasing.

II.The EIC VS La compagnie des Indes.

4.War in Europe and war in the Carnatic(region of the south east India including MADRAS the leading trade center).

The french appeared as a new competitor, France was the second super power and created a company organized in the same way as the EIC.

1742: Dupleix took up the post of governor of the french company

English and french fought for 20 years because the french wanted to have the same privileges on the spot, the same product

But the war wasn't only the result of the trading problems, France and GB were at war in Europe because of the Austrian secession (Austria was supported by GB and Prussia by France) so they exported their own war.

Pondicherry was a french factory and dupleix thought that this place needed protection so he melded with local politics (before only diplomatic efforts were made) He understood that he could control part of the Indian state (money by land taxes). Dupleix became very rich more than he ever would have been with only trade.

1749: Dupleix organized a putsch and he put a stooge(marionnette) on the throne of the Carnatic. His title were NAWAB which derived from the word NABOB (very rich > péjoratif).

The English couldn't stand by, SO they sponsored a rival king, they found their own nabow.

The English and the french didn't send troops at first they used mercenaries to help their stooges

>Proxy war: 1750-1753 (guerre par procuration)

French were losing the war but they didn't want to stop the fight.

They reach a second stage by using Indian soldiers trained as European soldiers and by importing European troops. So the British decided to do the same. That lead to an ARMS RACE

The British government sent the navy, now the French and the British were fighting directly. That lead to enormous changes in India.

5. War in Bengal – Robert Clive

The king of Bengal started his own war against the UK while they were still at war with the French in the south, good timing to get rid of the British.

Robert Clive: He was sent to India in 1744 at the age of 19 by his family who wanted to get rid of him. He was working as a clerk(préposé aux écritures) but get bored and made himself soldier. He was popular with the sepoys (indian soldiers).

He happened to be in charge when the king of Bengal attacked, he knew that prestige was at stake. So he stopped the operation in the carnatic to struggle down the revolt of the king of Bengal.

Black hole of calcutta: Indian locked up a lot of english soldier in a little room and then forget about them they almost all die.

Clive use this event as a propaganda against indians to justify his war.

January 1757: Calcutta is back in british hands.

Finally the king of bengal was defeated at the battle of Plassey: 23 june 1757 >>> demonstration of the EIC military power (1000 european soldiers+2000 sepoys defeated 50000 indians soldiers)

The british won a spectacular victory and prove that they were way stronger than the Indians (they shot down the elephants for example)

For the next 50 years, most of the kings signed UNEQUAL TREATIES with the English in order to preserve their independence, they pay in exchange of a protection (=racket) so there were always British garrison on their soil.

In Bengal all the land taxes goes to the EIC, they use this money to wage the war against the French in the south. Pondicherry was taken in 1761. French pretensions in south India were over.

>>>Dupleix went back in France and was disowned

>>Clive became the richest man in Europe, he came back to Britain to run for parliament (he was put to trial for what he had done in India and then acquitted). Finally he committed suicide.

Clive was a Nabob, (borrowed from India: people who came back from India with a lot of money, today it means people with a fortune we can't retrace)

6. Corruption and arms race

A) Going native

Clive went native

>>it means he adapted so well in India that he began to act like the local corrupted princes. He behaved in a non British way.

All the taxes enable the EIC to support an important army. Corruption was wide spread, there were no reason to refuse such practices since there were a lot of corruption in the day to day administration: lots of responsible went native and kept the taxes for themselves.

The company needed to hire a new kind of employee: the surveyors (geometre) who decided the land taxes.

The EIC needed more people from UK: residents (political power), administrators and surveyors.

These were well paid jobs filled by army officers who resigned from the UK army to work for the EIC: they were called: company men.

This expansion increased the bellicosity of the British and there were no real forces which can resist them in India, but some princes in Southern and central Asia refused to surrender.

B) Tipu vs Wellesley.

The Sultan of Mysore, Tipu understood that he had to beat the British in the western way, so he sent officers in Paris and Amsterdam to meet arms dealers >>> an arms race began.

The governor general at that time was Wellesley (governor from 1798 to 1805, he's the brother of the officer who defeated Napoleon at Waterloo)

At that time we were at war with British, and the missionaries that worked for Tipu were French extremist left wingers and Tipu let them call him « citizen ». In 1798 the French decided to attack the English possession in Egypt which was considered to be the first step on the way to conquer India. This frightened the British, so they quickly neutralized Tipu in 1799. Tipu became a martyr for his land (he was Muslim) and this was used to encourage the resistance for 30 years.

After Tipu's land British attacked Maratha state for no reason and conquered it only to gain more control. This war took place in 1803 and there were victims on the British side.

7. Changes in the company

A) New men, New attitudes

Clive and Wellesley were different. W. belongs to a new generation, he went to India to prove his worth, he wanted to rule, he was a visionary administrator. He considered that achievement in India were the door of British government.

But W didn't care about the balance sheet(bilan) so the share holders didn't like him so much also because he was changing the company, but still they needed competent people to rule India. The company counts were in Chaos.

B)Financial problems

1744: The EIC loaned 1,2 million £ to the British government

1772: The EIC borrowed 1,4 million £ from the government

1815: The EIC had a debt of 14 millions £, $\frac{3}{4}$ of the annual budget went to the army of 150000 men.

Whenever new land taxes arrive the situation became better but they quickly vanished: real financial crisis. The only solution to raise money was issuing new shares of the company(private version of nation debts) so there were lots of share holders.

C)A state within a state

People started to fear that EIC had too much power and territory that they could make good use of. And that they resorted to war too often.

For example they started the war in Nepal for matters of prestige(1815-1816) the information arrived too slowly in London so no one could react. So there were public debates in parliament in London. After the battles of Clives the EIC started to see itself as independent so it became a state within a state

At the same time there was a moral transformation of the British in India they were going native but not in Clives way, they were behaving as local princes: they tortured harmed people without trial>>extremely disturbing habits.

But the unbritishness of the Indian Empire can be explained:

8.Why was India different?

A)Pragmatism

The first British colonies were America, but when conquered it was peopled by English:Britain was exported to America. They bring their Christianity, British political values and system of government.

In India there never was a mass immigration and it was never meant to be a new Britain. In America the things they found were easily destroyed but in India they found states, traditions and local religion strong enough not to be subverted.

Since there was no way to subvert India's organization(it could have led to a catastrophe) the British adopted pragmatism. They did compromises (accepted all they found in India) whenever it was possible the legal system was preserved (cast for example). But there were limits banditry wasn't allowed because it was bad for trade and it was seen as a challenge to authority.

The rest of the customs were gradually accepted, governors were quite happy to be able to kill without trial, they think liberal ideas applied in UK were not suited for India.

B)Parliamentary control

Since it was not possible to export british form of government how did they rule?

The EIC was a despotic form of government and the british in London feared it might come back to Britain so they put brakes on the company:

1782: India acts the EIC was put under parliamentary control, they could control the books for example.

1784: board of control, secretary of state for India is appointed.

The EIC was becoming a public concern and private interest was coming into Public control. But the communications were so slow between India and London that no real control could be exercised. It was easy not to obey laws pretesting on the changing of the situation during the time the law had took to arrive.

9.« White man's burden »

It is the name of a poem by Kipling(author of the jungle book)use anachronistically here since it was written in the late 1900's

A)The evangelical movement

British considered that white people has a civilization mission. The Evangelical spread the protestant message, they believed in the four gospels.

Charles Simeon (1783-1836) raise moral enthusiasm in the church of England clergy. He was involved in education, a bible society was created in India. It carried out a missionary work to improve the living condition of the poor.

At first it was only a phenomenon in the upper class, the people in charge belonging to that creed acted differently. For example Charles Cornwallis when he was appointed governor general wanted to improve the situation, he wanted to be of some use to mankind. Personal moral uprightness was needed to avoid corruption. Because they think that if corruption was not suppressed they would lose India. It is the main turning point of British behaviour in India.

B)Born to rule

Some British thought that thanks to their religious belief and social appurtenance they have the right to rule from birth, those were aristocrats but they were under control in UK so being in India enabled them to get the power they didn't had any more in UK.

So the higher position in India administration were taken over by aristocrats. This form of government could be describe by « benevolent paternalism ».

In the 19th century India domination was seen as an accepted fact and british public opinion was proud of its empire, because by controlling India they controlled the red sea, the Indian ocean, China, Malaysia and even pacific ocean.

Since EIC has a huge army it was the main political and army power in the region.

III. The British Raj

10. The importance of India for the British

11. The emancipation of India from its past

Pragmatism is replaced by the rebuilding of the country along western lines (evangelical). India became a laboratory for liberal ideas.

A) *Obstacle of the native religion.*

The British were convinced they could get rid of superstitions. It was thought that Hinduism would die away simply with western modernization. To accelerate the process in 1835 it was decided that all teaching in India will be in English. *Macaulays (official in charge of education) minutes: « English is better knowing than Sanskrit or Arabic »*

1857: first three western style universities opened: Bombay, Calcutta, Madras.

In time they would create an Indian elite who could take control of the country under UK supervision.

The main opposition to missionary schools were the Muslims because they already took care of the education. The local British power helped the missionaries with their schools because they believed this education would make proper western consumers out of the young Indians.

There were some fears of Muslim revolt but not of Hinduism. Why? Because Hinduism reminds the British of the old polytheistic religion of Europe and the caste system was difficult to understand for the British (you don't choose your destiny you are born and reborn in one of the five castes: Priest, warriors, merchants, craftsmen, untouchable. The caste was determined by the karma)

The influence of the Christian activist led the EIC in the direction of paternalist policies, it disturbs the Indian traditions.

The first aim was to get rid of some religious rituals: Thugs, Sutti.

B) *The Thugs and Sutti*

The Thugs of India belong to an Hindu sect, they performed ritual murders in the name of Kali (goddess of destruction, death, murder and violence). They were very well organized, they had their own language. For hundreds of years they have terrified the visitors in northern India.

They would follow merchants, attack and strangle them with a yellow scarf. (Each man uses to have his speciality: one holds the feet, one strangles, one gets rid of the body). But when white people were murdered, trouble began.

The British were attacking directly the religion by attacking the Thugs. [The Thugs still exist even though 3000 of them were deported in prison in the Andaman Islands. Nowadays violent football supporters are called Thugs.]

SUTTI:

It was a custom: you burnt the widow alive (funeral pyre) [nowadays India got law against it so the widow just has « accident »]

The British managed to get rid of this tradition and allowed remarriage as well. Those reforms went along with the warfare the British had done before. (to prove that you are strong you have to wage war and win them.)

C) More Wars

1818: all northern India was controlled by the British

In the 1830's the question was where does the borders of India should stop? So they wage the Afghan wars (3 in total voir recherche):

1st: 1838-1842: The British wanted to turn Afghanistan into an Indian dependance. After they took Kaboul they were evicted and pull out to Khyber pass (disaster) which became the frontier for very long.

War in Punjab:

There the British met the Sikh (which was the national religion of Punjab). They have a single god and are opposed to the Hindu system of caste and they didn't like the Muslim either. They were very strong because their society was organized like an army. Their national army was called KHALSA. They were well equipped and well organized.

It took two wars to defeat them: 1846-1846

1848-1849

The Sikhs became an important part of the British army of sepoy and they became more powerful at each war.

D) Western enlightenment

It was not an easy task for a commercial and military power not meant for this at all. There was no uniform administration in India, locally the authority was in the hands of judges and tax collectors, they ruled indirectly thanks to them. But at the local level they had to give away the collect of land taxes to people called (land owners) zamindars. It was an inadequate system:

1856-57: 30 millions £ needed for the EIC to work and 16.5 millions £ came from the land taxes, salt and opium monopoly gave the rest of the money.

The financial power rested on the ability of making the peasants pay.

British official meant to be righteous and used the money left to build school and from 1836 they started to build roads and railways

1857: The government of India financed a program aiming at building 3000 miles of railways.

Calcutta- Dehli

Dehli – Peshawar

They also build telegraph line (4000 miles).

There had been a revolt of muslim before because the school were in the cities but these construction tends to make the presence of British more visible, sensible. The march of progress became quite obvious which widespread the idea of forced conversion.

12. The Indian Rebellion (1857)

There had been sepoy and peasant rebellions before for economics and religious reasons but when it had happened they had been crushed easily by British.

In 1857 things were different, the rebellion had deeper roots. British empire was at war with Russia and a lot of energy and soldiers went into this war and the EIC was at war too in Persia.

The spark to the revolt was a gun:

A) The Enfield rifle (canon vrillé)

The sepoy's army was well equipped so they received this new gun. But to load it you needed paper cartridge which were greased (to load you need to bite the paper cartridge). But a rumor which started at DUM DUM (biggest arsenal) says that the greased was made of pork and beef fat. For the sepoy's which were muslim or Hindus this was of course a major problem. When they heard about the rumors the british send message to all the military station that native soldiers didn't have to use the new guns, this was not a very intelligent thing to do, because it confirmed the rumor.

B) The mutiny of Meerut (10 may 1857)

Some sepoy's were condemned for refusing to use the cartridge. They were sentenced to ten years imprisonment, but the old english officers seemed to think that it wasn't enough. They wanted to humiliate them so they make them march off to jail in front of all their comrades. When the sepoy's saw their companion they decided to revolt the same night and started to massacréd all the european they could find (women and children also) and march off to Dehli.

When they arrived there they continued to massacréd all the european, it was a survival/slave war. Killing all the white and getting rid of the British was the only way to survive their revolt.

Many white escaped and reach other military stations. The sepoy's proclaimed the descendant of the Mogols, Badahur, emperor in Dehli.(it was a symbolic act; in fact he was very old and living on a pension given by the EIC). Then the sepoy's waited for the british to react.

The British did not move for four weeks and the Indians gained prestige. The british had to face several mutiny mostly in the north and in Bengal, where there were all the railways and telegraph lines, so the news of the mutiny was able to travel fast.

Why other mutiny? Some due to panic, some after humiliation, some to steal weapons, but they all march off to Dehli and it surprised everyone.

Prestige was again at stake the classical British answer was massacre however they did not move until the second week of june when 4000 came outside the wall of Dehli and started a siege: sit tight and waited(coward? Maybe... but what could they have done;in India there were 242000 sepoy's for 45000 white soldiers.)

People were to remember three places: Agra, Cawpore, Lucknow; many British took refuge there and tried to resist.

Sepoy's were joined by civilians and peasants.

We talk about the mutiny as one but there were many and it didn't look the same everywhere. For example in Cawnpore. Nanasahir chief of the rebellion was first one the british side then when he saw they were in difficulty he changes side, also because the British had cut his allowance as a prince.

In Lucknow, the princess, Begun of Awad, revolted because the British refused to see her son as an heir.

C)It took only 6 weeks for the British authority to disappear

D) The end of the mutiny

The mutiny concentrate on three cities because the revolted wanted to have loot (butin) , since then

the mutiny was pointless. This was inevitable because there was no leadership in general, they were only united by what they hated. A lot of sepoys got trapped in Delhi and as they lose the effect of surprise they couldn't act anymore.

Islam could have been used against the British but the Muslims were not trusted and they were never strong enough to defeat the English by themselves. Still there was an anti-British Jihad from the Wahabites (it was a puritanical sect founded in Saudi Arabia by Wahab). The motivation for the war was to chase the English out of the land of Islam: India. It was a well-organized sect, the British knew that the Wahabite leader had contact with some Sepoys' chief as early as the 1830's. Wahabites were trained as conspirators, secret agents and trained some agent Sepoys. These soldiers emerged and took over the government of day-to-day life.

A new war happened, it started in China, in 1857 the EIC needed help and Queen Victoria sent a punitive expedition (because of the opium) so there was a blockade of the British settlement in Hong Kong (the only place where the British could land). So the British sent an army and they reached the Delta of Bengal just at the time of the rebellion. They landed the whole army in India > white soldiers were to restore the Raj in India. It was a real asset for the British.

During the revolt Hindu and Muslim were united against the British. The rebel government in Delhi decided to abolish taxes and ban slaughters of cows (even though they were Muslim they did it for the Hindus)

Indian rebellion was in fact a civil war, because thousands of Sepoys remained faithful to the British, the Gurkhas (kind of Hindus) and the Sikhs (33,000 men).

There were mass murders of civilians on both sides. Once the British surrendered they were massacred so when the British took control again they decided to massacre also the responsible. General Neill decided that the responsible had to lick the blood of their victim before being executed, and Muslims were forced to eat pork.

General Neill was killed shortly after by a bullet in the head.

When the British forces recaptured Delhi it threatened the others so the Sepoys deserted, by 1858 all of them had been captured. On the British side there was no doubt that the Raj triumphed, it was for them a soldier's rebellion. They considered the revolt was localized, negative in its objective and destructive in nature.

But Karl Marx saw that rebellion as the first Indian war of independence, he recognized the national character of the war. By creating the Sepoys the British had created the first center of resistance. The atrocities committed by the Indian Sepoys were widely reported in the British press, but for Marx it was only an historical retribution (*he said that without knowing the atrocities committed by the British*).

The mutiny put India in the first ground of British political scene as a result it was the End of the EIC (it was held responsible for what happened.)

E) The Indian Babus [*Hindi word for Sir*]

The EIC was replaced by a Secretary of State for India, responsible for India and the Parliament was finally responsible for India. In India the Governor General was replaced by a Viceroy. In provinces there were Governors General and all of them were assisted by a Council made up by bureaucrats and a handful of princes. Bureaucrats were part of the Indian Civil Service, you could enter it by taking an exam so educated Indians could become members of these Councils;

Those educated Indians could have taken the lead of the mutiny but most of them were the Indian intelligentsia and owe their position to the British so they didn't revolt. They were upstarts (arrivistes) and they collaborated. Mostly tax collectors' descendants were sent to school (they were despised by both the Indian and the British)

In 1857 12 Indian doctors graduated from the medical school in Agra, they joined the growing

elite of educated Babus (8000 indians with a degree, 500000 secondary graduated)

The best went to Britain the very best of them entered the Inns of Court (four private legal societies to which all barristers must belong. This explains why well educated Indians were fellows of well educated British: they went to school together. These Indians were fascinated by the British way of life and they like the British political system. They wanted to apply what they saw in Britain to their own country they considered themselves as equal with the British.

The British weren't especially happy with the fact that Babus were taking over in India but in Britain they think Babus were an asset to the throne. So the problem was when the Babus came back from England to India.

F) The Indian national Congress 1883

The government suggested that Indian magistrates could do the same as white magistrates, the proposal was rejected by the viceroy because of the white protest. The Indians were shocked because it was rejected for racial grounds so it led directly to the creation of the Indian National Congress, it was like a British club, grouping educated Indians from many professions (profession libérale). They met once a year to discuss the issues related to their country. First it was seen as a debating club and the membership grew a lot. The emergence of the assembly respectful of English rules caused some alarm in the white community but the Indians never went as far as the Irish they only demanded the assimilation of Indian bureaucrats into local governments. But such a step could have been the first step forward Indian self government which was unimaginable by the British. So all the proposals of the Babus were rejected.

Viceroy Lord Curzon (1898-1905) « Congress is an unrepresented body » because India is a nation of peasants and they weren't represented.

India wasn't a dictatorship because they could write and debate, there was no way to censure Babus when they were asking why the English principles weren't applied in India. The official answer was that there was a division of wealth, religion and caste so the Indians cannot rule their own country. Even though there were educated Indians they belong to India and India was divided. This was a very clever answer but racial reasons were quite obvious.

IV. Divide and rule

India was a heterogeneous empire: 562 Indian states ruled by local kings.

45% of the territory ruled indirectly by British represented 93 millions of persons one third of the population.

Most were Hindus but it was very difficult to draw a racial or religion map

Muslims were in the north mostly. They represented 1/7 of the total population; religious tolerance didn't exist in India they all hated each other and the British used this hatred to divide and rule. Some claimed, in Britain, that only the British could keep the peace, play a role of umpire (arbitre).

During the 1920's a little incident between boys of two schools transformed into a massacre and 60 days of rioting and pillage. The Babus who had united were shocked that such an event could still take place. Religion was the principal obstacle to national unity.

Nehru (1889-1964) thought religion was a curse and prevented them from thinking of themselves as Indians first. Nehru was jailed 9 times by the British. *[he used to say as a joke that he was a JBE « jailed of the British empire » in reference of the KBE « knight of the British empire »]*

Things that united Indians were peasantry and poverty

13. Gandhi and congress

Biographie of Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948) – studied law in London

- became a barrister in south africa where he fought for the right of the indian minority
- 1914: first political fight in India, he became a leader in the congress

His ideas were different from nehru he believed as him in religious tolerance and was against the cast system but he wished all indian to remain a simple folk. He wanted people to be only peasant because he believed in the vertu of agriculture and poverty (this ideas came from rousseau the human race should come back to its natural state). Gandhi died before he could apply his theory. Gandhi for example wanted all the indian to spin their own cotton, a symbolic act of mistrusting of the industrialization of great britain. And also Gandhi wanted to get rid of the english language he wanted his own language Gujarati to become official which was not wished by nehru. The intellectual of congress didn't agree on that point they were product of the British civilization, they were like clones of british but this education was only accessible by few people like the princes heirs or the commercial people. The idea was to make of India a second Britain, copy their system: right of the individual, limitation of the power of the state. Moreover the intellectual were few and the education process was very slow

14.

15. De 1914 à 1918

India fought on british side, then the british had a financial and moral debt because the Indians remained faithful throughout the war and lended the british government 100 millions £

India needed a reward so in 1917 a proposal was made by the government to give india self government. This proposal was rejected by the vice roy lord Curzon, eventually they only get a responsible government which is a very different legal status.

16. Montaigu- Chelmsford reforms and Rowlatt bills

Chelmsford (1868-1933): vice roy of India after lord Curzon

Montaigu (1879- 1974): secretary of state for India. In 1918 he went to India he was the first secreatry of state to make the trip to India.

They united to do reforms which became laws: indians were given more control in local and provincial matters (health/education/agriculture) but the British kept the control of the finance, law and order. A new structure appear: provincial government presiding over an executive council. Indians were represented in these councils and in the viceroy council.

Baboos in congress expected really more, the central power remained firmly in british hands, so they decided to react it was the first major contest: a non cooperation campaign was organized.

While the previous laws had been voted another law was voted too, it was the Rowlatt bills its purpose was to put down the indian rebellion(because there was a widespread fear of communism.) This law suppressed the individual rights and was really opposed to the Habeas corpus principle. It had never been used but it made the baqboos really angry.

17. Hartal(6 april 1919) the Amristar massacre

The fight against British was to be difficult but original. Gandhi was provided with a test ground for

his theory of popular resisting he developed in south africa.

His secret weapon was SATYA GRAHA, it was the soul force a spiritual state achieve by anybody strong enough to passively resist any immoral authority, made up of patience and faith in god.(the more you suffer the stronger you were.) SG was the conscience of great britain (luckily Gandhi was fighting against the british not the Nazi) The british accept the Principe of empire because they thought the indian were happy with it.

Nation wide hartal uphold (public demonstration/mourning or of disapproval) everything was closed down. But some marches became riots and they started fighting the police, setting fire, murdered europeans. It reminded everybody of the sepoy's rebellion; Gandhi was shocked at the deaf and passion of the anti british people he could not control the crowd.

The biggest problem happened in Amritsar where they sent the army. General Dyer order the troops to fire: 320 dead 1200 wounded. Dyer lost his nerves, he resigned after being censured but he had public support in britain they considered that british army had save india.

So active abandon pacific resistance to active resistance. Five days after Gandhi called off the movement, he only proves that the country was controlled by force.

The British government set up an inquiry and Dyer was condemned but they see him as the savior of india, Montagu was blame for having been too soft on the Indians.

The congress of India was close to member of the labour party but they were not in government at that time and in the conservative party they had a fierce opponent : Winston Churchill(nobody's perfect).

18.The way to Swaraj(own rule)

For most people congress meant Gandhi and that was the case all over the world he was an international figure a symbol for all the freedom fighters. The ideas of non violence was very respected but the followers didn't do so.

In 1920 Gandhi's aims was self government and independence. He also wanted to improve indian moral by putting them in poverty because he thought a revolution had to take place in the soul but the other wanted something else. Nerhu wanted to get rid of poverty in India and keep british modernization. But still the congress accept Gandhi guidance and he managed to have them involved in the salt march.

In india there was a tax on salt impose by the british, it was an unfair tax, gandhi proposed to guide the peasants to the sea where they could get salt for free. It was the best way to fight the british. They did it on the 4th of may and go in Dharasama.

They arrested Gandhi and congress members. But in a way the british weren't that unhappy with Gandhi because the rebellion wasn't violent and he was not communist.

Finally in 1929 the three main british party agreed to give India self government they gave the status of dominion to india (as ireland). But in the 30's it was unthinkable for britain to lose India because Japan was an enemy in the region they started to infiltrate mandchouria in 1933 and British used to control a lot of things in China.

A)1935: government of india act.

It created an Indian parliament where the minorities non Hindus were also represented. The congress saw this act only as a step they waited for more.

After that there were election and congress assured itself a dominant position everywhere because it was the only countrywide organization almost 1 million of members. The congress was reinforced in the thinking that they were the voice of India.

It has always been assumed that the independence of India meant that it would stay united in one country, however after the elections there were a problem which came from the muslim. They were frightened by the hindou majority and wanted a state for themselves this led to real battle between the two communities. For example in Calcutta the muslim shopowner refused to join an hartal which led to a riot which made 500 dead. It affected the congress power of representation.

B) The all India muslim league

The muslim league was created in 1906 by AGA KHAN the leader of a shiite sect of islam called the Ismaili. (search what are the differences between shiite and sunite)

Shiite: Iran Lebanon India (Pakistan) > direct relation with god they the sharia

Sunite: they have a clergy, they are the biggest sect.

The leader of the all india muslim league in 1938 was JINNAH, they became the focus of muslim aspiration but still they may not have all the members that they thought, they were quite alike the congress because a lot of their members were in fact ex congress members. They claimed talking for all the indian muslim.

British accepted that league (divide and rule) The muslim league really became a political instrument in 1935 before these elections there was no real opposition. The muslim were in favor of partition, in 3 years it became a mass organization dedicated to his goal (getting Pakistan) they spread the fear of the hindous domination and it became like a holy war to save islam.

C) Big milestone for India the WWII

The 3 septembre 1939 the vice roy of india lord Linlithgow (he was scottish) announced on the wireless (la TSF, la radio quoi...) that India was at war with Germany. The congress protest but the vice roy had that right. It symbolized India submission to Britain. Even though they were against the war the congress understood that Germany was a threat.

Chandra Bose (communist) was at the head of the forward group wanted to do as the Irish and rebel while England was at war (il a fait un voyage a Berlin en passant par Kaboul, il a offert ses services à Hitler qui malheureusement aimaient le concept du British Raj ou les blancs dominant)

Everybody in Congress believed that WWII was to be used to squeeze new concessions from the British. From 1939-1941 the discussion went on ignoring the war, Gandhi said nothing against the war effort but kept asking for independence.

Congress members were appointed as councillors in the vice roy committee to avoid the problem of going to war without a word. This was an important step which could have settled things down for the all war but Winston Churchill put conditions on the viceroy's suggestion:

- The viceroy power should remain intact
- The British are free to deploy troops in India when they want.
- No constitutional talks will be allowed during the war
- No promise would be made about what would happen at the end of the war.

The congress gave an ultimatum as an answer they ask for a constitution at the end of the war, the answer was no. So british governors took charge back to square 1.

The japanese entered the war in 1941 and they took singapore it was a great shock because it was considered to be the strongest place in asia and it was taken easily and british troops weren't used to be beaten by non white soldiers.

The roads of India, australia and new zealand were opened; japan bombed australia which got help from USA. Birma has their own nationalist party and when the japanese came they were seen as liberators. British feared that indians would welcome the japanese in the same way so they started making concession.

D) The Cripps mission

On the USA side roosevelt was concerned at a possible lost of India so he sent his own representant to India, the Colonnell Johnson went there to help it was the first time USA interfered in Britain personal affairs. He was supposed to act as a mediator between the congress and the viceroy Churchill took it as a blow. So the british sent Cripps a left wing labour minister in favor of india's independance; He was suppose to promise that a constitution will be made after WWII and they'd have to chose between a dominion status or independance. Cripps was full of goodwill but his mission was finally fake, it was a joke played by conservative to pretend that they were ready to make an offer. Because when cripps asked the viceroy and churchill if india could have the responsability of its defense they didn't agree. The USA were not amused, roosevelt send a stiff message blaming london (it proves that USA were already in charge) but britain answer that they could be problem if they interfered as the threat of japan drew closer (they even landed in Alaska) and USA might need british boats.

E) The Quit India Campain (april 1942)

According to Gandhi British were worse than japanese but he didn't see them as liberators but he thought he could get rid of them in the same ways. (there never was any agreement between japanese and congress)

In the second week of july was a massive quit india campain which paralyze the country but some indians attack british. So the congress leader and Gandhi were arrested, the congress was declared illegal, the press was censured, and the army was ordered to shoot at the mass. India was restored within 6 weeks but it took a lot of soldiers. In 1942 the muslim league remain on the british side; Gandhi was discredited because it took british soldiers who could have been fighting with american somewhere else so indirectly it killed american soldiers. Churchill that sepoys woul mutine again.

But the situation stay quiet until the end on the war. In 1943-1944 there was a famine in Bengal, 3millions people died, the british army didn't help at all to show their power (c'est des anglais cherchez pas...)

At the end of the war the British were ruined and had lost all power in India so they had to discuss the independance.

F) The Partition of India

Churchill favored the division of india but in 1945 he wasn't prime minister anymore and the government had no clear policies

groupe A: all hindu provinces

groupe B: muslim majority > Pakistan

groupe C: muslim majority Bengal and Hassan>Bangladesh

They wanted a central power but the sikh were and still are a problem they wanted their own state the Khalistan.

The Cabinet mission had no time to discuss over this. Nehru announce that he could not agree with any plan were the muslim were independant.

1946: the hindus rioted and killed

The last viceroy has for mission to get rid of India, to transfer power into responsible hands, his name was lord Montbatton.

In july 1947: Indian Independance act, the 14 th of july at midnight India was no longer British.

There were few basis to draw frontiers of benjabs and pakistan and their were kept secret until the independance: It create a large exodus>40 millions people started leaving their home and try to fing a shelter on the other side. 1 million people were slaughtered during the trip most of them were sikhs who were caught in the middle.

The first prime minister of india was Nehru and Jinnah took care of pakistan(bengal became independant later on.)

Gandhi was killed by an Hindu fanatic, nowadays India and Pakistan both have the atomic bombs it remain a very hectic part of the world.