

British India 1818-1875

British Expansion 1818-36

British Invasion of Afghanistan and Sind

Sikhs and Punjab Submit to British

Dalhousie's Annexations 1848-56

Mutiny and Revolt 1857-58

Reconstruction of British India 1859-75

Rammohun Roy and Social Reform

Tibet and Nepal 1818-75

Ceylon 1818-75

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British Expansion 1818-36

After 1800 Thomas Munro spent seven years in Mysore developing his method of tax collection he had initiated at Madras. He returned to England and in 1812 persuaded the Directors to prevent the use of the permanent settlement in Madras and the Upper Provinces. Munro went back to Madras in 1814 to implement annual settlements and reform of the judicial system. In 1820 he was made governor of Madras and applied his more traditional *ryotwari* settlements throughout the province for the next seven years. He believed that the natives were much more qualified than the Europeans for making judicial decisions, and Charles Metcalfe described the British-dominated courts as "scenes of great corruption" and "very unpopular." Even Governor-General Lord Hastings bemoaned the inconvenience, expense, and delay of the civil proceedings. He let Munro experiment using village headmen (*patels*) for suits up to 250 rupees and village councils (*panchayats*) for larger ones; but they were all expected to work without remuneration and were not utilized. Munro believed in working with a prejudice in favor of native systems, instead of against them so that they could learn to govern themselves. Although this judicial method failed, his revenue system was adopted throughout India. Metcalfe also warned that if the British empire kept its inhabitants in ignorance, their dominance would be a curse; but if they promoted enlightenment with arts and sciences to improve conditions, then the gratitude of India and the admiration of the world would accompany their name in the future.

Bombay governor Mountstuart Elphinstone adopted the *ryotwari* system. In 1819 he described two techniques used if the *panchayat* refused to hear a dispute. In *takaza* a man may restrain an equal or inferior from leaving his house or eating or compel him to sit in the sun until he makes some accommodation. If the debtor is a superior, the creditor may supplicate and lay on his doorstep, appealing to his honor and shame. A person may also sit in *dharna* by fasting on the other party's doorstep. Maratha troops often used the *dharna* method to extract back pay from their chiefs. Elphinstone revised the Bombay judicial system in 1827, using Zila (district) courts with one judge, whose decision could

be appealed to the Sadar Diwani Adalat. Petty cases were tried in lower courts by Indians.

In Afghanistan after Dost Muhammad treacherously took Herat from Mahmud's brother Firuz-ud-din and insulted his harem, Mahmud's son Kamran murdered Fateh Khan in 1818. The next oldest brother Azim Khan asserted his claim, as Dost Muhammad seized Kabul and fought Shah Mahmud and Kamran, who now had Herat. Azim Khan turned to exiled Shah Shuja, and they marched on Kabul; but in a quarrel between them Shah Shuja was defeated and fled back to Ludhiana in 1821. Azim Khan and his Barakzai brothers ruled over all of Afghanistan.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh extended his Sikh confederation by conquering Multan in 1818, Kashmir in 1819, Dera Ghazi Khan in 1820, Mankera and Dera Ismail Khan in 1821, and Bannu and Tank in 1822. Some of these territories were taken from the Afghan empire, while the Indus River marked the boundary between his Sikh kingdom and Sind. Ranjit Singh imprisoned his mother-in-law Sada Kaur in 1820, but two years later the British restored her to the fort of Whadni. Because of his friendship with the British, Ranjit Singh refused to form defensive alliances with Nepal or Bharatpur. When Peshawar governor Yar Muhammad Khan gave Ranjit Singh valuable horses, Muhammad Azim Khan disapproved and went to Peshawar, declaring holy war on Ranjit. The Sikhs won the battle in March 1823. Azim Khan died the same year, resulting in a struggle for power between the Barakzai brothers that lasted three years until Dost Muhammad captured Kabul, Ghazni, and Jalalabad; other brothers held Qandahar.

Concerned about a possible invasion into India by Russia, the British had concluded a treaty with Persia in 1814 in which they promised to provide military aid to Persia if they were invaded by any European power; but when Russia and Persia went to war in 1826, the English annulled the provision by paying Persia money. In the treaty Persia agreed to send forces if the British were at war with Afghanistan; but the British were not to interfere in an Afghanistan-Persian conflict unless both sides sought mediation.

Governor-General Wellesley had imposed press censorship; but the liberal Lord Hastings granted wide latitude to the *Calcutta Journal*, which James Buckingham began publishing in 1818. Three years later it was countered by the pro-government *John Bull*. The Government sued Buckingham for libel but lost. A financial scandal caused the Marquess of Hastings to leave India in early 1823. By then the *Calcutta Journal* had a circulation of a thousand. Senior councilor John Adam governed in Bengal for seven months until Lord Amherst arrived. However, when the *Calcutta Journal* satirized the appointment of a Scottish minister to a post in the Stationery department, Adam had Buckingham deported. England and the Netherlands signed a treaty in 1824 that ceded the Dutch territories in Bengal to the British.

Bishop's College was established at Calcutta in 1820 but did not admit non-Christians. In 1823 the General Committee of Public Instruction was formed in Calcutta, and Sanskrit College was founded. Rammohun Roy wrote a letter suggesting that more modern education was needed. The next year James Mill and the Court of Directors issued a

dispatch urging education with utilitarian principles. A Calcutta *madrasa* (Islamic school) was established in 1826, but only two students passed the junior scholarship examination in the next 25 years.

Cotton manufacturing in England reversed this trade as a nominal 2.5% duty allowed British goods into India. With the ending of the Company monopoly in 1813 unsold native cotton goods accumulated in Company warehouses. The cotton imports increased from 2,000 pounds in 1813 to 100,000 pounds ten years later. The British government protected its industry at home with tariffs while allowing free trade in India. In his ten years Lord Hastings increased the Company's annual revenue by nearly six million pounds.

East of Bengal, Burma was expanding its little empire. They seized Manipur in 1813. Rebels led by Khyen-byan attacked Arakan from 1811 until he died in 1815. Burmans installed in Assam a ruler who accepted their sovereignty in 1818. Burma demanded that the British deliver the rebels who took refuge in Bengal, or they threatened to annex Ramu, Chittagong, Murshidabad, and Dacca as part of Arakan. Hostilities escalated gradually because of border incidents involving British subjects. In September 1823 Burmans killed three British sepoys on the tiny island of Shahpuri, a place so unhealthy no one even wanted to leave a garrison there. Nonetheless, the British reoccupied it and put up stockades in November. Govinda Chandra had been driven away from his kingdom of Cachar by three brothers and appealed to the British, who declined to help; but the Burmese sent an army that reinstated him. Lord Amherst wrote to the Directors that this pass was essential and recognized Govinda Chandra as a ruler protected by the British, sending a force from Dacca to Sylhet. Govinda Chandra accepted and promised to pay the British tribute.

The Burmese government sent a force of 4,000 from Assam, but a British force led by Major Thomas Newton defeated them in January 1824. After the Burmans captured the pilot of a British schooner and burned the hut on Shahpuri, the British declared war on Burma. The Burmese general Maha Bandula led a large army that caused the sepoys to flee from Ramu. The British withdrew to protect Chittagong, and the Burmans entered Cachar; but they left before Newton's force arrived. The youngest brother Gambhir Singh had joined the British but managed to conquer Manipur on his own. General Archibald Campbell with his army of 11,000 occupied Rangoon in May after the Burmans had fled with badly needed provisions. Maha Bandula attacked them in December with about 60,000 men; but the British force managed to defend themselves as part of Rangoon was burned. Meanwhile an expeditionary force occupied Tenasserim. Sepoys at Barrackpur near Calcutta, upset that they did not have enough pay to buy bullocks to carry their cooking pots, refused to obey orders to march into Arakan. Commander-in-chief Edward Paget ordered guns to fire on them; a few were killed, and some drowned in the Ganges. A court martial sentenced the 41 captured to death; twelve were hanged, and the rest had their sentences commuted to fourteen years hard labor.

In January 1825 the British army forced the Burmans at Rangpur to ask for a truce. When the British force occupied the capital at Arakan, the Burmans withdrew from that

province. Because of fever and dysentery, the British withdrew from most of Arakan. Campbell's forces and a naval column attacked Donabew in April, and Maha Bandula was killed by a rocket. The Burman king's brother, Prince of Tharrawaddy, opposed the war with the British and evacuated the strongly fortified Prome to return to the capital at Awa and try to persuade his brother to make peace. Campbell cantoned his troops at Prome and under an armistice began negotiating, but the King refused to accept the terms. The Burmans made another proposal, and a treaty was signed in January 1826; but the King refused to ratify it. Finally as the British army came near the capital, at Yandabo the King agreed in February to give up his claims to Assam, Cachar, and Manipur, ceding Arakan and Tenasserim to the English and promising to pay an indemnity of ten million rupees. They agreed to exchange envoys, and a commercial treaty was signed. Even the Company Directors had to admit that this war was caused by "trifling acts of insult and aggression" and that the invasion of lower Burma was not justified by military necessity. The number of those killed in battle was less than two hundred; but of 3,738 European troops in the Rangoon expedition 3,160 died of scurvy and dysentery, and of 1,004 in Arakan 595 died from malaria. All together on the British side about 15,000 died, and the war cost five million pounds.

In central India rumors that the British were withdrawing troops for the Burman war stimulated Pindari brigands, rebels, and ambitious chiefs to take up arms. Two days before Bharatpur ruler Baldeo Singh died in February 1825, Resident David Ochterlony invested the young prince as the heir. However, Durjan Sal as regent claimed the throne and took over the fort of Bharatpur. Ochterlony announced that his troops would rescue the boy before the fort could be defended; but when the Governor-General in council suspended his preparations Ochterlony resigned. Charles Metcalfe was appointed resident of Delhi and formulated the imperialist policy that it would be hazardous for the British to relax their paramount influence in Malwa and Rajputana, arguing that the non-interference policy had failed in 1806. He denounced Durjan Sal and sent a large force that assaulted and captured Bharatpur in December 1825, killing at least 8,000 while suffering only 600 casualties; a treasury worth 480,000 pounds was divided by the army as prize money. Durjan Sal was imprisoned at Allahabad, and Metcalfe installed the boy Bulwant Singh as raja.

In 1827 Governor-General Lord Amherst visited Awadh nawab Ghazi-ud-din, who loaned the Bengal government fifteen million rupees before he died that October. Daulat Rao Sindhia died earlier in 1827 but had arranged for his favorite wife Baiza Bai to choose an adopted son to succeed. Major Stewart supported this, and as regent she loaned the British Company five million rupees.

William Bentinck returned to India as governor-general in July 1828 intent on applying utilitarian principles to reform India. Metcalfe left Delhi and as senior member of the Council became Bentinck's chief advisor. He warned that the only thing that was universal in India was the disaffection toward the dominion by strangers. Bentinck himself wrote that he wanted to reform the "monstrous rapacity" of 400 strangers governing sixty million people. At the end of his term in 1835 he concluded that compared to the Muslims who intermixed and married the natives, the British rule was

"cold, selfish and unfeeling" using the "iron hand of power" along with "monopoly and exclusion."

Because of the expenses of the Burma war, Lord Amherst left India with a one-million-pound deficit his last year. Bentinck saved nearly a million by reducing military expenditures, and an interlude of peace along with special measures to protect the Government's lucrative opium monopoly created a two-million-pound surplus by the time he left. Although it only saved 20,000 pounds a year, the officers resented his cutting in half their *batta* (extra pay). Bentinck allowed newspapers to criticize him and his government, but after a while he forbade them to mention the *batta* issue anymore. He adopted in Bengal the revenue administration pioneered by Munro in Madras, saved money by appointing Indian judges for 400 rupees per month, and let them handle more cases.

Company servant David Scott in Assam recommended annexing western Assam and recognizing someone from the Ahom dynasty. The Company did the former but procrastinated on the latter. Prince Gadadhar Singh rebelled in 1828, but he and his supporters were arrested and put in prison. The next year Khasi raja Tirat Singh regretted his agreement to help the British build a road, and his men killed two British lieutenants. During the rebellion the British burned Khasi villages. In 1830 Assamese nobles proclaimed Kumar Rupchand raja. The British suppressed these insurrections by the Khasi hill tribes and the Singpho. Two rebels were hanged, and Rupchand was imprisoned for fourteen years. Tiran Singh eventually surrendered and spent the rest of his life in prison. Scott died in 1831, and two years later Purandar Singh was installed in Upper Assam; but his tribute was set at the exorbitant 50,000 rupees. After five years he was in arrears and was deposed as Upper Assam was annexed by the Company.

The British asked Cachar raja Govinda Chandra to cede his territory to the Company, but he refused. Cachar was invaded by Tularam on one side and by Manipur raja Gambhir Singh on the other. The British declined to help him and made him assign territory to both of them. After Govinda Chandra was assassinated in 1830 by a servant of Gambhir Singh, the British rejected all the possible rulers and annexed Cachar. Tularam was forced to pay tribute for his territory, which was later annexed three years after he died in 1851. The raja of Jaintia died in 1835, and his successor declined to pay the high tribute demanded; the best part of his territory was taken, and he gave up the rest. The Company also annexed other small territories in the late 1830s.

In Tenasserim some fanatical Muslims objected to Hindu idolatry and in 1830 plundered and burned their houses. They killed cows and forced Brahmins to eat beef. After a magistrate was forced to flee, soldiers came and killed nearly a hundred of the zealous Muslims, imprisoning and dispersing the rest. In Orissa and southwest Bihar native tribes objected to British taxes and settlers taking the best land; but their uprising with primitive weapons was suppressed by the military.

Sayyid Ahmad of Bareilly taught the doctrines of Waliullah and traveled from Delhi to Peshawar, where the governor was accused of trying to poison him. He aroused his

followers to fight, and they defeated and killed Yar Muhammad in 1829; but Sikhs led by Prince Sher Singh and General Ventura helped Sultan Muhammad win back Peshawar. The Sikh troops withdrew, but Sayyid Ahmad led his forces across the Indus in 1830 to attack Sikhs led by Hari Singh Nalwa and General Allard. The Sayyid's holy warriors (Ghazis) withdrew, but a few months later they attacked Sultan Muhammad Khan and occupied Peshawar. Ahmad proclaimed himself caliph and minted a coin. His taxes on the peasants and decree that all young men must marry caused discontent, and he was killed at Balakot by a surprise attack in May 1831. The Usufzai tribe expelled his deputies, and the Ghazis dispersed.

In 1831 Bentinck visited Lucknow (Lakhnau) and tried to persuade the profligate Nasir-ud-din that if he did not reduce the corruption, he would be removed from power. The Nawab hired Hakim Mehdi to collect revenue, but the Indians and Europeans who disliked his reforms drove him from his office. In 1835 the Directors ordered Bentinck to take over the government of Awadh (Oudh); but since he was leaving office, he just warned the Nawab. Bentinck did take over the government of Mysore from its unpopular ruler Purneah because he mistakenly thought the tribute was in arrears. Later in 1834 he visited the Raja and proposed his power be restored, but the British kept control over Mysore until 1881. Coorg was annexed by force because its raja had killed all his heirs. Bentinck tried to get the emirs to open up the Indus River, but Ranjit Singh believed it was too shallow.

Governor-General Bentinck and Maharaja Ranjit Singh exchanged state visits in 1831 with mutual respect, and the next year Captain Wade got Ranjit Singh to agree to let British traders use the Sutlej River. Sikhs led by Hari Singh defeated Afghan tribes above Attock in 1832. Shah Shuja tried to recapture his throne but could only get a four-month advance on his allowance from the British. After making a treaty with Ranjit Singh, Shah Shuja set out from Ludhiana in 1833 with 3,000 troops and 200,000 rupees. As he traveled through Shikarpur, he forced the Sind emirs to pay him 500,000 rupees. Shuja's forces besieged Qandahar in 1834, but they were defeated by Dost Muhammad Khan and his brothers. Shah Shuja returned to Ludhiana the next year with 250,000 rupees.

Bentinck made special efforts to end thuggery and *sati* (widow suicide). Thugs (robbers) had been active in India since the decline of the Mughal empire. They were also called Phansigars because they used nooses to strangle their victims. Mostly they were Hindus worshipping Kali, the goddess of destruction, but Muslims sometimes joined their gangs. They preyed upon travelers by pretending to befriend them before murdering them and taking their possessions. They gave some of their loot for Kali ceremonies and to those who protected them. Bentinck sent special agents and established special courts to hear these cases, and in 1835 the Department of Thuggee and Dacoity was established. A law was enacted making membership in a thuggee band a crime. In six years more than four hundred thugs were hanged, and the roads became much safer. After Wellesley decreed that *sati* was legal if voluntary, the attendance by police officers to assure this seemed to give it more credibility. The number of *sati* deaths more than doubled in six years, reaching a high of 839 for the year 1818. Bentinck enacted a regulation in 1829 making

burning or burying widows alive homicide. This reduced *sati* in Bengal, Bombay, and Madras, but it still was allowed in the native states.

The Company's charter to administer territories in India was renewed in 1833 for another twenty years because many believed that the Parliament would increase the corruption of patronage. The new Act stated that the interests of the native subjects were to be preferred to those of the Europeans when they were in conflict. The Governor-General was responsible for Bengal, Assam, and the Burman possessions, and Metcalfe was appointed governor at Agra. The English were now allowed to acquire land in India. Slavery was abolished in the West Indies in 1833, and many planters moved their plantation system of exploiting labor to India. The Governor-General and the Council could now make laws for all the Company's territories. A law member was added to the Council, and a Law Commission was appointed with Thomas B. Macaulay as its head. The Charter Act of 1833 also required the Company to divest itself of administering religious endowments, and participation in religious festivals was discouraged and in 1840 prohibited. Bentinck dismissed for corruption the residents at Delhi and Lucknow, and he transferred others he suspected.

Before he left India in March 1835, Bentinck announced that the British government should promote European literature and science by making English the language of higher education. Macaulay wrote his "Minute on Education" in which he argued that English should be taught instead of Sanskrit and Arabic. Thousands of Indians enrolled in English schools, and in two years the Calcutta School Book Society sold more than 30,000 books in English. According to an 1845 report to the House of Commons the number of students being educated at government expense included 13,699 Hindus, 1,636 Muslims, and 236 Christians. The Bengal government attempted to establish in each district an English school or a school using both English and the local language. Higher education was available in Calcutta at the Hindu College, which was only open to Hindus. In 1854 the government took it over and renamed it Presidency College, emphasizing the writings of Bacon, Johnson, Milton, and Shakespeare along with history, science, moral philosophy, and political economy.

Charles Metcalfe served as acting governor-general for one year. He believed in freedom of the press and removed the restrictions. F. J. Shore published his *Notes on Indian Affairs* in 1837, criticizing the government by the English Company for being "extortionate and tyrannical in practice" while professing to be benevolent and philanthropic.

The last Maratha raja, Pratap Singh, in 1835 tried to claim the six *jagirs* (tax districts) recognized by the treaty of 1819, but Bombay governor Robert Grant deliberately withheld a letter and honorary sword sent by the Court of Directors. Brahmins resented Pratap Singh for supporting the right of Prabhu Kayasthas to perform religious rites. They intrigued to bring charges of conspiracy and treason against the Raja and two men for trying to seduce Indian officers from their allegiance to the British. James Carnac replaced Grant and asked the Raja to sign a memorandum agreeing to certain conditions for clemency on the charges; but Pratap Singh lost his throne at Satara in 1839, only

because he had the integrity not to sign the document that would be admitting what was false.

British Invasion of Afghanistan and Sind

Tory minister Robert Peel persuaded the Directors to appoint the diplomatic Heytesbury as governor-general; but the Whigs replaced the Tories in 1835, and the new foreign secretary Palmerston did not want the former ambassador who was friendly with the Russians. Instead, George Eden, known as Baron Auckland, was chosen. He set out for the Upper Provinces with a retinue of 12,000 people and was not deterred from passing through the famished region between Kanpur (Cawnpore) and Agra in 1837. They did some relief work, but about 800,000 died of hunger and disease. Col. John Colvin began investigation for an irrigation project that led to the Ganges Canal nearly twenty years later. At Lucknow, Resident Col. Low had used force to defeat the Begum's nominee as successor to Nasir-ud-din Haidar and put his uncle Muhammad 'Ali on the Awadh throne; but he had to agree to pay 1,600,000 rupees annually for an additional subsidiary force. The Directors later rejected the new treaty as unfair; but Auckland only told the new ruler he was released from the additional burden.

Ranjit Singh intrigued with the Barakzai brothers against Dost Muhammad, and Hari Singh led the Sikhs that seized Peshawar in May 1834. Dost Muhammad declared a holy war on the Sikhs and marched on Peshawar; he asked for English aid, but they declined. Sultan Muhammad refused to take the Sikh envoys hostage for his brother Dost Muhammad and went over to Ranjit Singh, who gave him some tax districts after Dost Muhammad withdrew. The British could not get the Khairpur emir to restrain the Mazaris from attacking the Sikh posts, and so in 1836 the Multan governor defeated the Mazaris and took over Rojhan and the Ken fort. The English sent Captain Alexander Burnes to negotiate commercial agreements with the countries bordering on the Indus River, and Captain Wade traveled to Lahore to reassure Ranjit Singh. Hari Singh occupied the Jamrud post at the Khyber Pass, but he was defeated and killed by Dost Muhammad's army from Kabul in 1837.

Russian envoy Simonitch encouraged Persia's Muhammad Shah to attack Herat, and the Persian army began a siege in November 1837. English envoy Burnes was in Kabul trying to persuade the Barakzai brothers to resist a possible Russian advance when Russian emissary Vitkevitch arrived to tell Dost Muhammad that Russia would fund his effort to expel Ranjit Singh from Peshawar. In a treaty guaranteed by Simonitch the Persian shah transferred Herat to the rulers of Qandahar. Burnes negotiated with Qandahar and offered British help against the Persians, but the Government of India made him withdraw that. They offered to restrain Ranjit Singh from attacking Dost Muhammad if he would not make an alliance with another state. However, Auckland was afraid of losing the Anglo-Sikh alliance if he pressured Ranjit Singh. Since the British offered little, Dost Muhammad welcomed Vitkevitch to Kabul. The British minister McNeill complained to the Shah in his camp that the siege of Herat violated their treaty, and meeting with the Herat ruler he arranged a treaty, which the Persian shah refused to ratify. So McNeill suggested that Auckland send a naval force to the Persian Gulf, and

they occupied the island of Kharak. In August 1838 the British told the Shah he must withdraw from Herat to suspend British actions, and the next month the Persians retreated. The Russians said they were not aggressive and recalled Simonitch and Vitkevitch, who felt disgraced and committed suicide.

Macnaghten in Lahore asked Ranjit Singh to help Shah Shuja regain his throne at Kabul, but the Maharaja declined to do so without British forces participating. Shuja promised to turn over two million rupees paid by the Sind emirs to Ranjit Singh, and all three signed the treaty by July 1838. Armies in Bengal and Bombay began preparing. In October the Governor-General issued a manifesto from Simla that even the press at the time exposed as a "collection of absolute falsehoods." Even though the siege of Herat had been ended, Auckland did not call off the campaign; his proclamation in November indicated his intention to replace a hostile power in eastern Afghanistan. The Duke of Wellington warned that the advance would be "a perennial march into that country." A Blue Book of dispatches was published in 1839, but they were carefully selected and edited to convey false impressions.

The British army gathered at Ferozpur with 9,500 men in the Bengal division and 5,600 from Bombay, while Shah Shuja had 6,000 men. Across the Sutlej River were 15,000 Sikh troops, but Ranjit Singh would not allow the army to march through his country. So they had to go through Sind even though a military crossing of the Indus River was a violation of their 1832 treaty with the English. The Sind emirs were forced to pay Shah Shuja 2,500,000 rupees (25 lakhs), and he had to pass on 15 lakhs to Ranjit Singh. The Khairpur state made a treaty to cooperate with the British, who promised to protect them and occupied their fortress at Bukkur. Auckland also demanded that the Sinds pay three lakhs per year for the subsidiary force in their territories. Facing an attack by this army on Hyderabad if they did not comply, the Sind emirs signed two more treaties, paid the tribute, and provided supplies. Troops took over Karachi, and a British force was stationed to make sure that tolls were no longer collected on the Indus River.

As the army marched, Baluchi brigands harassed the rear, carrying off baggage, camels and bullocks, which were dying by the hundreds. In late March 1839 they reached Quetta, where commander John Keane established his headquarters. By then they were on half rations, and 20,000 baggage animals had been lost. Macnaghten began using money to give people compensation and bribe the authorities. Most Afghan tribes were won over by gold, and Qandahar surrendered on April 25. Shah Shuja was enthroned on a platform. Macnaghten and Burnes persuaded General Keane that the Ghazni fortress would also surrender, and so he left behind the large guns. Only because a nephew of Dost Muhammad deserted and told them of a weak gate were they able to blast through and take the fortress, killing many Afghans while suffering less than 200 casualties. Dost Muhammad and a few followers fled north into the Hindu Kush mountains. There he took refuge with Uzbek chief Wali of Kulun, who kept him prisoner. Keane's army marched into Kabul on August 7, 1839, but Shah Shuja was not warmly received. The Barakzai sirdars had been expelled from Afghanistan, and British soldiers occupied Qandahar, Ghazni, Jalalabad, and Kabul.

The Bombay army departed Afghanistan as did some of General Nott's Bengal troops. Macnaghten advised Auckland to order the Bombay division to punish Mehrab Khan for not restraining the Baluchi brigands, and three Khelat provinces were turned over to Shah Shuja. Ranjit Singh had died in June 1839, and his successors objected to Keane's army passing through the Punjab. Macnaghten paid them off, and he also found that the Ghilzai chiefs and Afridis had to be bribed to keep the mountain passes open. Baluchi tribes still attacked convoys and even Quetta itself in June and July 1840. Mehrab Khan's son Nasir Khan took over Khelat and forced the British puppet Shah Nawaz Khan to abdicate until General Nott arrived with troops and forced Nasir Khan to flee to the hills. Yet a year later to avoid more trouble the British recognized Nasir Khan as the ruler of Khelat and the three provinces taken from his father.

The Afghans did not like Shah Shuja's government and blamed the British because of their military occupation. Auckland's council complained of the huge cost for this Afghan adventure. Macnaghten contemplated taking Herat but was restrained by Auckland. Dost Muhammad persuaded Wali of Kulun to support his attack on Bamiyan, but the British defeated them in September 1840 and won over the Wali with gold. Joined by some of Shah Shuja's troops, Dost Muhammad marched toward Kabul, but the British cavalry defeated him at Parwandurrah on November 2nd. Two days later Dost Muhammad rode up to Macnaghten and surrendered. Macnaghten kept him as an honored prisoner before sending him under guard to Calcutta, persuading Auckland to give him a pension of 200,000 rupees.

To save money Macnaghten reduced the stipends and subsidies he paid to Afghan chiefs. This caused resentment, and the eastern Ghilzais left Kabul to take up positions on the road to Jalalabad. Macgregor arranged truces, but they were to no avail. Col. Robert Sale was wounded in Khurd Kabul Pass, and many of his men and much equipment were lost in October 1841. On November 2nd Afghans in Kabul attacked the house of Burnes, killing him and many others and taking the Shah's treasury. The gout-suffering General W. G. K. Elphinstone failed to reinforce the commissariat fort, and the British lost most of their provisions. Their troops often did not obey orders or fight. The Hindu sepoy resented their loss of caste, and the Muslim sepoy were reluctant to kill fellow Muslims. The freedom-loving Afghans also resented the way their women in Kabul had been seduced by the occupying army. The insurrection spread, and the garrison at the Laghman fort mutinied, left the fort, and marched to Kabul. Two British officers at the fort in Kohistan were murdered by their men. Ghazni was attacked, and the British garrison stayed in the citadel until March 1842, when they surrendered and were treacherously killed.

Auckland ordered a withdrawal, but Macnaghten was still optimistic and sent Mohanlal to spread around 50,000 rupees among the tribes. The army was demoralized and faced starvation, and Elphinstone urged Macnaghten to make peace. Macnaghten proposed the British evacuate Afghanistan unmolested; Shah Shuja would abdicate, and four British officers would remain as hostages. They evacuated Bala Hissar on December 13. The Afghan chiefs brought provisions but asked the British to hand over their forts. They did so, but carriages were not arriving. Dost Muhammad's son Akbar Khan sent Macnaghten

a proposal for Shuja to rule with Akbar as his well paid vizier. On December 23 Macnaghten went to meet Akbar with three officers; but Macnaghten and another were killed, and the other two were made prisoners. Now the Afghan chiefs required the British to leave behind all their guns except six along with all spare muskets and the coins in the public treasury. They also wanted the married men to remain with their families as hostages; but none volunteered, and this was changed to a few men. The sick and wounded were left at Bala Hissar. In January 1842 the British left with 4,500 troops and 12,000 camp followers. In the Khurd Kabul Pass they were ambushed by Ghilzais, and about 3,000 were killed. The attacks continued, and more were massacred. A few officers forged ahead, but all were cut down or dispersed except Dr. Bryden, who reached the fort at Jalabad after a week of slaughter.

Brigadier Wild led four regiments from Firozpur to Peshawar but could not get Sikh support. In the January weather the sepoy refused to march to Kabul without gloves and coats, but Henry Lawrence prevented their execution and persuaded them. At the Khyber Pass they did not fight, and the Afghans took the Ali Masjid fort that commanded the Pass. Gen. Nott disobeyed an order to evacuate Qandahar and defeated some Afghans. In March 1842 Brigadier England led a relief detachment from Sind but was defeated and fell back to Quetta. Col. Sale refused to evacuate Jalalabad and defeated Akbar Khan's Afghans in April.

On February 28, 1842 Lord Ellenborough arrived at Calcutta and replaced Lord Auckland. Ellenborough ordered an immediate evacuation but contemplated whether military operations should be undertaken to restore British honor. Generals Pollock and Nott were given discretion to vindicate the military. Pollock defeated some Afghans in August and the next month occupied Kabul. In revenge the British demolished the marketplace. Shah Shuja had been murdered in April, and his son Fath Jung, who had been a tool of Akbar Khan, fled, surrendered, and abdicated. Shapur, another son of Shuja, was proclaimed king. General Nott entered abandoned Ghazni and destroyed the town, claiming he captured the gates from the tomb of the 11th-century conqueror Mahmud. Saleh Muhammad Khan released the British prisoners from Bamiyan for 20,000 rupees and a small pension. Dost Muhammad and other Afghans returned from India. Shapur fled to Peshawar in 1843, and the British recognized Dost Muhammad, the one they had overthrown, as the rightful ruler before they departed from Afghanistan.

To gain control over Sind, Governor-General Ellenborough sent letters to the emirs Nasir Khan at Hyderabad, Rustum Khan at Khairpur, and Sher Muhammad Khan at Mirpur, warning that if they were not faithful, their sovereignty would be taken away. Ellenborough replaced Major Outram with Charles Napier as commander and ordered him to investigate the Sind emirs. They were accused of seeking secret alliances against the British and levying tolls. In November 1842 a treaty took away their right to coin money, and Karachi and Tatta were ceded to the British. Napier ordered British troops to occupy the left bank of the Indus from Rohri to Bahawalpur, and he marched on Khairpur to replace Rustum Khan with his brother, the compliant Ali Murad. Outram as commissioner was negotiating with the emirs in Hyderabad and advised Napier not to march on the unarmed city with troops. After Napier captured the Imamgarh fortress,

thousands of armed Baluchis came and attacked Outram's residence, forcing him to flee to a steamer. In February 1843 Napier's force defeated them in a fierce battle; 62 British and about 5,000 Baluchis were killed. Most of the emirs surrendered, and their property was confiscated and auctioned. Napier received about 50,000 pounds, but Outram declined to accept 3,000 and left the country. In March a similar battle was fought against Sher Muhammad of Mirpur, killing about 2,000 Baluchis. The British annexed Sind and appointed Napier governor, but Ali Murad ruled Khairpur as their vassal. Ali Murad tried to extend his domain with a forged treaty; but he was eventually caught, and his authority was diminished in 1851.

In England *Punch* summed up Napier's conquest of Sind with the Latin word *peccavi*, which means "I have sinned." The Directors passed a resolution condemning his Sind takeover but decided that giving it back would cause more mischief. Outram testified that the emirs had been bullied and provoked into armed resistance because Napier did not halt his march even after they signed a treaty. Napier had confessed in his journal, "We have no right to seize Scinde; yet we shall do so, and a very advantageous, useful, humane piece of rascality it would be."¹ Sind remained a deficit province for many years, and Napier governed it until 1847. Although Bentinck had abolished flogging in the Indian army, Napier continued to flog. He imposed martial law and tried cases by military commissions, deciding himself the capital cases. Captain Young complained that he retried persons who had been acquitted. Using the Irish constabulary as a model, Napier established the Sind police under a European captain with native officers. This was the first modern police force in India that was independent of the military and revenue collections, and the Bombay Presidency adopted the system in 1852.

Ellenborough assigned Col. W. H. Sleeman to investigate the uprisings in the Saugor district of central India that occurred in April 1842. He found that the Revenue Board orders had been misconstrued, damaging the landowners. When their protests were ignored, they revolted. Ellenborough dismissed the officials. He also abolished many inland customs duties in Madras and the North-Western Provinces, raising the salt tax to make up the revenue.

When Jankoji Rao Sindhia died in February 1843, leaving behind no son and an 11-year-old widow, Ellenborough used the opportunity to take over the large Gwalior province. The Gwalior Durbar wanted Khasjiwalla as regent, but the British chose Mama Sahib, who was opposed by all the chiefs. The British government demanded that the influential Khasjiwalla be fined and banished. The Governor-General appointed Col. Sleeman as resident at Agra and went there himself. Warned that the British army was coming, Khasjiwalla surrendered. In December 1843 Ellenborough demanded a treaty be signed within three days. The Maratha troops fought for their independence and inflicted 790 casualties but suffered more than 3,000. In January 1844 the Governor-General dictated a treaty at Gwalior that provided for a larger British force and civil administration, 2,600,000 rupees from the Gwalior Durbar, a limit of 9,000 men in the Maharaja's force, and a British regent until the Maharaja came of age in 1853.

Sikhs and Punjab Submit to British

Ranjit Singh died on June 27, 1839. His oldest son Kharak Singh became maharaja and let the British troops pass through the Punjab on their way back from Afghanistan. Sikh troops helped General Pollock get through the Khyber Pass on their way for vengeance against Kabul. Kharak Singh was considered a fool and an opium-eater; but his son Nao Nihal Singh took control after Dhian Singh murdered the Maharaja's favorite Chet Singh Bajwa in October 1839. The three wealthy Hindu brothers of the Dogra tribe named Gulab Singh, Dhian Singh, and Suchet Singh had been made rajas in the province of Jammu. Kharak Singh died in November 1840; coming back from the funeral, Nao Nihal Singh was killed when an archway fell on him. Many suspected Dhian Singh even though he was also injured and his nephew was killed. Ranjit Singh's reputed son Sher Singh succeeded. He was a voluptuary and was challenged by Kharak Singh's widow Chand Kaur, who claimed to be regent for Nao Nihal Singh's son who was born later. Both sides offered the British and the Sikh army advantages. In January 1841 Sher Singh besieged the Rani (Queen) at the Lahore fort; Dhian Singh became his chief minister, as Chand Kaur retired with a tax income. Her Sandhanwalia supporters withdrew to British territory.

The army now felt its power and plundered houses of the wealthy in Lahore, killing several people. The disorders spread, and General Avitabile fled from Peshawar to Jalalabad. Kashmir troops murdered Col. Mian Singh, but Jammu raja Gulab Singh restored order and gained control over the valley in April 1841. However, his nomination to Peshawar was vetoed by a British agent later that year. Other commanders in Mandi, Kulu, Hazara, and Amritsar were also assassinated. Sher Singh appealed to the British, and they prepared to send a force of 10,000, but Sher Singh changed his mind. The Lahore Durbar invited representatives of the army units and increased their pay; these committees of five were called military *panchayats*. The army had control and chastised those they considered traitors. In June 1842 female attendants beat to death Chand Kaur. The British agent Clarke persuaded Sher Singh to recall the exiled Sandhanwalia sirdars, Attar Singh and Ajit Singh. Nearly a year later in September 1843 Ajit Singh shot Sher Singh dead while his uncle Lahna Singh killed his son Partap Singh. Then together they shot and killed Dhian Singh along with his bodyguards. Dhian's son Hira Singh and brother Suchet Singh aroused the army and stormed the fort, killing Ajit Singh, Lahna Singh, and several hundred of their troops. Attar Singh fled with his son to the British. Hira Singh declared maharaja young Dalip Singh, the son of Ranjit Singh and Rani Jindan, who became regent with Hira Singh as prime minister. Suchet Singh supported two other reputed sons of Ranjit Singh, Kashmira Singh and Peshawara Singh; but his revolt was crushed, and Suchet was killed in March 1844. Another rebellion was quelled the next month as Kashmira Singh was killed.

Peel appointed his secretary of war Henry Hardinge to be governor-general, and he arrived in July 1844. Multan governor Sawan Mal was assassinated in September and was succeeded by his son Mulraj. He quelled a mutiny in November by killing four hundred soldiers. Hira Singh's counselor Jalla Pandit offended Rani Jindan, and she caused the army to turn against them. Hira Singh and Jalla Pandit fled from Lahore and were killed in December 1844. The Rani's debauched brother Jawahir Singh became the prime minister in May 1845, and her lover Lal Singh was influential. The *panchayats* did

not like them and wanted Peshawara Singh as maharaja with Jammu raja Gulab Singh as vizier; but Chatar Singh Atariwala, whose daughter was betrothed to the young maharaja Dalip Singh, had Peshawara Singh murdered. Jawahir Singh was suspected of having killed the prince and fled with Dalip Singh; but he was caught and executed by the angry *panchayats* in September 1845; his four wives died on his funeral pyre. Lal Singh became prime minister with Tej Singh as commander-in-chief. Meanwhile Gulab Singh had extended his domains to include not only Kashmir but also Chach and Rawalpindi, while his military forces increased to 50,000 men with 200 guns. Gulab Singh and others secretly negotiated with the British, who promised they could keep their kingdoms. Meanwhile the British had been preparing by increasing their troops from 23,000 to more than forty thousand and by sending supplies to Ferozpur, where they built a fort. Hardinge appointed the bellicose Major Broadfoot, who did not like the Sikhs. He declared the Cis-Sutlej territories belonging to Lahore under British protection.

By the fall of 1845 two British armies were about to converge on Ferozpur, and in December the Sikh army crossed the Sutlej to a piece of Sikh territory on the other side. The Sikh leader Lal Singh was secretly in communication with British captain Peter Nicholson and asked what he should do. He was told to delay the attack on Ferozpur several days, and the Sikhs lost their advantage. After the British commander-in-chief Hugh Gough arrived with his army, the battle of Mudki began. Lal Singh deserted his army, and the Sikhs fell back. The sepoys were reluctant to fight against the Sikhs, and most of Gough's casualties were British. The Sikhs had a larger force, and about 2,000 were killed. That night Sikhs killed the British left alive on the field. In the morning a fresh force led by Tej Singh missed an opportunity; he also fled to save the British army. While Gough needed fresh troops, Lal Singh and Tej Singh waited a month. However, Ranjodh Singh Majithia led a Sikh attack on Ludhiana. Harry Smith, who also fought in South Africa, led a relief force; but they were surprised at Baddowal in January 1846, were rescued by a British detachment, and won a battle at Aliwal. Henry Lawrence replaced the killed Broadfoot as political agent and continued to get secret information from Lal Singh. Gulab Singh stopped sending supplies to the Sikhs. In February the British had the guns for an offensive. In the battle at Sohraon the traitorous Lal Singh and Tej Singh fled across the Sutlej and broke the bridge of boats so that their army would be destroyed. The British got revenge for their wounded having been killed at Ferozpur by killing all they could; about half of the 20,000 Sikhs were killed or drowned.

The British sent a reserve unit into Lahore, and Governor-General Hardinge imposed a treaty on March 9, 1846. The British annexed the Jullundur Doab and sold the hill country between the Beas and the Indus rivers to Gulab Singh for five million rupees. The Sikh army was reduced to 20,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry. All guns were taken over by the British, and they were given permission to pass through the Punjab. The British promised not to interfere in the internal administration at Lahore, but this was not kept. Gulab Singh now had sovereignty over Jammu and Kashmir, and his nephew Hira Singh paid the indemnity from the Lahore treasury. Lal Singh was still prime minister, and he urged Kashmir governor Shaikh Imamuddin not to turn over the valley to Gulab Singh. Henry Lawrence marched there with troops, learned why, and returned to prosecute Lal Singh at Lahore. He was found guilty and exiled in December 1846,

replaced as vizier by Tej Singh. That month Frederick Currie proclaimed the conditions Governor-General Hardinge was imposing on the Lahore government, and the Treaty of Bhyrowal was signed. The British officer in Lahore was to have "full authority to direct and control all matters in every department of the State." Henry Lawrence was appointed the first Resident, and Rani Jindan was excluded from the administrative regency council. When the young maharaja Dalip Singh refused to invest prime minister Tej Singh, Lawrence had the Rani imprisoned in the fort.

Before he left office, Governor-General Hardinge reduced the native regiments by twenty percent, resulting in 50,000 less soldiers and saving more than a million pounds. Lord Dalhousie arrived in January 1848. Henry Lawrence went home on sick leave, and John Lawrence replaced his brother Henry as commissioner of the Jullundur Doab. He reduced taxes and eliminated unnecessary duties. He proclaimed slogans against burning widows, killing infant daughters, and burying lepers alive. The Khalsa army was reduced from 27,764 to 22,005, and roads were built. Some of those unemployed turned to raiding. The outbreak in Multan stimulated other dispossessed rajas of Kangra, Jaswan, and Datarpur to rise up against the British also; but John Lawrence raised two divisions and crushed the insurgents by offering each village a choice between a pen or a sword, saying,

What is your injury I consider mine;
what is gain to you I consider my gain.
If your lands are heavily assessed,
tell me and I will relieve you;
if you have any grievance,
let me know it, and I will try to remove it.
If you will excite rebellion, as I live I will punish you.
I have ruled this district three years by the sole agency of the pen
and if necessary I will rule it by the sword.²

Mulraj was charged three million rupees for having succeeded his father as governor of Multan, but the British troops sent to collect it had been defeated in 1846. Mulraj wanted to resign, but John Lawrence persuaded him to wait a year. When Currie became resident, he sent Khan Singh Man to replace Mulraj with the British officers Vans Agnew and Lt. Anderson. Mulraj handed over his office; but someone threw a spear at Agnew, and fleeing Anderson was badly wounded. His mother taunted Mulraj into leading the insurgents. The next day a Mazhabi boy was killed in shooting with Khan Singh's troops, and rebels murdered Agnew and Anderson.

The revolt spread to Bannu, Peshawar, and the northwestern Punjab. The miserable condition of the imprisoned Maharani also provoked discontent. Hazara governor Chatar Singh was a popular Sikh leader, and his daughter was engaged to Maharaja Dalip Singh; but the British kept postponing the wedding. Captain James Abbott accused Chatar Singh of conspiracy against the English and instigated Muslims against him, promising them three years without taxes if they expelled him. Sikh soldiers under Chatar Singh's son Sher Singh were deserting to Mulraj in large numbers. Chatar Singh resigned, and his son Sher also joined Mulraj in September 1848.

Upon Currie's advice not to declare war, Governor-General Dalhousie announced that the British government was occupying the Punjab province. Chatar Singh seized Peshawar at the end of October, and Commander-in-chief Gough crossed the Sutlej and moved into Lahore. The armies met on the banks of the Chenab in November, but Gough waited for his troops from Multan. After news arrived that Chatar Singh's troops had captured Attock on January 3, 1849, the battle was fought at Chilianwala. The British forces lost 2,446 men, and both sides claimed victory. Meanwhile Multan was being assaulted, and Mulraj surrendered on January 22. Chatar Singh got 1500 cavalry from Afghanistan's Dost Muhammad and joined his son; they fought the British again at Gujrat. General Whish had arrived from Multan, and the British had superior artillery. The Sikh army was routed and chased by the British cavalry for fifteen miles, while Walter Gilbert's forces pursued the Afghans through the Khyber Pass. On March 12, 1849 the Sikhs surrendered and laid down their arms. An old Sikh soldier cried, "Today Ranjit Singh is dead." The prophecy of the great Sikh maharaja that the map of the Punjab would one day become all red (British) had come to pass.

Henry Lawrence returned as resident and opposed annexation; but Governor-General Dalhousie was determined, and in April 1849 he ratified the treaty in which Dalip Singh gave up sovereignty to the British for a pension. He and others later complained that those who had promised to protect him had taken away his sovereignty. Only one of the eight on the regency council had joined the rebellion, and the majority of the army had not revolted. Dalhousie had annexed the Punjab without consulting the home authorities. Maharani Jindan escaped to Nepal; she lost her property and lived there on a pension. Dalip Singh became a Christian in 1853 and went to England, but he returned to India in 1860. After he left India in 1886, he reverted to the Sikh religion.

Charles Napier was appointed commander-in-chief, and his inflammatory rhetoric had to be restrained by the Punjab board. A mutiny in Rawalpindi was solved by dismissing about a dozen men who refused to accept their pay in 1849. The next year Napier had to disband a mutinous regiment at Amritsar. He ordered that soldiers at Wazirabad be given dearness pay, making Dalhousie furious; Napier resigned and went back to England.

Governor-General Dalhousie established a board with Henry Lawrence as president but with John Lawrence to supervise finances and Charles G. Mansel (replaced by Robert Montgomery in 1851) over the judiciary. The liberal Henry and the rational John Lawrence worked together to improve the Punjab. They began with disarmament, and using the influence of the headmen 120,000 weapons were surrendered. Forts were leveled except in Peshawar, where defense against tribal raiders was needed. The Khalsa army of the Sikhs was completely disbanded and was replaced by a military of Sikhs and Muslims, a police force of mostly Muslims, and the Punjab Frontier Force. Dalhousie over-ruled Henry Lawrence and insisted that military grants be abolished. By 1852 Punjab soldiers were volunteering to fight for the British in Burma. Former soldiers took up plows, and large amounts of grain were produced. The market was flooded, and for a while transportation was difficult. Henry Lawrence talked to the peasants and got his brother John to suspend money payments. Despite reductions, more efficient taxation

along with the sale of Durbar property produced annual surpluses. Eventually the Punjab became the bread-basket of India.

Henry Lawrence urged that roads, canals, and bridges be constructed. In four years 1,349 miles of roads were built; 2,487 miles were traced; and 5,272 miles were surveyed, not counting minor roads. Henry argued that the Sikh chiefs should have continued authority, but John disagreed and was supported by Dalhousie. After many arguments, in December 1852 both brothers resigned. John Lawrence was appointed commissioner, and Henry was sent as an agent to Rajputana. The people missed the kind Henry, but John continued the successful work. Edwin Arnold praised the results, writing, "Few could boast of having substituted in the space of four years, order for anarchy, obedience for irregular impulse, gardens for jungles, plenty for barrenness, peace for war."³

Between 1849 and 1856 twelve punitive expeditions suppressed raiding. The Pathans used guerrilla tactics, and so John Lawrence began giving cash allowances to influential chiefs and encouraged friendly contacts with officials. Herbert Edwardes negotiated a friendship treaty with Dost Muhammad's son in Kabul. In these seven years the Punjab spent thirty million rupees on public works. Many Sikhs already went to school, and Lahore had sixteen elementary schools for girls. In 1856 they planned to build 130 new schools, and most classes were conducted in Urdu. They established 104 Small Causes Courts that did not charge fees for legal advice.

Dalhousie's Annexations 1848-56

The annexation of the Punjab was only the beginning of Governor-General Dalhousie's annexations in India. He often used the doctrine of lapse as a reason for taking over states after a ruler died without a male heir. When deposed raja Pratap Singh died in exile at Benares in 1847, his brother Apa Sahib was allowed to inherit the Maratha state at Satara. He adopted a son the day he died in April 1848, but this time Dalhousie annexed that state. When Sambalpur's ruler Narayan Singh died in 1849, Dalhousie disregarded his widow and annexed the already surrounded state. The Company took over a large part of Sikkim in 1850 to punish its ruler for mistreating British subjects. In 1852 the Mir of Khairpur was deposed. John Low persuaded the Directors not to let Dalhousie annex the Rajput state of Karauli because of Rajput feelings. Raja Raghuji Bhonsla III died without a male heir in 1853, but the reason for annexing the large Maratha state of Nagpur was to consolidate British military power and commercial resources. Low raised the only objection on the Council; he believed that these native states provided an outlet for the energies and ambitions of Indians who could not rise in British territories. Also in 1853 Dalhousie annexed Jhansi in Bundelkhand after its Maratha chief died; he too had adopted a son the day before he died. Under the subsidiary treaty the Nizam of Hyderabad came to owe the British Company some half a million pounds and was persuaded to sign over the management of his territory to the Company.

In 1837 a palace revolution removed Burman king Bagyidow, and he was replaced by his brother Tharrawaddy, who was an alcoholic. He refused to acknowledge the Treaty of Yandabo. The British were not welcome, and the Resident withdrew in 1840.

Tharrawaddy was considered so insane that in 1845 he was put under restraint until he died the next year. In 1851 the British government decided to intervene on behalf of Europeans' complaints, and Dalhousie sent Commodore Lambert in a frigate to Rangoon. Burman king Pagan sent conciliatory letters and replaced the offending governor of Rangoon. In January 1852 Lambert sent interpreter Edwards to arrange a meeting with the new governor; but his deputation was put off when they were told the governor was asleep. Lambert gave asylum to British subjects on his ships and blockaded the rivers. Despite a warning that a yellow ship belonged to the king of Burma, Lambert seized it and refused to give it back even when the Governor offered to pay compensation for the grievances. Lambert provoked the Burman batteries to fire and then destroyed them. Dalhousie admitted that Lambert started the war by seizing the king's ship. Even though Dalhousie repudiated Lambert's action, he accepted responsibility and gave the king an ultimatum to pay one million rupees by April first. He sent the 38th Native Infantry by the Dacca road, because they were not required to fight overseas by their enlistment contract. John Lawrence later criticized Dalhousie for sending a commodore if he wanted peace, and Cobden wrote a pamphlet on the origin of the Burman war, condemning the whole affair.

General Godwin arrived in Rangoon on April 2, 1852, and the war began. Rangoon was captured on April 14, and the British took Bassein in May. They captured the city of Pegu and installed a prince from an old ruling family. In July the British captured the fortress of Prome; but after the interlude of the rainy season these two places had to be recaptured in the fall. Dalhousie rejected a march on the capital at Ava and ordered annexation to somewhere beyond Prome. The Burman king declined to negotiate a treaty, and in December the annexation was proclaimed. In February 1853 King Pagan Min was replaced by his half-brother Mindon, who wanted peace; he ordered his officers to stop attacking British forces and released their prisoners. Major Arthur Phayre was appointed commissioner of the new province that extended fifty miles beyond Prome.

In 1847 Hardinge had warned Wajid Ali Shah of Awadh (Oudh) that he had two years to put his house in order or face annexation. Wajid Ali was an accomplished poet and liked to spend his time with musicians and artists. Dalhousie asked Resident William Sleeman to investigate, and he described the corruption and anarchy in the country. The property-owning Talukdars regularly terrorized the poor cultivators. Robbery and murder were common. The Awadh shah complained later that Sleeman had interfered with his administration by urging people to submit complaints and even gathered names on a list of those who wanted the East India Company to govern Awadh. Bishop Heber had described Awadh as a prosperous country in 1825, and the two British residents between 1839 and 1847 testified that Nasir-ud-daullah had improved agriculture, reformed the police, revenue, and the judiciary, encouraged commerce, and sponsored public works such as schools, colleges, tanks, and wells.

Wajid Ali Shah was open to improvements by British administration, and Sleeman advised the British government to help without taking over the revenues of Awadh. Henry Lawrence recommended letting Awadh be governed by its own people. Sleeman wrote about Dalhousie's intentions regarding annexation, "There is no pretext, however

weak, that is not sufficient, in their estimation, for the purpose; and no war, however cruel, that is not justifiable, if it has only this object in view."4 Sleeman saw the danger and warned that the native states were the breakwaters. If the annexations swept them away, they would be left at the mercy of the native army, which they may not always be able to control. Dalhousie wanted to warn the king again; but the Council felt the risk of recalling British troops should not be taken. Finally in January 1856 the Court of Directors extended Dalhousie's term and approved his annexation of Awadh. He sent Outram with a treaty; but Wajid Ali told him that treaties were for equals, and being treated as an inferior he would not sign nor accept the pension. Annexation was proclaimed four days later. Many Talukdars lost their land, and cultivators suffered from high assessments. About 50,000 sepoys were dismissed. The tax on opium was increased, and prices generally went up.

In October 1855 the last Karnatak nawab Muhammad Ghaus Khan died without a son, and Dalhousie would not recognize his uncle Azim Jah as nawab. That same month Raja Shivaji of Tanjore also died without a male heir. The Court of Directors declared that no daughter of a Hindu sovereign could succeed, and Dalhousie avoided deciding about the claim of the senior widow. The next Governor-General Canning decided to restore the property but not the regalia of the family.

Dalhousie also implemented internal reforms and promoted western education, planning three universities. In Bengal the Santals rebelled against harassment by police and revenue officials. Bengal had been under the busy governor-general. The Company Charter was renewed again in 1853, and the new Act created a lieutenant-governor to oversee Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, and Assam. Since 1833 complaints had been made that the Indians were not appointed to higher positions, but the 1853 Act did little to remedy that. Competitive examination for the Company's covenanted service took away patronage from the Directors; their number was reduced from 24 to 18, and six were to be appointed by the Crown. The Act abolished the Military Board and transferred public works to a new department that was staffed with engineers as well as military men. A system of railroads was planned, and the first 150 miles were constructed. A telegraph system was created and extended wires for nearly 4,000 miles. Reformed postal facilities fixed a uniform rate for letters. Charles Wood took responsibility for improving education. Forest conservancy and tea plantations were established, and jails were reformed. Military force was used to suppress human sacrifices in the hills of Orissa.

Schools were taught in the vernacular languages at the lower levels with English used more in the colleges. The Educational Dispatch of 1854 proposed an administrative department of education, universities in the three Presidency cities, institutions for training teachers, increasing government schools and colleges, establishing middle schools, increasing vernacular elementary schools, and providing grants. During 1857 universities were incorporated in Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. Their faculties were in the arts, law, medicine, engineering, and science. Lahore University was established in 1869.

Mutiny and Revolt 1857-58

The English Company had been ruling more and more of India for a century since Clive's conquest of Calcutta in 1757. The British may have had economic success, but the people of India were suffering from ruined industries, oppressive land tax, and lack of education for most of the people. The law courts were not impartial; police were more feared than respected; and prisons were wretched. The large Indian population had become passive and had little influence on administration. English officials were not very accessible to people, who could not present their grievances as they had before. British administration was less personal, slower, delayed, and frequently changing. Most Indians did not understand English law, and Muslims particularly disliked the use of English instead of Persian in the courts. Worst of all, Indians were systematically excluded from higher offices in government and the military. Even well educated Indians could not sit on legislative councils or be given coveted service.

Economically British commerce exploited the Indians. High tariffs were erected in Britain against Indian goods, while importation of English products into India was encouraged. The importation of British cotton goods ruined millions of Indians involved in manufacturing and trade. India was used as a cheap source of materials. Raw cotton exports went from 9 million pounds in 1813 to 32 million in 1833 and 88 million in 1844. Wool increased from 3,700 pounds in 1833 to 2,700,000 pounds in 1844. Linseed increased more than a hundredfold in the same period. The importation of British muslins into India went from 6 million yards in 1824 to 64 million in 1837. Millions of Indian artisans, spinners, weavers, potters, tanners, smelters, smiths had to find work in agriculture because of the industrial revolution and manufacturing capitalism in England. In 1852 the Inam Commission was set up to require titles from land-owners, and in the next five years more than 20,000 estates were confiscated in the Deccan, just as many Talukdars lost their property after Awadh was annexed.

The Charter Act of 1813 had unleashed proselytizing Christian missionaries, and gradually Indians came to fear that the British wanted to convert all of India to Christianity. Sayyid Ahmad Khan complained that the famine of 1837 had been used to make orphans Christians, and some believed the Government was reducing people to poverty so that they would adopt Christianity. In 1839 Christian missionaries petitioned the Company's government to stop supporting Hindu temples and caste regulations. The Religious Disabilities Act of 1850 made conversion easier by protecting converts from forfeiting their property or civil rights. Conservative Hindus also resented the Widows Remarriage Act of 1856 that removed legal obstacles to marrying again.

Many rebellions had broken out in various places since the end of the Maratha wars in 1818. Bhils revolted in 1819, 1825, 1831, and 1846. Rumors about the Burma War 1824-26 stimulated rebellions in various places. In 1830 and 1831 revolts broke out in Vizagapatam and among the Singphos, Titu Mir, and the Kols. Gumsur rebelled in 1835. Hindu College students began demanding more offices for Indians in 1843, and ten years later Ram-gopal Ghosh called for opening the civil service to Indians. Kolhapur revolted in 1844 as did the Khonds two years later. Moplah insurrections occurred four times between 1849 and 1855. That year the Santals began a revolt that went on for two years. The British had been fighting in the Crimean War, China, and against Persia over their

taking of Herat in Afghanistan again, though by April 1857 the British envoys made peace with the Persians in Paris.

The Company's army had English officers with natives called sepoy (from *sipahi* for soldier) as most of the rank and file. The Indians in the army outnumbered the British by more than five to one; but all the top officers were British, and most of the expenditures were for them. Sepoys complained of low salaries and little chance for promotion. Hindus objected that going outside of India violated their caste rules, and Muslims did not want to fight those of their religion in Afghanistan and other places. The Madras governor promised the Bengal army a special allowance for going to Sind; but this was not fulfilled, because it was against Bengal regulations. In 1856 the new Governor-General C. J. Canning implemented the General Service Enlistment Act requiring all new recruits to serve abroad; he did not think it would cause bad feelings. In Awadh more than 60,000 troops had been recently dismissed with small gratuities, and ill Commissioner James Outram was replaced by the insensitive Coverley Jackson, who ignored complaints, delayed paying grants and pensions, treated Talukdars harshly, approved heavy assessments on cultivators, and lived in the ex-king's palace. In January 1857 Henry Lawrence replaced Jackson.

In January 1857 Brahmin sepoy at Dumdum became concerned that the new Enfield rifles required them to bite open cartridges that were smeared with grease from the fat of hogs and cattle. Muslims are forbidden to eat pork, and Hindus do not eat beef. The rumor spread to Barrackpur, where they complained to General Hearsey. He let them use their own grease, and the Government approved. However, the Adjutant-General wired back that such concessions would increase the suspicion; he said that the sepoy had been using cartridges greased with mutton fat for years. The sepoy suspected that cow and pig fat were being used in order to convert them to Christianity, and they began to set fire to officers' bungalows at Barrackpur. On February 26 the 19th Native Infantry refused to accept percussion caps. The Governor-General ordered the 19th N. I. disbanded. On March 29 Mangal Pandey of the 34th N. I. shot at two officers, tried to shoot himself, and was put in the hospital. Other sepoy said that he had taken too much bhang (cannabis). He and another were tried and executed, and later many called the mutineers Pandeys. The 34th was disbanded, but discontent and acts of arson spread.

On May 2nd the 7th Awadh regiment refused to bite the greased cartridges. Commissioner Henry Lawrence learned of threats to kill officers, and he persuaded the mutineers to lay down their arms. Rumors also spread that bone dust from cows was being put in flour and wells. At Mirat forty miles north of Delhi, 85 troopers from the Third Cavalry had refused to touch the cartridges on April 24. They were tried by a court martial and sentenced to ten years. On parade before other unarmed sepoy they were stripped of their uniforms and shackled as armed British soldiers watched. On the Sunday night of May 10 while the British were in church, sepoy from the Third Cavalry released their comrades from jail. The 20th and 11th infantry regiments seized their muskets and killed Col. Finnis. After that, the sepoy and freed convicts killed Europeans, plundering and burning their houses. The sepoy decided to go to Delhi, but the British commander did not pursue them. The Sepoy from Mirat reached Delhi at dawn, entered the Red Fort,

and proclaimed elderly Bahadur Shah II emperor. Delhi had only three regiments of sepoy; they joined the mutiny, killed officers, and plundered Europeans, who fled. A few British officers led by Lt. Willoughby managed to explode much of the ammunition magazine. The uprisings spread down the Ganges to Bihar and south to Gwalior, Jhansi, and Bundelkhand. The Madras and Bombay presidencies were fairly free of revolt, which was concentrated in Delhi, Awadh, and Rohilkhand.

Bahadur Shah II at Delhi played both sides by protecting British fugitives and communicating secretly with the British at Agra; he offered to help the British troops enter the fort if they would recognize his position. Bahadur became a virtual prisoner of the plundering sepoy who made him help them. The revolt was chaotic as the cavalry and others demanded more pay. When the sepoy found that the Emperor's advisor Ahsan Ulla had 52 European prisoners, they killed them with swords. Bahadur Shah was deposed after a week on May 17, when prince Abu Bakr was elected. Bahadur still claimed to be king, but sepoy refused to serve under his commander-in-chief, Bakht Khan. A main motivation for the revolt was religious, and proclamations were made to kill all the infidels. Hindus and Muslims tried to stay united but sometimes turned against each other. Gradually the anti-English fervor faded, and magistrate Sayyid Ahmad was able to hold Bijnor for the British without any military forces.

Lucknow learned of Mirat and Delhi on May 14. Henry Lawrence was able to suppress an uprising on May 31, but the mutiny spread throughout Awadh. The Talukdars quickly acted to regain their lands and secure their forts. The last nawab was in British custody at Calcutta, but his queen Begam Hazrat Mahal and her son Birjis Quadr were chosen as the new rulers. They gave offices to Hindus and Muslims, while many local chiefs established independent kingdoms in Awadh and in Rohilkhand. Henry Lawrence fortified his Residency at Lucknow as a refuge for Europeans. While Lawrence was ill, Financial Commissioner Gubbins disarmed the sepoy and sent them home. Lawrence learned of it and managed to get some 600 sepoy to return. Lawrence tried to command the army, but on June 11 the military police joined the mutiny. Lawrence advised a defensive strategy, but Gubbins urged an attack on the rebel army. Desertions caused Lawrence to order a retreat, which became a rout. The Residency was besieged on June 30. Three days later Lawrence was mortally wounded by a shell, but 1,700 British soldiers, civilians, and the loyal sepoy held out against a rebel army that grew to 100,000. The Residency was relieved in September, but Lucknow was not re-occupied by the British until March 1858.

Rohilkhand had no British regiments and was taken over by mutineers in Bareilly on May 31. Khan Bahadur Khan was the grandson of Rohilkhand's deposed nawab, and he had tried to warn the British commissioner of the coming mutiny. He quickly joined the mutiny as Bahadur Shah's viceroy and ordered all the English executed. He began organizing revenue collection and appointed Hindus as well as Muslims. However, communal conflict erupted, and Hindu officers were despoiled. Sepoy plundered the rich and looted the shops. Khan Bahadur Khan governed Rohilkhand for nearly a year. He hired the poor, raising an army of 40,000 troops.

In Bengal only troops at Dacca and Chittagong mutinied. Several mutinies broke out briefly in Bihar led by Kunwar Singh, but the Deccan was quiet except at Kolhapur. Mutiny attempts at Ahmadabad in Gujarat and Hyderabad in Sind failed, and the one at Karachi was quickly put down. The mutinies were generally spontaneous and local without coordination. After killing and plundering, many sepoy went home with their loot; some mutineers set out for Delhi as the center of the revolt. Maulavi Ahmadulla of Faizabad had actually called for a holy war against the English infidels in January 1857, but the Muslims in Madras did not really act on this. So Ahmadulla went north. Sambalpur was ripe for rebellion, because British annexation had raised their taxes from 8,800 rupees to 74,000. Imprisoned Surendra Sal was freed and led the revolt there that lasted until 1862.

In the Punjab most of the sepoy were disarmed. At Lahore 600 Europeans disarmed 2,500 sepoy on May 13. Some resisted at Ferozpur. At Peshawar the 55th regiment fled; of the 120 caught 40 were executed by cannons. John Lawrence was in Rawalpindi and worked to raise loyal troops to retake Delhi. The English officers took control of the forts at Phillaur, Govindgarh, Kangra, Attock, and Multan. Gurkha regiments disobeyed and seized the treasury at Kasauli; but they returned to their barracks when their demands were met. News of the mutiny stimulated raiding by the Ranghar and Gujar tribes. Lt. Col. John Nicholson and Frederick Cooper led forces that tracked down mutineers and executed hundreds of prisoners to deter revolt in the Punjab. Brigadier Hodgson recruited 200 Punjabis for each of 74 regiments; half of them were Sikhs. However, only Jat Sikhs were recruited, as the lower castes were excluded; Mazhabis were hired to build roads and dig canals. By the end of August 1857 a total of 34,000 Punjabi troops had been raised. Ahmad Khan led an uprising in Multan in September that lasted two months. George Lawrence managed to keep the Rajputana region under control.

Before the telegraph wires were cut, Governor-General Canning got word of the mutiny on May 14. He summoned European troops from Madras and Bombay, and an expedition about to leave for China was called back. Col. James Neill brought the First Madras Fusiliers to Calcutta and was sent to disarm Benares and Allahabad. Hasty planning at Benares on June 5 resulted in some sepoy picking up their arms and firing on approaching Europeans. Cavalry arrived during the confusion, but by evening all the mutineers not killed had dispersed. News of this slaughter provoked a mutiny at Allahabad two days later. They waited until evening and then murdered six officers and eight teenage cadets. The British still held the fort at Allahabad, and on June 11 Neill arrived to put down the insurgency with indiscriminate killing, plundering of houses, and burning of villages.

Brigadier Wilson led troops from Mirat that managed to take the Ridge overlooking Delhi but did not have enough men to attack the city. Believing the prophecy that the British would only rule India for a century, on the centenary of the battle of Plassey (June 23) the sepoy attacked the British on the Ridge but could not overcome them. More troops arrived from the Punjab, and more than twenty battles were fought. Nicholson arrived in August, and the siege train enabled them to storm and take the Red Fort on September 20. Bahadur Shah surrendered on the condition that his life would be spared;

but Hodson shot three princes himself, because he feared the mob would rescue them. A few days later 21 more princes were hanged. The plundering of Delhi by the British, Sikhs, Pathans, and Gurkhas was compared to the sacking by Persian conqueror Nadir Shah in 1739. Bahadur Shah was convicted of murdering Europeans and was sentenced to life imprisonment; he was transported to Rangoon and died in 1862 at the age of 87.

The mutiny of the sepoy was gradually transformed into a rebellion led by chiefs. Nana Sahib claimed to be the Peshwa's heir at Kanpur (Cawnpore) on June 26. Mutineers surrounded the garrison of about four hundred British soldiers, who surrendered when they were offered safe conduct to Allahabad. However, their boats were fired on, and only four men escaped. Also 211 women and children were eventually put to death by the sepoy under Nana Sahib and Tantia Topi, a Maratha Brahmin who led 20,000 mutineers from Gwalior. Henry Havelock led a force that defeated Nana's troops on July 16. After Neill occupied Kanpur, Havelock went on to relieve Lucknow but swung back to attack and defeat Tantia Topi on August 16. Tantia survived and gathered more sepoy at Gwalior to seize Kalpi. In Bihar mutinous sepoy from Dinapur followed Kunwar Singh, the Talukdar of Jagdishpur. Nepal's Jung Bahadur sent a Gurkha army that defeated rebels in Azamgarh and Jaunpur in July. That month the Nizam's chief minister Salar Jang used artillery to defeat a fanatical Muslim mob that was attacking the Residency at Hyderabad.

Nana's nephew Rao Sahib persuaded Tantia to take Kanpur back from the British troops left there under Windham. He did so in November, while British commander-in-chief Colin Campbell was evacuating civilians from Lucknow. Campbell then won Kanpur back on December 6. Campbell spent the next month hunting down rebels in the Ganges-Jumna Doab and recapturing Fatehgarh. He appointed a commissioner, who was known as "Hanging" Power because of his death sentences for dozens of prisoners.

General Campbell assembled a large army of 30,000, including Sikhs, Punjabis, and 9,000 Gurkhas led by Jung Bahadur himself, for the retaking of Lucknow. This was accomplished on March 21, 1858; but while they looted and destroyed Lucknow, about 60,000 armed rebels scattered throughout Awadh. Governor-General Canning proclaimed that all proprietary rights in Awadh would be confiscated except for six he named and others who could prove their loyalty. As James Outram predicted, this had the effect of causing the Talukdars to fight a guerrilla campaign instead of helping to restore order. Outram mitigated its effect somewhat by circulating a letter that cases of land confiscated after annexation would be reheard. Ellenborough, President of the Board of Control, was so outraged by the proclamation that he wrote a scathing letter to Governor-General Canning in which he reminded him that influential landowners had been deprived of their property and that the hostilities in Awadh had "rather the character of legitimate war than that of rebellion."⁵

The widowed Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi had had her kingdom annexed by Dalhousie. When the sepoy mutinied in Jhansi, they slaughtered dozens of Europeans; they threatened the Rani, took her money, and departed for Delhi, leaving her in charge of the administration. She wrote two letters to the commissioner of Saugor, who asked her to

govern Jhansi on behalf of the British. She fought against an invasion by the chiefs of Orchha and Datia by forming an alliance with the rebel raja of Banpur. She sent more letters to the British that were not answered. Jhansi was attacked by Hugh Rose's army of about 6,000 on March 30 when Tantia Topi arrived with 20,000 men. Rose managed to attack them, causing Tantia to flee. Then his British forces stormed the fort at Jhansi on April 4 and slaughtered about 5,000 people. The Rani escaped dressed as a man. She and Rao Sahib were joined by Tantia Topi near Gwalior and won over Sindhia's army to take that fort, proclaiming Nana Sahib *peshwa*. However, Rose defeated these rebels at Gwalior. Rani Lakshmi Bai was one of the few rebel chiefs to be killed in battle, and Rose called her the bravest of the rebels. Tantia was eventually captured, tried, and hanged in April 1859. Rao Sahib was not arrested and hanged until 1862.

Campbell's army defeated Khan Bahadur Khan's army of 40,000 near Bareilly on May 5, 1858, ending the rebellion in Rohilkhand. Maulavi Ahmadulla, Begam Hazrat Mahal, and other rebel leaders continued to fight. After Ahmadulla proclaimed himself king and threatened Shahjahanpur, the Governor-General offered a reward of 50,000 rupees for his arrest. The Maulavi was shot dead at Powain on June 5, and the raja cut off his head and took it to the Shahjahanpur magistrate, who paid him the reward. That month Canning passed an Act to control the Calcutta press that equally applied to English as well as Indian publications. The Arms Act of September required licenses for firearms, swords, and other weapons. His Clemency Resolution was designed to stop the indiscriminate hanging of sepoys for merely being part of a mutinous regiment, but the vindictive derisively called him "Clemency Canning."

Ben Madho was defeated, but he left a fort with 15,000 men and continually managed to escape. Colin Campbell had to destroy 1572 forts in order win back the province of Awadh. He organized 5,000 police to help civil authorities after his army departed. On November first a full pardon was promised to all rebels who had not murdered British subjects and would return to their homes by the end of December. Most of the remaining rebels were driven toward the border region of Nepal by the end of 1858. Jung Bahadur announced that Nepal would not give refuge to rebels, and more than 2,000 were turned over to the British. Nana Sahib took refuge in the jungles of Nepal and probably died there. Many in England and India wanted more vengeance, but the Governor-General wisely limited the prosecutions. Later Viceroy Curzon commended Canning's clemency, because the government that punishes revengefully loses the respect of its subjects.

The India Bill of August 1858 ended the century of rule by the East India Company, replacing the Court of Directors and Board of Control by putting the British government in charge using a secretary of state and a council of fifteen with a majority having ten years experience in India. On November 1, 1858 Queen Victoria proclaimed that Canning would be the first Viceroy and that they would respect the rights of native princes and ancestral land-owners; they would not discriminate on the bases of religious faith or observances; all were to have equal and impartial protection of the law; those in authority must abstain from interfering with religious belief or worship; all Indian subjects regardless of race or creed, should be admitted to offices according to the qualifications

of education, ability, and integrity. The Queen's proclamation was called the Magna Carta of the Indian people.

The causes of why the mutiny and revolt erupted have been discussed; but why did the revolt fail when the Europeans in India were so greatly outnumbered? The British had already established their control by government over most of India and thus had their power structures in place. Their technology was superior, and especially the new breech-loading Enfield rifles that the sepoys were rejecting gave the British using them a tremendous advantage over the old muzzle-loaded muskets. The new telegraph lines helped the British react quickly to the emergency, and many mutinies were headed off by disarming the sepoys. Although there were serious grievances and legitimate reasons for Indian independence, a revolutionary movement with intellectual education had not yet developed. The first mutiny and most of those that followed freed convicted criminals and were lawless riots involving mass murders, robbery, looting, and chaotic destruction. Although some ancestral kings were selected as rulers, the rebellion suffered from pervading disorder with little or no coordination between rebel groups in different localities. In addition to the lack of political leadership, the military strategies were also inept. Most of the rebels gathered at Delhi and Lucknow, where little of strategic importance was accomplished. Because of the lawless behavior and lack of principles, the civil population was not inclined to support the rebels. Thus many Indians remained loyal to the British government, especially in areas where it remained in force. Essentially, unrestrained violence and the lack of ethics doomed the revolt. In the next century the inspired campaigns led by Mahatma Gandhi would show that the cleanest revolutions can be best accomplished without violence.

Reconstruction of British India 1859-75

Under the British Crown many policies were reformed in response to the horrendous mutiny and revolt. Military expenditures to suppress the revolt had cost the Government about forty million pounds. Viceroy Canning imposed an income tax in 1860 for five years to alleviate the two-million-pound annual deficit. Madras governor Charles Trevelyan objected so strenuously to the income tax that Charles Wood had him removed. Land revenue provided half the income; the second largest revenue came from the Government's monopoly on the opium trade to China, and third was its monopoly on salt. A commission recommended that the ratio of Indian to British troops be two to one for the large Bengal army and three to one for Madras and Bombay. Except in mountain batteries, the artillery was handled only by Europeans. The Police Act of 1861 enabled the civil power to take over duties previously handled by the military, and many of the 100,000 dismissed from the army became police. By 1863 India had 62,000 British troops and 135,000 Indians in the army. The Bengal army especially was restructured with mixed regiments consisting of separate companies of Sikhs, Punjabi Muslims, and Hindu Dogras. Indian officers could command companies. A "white mutiny" occurred at Mirat, because they were being transferred without being discharged, which prevented them from getting a bounty for enlisting again. Authorities ended up shipping 10,000 men home at more cost than the small bounties.

Canning held durbars to reward the princes who had remained loyal during the revolt. More than 500 principalities were recognized under British dominion. The annexations stopped, but the British could still regulate succession, dictate the minister to be chosen, and depose a bad ruler. In Awadh most of the Talukdars regained their land rights. In Madras possession for fifty years was considered valid ownership, and in Bombay inamdars could retain their estates by paying one-fourth of the land revenue. When a famine afflicted the northwest in 1860, new roads and relief efforts helped the thirteen million people affected. Because of this plight the permanent settlement of the land revenue originally implemented by Cornwallis in Bengal was proposed. By 1862 this policy was accepted in principle for all of India; but in 1868 Revenue board member William Muir noted that rising agricultural prices made the land more valuable, and the policy was changed.

The end of the East India Company opened up India to capitalist enterprises, and Englishmen came to seek their fortunes. After the mutiny the British were more suspicious, and many of the new settlers were much more racist in their attitudes and behavior toward Indians. Because most of the revolt had been carried on by Muslims, they were especially hated by the British for some time. The Indians had learned the futility of armed resistance against imperial Britain, but the fanatical Wahhabis in the northwest mountains continued their religious struggle. Cultivators of indigo in Bengal rebelled. After the extreme religious reactions in the mutiny, most of the British realized that Indians were unlikely to adopt Christianity on a large scale. Yet evangelicals like Herbert Edwardes in the Punjab still continued their efforts. Charles Wood rejected his proposal to include Bible study in schools, and grants to missionary schools were cut back.

The Queen's promise of equal treatment for Indians was rarely practiced. The English often remained aloof from the natives as if a caste barrier had been erected. Under the judicial system the English were lightly punished even for murder, while the Indians were often severely punished for minor offenses or even for discourtesy. The Indian Councils Act of 1861 allowed non-officials and Indians into the Legislative Council. They could also serve as judges on the High Courts. Although some believed that the traditional justice by a benevolent despot was more effective, the educated Indians came to prefer the British judicial system. The Governor-General's Council was reformed by putting the members in charge of the departments of home, revenue, military, finance, and law. The Governor-General could no longer enact legislation without the approval of the Executive Council except for an emergency ordinance that lasted only six months. Macaulay's Penal Code was revised and became law in 1860. The next year the old Supreme Court and the Sadar Diwani Adalat were replaced by High Courts in Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. In 1866 Allahabad got a High Court and Lahore a Chief Court.

The earl of Elgin became viceroy in March 1862, but he died in November 1863. During that interval Dost Muhammad seized Herat, and Elgin protested this by recalling his native agent from Kabul. Elgin sent British forces requested by the Punjab government to stop the Wahhabi raids, and they destroyed the mountain fortress at Malka north of Peshawar.

John Lawrence was rewarded for his success in helping to quell the revolt and became viceroy in January 1864, serving in that capacity for five years. He continued to discourage female infanticide while promoting female education. His government also financed public works in transportation, sanitation, and irrigation; by the end of his term new irrigation works had been surveyed in every major province. In the first quarter century after the mutiny 9,000 miles of railroads were added, and irrigation was extended to eight million acres. Loans were used for this public investment, and in the last three years of Lawrence's term nearly six million pounds were added to the debt. A drought in 1865 caused a famine in Orissa; lack of planning and poor roads prevented rice from getting there in time, and nearly a million people starved to death. In 1868 Lawrence threatened to punish authorities in the northwest provinces, the Punjab, and Rajputana for every person who died, and this famine was averted. Lawrence usually favored the peasant cultivators; but Awadh commissioner Charles Wingfield supported the Talukdar landowners. R. H. Davies was appointed to make an inquiry, and eventually a compromise was reached that safeguarded the rights of the cultivators. In 1866 Wingfield went home, and Lawrence replaced him with John Strachey. The Punjab and Awadh Tenancy Acts of 1868 assured the rights of tenant peasants, restored stability, and increased agricultural production.

Lawrence usually followed a foreign policy of non-interference, but he deposed the nawab of Tonk for murder and replaced the maharaja of Todhpur with a regency council. In 1867 the new secretary of state, Lord Cranborne, announced that when the Mysore maharaja died, the adopted child would be accepted when he came of age. After some Bhutanese raids into British territory, Ashley Eden was sent as an envoy in 1863; but he was insulted and forced to sign a treaty giving Bhutan disputed territory. After Eden escaped, Lawrence disavowed the treaty. Because the Bhutanese refused to release English captives, a British force invaded in 1865. In the November treaty Bhutan ceded the Duars of Bengal and Assam and other territory, returning the British prisoners; Lawrence promised to pay them 25,000 rupees each year if they kept the peace. The government of India made commercial treaties with Burma in 1862 and 1867. After Dost Muhammad died in 1863, Afghanistan suffered a war of succession. Lawrence refused to aid Sher Ali or others in 1866, following his policy that was called "masterly inactivity." Sher Ali recovered Kabul and Qandahar in 1868. Russians had moved into Tashkent in 1865 and Samarkand in 1868. Just before he left office in January 1869, Viceroy Lawrence recommended giving arms and support without a defensive alliance to the ruler of Kabul.

Viceroy Mayo met with Sher Ali at Ambala in March 1869. That year the Russians occupied Bukhara. Mayo tackled the debt problem by cutting spending on the military, public works, and education grants. He created surpluses by increasing the income tax from one to two percent and then to three percent; the salt tax was also raised. The poor were especially oppressed, and in his third year he reduced the income tax back to one percent and exempted the half of tax-payers with lower incomes. Transportation between England and India was made faster by the opening of the Suez Canal, and more European wives and families began to live in India. By 1870 telegraph lines connected London with India, and home authorities could now issue orders based on current information. Mayo

also decentralized government by allowing the provincial governments to decide on their own expenditures and taxes. He founded a college at Rajkot in Kathiawar and the Mayo College at Ajmere in Rajputana to educate Indians. Hardly any Indians had qualified for the Civil Service, because the qualifying examinations were only given in London to horse-riding males no older than 22. Mayo appointed George Campbell as lieutenant-governor of Bengal, and his improvements doubled the number of children in village schools. In September 1871 several Wahhabi jihadists were convicted of treason by the High Court at Calcutta and were sentenced to life imprisonment in the Andaman islands. On September 20 Chief Justice J. P. Norman was stabbed to death by a Wahhabi on the steps of the courthouse. On February 8, 1872 Mayo was visiting the Andamans and was assassinated by a Pathan convict, who knifed him in the back.

A Sikh sect, called Kukas for the sounds they made in worship, had been founded by Balak Singh in 1847. When he died in 1863, his disciple Ram Singh became the Kuka leader. Some Kukas were punished for destroying hukas and tombs they considered idolatrous. In July 1871 Kukas at Amritsar murdered Muslim butchers for slaughtering cattle, and in January 1872 two hundred Kukas attacked the towns of Malodh and Malerkotla. They fled from the Nawab's police, and British troops hunted them down. Ludhiana's deputy commissioner Cowan rounded them up and executed fifty of them without a trial. Ambala commissioner Douglas Forsyth accepted this illegality, tried a few more, and legally had them executed. Although he disavowed these attacks and kept the police informed, Ram Singh was held responsible and spent the rest of his life in prison at Rangoon.

Viceroy Northbrook arrived in May 1872. He was a liberal and began reducing taxes and stopping unnecessary legislation. He cut back military spending and rejected expensive irrigation projects. He intervened in Barodha because Gaikwar Malhar Rao was accused of poisoning his brother and attempting to poison Resident Phayre. He was found guilty and replaced by a young prince. In 1873 many evictions for debt in the Deccan caused agrarian riots and dacoity (robbery). Some moneylenders were killed, and their houses with the records were set on fire. The disorders were suppressed, and Northbrook ordered an inquiry. In 1874, wanting to avoid another famine like the one in Orissa, he ordered more than 450,000 tons of rice shipped to Bihar and northern Bengal. This prevented the famine, but over 100,000 pounds of extra rice had to be sold at a loss.

In 1873 the Russian foreign office announced that their sphere would not extend into Afghanistan, but that year they moved up to the boundary at the Oxus River. Viceroy Northbrook in a conference at Simla promised Afghanistan support in order to deter an invasion. However, the government of India's arbitration of a dispute over Seistan between Persia and Afghanistan angered Sher Ali. Northbrook offered him 500,000 rupees and 20,000 rifles; Sher Ali accepted the rifles but not the money. Northbrook complained when Sher Ali arrested his brother Yakub after luring him to Kabul by promising him safe conduct. In the election of 1874 Gladstone's Liberal Party was defeated by Disraeli's Tories. Palmerston and Secretary of State Salisbury (Cranborne) advocated a forward policy, and in September 1875 Northbrook indicated he would resign in the spring rather than impose an unwanted British agent in Herat. The first India

census taken in 1872 recorded 206,160,000 people, and by 1881 the count was up to 253,890,000.

Rammohun Roy and Social Reform

Rammohun Roy was born into a Brahmin family near Calcutta on May 22, 1772. At Patna he learned Arabic and Persian, studying the *Qur'an*, Islamic law, and Persian poetry. By the age of ten he had two wives. Rammohun learned Sanskrit at Benares and studied Hindu philosophy for three years. He traveled, and some believe he studied Buddhism in Tibet. His father was a zamindar and collected taxes. Absorbed in Sufi and Vedanta philosophy, Rammohun criticized Hindu idolatry and soon became alienated from his traditional parents. Yet in 1796 his father gave him a house in Calcutta, and Rammohun began studying English. He loaned money to English employees of the East India Company. His father died in 1803, and years later his mother tried to disinherit Rammohun for heresy. His friend John Digby introduced him to western literature, and in 1805 he began working for Digby and the Company. Rammohun's first publication was in Persian and affirmed the unity of God; he warned against idolatry and religious doctrines that deceive. Rammohun may have witnessed a widow burned to death in *sati* at the funeral of his brother in 1812.

In 1814 Rammohun and a few friends began a friendship society called Atmiya Sabha. The next year he began translating some of the *Upanishads* and an abridgment of the *Vedanta Sutra* into Bengali and English. In 1817 he helped Edward Hyde East and David Hare found the Hindu College; but Rammohun's name was not associated with it, because some Hindus considered him a heretic. In debate Rammohun defended Hindu theism and argued that people are harmed by myths about gods and goddesses that do not stand up to reason. In 1820 he began helping missionaries translate the Bible into Bengali to improve on Carey's version, and he published his book on the ethics of Jesus called *The Precepts of Jesus, Guide to Peace and Happiness*. In response to criticism, he wrote three appeals to Christians in which he argued that the humanistic ethics of Jesus is much more important than the miracles and theological doctrines on atonement and the trinity. Rammohun emphasized the oneness of God. Max Müller, the scholar who helped to found the modern study of comparative religion, said that Rammohun was the first person to synthesize eastern and western religion.

In 1818 Rammohun began an educational campaign to end the burning of Hindu widows (*sati*) by publishing and freely circulating a dialog between an advocate and an opponent. He wrote,

In times of want the wife works like a slave.
In times of affluence the husband takes another wife
and enjoys worldly pleasures.
Very often the wife is beaten up, discarded, accused of disloyalty,
all because the husband feels that he has the right to do so.⁶

Rammohun argued that nowhere in the Hindu scriptures is it demanded that a widow must commit suicide or be murdered. He charged that one of the main reasons for *sati*

was the avarice of relatives who wanted to avoid the cost of supporting a bereaved widow. He advocated the custom should be abolished for humanitarian reasons. Most of the widows dying by *sati* were in Calcutta, and the number in Rammohun's own district of Burdwan was barely second to Hughly. The number of such widow suicides in the six divisions of Bengal had gone from 378 in 1815 to 812 in 1818. These increases discouraged the efforts that were being made by the British government. Rammohun managed to prevent some burnings by personal persuasion. His writing must have had an effect, because in 1819 the number of widow burnings in Bengal was 650. In a second tract that year he defended the rights of women by showing that they are not inferior to men but in some ways even superior. Orthodox Hindus organized groups to defend the atrocious tradition of *sati* against his campaign, and the number only gradually decreased in the next decade to 464 in 1828. However, a new Governor-General Bentinck made any support for *sati* a crime in 1829, and in gratitude Rammohun sent him an anti-*sati* address on behalf of more than 300 supporters.

During its first year in 1821 Rammohun took over the editing of the Bengali weekly *Sambad Kaumudi (Moon of Intelligence)*, the first newspaper published by Indians. Rammohun also founded and began editing a Persian weekly in 1822 called *The Mirror of News (Mirat-ul-Akhbar)*. He wrote a brochure demanding that Hindu women should have the same property rights as their fathers and husbands. In 1823 Chief Secretary John Adam got a regulation enacted that was called Adam's Gag, because it required every periodical to obtain a license signed by the Council's Chief Secretary before it could publish each issue. Rammohun closed down *The Mirror* in protest of this pre-censorship and sent a memorial to the Government. He explained why a powerful government should avoid censoring.

Another evil of equal importance in the eyes of a just Ruler, is,
that it will also preclude the natives from making
the Government readily acquainted with the errors and injustice
that may be committed by its executive officers
in the various part of this extensive country.
Every good ruler who is convinced
of the imperfection of human nature,
and reverences the Eternal Governor of the World,
must be conscious of the great liability to error
in managing the affairs of a vast empire
and therefore he will be anxious to afford to every individual
the readiest means of bringing to his notice
whatever may require his interference.
To secure this most important object,
the unrestrained liberty of publication
is the only effective means that can be employed.⁸

When the British decided to spend its large grant for education on a Sanskrit College in 1823, Rammohun argued that Indians had a much greater need to learn science from Europeans. Just as the Baconian philosophy had replaced the medieval scholastics, India needed its own renaissance beyond its religious philosophy. Rammohun helped William Adam found the Unitarian Association, and with David Hare they started an Anglo-Hindu school with free tuition for Indians. The Vedanta College was founded to study

Hindu scriptures. In 1825 the Parliament passed an East India Jury Bill that only allowed Christians to serve on grand juries. Rammohun criticized this discrimination by writing articles for *Sambad Kaumudi*, and the next year he demanded equal treatment in the *Native Petition to Parliament*. In 1827 he published the Sanskrit work *Vajrasuchi* that criticized the caste system. He believed that the most important moral principle is the golden rule: "Do to others as you would be done by."

Rammohun and his friends began the Brahma Sabha on August 20, 1828 based on the idea of one God, one world, one humanity. Devotional songs, mostly by Rammohun, were interspersed between the invocation, prayer, meditation, and sermons. When they moved into their own building on January 23, 1830, their purpose was defined in the Trust Deed as to worship "the Eternal, Unsearchable, and Immutable Being who is the Author and Preserver of the Universe." All kinds of people were welcome as long as they behaved in an "orderly, sober, religious and devout manner." No objects were to be worshipped. No person was to be reviled. They aimed to promote "charity, morality, piety, benevolence, virtue, and strengthening the bonds of union between men of all religions, persuasions and creeds."⁷ The Brahma Sabha did not recognize any priestly class as privileged mediators between God and humans. Their members worked on such reforms as abolishing child-marriage, polygamy, and caste persecution. They planned how to bring education to women and give them their proper status in society. Conservative Hindus led by Radhakanto Dev, compiler of a comprehensive Sanskrit dictionary, tried to counter their progressive ideas by forming the Dharma Sabha. Young Bengalis responded to Rammohun's practical synthesis of eastern and western education, freedom of thought, freedom of the press, and intellectual idealism. Rammohun protested against the Government's salt monopoly, the high taxes on the cultivators, and worked for many progressive reforms. He criticized the East India Company for taking two million pounds out of India to London each year. He encouraged Dwarkanath Tagore to set up small industries in the Bengal countryside.

In 1831 Rammohun went against caste rules and became the first prominent Hindu to visit England. As the envoy of Mughal king Akbar II, he gained him an additional 300,000 rupees for his budget. His memorial to the House of Commons to counter the petition to repeal the abolition of *sati* was successful, and he presented in writing his reform ideas before the next renewal of the Company charter. He proposed reductions in the rents of the *ryots* (peasants), and he suggested that the decrease in revenue could be balanced by hiring native collectors at lower salaries. In his *Questions and Answers on the Judicial System of India*, Rammohun recommended replacing Persian with English as the official language in the law-courts, appointing native assessors, using trial by jury and the traditional *panchayat* system, separating the offices of revenue collectors from judges, codifying the criminal and civil law of India, and consulting with local leaders before enacting laws. His efforts helped persuade the House of Commons to repeal the clause disqualifying all but Christians from serving on grand juries, and the Indian Jury Act of 1832 allowed the governments of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras to appoint qualified Indians as judges. He urged the Tories to support the Reform Bill currently being debated. He did not think that a commercial organization should be ruling another

country and suggested that a proper government would be easier for the natives, even though it would still be a foreign one.

Rammohun Roy also visited France before he died at Bristol on September 27, 1833. He lived according to the great humanistic saying of Sa'di that he wanted as his epitaph, that the best way of serving God is to do good to humans. He was one of the first pioneers for the ecumenical unity of all religions, and his outstanding efforts for modern education and social reform led some to call him the father of modern India.

The Young Bengal movement had been inspired by the poet Henry Derozio (1809-31), who had taught at the Hindu College and founded the Academic Association in 1828. After Rammohun Roy died in 1833, his disciple Vidyavagish led the Brahma Sabha; but it languished until Dwarkanath Tagore's oldest son Devendranath Tagore joined in 1843 with twenty of his associates. Dwarkanath Tagore helped found the Landholders' Society in 1838, and the next year Rammohun's friend William Adam started the British India Society in England. They eventually merged into the British Indian Association, which paid agents to pressure in England and worked for reforms in local government. In 1846 Govinda-chandra Dutt denounced the unequal treatment of British and Indians before the law and urged the separation of the executive and judicial functions. Devendranath had founded the Tattvabodhini Sabha in 1839, and the monthly *Tattvabodhini Patrika* promoted Indian culture with western improvements. They changed the name of Brahma Sabha to Brahma Samaj (God Society) and in 1850 began agitating for social reforms such as widow remarriage, monogamy, and temperance. Vidyasagar discovered a verse in the *Parashara Samhita* that approved of widow remarriage, and his book *Vidhava Vivaha* led to the passage of the Widow Remarriage Bill in 1856. That year Devendranath withdrew for two years to travel and be more reclusive in the Simla hills.

Keshab Chandra Sen was not from the Brahmin caste, and he joined Brahma Samaj in 1857. Young men enthusiastically joined him in discussing spiritual and social issues, and in 1859 they formed the Sangat Sabha. During the rebellion of indigo workers the Brahmans and the Christians supported the workers' demands for legal protections from the planters. The drama *Nila-darpana* by Dinabandhu Mitra portrayed the oppression of the indigo planters, and the play created such a sensation that the missionary Long was imprisoned for publishing its English translation. In 1861 Keshab founded and began editing the bi-weekly *Indian Mirror*, and it eventually became the first Indian daily newspaper in English. The next year they started a high school called the Calcutta College and tried to revive women's education. The Calcutta Female Juvenile Society had been founded in 1819 to work for female education, and in 1849 J. E. D. Bethune had patronized higher education for women in Calcutta.

The Brahmans raised money to relieve famine in the northwest and a Bengali epidemic. Keshab Chandra Sen traveled to Madras and Bombay, spreading the Brahma Samaj throughout India. They performed intercaste marriages and a widow remarriage, and the emancipation of women became their motto. Such radical reforms annoyed Devendranath, who believed in gradualism on social issues. He founded the *National*

Paper in 1865. That year Keshab and thirty liberal Brahmos petitioned for the election of all officers. A split occurred in 1866 when Devendranath would not agree to exclude those who would not give up their caste privileges. Devendranath said that his Adi Brahma Samaj was Hindu, while Keshab and his followers described their Brahma Samaj of India as universal and catholic. K. C. Sen aimed to harmonize all religions and used various scriptures.

In 1867 Sasipada Bannerji invited Mary Carpenter to visit the Brahma Samaj in Baranagar, and she urged workers to give up drinking and save money; within four years Bannerji had established the Workingman's Savings Bank. Like Bannerji, Dwarkanath Ganguli was a Kulin Brahmin, and he founded a journal to help women. In 1869 Sen's Brahma mandir (temple) was opened to all classes of men and women who wanted salvation. In 1870 six young men renounced their high caste by placing their sacred threads on the pulpit in the Brahma mandir. Sen met Max Müller in England. Sen's Indian Reform Association focused on charity, female education, technical and general education, temperance, and inexpensive literature. They published the *Sulabh Samachar* journal in Bengali to educate the masses. In 1871 they opened a normal school for girls and the Victoria Institution for Women, teaching in Bengali and English. One of their proudest achievements was getting the Native Marriage Act passed in 1872 that restricted marriage to monogamy and set the minimum age for a bride at 14 and a bridegroom at 18. India now had 101 Brahma Samajes; most were in Bengal, and most favored Keshab. By 1874 the Brahma progressives believed that Sen had become too conservative, especially on women's rights. Keshab Chandra Sen met the mystical Ramakrishna in 1875.

Sayyid Ahmad Khan was born at Delhi on October 17, 1817 and learned Arabic, Persian, Urdu, mathematics, and logic. After his father died in 1838, Sayyid began working for the British. He wrote a summary of the rules in the civil courts and became known for his archaeological history of Delhi. In 1850 he published a defense of the martyr Sayyid Ahmad of Bareilly and his followers. During the 1857 mutiny he persuaded Bijnor nawab Mahmud Khan to protect British interests. The English officers pitted the Hindus against the Muslims, and the conflict caused the fall of the Nawab, who fled. Then Sayyid helped the landlords administer the district for the British. Later he wrote an account of the revolt at Bijnor. Sayyid believed that the original cause of the rebellion was that Indians were not admitted to the Legislative Council and thus could not correct its errors. He then explained five causes of the revolt. First, the Indians misapprehended the intentions of the British. Second, laws and regulations were not appropriate for India and caused objections. Third, the British were ignorant of the grievances and needs of their subjects. Fourth, the rulers had contempt for Indians and a policy of racial discrimination. Fifth, the army was mismanaged.

In 1862 Sayyid Ahmad Khan became the first Muslim to write a commentary on the *Old and New Testaments*. Sayyid was concerned that Indian Muslims were too conservative and thus were ignorant of modern philosophy, sciences, and arts. He urged the study of English and worked to get English books translated into Urdu. For this purpose he founded the Scientific Society and an English school at Ghazipur in 1864. Two years

later he started the weekly *Aligarh Institute Gazette* to explain English administration. Sayyid noted that the High Court had admitted 239 Hindu pleaders but only one Muslim. The High Court had 27 Hindu attorneys but not one Muslim. Only one Muslim was a licentiate in medicine from Calcutta University compared to 98 Hindus. In 1869 Sayyid went to England with his two sons, and he was given an audience with Queen Victoria. He wrote a friend that he valued the egalitarian distribution of national resources, social radicalism, and republican government. He visited the universities at Cambridge and Oxford as well as preparatory schools such as Eaton and Harrow. He published a series of essays in response to William Muir's *Life of Mohammed*. Upon returning to India, Sayyid started *Tahzeeb-ul-Akhlaq* to educate for social reform. He said that illiteracy is the mother of poverty, and he was confident that Islam was not endangered by the study of western literature and science. In 1870 at Benares he formed a committee to advance learning and raise funds for a Muslim college, which was founded in June 1875 and soon had sixty students. His educational campaign became known as the Aligarh movement.

Dadabhai Naoroji used the study of economics and statistics to show how the British had been draining the wealth out of India. Every year the foreign rulers collected about fifty million pounds in revenue and carried away some twelve million pounds to England. Under the colonial mercantile system between 1835 and 1872 India exported about 500,000,000 pounds worth of goods more than it imported from England.

Nationalist sentiment grew gradually. In 1867 *National Paper* editor Naba-gopal Mitra started the Hindu Mela, and they founded the National Society. W. C. Bonnerjee spoke in England in 1867, calling for a "representative and responsible government of India." Ananda-mohan Bose spoke at Brighton in 1873 for establishing such a government by gradual stages, and the next year the *Hindoo Patriot* favored home rule for India with a constitutional government. In Bengal the Indian League was formed in 1875.

Tibet and Nepal 1818-75

In 1822, even though the tenth Dalai Lama had been selected in the usual Tibetan way, Regent Jampel Tsultrim Tsemonling announced that he had been chosen by lottery between candidates as the Chinese required. A study of agriculture and families in the province of U was conducted that helped the Regent to improve revenue collection. In 1832 Regent Tsemonling sent troops to capture robbers led by Junang Dzasa, who was brought to the Dalai Lama and submitted. Two years later troops were used to make the people in southwest Kham pay taxes. The tenth Dalai Lama was only 21 years old when he died in 1837. Two candidates were selected in 1841, and it was reported that the eleventh Dalai Lama was chosen by lottery.

In 1834 the Dogra raja of Jammu had forced the Ladakh king to flee into Tibet. Kashmir maharaja Gulab Singh sent vizier Zorawar Singh with troops into Ladakh in support of the Dogra army. Ladakh minister Ngodup Tenzin surrendered to Zorawar, and he replaced the Ladakh ruler Lala with Ngodup, who agreed to pay 5,000 rupees annual tribute to Kashmir. However, in 1840 Zorawar Singh returned to Ladakh with 6,000 troops to depose Ngodup and reinstate Lala. The next year Zorawar Singh and Lala

invaded Tibet with Sikh and Ladakhi forces. Lala died and was succeeded by his cousin while Zorawar's Sikhs advanced into Purang. Tibetan reinforcements were sent and defeated and killed Zorawar. They also killed 3,000 Sikhs and took 700 prisoners as the rest fled to Ladakh. Gulab Singh sent 8,000 more Sikhs in 1842, and about sixty Tibetans were captured. A treaty was made, and the Tibetans withdrew; about a third of the Sikh and Ladakhi prisoners elected to remain in southern Tibet.

In 1844 the Tibetan Council (Kashag) and officials from the three largest monasteries deposed Regent Tsemonling, and the Panchen Lama governed at Lhasa for nine months until Yeshe Gyatso Rating was appointed as regent. Tibet made a trade agreement with Ladakh in 1853. The eleventh Dalai Lama was 17 when he assumed power in 1855, but he died eleven months later. The Kashag recalled Regent Rating. Complaining of trade violations, the Gurkhas invaded Tibet and occupied Nyanang, Rongshar, Dzonka, and Purang again. Tibetan troops were unable to regain the territory, and monks volunteered; but a treaty was negotiated in 1856. The Tibetan government agreed to pay the Gurkhas 10,000 rupees annually and stop collecting duties from Gurkha traders, and the Gurkhas gave back the four districts.

In 1858 a lottery chose the preferred candidate as the twelfth Dalai Lama, and Regent Rating named him Trinley Gyatso. Ministers of the Kashag became concerned that Rating was using the Seal too much and appointed Wangchuk Gyalpo Shatra keeper of the Seal; but Rating sent him into exile instead. Then he had his general Dapon Trhonp arrest Shatra and confine him to a monastery. Shatra got a message to the Ganden monastery treasurer Palden Dondup, and he roused the monks of Ganden and Drepung to release Shatra. They went to the Jokhang temple, where Shatra proclaimed himself prime minister (Desi). Most of the Lhasa officials joined him, and even the Regent's guards abandoned Rating, who fled to China. Desi Shatra recognized the Dalai Lama as governor even though he was still a minor. Regent Rating died on his way back to Tibet. The Nyarong chief Gompo Namgyal in eastern Tibet used his army to terrorize many people, and six thousand families took refuge in Lhasa. In 1863 the government sent troops to Nyarong, and it took two years to restore order there. Desi Shatra died in 1864, and Palden Dondup appointed a Drepung lama to assist the young Dalai Lama.

In 1868 the Assembly of Officials and Monks of Drepung and Ganden appointed Palden Dondup chamberlain. He was greatly feared, because he kept a fresh animal skin outside his office and threatened to sew into it those who disobeyed him. Palden's strict government effectively collected revenue, creating a large government surplus. In 1871 Palden kept the four council ministers in a meeting for more than two days, and it was reported that one had been sewn in animal skins and thrown in the river. Officials appealed to the Dalai Lama's assistant, who announced that Palden and his assistants would be arrested. Palden Dondup fled to the Ganden monastery. The Assembly was dissolved, and the Government sent troops to besiege the Ganden monastery. Palden and his brother fled and committed suicide. The Assembly was replaced by the Tsongdu made up of the heads of government departments and the abbots of Drepung, Sera, and Ganden. After his assistant died in 1872, the twelfth Dalai Lama began governing in early 1873; but he died two years later.

Nepal's prime minister Bhim Sen Thapa made sure that the English Resident could only communicate through him. When regent Tripur Sundari Devi died in 1832, the young Rajendra Bikram Shah rebelled against his tutor and prime minister, Bhim Sen, and began favoring the exiled Pandes faction. The orientalist Brian Hodgson had become resident at Kathmandu in 1829, and in 1834 he negotiated a reciprocity agreement; the Resident would make no claims on the Durbar that he would not admit if they made them. In 1836 acting Governor-General Metcalfe would not return eleven slave girls who had taken refuge in Tirhut, because the British opposed slavery. The Pandes faction accused Bhim Sen of various crimes. He denounced the papers as forgeries, but he was arrested in 1837 and, threatened with torture, committed suicide. In 1840 the Raja sent a message to his mutinous army that he had no money to pay them, because he was saving it to fight the English. Although the British were busy with the Afghan war, Resident Hodgson persuaded the king of Nepal to dismiss the Pandes faction in favor of the brahmin Raj Guru and the Chautariyas family. An army of 20,000 men was made available to the Resident at Kathmandu to protect the Company's northern frontier. In December 1843 Major Henry Lawrence replaced Hodgson and informed Nepal of the Company's neutrality; they were not concerned with Nepalese politics but only trade. The Company followed international law in not handing over political refugees.

When the senior Maharani died, the young Surender Vikram Shah began oppressing the people of Nepal. The Chautariya prime minister Fateh Jung presided over a meeting with 675 responsible people in which the young king signed over his powers to the junior Maharani; but she wanted her son to be king and appointed General Matar Singh prime minister in December 1843, as most of the Pandes were exterminated. Yet in May 1845 she had Matar shot dead and appointed General Gagan Singh. Jung Bahadur was promoted to commander of the army, and Gagan Singh was assassinated in September 1846. In a tumultuous assembly about 150 nobles were murdered, killing the rest of the Pandes and the Chautariyas.

The junior Maharani got Jung Bahadur appointed prime minister. He made a speech that won over the army despite the officers lost. When the Maharani gave him a written order to kill two princes, Jung Bahadur sent back a letter explaining he could not obey an illegal order. After discovering her plot against his life, he arranged for the Maharani to go to Benares; her son Rajendra Vikram Shah went with her despite Jung Bahadur's request for him to stay. Rajendra's son Surendra Vikram Shah was installed as raja in May 1847. Rajendra Vikram's plan to invade Nepal was foiled by Jung Bahadur, who banished him to Bhatgaon. In 1850 Jung Bahadur became the first Hindu political leader to visit England. He met with Queen Victoria and was impressed by her courtesy and lack of vanity. His requests for artillery engineers, a treaty for the reciprocal surrender of criminals, and direct communication with the Company directors were all denied. Jung Bahadur also visited President Louis Napoleon in France, but all his requests had to go through the British embassy because of their tributary treaty. Realizing the industrial and military strength of Britain, Jung Bahadur would not oppose the English in India.

When Lhasa officials did not respond to his complaints about the bad treatment of Nepalese by Tibetans, Jung Bahadur went to war with Tibet in 1854. The British resident

agreed to a treaty on reciprocal treatment with Nepal in 1855. The Tibetans sued for peace and signed a treaty at the home of Jung Bahadur on March 24, 1856. Both countries agreed to restore conquests, prisoners, and booty taken in the war. Tibet agreed to pay Nepal 10,000 silver coins annually, and Nepal promised to help defend Tibet if they were attacked. Jung Bahadur resigned in July and let his brother Ram Bahadur govern until he died a natural death in May 1857. Then Jung Bahadur responded to the popular demand for his resumption of service. He offered Gurkha troops to help quell the revolt in Awadh and personally led 9,000 troops in the British recapture of Lucknow in March 1858. According to the treaty he had to hand over criminals escaping into Nepal, but he ordered that only those who had definitely killed a British woman or child were to be surrendered; the others received political asylum. In gratitude for the Gurkhas' military aid, in an 1860 treaty the British returned the Tarai lands to Nepal.

Ceylon 1818-75

Governor Brownrigg (1812-20) demoted chiefs to stipendiaries carrying out the orders of British officials. The East India Company lost its contract for the cinnamon monopoly to the Colony of Ceylon in 1822. In the first thirty years of the 19th century the per capita consumption of coffee in England increased twenty-fold. Governor Edward Barnes (1824-31) exempted coffee land from taxes and abolished the export duty on coffee. The monopoly on salt gave the Government some profits over a thousand percent. The lower castes were put to work making roads under the traditional *rajakariya* corvée system that was already using the *salagama* caste for peeling cinnamon. In 1820 the Supreme Court granted an appeal by a slave who was sentenced to flogging by a collector in Jaffna, but Barnes decreed that collectors could flog slaves for any offense. Commercial banks extended credit to planters, and the colony gave them land grants.

The Colonial Office employed a commission to inquire into the colonies at the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, and Ceylon. William Colebrooke was the only commissioner left when he arrived at Ceylon in 1829. A year later Charles Cameron joined him to investigate the judiciary, while Colebrooke reported on the other branches of government and the administration. Governor Barnes was reluctant to cooperate and had to be pressured by the Colonial Office. Colebrooke wrote four reports on the administration, revenues, expenditures, and a confidential report on the compulsory labor system; Cameron wrote one on the judiciary. The governor of Ceylon had been autocratic, although sometimes the Supreme Court resisted.

Colebrooke proposed unifying the government by bringing in the Kandyan territory as a province along with Colombo, Gale, Jaffne, and Trincomalee. He suggested forming an executive and a legislative council to assist the governor so that he would no longer have complete control over finances. The executive council would be composed of the Government's Secretary, Treasurer, Auditor-General, Collector of Customs at Colombo, and the Colombo Agent. The governor had been originating all legislation, but now he would have to share this with the legislative council, which would include non-officials and could subpoena documents, hear witnesses, and direct investigations. The Supreme Court would have the power to certify that new laws were in accordance with English

laws. Colebrooke suggested reductions with civil servants that would cut expenditures by a third. In 1831 Robert Wilmot Horton had commented that only 14 of 31 civil servants were definitely competent. The civil service was to be opened to local leaders, and thus education in English for the elite was also instituted. Officials were to be given land grants so that they could live on lower salaries. Colebrooke was influenced by the free-trade movement and recommended that the *rajakariya* service be abolished. He suggested that the Government withdraw from economic activities, and a Bank of Deposits was to be established to grant loans on reasonable terms.

Cameron proposed changes in the judiciary so that all people could gain their rights easily in a court of law and to prevent courts from being used to injure others. He wanted litigants to be able to act without a lawyer and not have to pay any fees. To help the European judges understand local conditions he suggested each should have an assessor when hearing suits. The judicial branch was to be autonomous so that the executive would not interfere. Most of the Colebrooke-Cameron reforms were adopted by the Colonial Office, though some were altered; starting in 1833 Ceylon became perhaps the most liberal of the British colonies.

After *rajakariya* labor was abolished in 1833, irrigation works had to be maintained by cultivators. That year the Government ended land grants and began selling land to planters by auction. The British discouraged slavery in the 1830s by requiring registration, and it was formally abolished in 1844. A year earlier caste distinction in jury selection had been ended. Yet lower castes in the Tamil north still could not enter Hindu temples. In 1840 the Government enacted the Crown Land Encroachment Ordinance No. 12 to claim all land that had not been previously granted. A later modification allowed the peasants in the Kandyan highlands to establish their title to their *chena* lands, forests they had cut and burned for cultivation.

By 1840 so much rice was being imported by Ceylon that the revenue from duties on rice and paddies surpassed the grain tax. Attempts to collect arrears on grain taxes for a decade had been difficult. Coffee plantations spread rapidly in the 1840s, and thousands of laborers made the dangerous journey from India through the malaria-infested dry zone. One effect of the Colebrooke reforms was that fewer civil servants with lower salaries caused many to neglect their duties and engage in plantation activity. In 1844 Colonial Secretary Anstruther began the effort that ended civil servants' participation in trade and agriculture. In 1845 coffee prices started falling while in three years the acreage of coffee plantations doubled, causing many bankruptcies. Colonial Secretary J. E. Tennent published his *Report on the Finances and Commerce of Ceylon* in 1846 to remove restrictions on industry and secure free trade. He suggested that reduced or abolished export and import duties as well as grain taxes could be replaced by a land tax, as in India. In the midst of this depression Governor Torrington instead chose new taxes that fell mostly on peasants and the local population. The Road Ordinance was resented by Kandyans as a revival of compulsory labor, and they rebelled in 1848. The irrigation works were in bad shape, and they also objected to the British encouraging of taverns. Aristocrats objected to the attempt by the government to break its promise to protect

Buddhism. Riots also broke out in Colombo, where they were influenced by European radicalism.

Governor George Anderson (1850-55) tried to balance island finances by limiting spending, but rising prices and demand improved the economy. The humanitarian efforts of Governor Henry Ward (1855-60) and the success of the plantation economy led to a successful irrigation project in the Upper Uva, but the failure to diminish malaria and the yaws disease in the sparsely populated dry zone still deterred workers and settlers. While Ward was governor, the government spent one million pounds constructing roads and bridges. Ward also encouraged the use of the communal *gansabhavas* as an alternative to litigation. An 1858 ordinance decreed that all marriages must be registered and could only be dissolved by divorce, banning polygamy and polyandry. Governor MacCarthy (1860-63) extracted military contributions and made the railroad from Colombo to the coffee regions his highest priority. By 1863 Sri Lanka had more than 2,000 miles of roads, and the railroad to Kandy was completed in 1867. These improvements in transportation helped coffee dominate the economy of Ceylon by the 1870s. An ordinance of 1866 enabled the government to seize and sell land for arrears in grain taxes. The number of *chena* (slash and burn agriculture) permits dwindled to a very few.

The School Commission was established in 1834, and by 1839 the government was sponsoring 39 English schools and five Tamil schools. In 1837 the Secretary of State for Colonies advised Governor Mackenzie to encourage Christian missionaries. Dissenters complained, and Anglican privileges in education, registering births, marriages, and deaths, and state-subsidized church building were eventually eliminated. In 1841 the Government began giving grants to Christian schools, and they replaced some public schools. After 1847 the Government promoted schools in native languages, and by 1869 there were 64 government schools using Sinhala and Tamil along with 40 bilingual schools using English. The number of schools increased dramatically in the 1870s from 140 in 1869 to 838 in 1874 and 1,178 in 1878.

A campaign in England persuaded the Ceylon government to sever its connection to Buddhism in 1847, and by 1853 the pledge to protect Buddhist institutions was formally ended. For eight years after 1856 a state Temple Lands Commission rejected more than half of temple land claims, reducing their property, which could now be sold. Two societies to promote Buddhism were founded in 1862, and the Ramanna Nikaya established in 1865 aimed to purify the Buddhist community by encouraging vows of poverty and humility. After two written debates between Christians and Buddhists, three public debates were held in 1866, 1871, and 1873. In the last one Migettuwatte Gunananda emerged as an eloquent advocate who encouraged Buddhist activists.

Notes

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7. Trust Deed of the Brahma Samaj in *The Essential Writings of Raja Rammohan Ray*, p. 105-106.
8. Quoted in *Rammohun Roy: A Bi-Centenary Tribute*, p. 125. "Memorial to the Supreme Court" in *The Essential Writings of Raja Rammohan Ray*, p. 237.

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[Summary and Evaluation](#)

[Bibliography](#)

[ETHICS OF CIVILIZATION Index](#)