CHAPTER 7

Administrative Changes

After 1857

The British were quick to learn from their experience of 1857—an organised mass action could pose a serious challenge to the existence of British rule in India. The ruler subject gap was sought to be narrowed so as to reduce, if not eliminate altogether, the alienation of the masses

from the administration. Also, association of natives in administration could give the rulers an opportunity to have a better idea of the customs, traditions and values of the people they were supposed to rule. This could help them handle more tactfully an 1857-like situation.

The second half of the nineteenth century saw further spread and intensification of the industrial revolution. The emergence of new industrial powers—the USA, Japan and European countries—and a cut-throat competition for colonies and sub-colonies for raw materials, markets for manufactured goods and capital investment were the highlights of this new phenomenon. The British supremacy in the world in finance and manufactured goods trade came to an end. At this point, there were large-scale British capital investments in railways and loans to the Government of India, and to a smaller extent in tea plantations, coal-mining, jute mills, shipping, trade and banking.

All these factors combined to inaugurate a new stage of colonialism in India. The prime concern of the colonial authority in India was to consolidate its position here to secure British economic and commercial interests against political dangers and to extend its sphere to other parts of the world, wherever and whenever possible. There was a renewed upsurge of imperial control and imperialist ideology which

was reflected in the reactionary policies during the vice-royalties of Lytton, Dufferin, Lansdowne, Elgin and, above all, Curzon. The changes in the governmental structure and policies in India were to shape the destiny of modern India in many ways.

ADMINISTRATION: CENTRAL, PROVINCIAL, LOCAL

Central Government The Act for Better 1858 transferred the power to govern from the East India Company to the British Crown. The Company's limitations in administering the country in complex situations had been exposed by the revolt of 1857; besides, there was not much accountability. Now, the power to govern was to be wielded through a secretary of state (earlier this power was exercised by directors of the Company and the Board of Control). The secretary of state was to be a member of the British cabinet, and was to be assisted by a council of 15. He was answerable to the British Parliament. All initiatives and final decisions rested with the secretary and the council was only advisory in nature. (Thus the dual system introduced by Pitt's India Act; 1784 came to an end.) Also, the ultimate power over India remained with Parliament.

The Government in India was to be carried on, as before, by the governor-general whose prestige, if not authority, increased with the new title of viceroy given to him. The viceroy was to be assisted by an executive council whose members were to act as the heads of various departments, as well as viceroy's official advisors.

The concentration of the main authority in the hands of the secretary of state based in London, on the one hand, gradually reduced the viceroy to a subordinate status and further' urther alienated the Indian public opinion from the government.

policy-making. On the other hand, it had the effect of increasing the influence of British industrialists, merchants and bankers over government policy in India. This made the Indian administration even more reactionary than it had been before 1858.

By the Indian Councils Act, 1861, a fifth member, who was to be a jurist was added to viceroy's executive council. For legislative purposes, the viceroy could add. six to twelve additional members, of whom at least half had to be nonofficials who could be either Indian or English. The legislative council so constituted possessed no real powers and was merely advisory in nature. Its weaknesses were as follows—

- It could not discuss important matters, and no financial matters at all without previous approval of the Government.
- It had no control over the budget.
- It could not discuss executive action.
- Final passing of the bill needed the viceroy's approval.
- Even if approved by the viceroy, the secretary of state could disallow a legislation.
- Indians associated as non-officials were members of elite sections only—princes, landlords, diwans, etc.—and were not representative of the Indian opinion.
- The viceroy could issue ordinances (of 6 months validity) in case of emergency.

The only important function of the legislative council was to endorse official measures and give thertl the appearance of having been passed by a legislative body. The British Government in India remained, as before, an alien despotism.

Provincial Government The Indian Councils Act 1861 returned the legislative powers to provinces of Madras and Bombay which had been taken away in 1833. Later, legislative councils were established in other provinces. The three presidencies of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta enjoyed more rights and powers compared to other provinces. The presidencies were administrated by a governor and his executive council of three who were appointed by the Crown, while other provinces were administered by lieutenant governors and chief commissioners appointed by the governorgeneral.

In the following decades, some steps towards financial decentralisation were taken, but these were more in the nature of administrative reorganisation aimed at increasing revenues

and reducing expenditure and these did not in any way indicate progress towards provincial autonomy.

The granting of fixed sums out of central revenues for administration of certain services like police, jails, education, medical services and roads to provincial governments signified the first step in the direction towards bifurcating central and provincial finances in 1870 by Lord Mayo. Now; the provincial governments were asked to administer these services as they liked.

Certain other heads of expenditure like land revenue, excise, general administration and law and justice were transferred to provinces in 1877 by Lord Lytton. Besides this, a provincial government was to receive a fixed share of the income realised within that province from sources like stamps, excise and income tax.

In 1882, all sources of revenue were divided into three groups—general (going entirely to centre), provincial (going entirely to the provinces) and those to be divided between the centre and the provinces.

Nevertheless, the central government remained supreme and retained detailed control over provinces. This was inevitable since both the central and provincial governments were completely subordinated to the secretary of state and the British Government.

Local Bodies
It was decided to decentralise administration by promoting local government through municipalities and district boards which would administer local services like education, health, sanitation, water supply, roads and other basic amenities financed through local taxes. There were many factors which made it necessary for the British Government in India to work towards establishing local bodies.

Firstly, financial difficulties faced by the Government due to overcentralisation made decentralisation imperative. Secondly, it became necessary that modern advances in civic amenities in Europe be transplanted in India, considering India's increasing economic contacts with Europe. Thirdly, the rising tide of nationalism had improvement in basic facilities as a point on its agenda. Fourthly, a section of British policy makers saw association of Indians with the administration in some form or the, other, without undermining the British supremacy in India, as an instrument to check the increasing politicisation of Indians. Fifthly, the utilisation of, local taxes for local welfare could be used to counter any public criticism of British reluctance to draw upon an already overburdened treasury or to tax the rich upper classes.

The important stages in the evolution of local government can be identified as follows.
Between 1864 and 1868 Local bodies were first formed in this period but in most cases consisted of nominated members and were headed by district magistrates. Thus, these were seen not more than as instruments of additional tax collection.

Mayo's Resolution of 1870
Financial decentralisation was a legislative devolution inaugurated by the Indian Councils Act of 1861. part from the annual grant from

imperial Government, the provincial governments were authorised to resort to local taxation to balance their budgets. This was done in context of transfer of certain departments of administration, such as medical services, education and roads, to the control of provincial governments. This was the beginning of local finance. Mayo's Resolution emphasised, "Local interest, supervision and care are necessary for success in the management of the funds devoted to education, sanitation, medical relief and local public works."

The various provincial governments such as in Bengal, Madras, North-Western Province, Punjab, passed municipal acts to implement the policy outlined.

Ripon's Resolution of 1882

The Government of Ripon desired the provincial governments to apply in case of local bodies the same principle of financial decentralisation which Lord Mayo's Government had begun towards them. The main points of the resolution were as follows.

• Development of local bodies advocated to improve the

administration and as an instrument of political and popular education; Policy of administrating local affairs through urban and rural local bodies charged with definite duties and entrusted with suitable sources of revenues;

• Non-officials to be in majority in these bodies, who could be elected if the officials thought that it was possible to introduce elections;

• Non-officials to act as chairpersons to these bodies; • Official interference to be reduced to the minimum and to be exercised to revise and check the acts of local bodies, but not to dictate policies;

• Official executive sanction required in certain cases, such as raising of loans, alienation of municipal property, imposition of new taxes, undertaking works costing more than a prescribed sum, framing rules and bye-laws, etc.

In pursuance of this resolution many Acts were passed between 1883 and 1885 which greatly altered the constitution, powers and functions of municipal bodies in India. But, an era of effective local self-governing bodies was still a dream unfulfilled. The existing local bodies had various drawbacks.

• The elected members were in a minority in all district boards and in many of the municipalities;

• The franchise was very limited; • District boards continued to be headed by district officials, though non-officials gradually came to head the municipalities;

• The Government retained strict control, and it could suspend or supersede these bodies at will.

The bureaucracy, in fact, did not share the liberal views of the viceroy and thought that the Indians were unfit for selfgovernment. The closing decades of the 19th century were a period of imperialism, and the high priest of that creed, Lord' Curzon, actually took steps to increase official control over local bodies.

Royal Commission on Decentralisation (1908)
Pointing out the lack of financial resources as the great stumbling block

in the effective functioning of local bodies, the commission made the following recommendations.
(i) It emphasised that village panchayats should be entrusted with more powers like judicial jurisdiction in petty cases, incurring expenditure on minor village works, village schools, small fuel and fodder reserves, etc. The panchayats should be given adequate sources of income.
(ii) It emphasised the importance of sub-district boards to be established in every taluka or tehsil, with separate spheres of duties and separate sources of revenue for sub-district boards and the district boards.
(iii) It urged the withdrawal of existing restrictions on their powers of taxation, and also, the stoppage of regular grants-in-aid from provincial governments except for undertaking large projects.
(iv) The municipalities might undertake the responsibility for primary education and, if willing, for middle vernacular schools, otherwise the Government should relieve them of any charges in regard to secondary education, hospitals, relief, police, veterinary works, etc.

The Government of India Resolution of 1915 contained the official views on the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission, but most of the recommendations remained on paper and the condition of local bodies continued to be as it was left by Lord Ripon.

The Resolution of May 1918
This resolution reviewed the entire question of local self-government in the light of the announcement of August 20, 1917, which had declared that the future direction of constitutional advance was towards grant of responsible government to the people of India and the first step towards the progressive realisation of that ideal was to be in the sphere of local self-government.

The resolution suggested that the local bodies be made as representative as possible of the people with real and not nominal authority vested in them.

Under Dyarchy Local self-government was made a 'transferred' subject under popular ministerial control by

Government of India Act, 1919, and each province was allowed to develop local self-institutions according to provincial needs and requirements. But, since finance was a 'reserved' subject under the charge of an executive councillor, the Indian ministers could not do much work in the sphere of local selfgovernment for lack of funds.

The Simon Commission (May. 1930) pointed out the lack of progress of village panchayats except in UP, Bengal and Madras. The commission

suggested the retrograde step of increasing provincial control over local bodies for the sake of efficiency. The commission also adversely commented on reluctance of elected members to impose local taxes and observed that, generally speaking, the management of finances of local bodies had deteriorated since the introduction of the reforms of 1919.

The Government of India Act, 1935 and After The provincial autonomy ushered in by the Government of India Act, 1935 gave further impetus to the development of local self-governing institutions in India. Portfolio finance being under the control of popular ministries, . now the funds could be made available for development of local bodies. Further, the demarcation of taxation between provincial and local finance which prevailed since the reforms of 1919 was scrapped. New Acts were passed in the provinces giving more authority to local bodies.

However, financial resources and power of taxation of local institutions remained more or less at the same level as in the days of Ripon. Rather, after 1935, certain new restrictions were placed on powers of local bodies to levy or enhance terminal taxes on trades, callings and professions and municipal property. The provincial governments seemed to have ignored the liberal policy of granting wide powers of taxation to local institutions as recommended by the Decentralisation Commission.

The Constitution of free India directs the state governments to organise village panchayats as effective organs of local self-government (Article 40). The Seventy-third and

Seventy-fourth Amendments are aimed at plugging the

loopholes in the structure of local self-governing institutions in rural and urban areas.

CHANGES IN THE ARMY After 1857

There was a systematic reorganisation of the Army since, as Dufferin warned in December 1888, "the British should always remember the lessons which were learnt with such terrible experience 30 years ago."

To prevent the recurrence of another revolt was the main reason behind this reorganisation. Also, the Indian Army was to be used to defend the Indian territory of the empire from other imperialist powers in the region—Russia, Germany, France, etc. The Indian branch of the army was to be used for expansion in'Asia and Africa, while the British section was to be used as an army of occupation—the ultimate guarantee of British hold over India.

To begin with, domination of the European branch over the Indian branches was ensured. The commissions of 1859 and 1879 insisted on the principle of a one-third white army (as against 14% before 1857). Finally, the proportion of Europeans to Indians was carefully fixed at one to two in the Bengal Army and two to five in the Madras and Bombay Armies. Strict European monopoly over key geographical locations and departments, such as artillery, tanks and armed corps, was guaranteed.

Even the rifles given to Indians were of an inferior till 1900, and Indians were not allowed in these high departments till the Second World War. No Indians were allowed in the officer rank, and, the highest rank an Indian could reach till 1914 was that of a subedar (only from 1918 onwards were Indians allowed in the commissioned ranks). As late as 1926, the Indian Sandhurst Committee was visualising a 50% Indianised officer cadre for 1952.

The India branch was reorganised on basis of the policy of balance and counterpoise or divide and rule. The 1879 Army Commission had emphasised—"Next to the grand counterpoise of a sufficient uropean force comes the counterpoise of

natives against natives." An ideology of 'martial races' and 'non-martial races', which assumed that good soldiers could come only from some specific communities, developed particularly from the late 1880s, under Lord Roberts, the commander-in-chief from 1887 to 1892. It was used to justify a discriminatory recruitment policy directed towards Sikhs, Gurkhas and Pathans who had assisted in the suppression of the revolt and were relatively marginal social groups— therefore less likely to be affected by nationalism. The soldiers from Awadh, Bihar, Central India and South India who had participated in the revolt were declared to be non-martial. Moreover, caste and communal companies were introduced in all the regiments and Indian regiments were made a mixture of various socio-ethnic groups so as to balance each other. Communal, caste, tribal and regional consciousness was encouraged to check the growth of nationalist feelings among soldiers. Charles Wood, the secretary of state for India, said, "I wish to have a different and rival spirit in different regiments, so that Sikh might fire into Hindu, Gorkha into either, without any scruple in case of need." Finally, conscious efforts were made to isolate the soldiers from life and thoughts of rest of the population through measures such as preventing newspapers, journals and nationalist publications from reaching them.

On the whole, the British Indian Army remained a costly military machine.

PUBLIC SERVICES

Just as their systematic exclusion from law and policy-making bodies, the Indians were mostly kept out of the institutions responsible for policy implementation such as the Indian bureaucracy and other like spheres of administration. European supremacy was assured in the civil service also. This was done in mainly two ways.

Firstly, although Indians had 'started' making it to the coveted ranks of the Indian Civil Services ever since Satyendranath Tagore became the first Indian to do so in 1863. entering the civil services was still extremely difficult for the Indians. The entrance examination for ICS was held in London in English medium only, and the subjects included classical Greek and Latin learning. Moreover, the maximum age for appearing at the examination was reduced from twenty-three in 1859 to

nineteen in 1878 under Lytton. Secondly, all key positions of power and authority and those which were wellpaid were occupied by the Europeans.

Despite slow Indianisation after 1918 under nationalist pressure, key positions continued to be occupied by Europeans. But gradually, the Indians came to realise that Indianisation of civil service had not, in any way, transferred effective power to Indian hands. The Indian members of the civil service continued to serve imperialist interests of their British masters. (Also refer to chapter on "Development of Civil Service under the British".)

PRINCELY STATES
Relations with princely states were to be guided by a twopoint policy—using and perpetuating them as bulwark of the, empire and subordinating them completely to British authority (the policy of subordinate union).

To cultivate these states as a buffer against future political unrest and to reward them for their loyalty during the revolt of 1857, the policy of annexation was abandoned. The new policy was to depose or punish but not annex. Also, territorial integrity of states was guaranteed and it was announced that their right to adopt an heir would be respected.

The subordination of princely states to British authority was completed when the fiction of Indian states standing in a status of equality with the Crown as independent, sovereign states ended with the Queen adopting the title of Kaiseri-i-Hind (Queen Empress of India) in 1876, to emphasise British sovereignty over entire India. It was later made clear by Lord Curzon that the princes ruled their states merely as agents of the British Crown. With paramountcy, the British

Government exercised the right to interfere in the internal affairs of states through their residents or by appointing and dismissing ministers and officials.

The British were helped further in their encroachment by modern developments in communication—railways, roads, telegraph, canals, post offices, etc. The motive for interference was also provided by the rise of nationalist, democratic sentiments in these states, the suppression of which, the British realised, was essential for their survival. As a positive side to these modern political movements, the British helped these states adopt modern administrative institutions. (Also refer to chapter on "Indian States under. British Rule".)

ADMINISTRATIVE POLICIES Contrary to their pre-1857 intentions of trying to modernise India on progressive lines, now the administration adopted blatantly reactionary policies on the pretext that Indians were not fit for self-governance and needed British presence in their

Divide and Rule
Determined to avoid a united mass action challenging their authority, the British rulers in India decided to practice a naked policy of divide

and rule, by putting princes against states' people, region against region, province against province, caste against caste and Hindus against Muslims.

After an immediate spell of repression against Muslims, following the 1857 revolt, the authorities decided, after 1870, to use the middle and upper educated classes among Muslims against the rising tide of nationalism, using conflicts over scarce resources in education, administrative jobs and later political spoils (which were inherent in the very logic of colonial underdevelopment) as a tool to create a split along religious lines among educated Indians.

Hostility to Educated Indians
The emerging middle class nationalist leadership was analysing the exploitative, colonial character of British rule and demanding Indian participation in administration. At a time when the nationalist movement

was born (Indian National Congress was founded in 1885), the British interpreted the moves as a challenge to their authority and adopted a hostile attitude to such leadership. In fact, from then onwards, they opposed all those who stood for modern education.

Attitude towards the Zamindars
In their pursuit of reactionary policies and hope to expand their social base, the British looked for alliances with the most reactionary of social groups—the princes, zamindars, etc. The British intended to use them as a counterweight against nationalist-minded intelligentsia. Now, the zamindars and landlords were hailed as the 'natural' and 'traditional' leaders of people. Lands of most of the Awadh taluqclars confiscated prior to 1857 were restored to them. The interests and privileges of zamindars and landlords were protected in opposition to those of the peasants; the former in turn saw the British as guarantors of their very existence and became their firm supporters.

Attitude towards Social Reforms
Having decided to side with the reactionary elements of Indian society, the British withdrew support to social reforms, which they felt had aroused the wrath of orthodox sections against them. Also, by encouraging caste and communal consciousness, the British helped the reactionary forces.

Underdeveloped Social Services
A disproportionately large expenditure on army and civil administration and the cost of wars left little to be spent on social services like education, health, sanitation, physical infrastructure, etc. a legacy which still haunts this country. And whatever facilities were established catered to the elite sections and urban areas.

Labour Legislations
As in the early stages of industrial revolution in Europe, the working conditions in factories and plantations in nineteenth-century India were miserable. Working hours were long—for women and children as well as for

men—and wages were low. In overcrowded, poorly ventilated and poorly lighted working places, the safety measures were practically non-existent.

Ironically, the first-ever demand for regulation of the condition of workers in factories in India came from the Lancashire textile capitalist lobby. Apprehending the emergence of a competitive rival in the Indian textile industry under conditions of cheap and unregulated labour, they demanded the appointment of a commission for investigation into factory conditions. The first commission was appointed in 1875 although the first Factory Act was not passed before 1881.

The Indian Factory Act, 1881 dealt primarily with the problem of child labour (between 7 and 12 years of age). Its significant provisions were:
* employment of children under 7 years of age prohibited,
* working hours restricted to 9 hours per day for children,
* children to get four holidays in a month,
* hazardous machinery to be properly fenced off.

The Indian Factory Act, 1891
* increased the minimum age (from 7 to 9 years) and the maximum (from 12 to 14 years) for children,
* reduced maximum working hours for children to 7 hours a day,
* fixed maximum working hours for women at 11 hours per day with an one-and-a-half hour interval (working hours for men were left unregulated),
* provided weekly holiday for all.

But these laws did not apply to British-owned tea and coffee plantations where the labour was exploited ruthlessly and treated like slaves. The Government helped these planters by passing laws such as those which made it virtually impossible for a labourer to retuse to work once a contract was entered into. A breach of contract was a criminal offence, with a planter having the right to get the defaulting labourer arrested.

More labour laws were passed under nationalist pressures in the twentieth century but the overall working conditions remained deplorable as ever.

Restrictions on Freedom of the Press
The nationalists had been quick to use new advancements in press technology

to educate public opinion and influence government policies through criticism and censure and later to arouse national consciousness.

In 1835, Metcalfe had lifted restrictions imposed on the Indian press. But Lytton, fearing an increased influence of the nationalist press on public opinion, imposed restrictions on Indian language press through the infamous Vernacular Press Act, 1878. This Act had to be repealed under public protest in 1882. After that, the press enjoyed relative

freedom for about two decades, but was under repression again in the wake of swadeshi and anti-partition movement as restrictions were imposed in 1908 and 1910. (Also refer to chapter on "Development of Press in India".)

White Racism

The notion of white superiority was maintained very carefully by the colonial rulers by systematically excluding the Indians from higher grades of services— both civil and military—from railway compartments, parks, hotels, clubs, etc., and by public display of racial arrogance through beatings, blows and even murders (reported as accidents). As Elgin once wrote, "We could only govern by maintaining the fact that we were the dominant race—though Indians in services should be encouraged, there is a point at which we must reserve the control to ourselves, if we are to remain at all."

FOREIGN POLICY

The pursuance of a foreign policy, guided by interest of British imperialism, often led to India's conflicts with neighbouring countries. These conflicts arose due to various reasons. Firstly, political and administrative consolidation of the country coupled with the introduction of modern means of communication impelled the Government of India to reach out for natural, geographical frontier for internal cohesion and defence which sometimes resulted in border clashes. Secondly, the British Government had as its major aims in Asia and Africa

(i) protection of the invaluable Indian empire;
(ii) expansion of British commercial and economic interests;

(iii) keeping other European imperialist powers, whose colonial interests came in conflict with those of the British, at an arm's length in Asia and Africa.

These aims led to British expansion and territorial conquests outside India's natural frontiers, and to conflicts with other imperialist European powers such as Russia and France.

While the interests served were British, the money spent and the blood shed was Indian. A general survey of India's relations with its neighbours is as follows.

Bhutan, The occupation of Assam in 1816 brought the British into close contacts with the mountain state of Bhutan. Frequent raids by the Bhutanese into adjoining territories in Assam and Bengal, bad treatment meted out to Elgin's envoy in 1863-64 and the treaty imposed on him, by which the British were forced to surrender the passes leading to Assam, led to British annexation of these passes and the stopping of allowance paid to the Bhutanese. In 1865 the Bhutanese were forced to surrender the passes in return for an annual subsidy. It was the surrendered district which became a productive area with tea gardens.

Nepal, The British desire to reach out to natural geographical frontiers brought them into conflict first of all with the northern hill kingdom of Nepal. In 1814, a border clash resulted in a full-fledged war which ended with a treaty in favour of the British. As per the treaty,
* Nepal accepted a British resident,
* Nepal ceded the districts of Garhwal and Kumaon, and abandoned claims to Terai,
* Nepal also withdrew from Sikkim.
This agreement brought many advantages to the British
* the British empire now reached the Himalayas;
* it got better facilities for trade with Central Asia;
* it acquired sites for hill stations, such as Shin-ila, Mussorie and Nainital;
* the Gorkhas joined the British Indian Army in large numbers.

Burma The expansionist urges of the British, fuelled by the, lure of, forest resources, market for British manufactures and the need to check French ambitions in Burma and rest Of South-East Asia, finally resulted in the annexation of Burma after three wars.
The First Burma War (1824-26) was fought when the Burmese expansion westwards and occupation of Arakan and Manipur, and the threat to Assam and Brahmaputra Valley led to continuous friction along the ill-defined border between Bengal and Burma, in the opening decades of the nineteenth century. The British expeditionary forces occupied Rangoon in May 1824 and reached within 72 km of the capital at Ava. Peace was established in 1826 with the Treaty of Yandabo which provided that the Government of Burma
* pay one crore rupees as war compensation,
* cede its coastal provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim,
* abandon claims on Assam, Cachhar and jaintia,
* recognise Manipur as an independent state,
* negotiate a commercial treaty with Britain,
* accept a British resident at Ava, while posting a Burmese envoy at Calcutta.
These terms allowed the British to acquire most of Burma's coastline and also a firm base in Burma for future expansion.
Second Burma war was the result of almost wholly commercial greed. The British merchants were keen to get hold of timber resources of upper Burma and also sought further inroads into the Burmese market This time, the British occupied Pegu, the only remaining coastal province of Burma. An intense guerrilla resistance had to be overcome before complete British control of lower Burma could be established.
At the time of the Third Burma War 1885 Burma was ruled by King Thibaw. The British merchants of Rangoon and lower Burma had been complaining about the step-motherly treatment by Thibaw, who had also been negotiating commercial treaties with rival powers of France, Germany and

Italy. The French also planned to lay a rail link from Mandalay to the French territory, at a time when the British were in conflict with the French in Niger, Egypt and Madagascar. A humiliating fine had been

imposed on a British timber company by Thibaw. Dufferin ordered the invasion and final annexation of upper Burma in 1885.

The British had to face a strong guerrilla uprising in the whole of Burma soon after, and a nationalist movement after the First World War. The Burmese nationalists joined hands with the Indian National Congress. To weaken this link, Burma was separated from India in 1935. The Burmese nationalist movement further intensified under U Aung San during the Second World War, which finally led to independence for Burma on January 4, 1948.

Afghanistan, The problem of imperial defence and search for a scientific frontier towards the north-west brought the English into a clash with the hardy Afghans. In the early nineteenth century, increased Russian influence in Persia replaced British influence and thwarted an English scheme for establishment of a new route by River Euphrates to India. Especially after the Treaty of Turkomanchai (1828), the English got alarmed about possible Russian plans for India. Soon, there was a search for a scientific frontier from the Indian side. Passes of the north-west seemed to hold the keys to gateway of India. The need was felt for Afghanistan to be under control of a friendly prince.

Auckland, who came to India as the governor-general in 1836, advocated a forward policy. The Arnir of Afghanistan, Dost Mohammed, wanted British friendship but made it conditional on the British to help him recover Peshawar from Sikhs—a condition which the British Government in India rejected. Dost Mohammed now turned to Russia and Persia for help. This prompted the Government to go ahead with the forward policy, and a tripartite treaty (1838) was entered into by the British, Sikhs and Shah Shuja (who had been deposed from the Afghan throne in 1809 and had been living since then as a British pensioner at Ludhiana). The treaty provided that

* Shah Shuja be enthroned with the armed help of the Sikhs; Company to remain in the background, 'jingling the money-bag'.
* Shah Shuja conduct foreign affairs with the advice of the Sikhs and the British.
* Shah Shuja give up his sovereign rights over Amirs of Sindh in return for a large sum of money.
* Shah Shuja recognise Maharaja Ranjit Singh's (the Sikh ruler) claims over the Afghan territories on the right bank of River Indus.

But soon, there was a drastic change in political situation of the area because of the removal of the original irritants— Persia lifted siege of Herat and Russia recalled envoy from Kabul. Nevertheless the British decided to go ahead with their forward policy. This resulted in the First Afghan War (1838- 42). The British intention was to establish a permanent barrier against schemes of aggression from the north-west.

An English army entered triumphantly into Kabul (August 1839) after a successful attack. Most-of the tribes had already been won over by bribes. Dost Mohammed ,surrendered (1840) and Shah Shuja was made the Amir of Afghanistan. But Shah Shuja was unacceptable to the Afghans. As

the British withdrew, the Afghans rose in rebellian, killing the garrison commander in Kabul. The British were compelled to sign a treaty (1841) with Afghan chiefs by which they agreed to evacuate Afghanistan and restore Dost Mohammed. The grandiose plan exploded like a balloon. Under a new expedition, the British reoccupied Kabul in September 1842, but having learned their lessons well, they arrived at a settlement with Dost Mohammed by which the British evacuated Kabul and recognised him as the independent ruler of Afghanistan.

The First Afghan War cost India one-and-a-half crore rupees and nearly 20,000 men.

John Lawrence (governor-general from 1864 to 1869) adopted a policy of masterly inactivity which was a reaction

to disasters of the First Afghan War (1838-42) and an outcome of practical common sense and an intimate knowledge of the frontier problem and of Afghan passion for independence. Even when Dost Mohammed died in 1863, there was no interference in the war of succession. Lawrence's policy rested on fulfilment of two conditions

(i) peace at frontier was not disturbed, and
(ii) no candidate in civil war sought foreign help.

As Sher Ali established himself on throne, Lawrence tried to cultivate friendship with him. With the arrival of Lytton in 1876, there was a perceptible policy change. The new foreign policy was of 'proud reserve' of having scientific frontiers and safeguarding 'spheres of influence'. According to Lytton, the relations with Afghanistan could no longer be left ambiguous. Lytton made an offer of a favourable treaty to Sher Ali, but the Amir wanted friendship with both his powerful neighbours, Russia and England, while keeping both of them at an arm's length. Later, Sher Ali refused to keep a British envoy in Kabul though He had allowed a Russian envoy in Kabul. Lytton was stunned, and when the Russians withdrew their envoy from Kabul, Lytton decided to invade Afghanistan (Second Afghan war 1878-80). Sher Ali fled in face of British invasion and The treaty of Gandamak (May 1879) was signed with Yakub Khan, the eldest son of Sher Ali. The treaty provided that

* the Amir conduct his foreign policy with the advice of Government of India,
* a permanent British resident be stationed at Kabul,
* the Government of India give the Amir all support against foreign aggression, and an annual subsidy.

But soon, Yakub had to abdicate under popular pressure and the British had to recapture Kabul and Kandhar. Lytton chalked out a plan for dismemberment of Afghanistan, but could not carry it out. Ripon abandoned this plan and decided on a policy of buffer state. Abdur Rahman agreed not to

maintain political relations with any other power except the British, thus losing control over the foreign policy.

After the First World War and the Russian Revolution (1917), Afghans demanded full independence. Habibullah (who succeeded Abdur Rahman in 1901) was killed in 1919 and the new ruler Amamullah declared open war on the British. Peace came in 1921 when Afghanistan recovered independence in foreign affairs.

North-West Frontier

The successive Indian rulers tried to reach out of this region lying between the Indus and Afghanistan in search for scientific frontier. The conquest of Sindh (1843) and annexation of Punjab (1849) carried British boundaries beyond Indus and brought them in contact with Baluch and Pathan tribes, who were mostly independent, but the Amir of Afghanistan claimed nominal sovereinty over them.

During the 1840s, John Jacob established a system of mobile defence patrols in Sindh and also reclaimed wasteland and started cultivation. Lord Dalhousie adopted a conciliatory approach towards tribes and set up a series of fortified posts to check raids. Since 1849 the frontier policy of the British was guided by the non-interventionist school of Lord Lawrence. But, the arrival of Lytton in 1876 marked the end of masterly inactivity. The English policymakers realised the importance of having a scientific frontier, particularly after the Second Afghan War and occupation of Afghan territory. Lansdowne (viceroy during 1888-94) gave further impetus to this forward policy. During 1870s, several administrative measures were also adopted in the frontier—civil officers were encouraged to learn Pashtu or Baluchi, a local force as auxiliary to Punjab Frontier Force was established, and colonies of Afridis, Waziris, Gurchanis, Bhittanis and Bugtis were formed in the British territory.

During 1891-92, the British occupation of Hunza, Nagar in Gilagit valley, which were passes commanding

communications with Chitral, alarmed Abdur Rahman (the Amir of Afghanistan). A compromise was finally reached by drawing a boundary line known as Durand Line between Afghan and British territories. Amir received some districts and his subsidy was increased. But the Durand Agreement (1893) failed to keep peace and soon there were tribal uprisings. To check these, a permanent British garrison was established at Chitral and troops posted to guard Malakand Pass, but tribal uprisings continued till 1898.

Curzon (the viceroy between 1899 and 1905), followed a policy of withdrawal and concentration. British troops withdrew from advanced posts which were replaced by tribal levies, trained and commanded by British officers. He also encouraged the tribals to maintain peace. He created the North-West Frontier Province directly under the Government of India (earlier, it was under control of the lieutenant governor of Punjab). Overall, Curzon's policies resulted in a peaceful north-west

frontier. The peaceful conditions continued thereafter with occasional tribal uprisings. In January 1932, it was announced that the NWFP was to be constituted as a governor's province. Since 1947, the province belongs to Pakistan.

Tibet, Tibet was ruled by a theocracy of Buddhist monks (lamas) under nominal suzerainty of China. The British efforts to establish friendly and commercial relations with Tibet had not yielded any result in the past and a deadlock had been reached by the time of Curzon's arrival in India. The Chinese suzerainty over Tibet was ineffective and Russian influence at Lhasa was increasing. There were reports of Russian arms and ammunition finding way into Tibet. Curzon felt alarmed and sent a small Gorkha contingent under Colonel Younghusband on a special mission to Tibet to oblige Tibetans to come to an agreement. The Tibetans refused to negotiate and offered non-violent resistance. Younghusband pushed his way into Lhasa (August 1904) while the Dalai Lama fled. Younghusband

dictated terms to the Tibetan officials which provided that
* Tibet would pay an indemnity of Rs 75 lakh at the rate of one lakh rupees per annum,
* as a security for payment, the Indian Government would occupy the Chumbi Valley (territory between Bhutan and Sikkim) for 75 years,
* Tibet would respect frontier of Sikkim, * Trade marts would be opened at Yatung, Gyantse, Gartok.
* Tibet would—riot grant any concession for railways, roads, telegraph, etc to any foreign state, but give Great Britain some control over foreign affairs of Tibet.
But later, on the insistence of the secretary of state and true to the pledge given to Russia, the treaty was revised reducing the indemnity from Rs 75 lakh to Rs 25 lakh and providing for evacuation of Chumbi valley after three years (the valley was actually evacuated in January 1908).

The Younghusband mission mainly served the purpose of gratifying the imperialist tendencies of the viceroy and no permanent result followed. Only China gained out of the whole affair because the Anglo-Russian convention of 1907 provided that the two great powers would not negotiate with Tibet, except through the intermediary of . the Chinese Government. Still, Curzon's policy counteracted all Russian schemes in Tibet.

Views

All experience teaches us that where a dominant race rules another, the mildest form of government is despotism. Charles Wood (the secretary of state for India).
Systems of nomination, representation and election were all means of enlisting Indians to work for imperial ends. Anil Seal
I am sorry to hear of the increasing friction between the Hindus and Mohammedans in the north-west and the Punjab. One

hardly knows what to wish, for unity of ideas and action could be very dangerous politically; divergence of ideas and collision are administratively troublesome. Of the two, the latter is least risky, though it throws anxiety and responsibility upon those on the spot where the friction exists. Hamilton (secretary of state, 1897)
The English were an imperial race, we were told, with Godgiven right to govern us and keep us in subjection; if we protested, we were reminded of the tiger qualities of an imperial race. Jawaharlal Nehru.
for either was highly doubtful. F.G. Hutchins .

Summary

• CHANGED SITUATION AFTER 1857.
• Shock of revolt of 1857.
• Emergence of new colonial powers.
• British supremacy in world economy challenged.
• Large-scale British capital investment in India.
• CHANGES IN GOVERNMENT AT THE CENTRE.
• The Crown assumed the power to govern—to be exercised through a secretary of state.
• Indians could be associated with legislative process in Imperial Legislative Council, which had very limited power.
• CHANGES IN PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION.
• A process of financial and administrative devolution initiated in 1870. Half-hearted and inadequate measures, aimed at increasing revenue only, introduced. CHANGES IN LOCAL BODIES A process of decentralisation initiated in 1860s. Ripon's Resolution of 1882, a positive step. Overall paucity of funds and absence of real powers.

• CHANGES IN THE ARMY Supremacy of European branch ensured.
• Indian branch to be reorganised on the basis of balance and counterpoise.
• Indians to be excluded from important and strategic locations and branches.
• The Army to be used for the defence of the empire and its expansion, and to promote commercial interests of Great Britain.
• PUBLIC SERVICES Very tough for Indians to be able to enter it.
• Subordinate them to British authority.
• ADMINISTRATIVE POLICIES Divide and Rule.
• Hostility to educated Indians.
• Zamindars and landlords propped as counterweights to the nationalists.
• Reversal of policy of support to social reforms.
• Social services ignored.
• Half-hearted and inadequate labour legislations introduced.
• Stifling of press wherever seen to be helping the nationalist upsurge.
• Racial arrogance.
• • FOREIGN POLICY Reach out to natural geographical frontiers for internal cohesion and defence.
• Keep other European powers at an arm's length.
• Promote British economic and commercial interests.