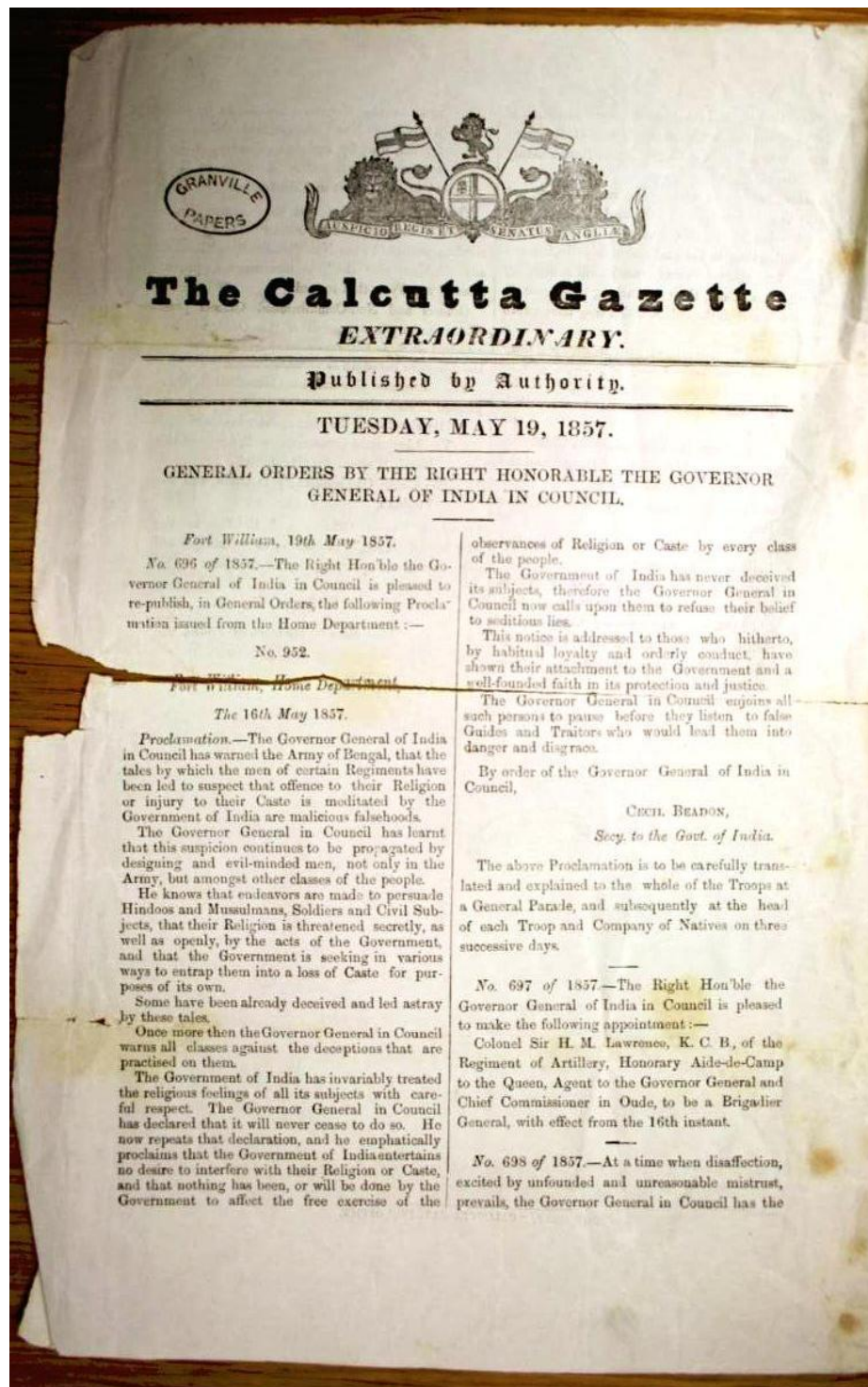


How can we explain why so many Indian people decided to fight against the British in 1857?



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Rationale

The school I am currently teaching in is an 11-18 selective boys grammar, that accepts girls at sixth form. This school presents many opportunities, such as the fact that many students are interested in learning in general, and often in history in particular, indicated in a relatively high uptake of history at A level (since I have been teaching here we have had two or three classes of 20 students each, every year). The school's intake and ethos mean that there are few behaviour management issues and that the students have the capability to take on new ideas. However, due to the fact that the majority of students stay on at sixth form, and we also take additional external students, the ability range at A level can be quite wide. Also due to the selective nature of the school there is a focus on exam grades, and this can lead to teaching and learning which fails motivate or interest students, and also that closely follows the exam board syllabus, rather than exploring the nature of history in the wider sense. I teach a lot of A level and so chose this age group for my lesson sequence. I was particularly interested directing this lesson sequence at my A2 classes who complete a Historical Enquiry throughout the school year, which is essentially a piece of coursework.

There were a number of reasons why I chose to focus on this particular year group and module. First of all I felt that working with The National Archives was an excellent opportunity to gain access to primary evidence which would be invaluable for students' understanding of our particular historical enquiry – India and the British Empire. Secondly the historical enquiry's focus on students' ability to, 'analyse and evaluate a range of appropriate source material with discrimination, and to assess how, 'aspects of the past have been interpreted and represented in different ways,' (AQA 2007, p.61) in a 3500 word essay required a different approach to the relationship between sources, evidence, claims and accounts from AS studies, and that designing an enquiry with The National Archives could help foster this new approach. Finally this module, due to time allocated and the nature of the assessment, allowed for more opportunities to deal with the nature of historical evidence than at AS (a problem recognised by other practitioners such as Laffin 2009).

I was aware that some of the students I teach would be applying to study history at University and are genuinely interested in the process by which an historian constructs an argument, on the other hand I was also aware that many of my students would be studying other subjects at University, or would not be attending University at all, and I therefore wanted to design a sequence of lessons that developed an understanding about the nature of evidence which would be useful to all my students. As one Year 8 student put it recently 'History stops people believing rubbish,' (Ofsted 2010, p.56) and I hoped that by enabling students to understand how claims could be made from evidence and the varying weight that could be placed on these claims students would not only develop their historical thinking, but their thinking skills generally, allowing them to think critically when faced with claims in the 'real world.' I was also aware that the Historical Enquiry was a daunting task for many of my students, and therefore wanted to design a sequence of lessons where, 'the concepts that lie at its [the discipline's] heart can be tackled from the beginning in their simplest form, then in increasingly complex

ways.’ (Cooper 2009, p.149) Finally, I was aware that many students in my A2 class held misconceptions about the role of evidence in history and knew that it was important to address these misconceptions, if my students were to truly develop their thinking about evidence through the use of sources from The National Archives. (Donovan *et al* 1999, Bain 2005)

Based on the work of Lee and Shemilt, and informal observations and discussions with my prospective A2 classes during their AS year of studies, I gathered that most students’ understanding about evidence was relatively undeveloped. Most of my students saw, ‘evidence as information,’ where sources could give direct answers to the questions we pose in history. This meant that when, ‘Given statements to test against evidence, students match [ed] information or count [ed] sources to solve the problem.’ (Lee and Shemilt 2003, p.21) My aim was to develop students’ understanding of ‘the evidential relationship between a source and the claim it is testing or supporting,’ (Ashby 2004, p.32) and that the weight and certainty that could be placed on a claim depended not just on the content of the source, but also the context in which that source was produced. (Wineburg 2001) I also wanted to cultivate, ‘A Lego view of history... where the evidence available... can be put together in different, but perfectly valid ways,’ (Ashby 2011, p.139) and demonstrating that because evidence is, ‘something that can be read in a number of ways... we must argue probabilistically and contextually,’ (Cooper 2009, p.154) about the weight we can place on the claim we are making. Above all I wanted to students to see the point of evidence in history – that, ‘it is only through the use of evidence that history becomes possible,’ (Lee 2005, p.54) and that their best way of being able to explain the actions and motives of people in the past, was by reference to evidence.

Being given access to The National Archives seemed like an excellent opportunity to broaden my students understanding of the event which is often termed the ‘Indian Mutiny.’ This is still a controversial topic today and therefore gave them the opportunity to use original document to engage in a real historical debate. I wanted my students to understand that the motives of the ‘mutineers,’ although often given as based in beliefs about their religion being under attack – symbolised in the issue of the ‘greased cartridges,’ were actually much wider than this single issue. The documents that I discovered in The National Archives gave the opportunity to discuss the complexities of these motives, including opportunity provided by the complacency of the British, a desire of at least some elements to remove British rule completely, the role played by the press in India, and the deteriorating relationship between officers and Sepoys. These documents not only gave students to opportunity to explore the variety of motives, but also how explanations about motives changed between commentators, and time periods, hence inclusion of some documents relating to the centenary celebrations of the Mutiny in India in 1957.

The activities I have designed have been built around the enquiry question, ‘How can we explain why so many Indian people decided to fight against the British in 1857?’ I deliberately included the ‘how’ to focus students learning on the nature of evidence, the

reason why it is important, and how it can strengthen the status of the claims they want to make. The first lesson is designed to illustrate the ways in which historians and others substantiate the claims they make with relation to evidence, and why evidence is important. By deconstructing these claims, and testing them using Chapman's 'therefore and because,' (2010) exercise, students are encouraged to see both the limits of claims, and how they can be strengthened. The next lesson focuses on the context in which the document (a Memorandum from F. H. Robinson) was produced. The aim of this is for students to develop a 'sourcing heuristic,' (Wineburg 2001, p.76), where students are encouraged to use the provenance of a source to understand its subtext, and use this understanding to, 'work things out that,' the source was, 'not intended to show and thus using the sources as evidence.' (Pickles 2010, p.50) I hope that this will allow students to make claims from both the text *and* the subtext of the Memorandum when asked to do so in Lesson Three. This lesson is based on a scaffold suggested by Chapman to explain motive, which, he proposes, 'we can neither fully explain, nor begin to understand without considering their (the historical actors) aims or intentions and their beliefs.' (Chapman 2011, p.32) By making claims about the Indian people's actions, beliefs and feelings, and aims, students are enabled to make claims from the evidence they find, and then are encouraged to assess the certainty they can have of this claim, based on the evidence available in the source, based on the context in which it is produced, and finally based on evidence from other sources, and their provenance. In this way I hope that students are able to build up a process by which they can make 'weighty' claims, but also to develop their understanding of evidence and its relationship with the claims they can make. This can then be assessed in students' response to the final question, which asks them to test a deliberately controversial statement, which will challenge their understanding as it asks them to reconsider the knowledge and understanding they have gained in relation to the enquiry question which is more open. (Laffin 2009)

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Lesson Title	Aims	Teaching and Learning Activities	Resources	Homework
1. What's the point of evidence?	<p>1. To understand that evidence strengthens an argument</p> <p>2. To be able to identify claims and supporting evidence</p> <p>3. To analyse the relationship between claim and evidence</p>	<p>Starter - Show students Monty Python Clip 'Argument Clinic,' discuss whether this is a good argument (it isn't!) and what is missing that would make it better (evidence!)</p> <p>Main (Small Groups) - Use paragraph from a Historian on the causes of the Indian Mutiny, students to identify claim (s) and evidence, and to write each on a separate piece of card. Use Arthur Chapman's 'therefore and because' (see attached slides) exercise (draw them on cards too) to show students how to test claims and evidence. Discuss Findings regarding relationship between claim and evidence.</p> <p>Plenary - Provide newspaper / magazine articles (or get students to bring in for previous homework) that make claims. Get them to repeat exercise. Ask students if they are happy that the evidence supports the claim. Have assumptions been made? Could different claims be made from the evidence? Would students' change anything to make claim stronger / less open to challenge. This is a good opportunity to discuss issue of certainty of claims.</p>	<p>Paragraph on causes of Indian Mutiny e.g. Extract from Lawrence James 'Raj' p.236-7</p> <p>Card and Pens</p> <p>Arthur Chapman's therefore / because PPT</p> <p>Magazine / Newspaper Articles</p> <p>http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=teMlv3ripSM - Monty Python Clip</p>	<p>Reading about the basic events of the Indian Mutiny and also about the issue of caste. Tim Leadbeater Access to History India 1845-1957 good here. Use attached data capture to direct reading</p>

Lesson Title	Aims	Teaching and Learning Activities	Resources	Homework
2. What can one memorandum tell us about why the Indians fought the British in 1857? (Part 1)	<p>1. To study the provenance of an original document</p> <p>2. To use provenance to understand the context in which F. H. Robinson's Memo was written in</p> <p>3. To begin to understand how this knowledge can be used to help make inference from a source.</p>	<p>Starter - Quick feedback on homework to check understanding (this will help with source comprehension) and introduce the over-arching enquiry question 'How can we explain why so many Indian people decided to fight against the British in 1857?'</p> <p>Main -</p> <p>1. Provide the whole document (F. H. Robinson Memo), with description of provenance to each student, along with the thought bubble handout. Ask students to use this document information, as well as the language, tone, and any comments it makes to fill in the '5Ws' around the speech bubble. Allow students to discuss in pairs, and then feedback as a class</p> <p>2. Ask students to use this information to fill in the thought bubble to suggest what F. H. Robinson might have been thinking whilst he wrote the Memorandum, what he might have been trying to do, what sort of person he is etc. Students may want to accompany this with a picture of F. H. Tomlison to provide a visual reminder!</p> <p>Plenary - Directed Q and A on students' thoughts about Tomlison, and how this might help them make claims from the source.</p>	<p>Copies of F. H. Robinson Memorandum</p> <p>Thought Bubble Handouts</p>	

Lesson Title	Aims	Teaching and Learning Activities	Resources	Homework
3. What can one memorandum tell us about why the Indians fought the British in 1857? (Part 2)	<p>1. To be able to make claims about the actions, beliefs and aims of the Indian Mutineers based on a piece of primary evidence</p> <p>2. To understand that the level of certainty about a claim can change dependant on the type of claim being made and the evidence available</p> <p>3. To summarise the motive/s identified in the source and analyse how certain students are that these were motives</p>	<p>Starter - Organise students into 5 mixed ability groups and allocate each group 2 pages of the document. They can read beyond these 2 pages, but they must cover at least these 2 pages. Provide each student with 3 blocks of different coloured post it notes. Instruct students that as they read though they should be trying to identify the Mutineers' actions, beliefs and feelings and aims, all of which will help to explain why they acted against the British. Each colour of post it should relate to a different type of claim.</p> <p>Main -</p> <p>1. Students should read through their section of the document individually first, making claims on the post-its, and then be given time to discuss claims discovered with others in their group. Students should be encouraged to infer from the source and its subtext, as well as look for direct references to the three types of claim.</p> <p>2. Introduce students to 'scale of certainty' (PPT) and ask them to place their post its on their table on a scale of certainty, justifying and discussing with the group the position of each claim.</p> <p>3. Ask each group in turn to place a claim on the board's scale of certainty and to explain their decision. Students can write this down on their own A4 scale of certainty. This can happen for as long as productive / required. Ask students what they notice about the types of claims (hopefully they will be more certain about actions than beliefs / aims).</p> <p>Plenary - Ask students to write a short</p>	<p>Copies of F. H. Robinson Memorandum</p> <p>Post its (3 colours)</p> <p>PPT (instructions and scale of certainty)</p> <p>A4 scale of certainty and Cards (Certain, probably, possible etc.) for desk scales</p> <p>Digital Camera?</p>	

Lesson Title	Aims	Teaching and Learning Activities	Resources	Homework
4. How can we become more certain about the motives of the Indian 'mutineers'? (part 1)	<p>1. To understand how we can become more certain about claims</p> <p>2. To use provenance to help build certainty about claims</p>	<p>Starter - Show picture on IWB of the scale from last lesson, and ask some students to share their claims about the motives of the Indian Mutineers. Directed questioning on how they could become more certain about the motives of the Mutineers (take into account provenance, cross reference with other sources etc.) Point out that these can make you more certain about what the motives weren't as well as what they were.</p> <p>Main -</p> <p>1 - Refer students back to their thought bubble handouts for the Memo and ask them to use the information of who, what, where why and when the source was produced to consider the certainty of their claims.</p> <p>Feedback one claim this provenance makes them more certain of, and one it makes them less certain of. Mark this on A4 scale of certainty</p> <p>2 - In pairs allocate students another source and repeat thought bubble exercise from lesson 2</p> <p>Plenary - ask some students to share the context of their new source</p>	<p>Thought bubble handouts</p> <p>A4 scales of certainty</p> <p>Digital picture of scale of certainty from last lesson</p>	

Lesson Title	Aims	Teaching and Learning Activities	Resources	Homework
5. How can we become more certain about the motives of the Indian 'mutineers'? (part 2)	<p>1. To understand how use of multiple sources can be used to increase and decrease certainty of claims</p> <p>2. To begin to build a picture in answer to the question 'Why did so many Indian people decide to fight against the British in 1857?' using sources of evidence</p>	<p>Starter - Ask students to refer back to thought bubble handouts for their new source and remind them this will help them think about the subtext of the document</p> <p>Main - Repeat first stage of post-it task from Lesson 3 with new source. Students then need to sort the cards in reference to their A4 scale of certainty. One pile for claims that relate to claims made from the first source, others that are new. Students should then write (in a different colour) the new claims directly onto the A4 scale of certainty. The other post its should be used to move (draw arrows) previous claims up or down the scale of certainty, with a written note as to why the claim has been moved</p> <p>Plenary - Ask students to write a new short summary of the motives of the Mutineers from their A4 scale of certainty, and how certain they are of this new claim about their motives. Students to present their new ideas to the rest of the class. Provide opportunities to question / debate degrees of certainty</p>	<p>Post-its</p> <p>A4 scale of certainty and cards</p> <p>Thought bubble handouts</p>	<p>Students to use Though Bubble handouts on new source to consider certainty of the new claims they are making - add to A4 scale of certainty. This would be a good opportunity to ask students to transfer findings to an electronic copy, which will make future changes easier.</p>

Lesson Title	Aims	Teaching and Learning Activities	Resources	Homework
6. The reason so many Indians fought against the British is because they believed their religion was being threatened.' Discuss the validity of this explanation of the motives of the Indian 'Mutineers'	<p>1. To construct an argument about the motives of the Indian 'mutineers' based on claims from various sources of evidence.</p> <p>2. To consider the weight that can be placed on claims based on multiple sources' content and context</p> <p>3. To test a controversial statement based on evidence and claims from multiple sources.</p>	<p>Working In pairs or individually give students electronic access to all documents and activity sheets. Students should be encouraged to study as many documents as they can, but for each document studied students should consider provenance first, then the claims they can make, and then the certainty they can attach to those claims based on the source itself, the context in which the source was produced, and comparison to other sources already studied. Findings should be recorded on thought bubble sheets and A4 scale of certainty.</p> <p>Possibility to contribute to online debate on VLE</p>	ICT suite Online / Electronic versions of activity sheets and documents	Students to write an answer to the following question to the title question

Document – PRO 30/29/21/7 (11 pages)

Copy of a memorandum by Francis Horsby Robinson, former member of the Board of Revenue, North West Provinces, on attitudes to the British Government in India, 1857.



The English Government is less popular than it has ever yet been in India. - It is in fact very much disliked, and looked at with fear and distrust. I am able to speak on this subject from thirty years service and from the nature of my services and my own tastes having led me to see more of the natives and to hear more of their unreserved opinions than most residents in India. -

The time of the decline of our popularity has been from the termination of Lord W. Benticks administration when

when it was at its height. The memory
of that wise and good man is gratefully
cherished by the People of India.

In my early service the country
was very unsettled and disturbed, and we
had to depend a good deal on natives of
power and influence, to keep things tolera-
bly quiet. We were obliged to be civil and
kind to the people then - and civility
and kindness produced their usual
effect. Lord William Bentick openly
declared that his Policy was to bring
forward the natives and efface the
galling distinctions of conquest - and
when he left us our Government was
respected - and the People attached to it.

Since



Since his retirement the progress of our strength
has increased till we have become
perfectly strong - no one dreams of
opposing us - We have in consequence
ceased to be courteous to the natives or
to live at all familiarly with them -
Besides, the body of the civil service
and many of the military have embraced
extreme religious opinions, so that too
many look on the natives with
increased antipathy as pagans and
unbelievers and enemies of God - in
addition to the prejudices of color
and caste - All kinds of imprudence
are committed. I have known a
civil officer make the native
servants

servants of the Government in
attendance on him and his own
servants attend family worship, and
that, to complete the absurdity, in English—
An officer commanding a Regiment to
prohibit the Hindoos from honoring
the colours with Incense and Garlands—
a thing as old as the Indian Army—
that Regiment subsequently mutinied.

The fountains in the Government
gardens at Agra—a favourite resort of
the natives on Sundays—were stopped
from playing on the Sabbath—and
made to play on Thursdays—

Government have shown a dangerous
and marked partiality for the
Missionaries





Missionaries. There is a law in full vigor compelling the Board of Revenue to see that all religious endowments are duly administered. The law is unrepealed but there is an order of the Home Government prohibiting their servants from having anything to do with religious trusts not Christian. A Mahomedan Ruler and a Hindoo of great wealth who had been a distinguished Soldier in our service both consulted me as to getting Government to take charge of splendid charitable and educational endowments they proposed to make. I had to point out to them that they must

must strike out respectively an endow-
ment for a temple and a mosque
which they had included in the endow-
ments. - I shall never forget the surprise-
pain and incredulity with which
both at first listened to me. The surprise
and incredulity soon ceased, but the
pain and anger remained. - Neither
of the charitable and educational endow-
ments were made - the temple and
mosque have been endowed.

In a case where a missionary
was fined by a Magistrate for a con-
tempt of Court, Government interfered
in spite of my protest that the proper
course for the missionary was an
appeal to the proper judicial
authority



authority—The Home Government
also noticed the case—Now I have
known the Government repeatedly
refuse to interfere, and very properly,
even in cases of extreme wrong, with
the regular course of justice, but they
departed from this wholesome rule
in the case of a Missionary—Mr. Mulish
has said that the natives should
not be admitted to take a part—an
equal part in the civil administration
till they become Christian—Sir C. Wood
openly stated his anxiety for their
conversion in the House the other
night—These things will find their
way to India, and in an exaggera-
ted form—The natives see that no
civil

civil or military servant in India
rises to a position of real influence
or distinction who does not hold strong
religious opinions and act under the
religious party. All classes are alarmed.

It is a fact that communications
have passed among the Mahomedans
and pledges have been exchanged to
rise if forcible conversion is attempted.

The fear is vain - but its existence,
however unfounded, is an element of
danger. The last Riot at Benares
was made under pretence of the
authorities striving to do away with
the cost of the Prisoners in jail
by forcing them to mess together -
and this very messing system has
caused outbreaks in different
jails





jails in which I think I compute moderately when I say that 100 lives have been taken. There were to my knowledge sanguinary reprisals of mutinies on this score in the jails of Allahabad and Ghazepoor, and I have heard of others. If by the imprudence of Government a spirit of religious patriotism is once excited in India and if it get into the Army our power is at an end.

Besides, these things defeat their own purpose. The patronage of Government - a Government of Conquerors - will be found fatal to the progress of Christianity. It was while the Missionary was neglected and

and almost persecuted that he laid
the foundation of the success that now
begins to show itself. This very success
adds to the alarm felt by the mass of
the People, and calls for more prudence.
Our only safe and just policy is perfect
impartiality and neutrality in matters
of religion.

(Signed) Francis Horsey Robinson

late member of the Board of
Revenue.

8th June.

12 Queen St May fair N. W. Provinces



Transcript PR0 30/29/21/7 - Copy of a memorandum by Francis Horsby Robinson, former member of the Board of Revenue, North West Provinces, on attitudes to the British Government in India. 1857.

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The time of the decline of our popularity has been from the termination of Lord W. Benticks administration when it was at its height. The memory of that wise and good man is gratefully cherished by the people of India.

In my early service the country was very settled and disturbed, and we had to depend a good deal on natives of power and influence, to keep things tolerably quiet. We were obliged to be civil and kind to the people then – and civility and kindness produced their usual effect. Lord William Bentick openly declared that his policy was to bring forward the natives and efface the galling distinctions of conquest, and when he left us our Government was respected, and the people attached to it.

Since his retirement the progress of our strength has increased till we have become perfectly strong – no one dreams of opposing us. We have in consequence ceased to be courteous to the natives or to live at all familiarly with them. Besides, the body of the civil service and many of the military have embraced extreme religious opinions, so that too many look on the natives with increased antipathy as pagans and unbelievers and enemies of God – in addition to the prejudices of color and caste – all kinds of imprudence are committed. I have known a civil officer make the native servants of the Government in attendance on him and his own servants attend family worship, and that to complete the absurdity, in English . An officer commanding a Regiment to prohibit the Hindoos from honoring the colors with Incense and Garlands, a thing as old as the Indian army – that Regiment subsequently mutinied.

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proposed to make. I had to point out to them that they must strike out respectively an endowment for a temple and a mosque which they had included in the endowments. I shall never forget the surprise, pain, and incredulity with which both at first listened to me. The surprise and incredulity soon ceased, but the pain and anger remained. Neither of the charitable and educational endowments were made – the temple and the mosque have been endowed.

In a case where a missionary was fined by a Magistrate for contempt of court, Government interfered in spite of my protest that the proper course for the missionary was an appeal to the proper judicial authority. The Home Government also noticed the case – now I have known the Government repeatedly to refuse to interfere, and very properly, even in cases of extreme wrong, with the regular course of justice, but they departed from this wholesome rule in the case of a missionary. [Mr ?] has said that the natives should not be admitted to take part – an equal part in the civil administration till they become Christian. Sir C. Wood openly stated his anxiety for their conversion in the House the other night. These things will find their way to India, and in an exaggerated form. We see that no civil or military servant in India rises to a position of real influence or distinction who does not hold strong religious opinions and act under the religious party. All classes are alarmed.

It is a fact that communications have passed among the Mahomedans and pledges have been exchanged to rise if forcible conversion is attempted. The fear is vain, but its existence, however unfounded, is an element of danger. The last Riot at Benares was made under pretence of the authorities striving to do away with the caste of the Prisoners in jail by forcing them to [mess? = eat?] together and this very [messing?] system has caused outbreaks in different jails in which I think I compute moderately when I say that 100 lives have been taken. There were to my knowledge sanguinary reprisals of mutinies on this score in the jails of Allahabad and Ghazeepoor; and I have heard of others. If by the imprudence of Government a spirit of religious patriotism is once excited in India and if it got into the Army, our power is at an end.

Besides, these things defeat their own purpose. The patronage of Government – a Government of Conquerors – will be found fatal to the progress of Christianity. It was while the Missionary was neglected and almost persecuted that he laid the foundation of the success that now begins to show itself. This very success adds to the alarm felt by the mass of the people and calls for more prudence. Our only safe and just policy is perfect impartiality and neutrality in matters of religion.

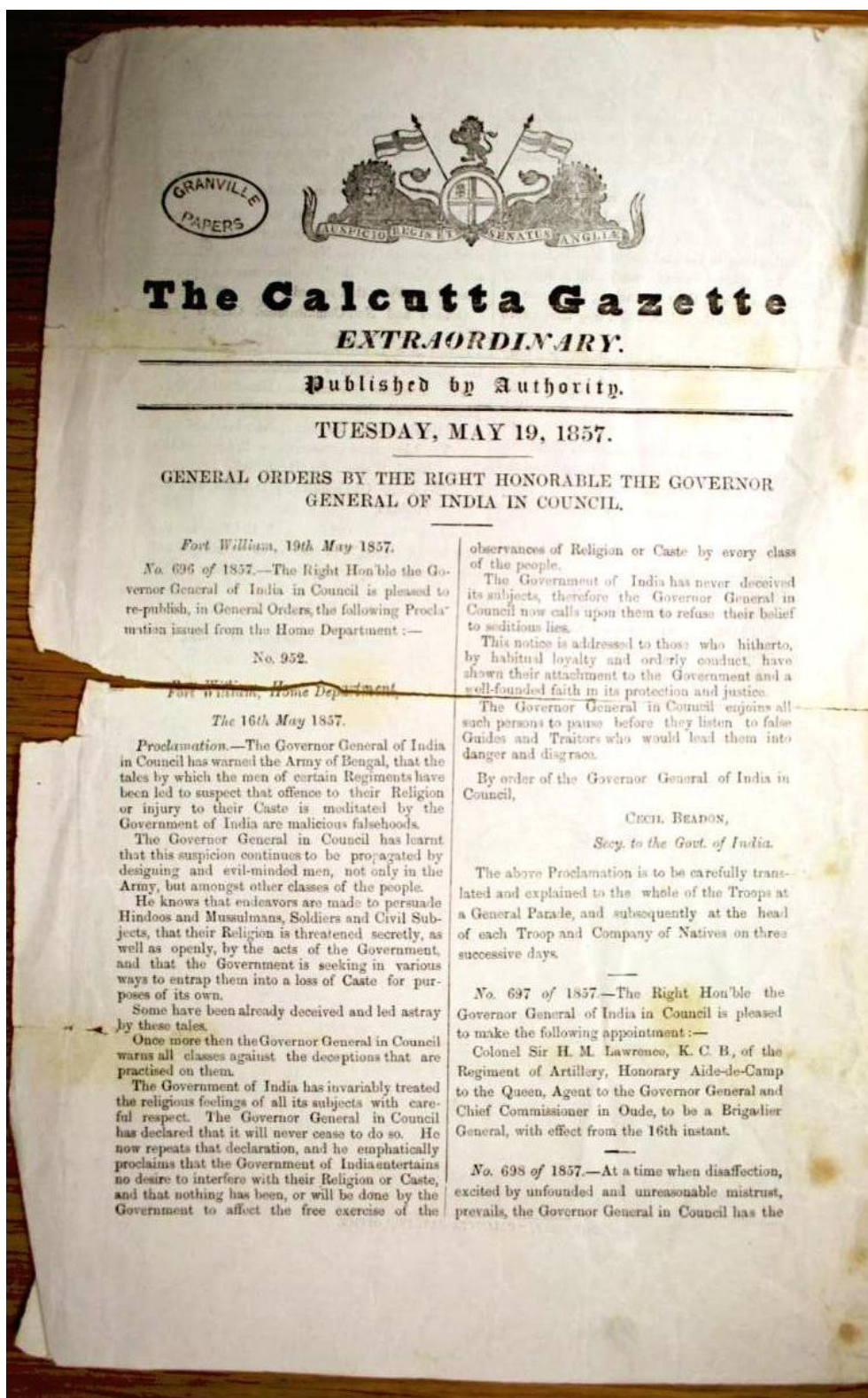
(signed) Francis Horsby Robinson

Late member of the Board of Revenue

8th June

12 Queen Street Mayfair / N W Provinces

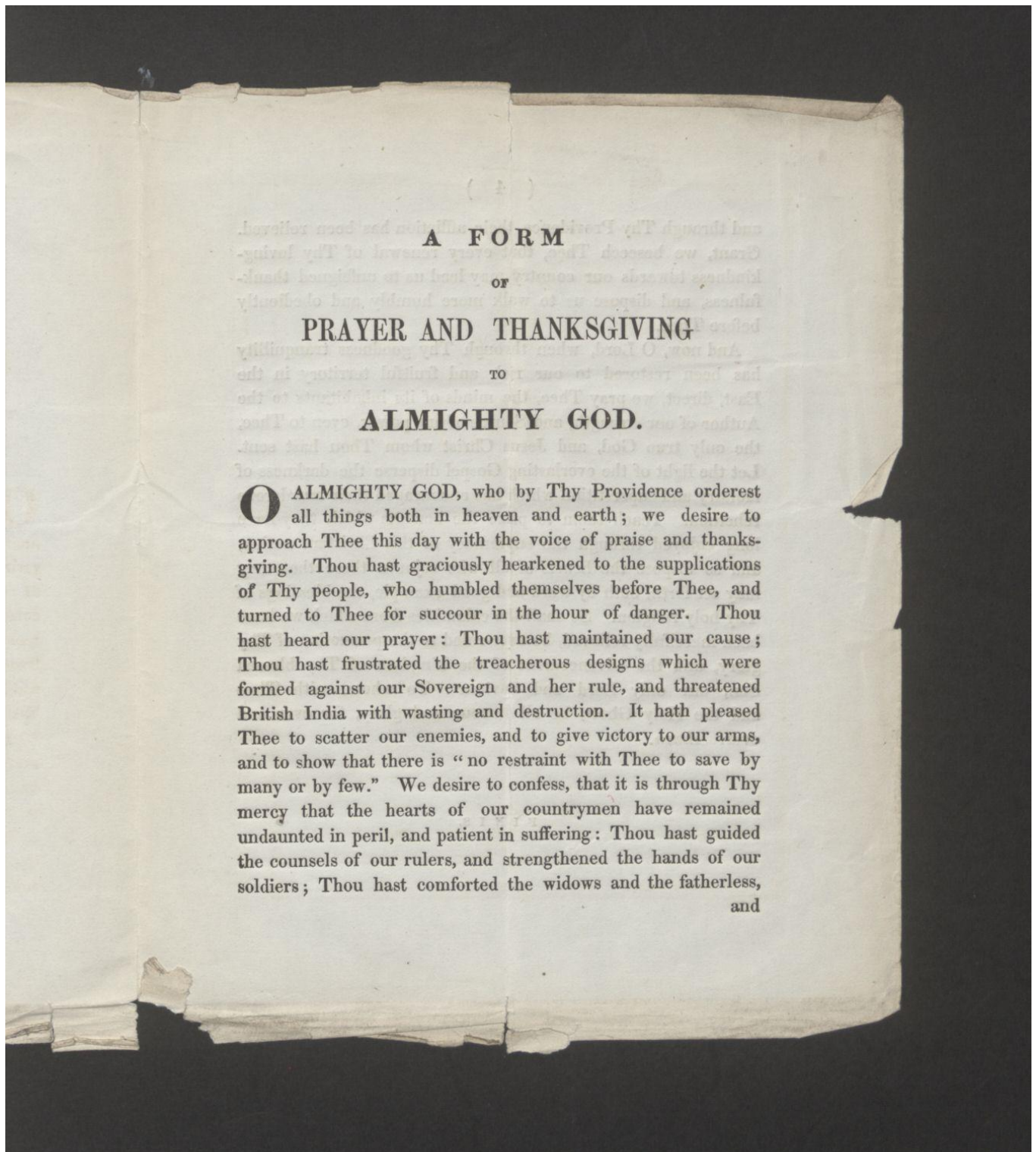
Copy of the Calcutta Gazette containing the Governor General's proclamation to the Bengal army of May 16th 1857.





Document – HO 45/6857 (2 pages)

A Church of England pamphlet: form of prayer and thanksgiving in suppressing the Indian rebellion



(4)

and through Thy Providence their affliction has been relieved. Grant, we beseech Thee, that every renewal of Thy loving-kindness towards our country may lead us to unfeigned thankfulness, and dispose us to walk more humbly and obediently before Thee.

And now, O Lord, when through Thy goodness tranquillity has been restored to our rich and fruitful territory in the East, direct, we pray Thee, the minds of its inhabitants to the Author of our strength, and Source of our power, even to Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent. Let the light of the everlasting Gospel disperse the darkness of idolatry and superstition which has encouraged their murderous rebellion. Teach them to prize the benefits which they have long enjoyed through the supremacy of this Christian nation, and so dispose the hearts of all who sojourn there that they may set forth, both by word and good example, the blessings of Thy holy religion. So shall the calamities from which we have been mercifully relieved, be over-ruled to the promotion of Thy glory, and the advancement of the kingdom of Thy blessed Son, our only Lord and Saviour: To whom, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

FINIS.

A
FORM

OF

PRAYER AND THANKSGIVING

TO

ALMIGHTY GOD;

TO BE USED

In all Churches and Chapels throughout *England* and *Wales*, and the Town of *Berwick-upon-Tweed*, on *Sunday* the First Day of *May* 1859, being the Day appointed for a GENERAL THANKSGIVING to ALMIGHTY GOD:

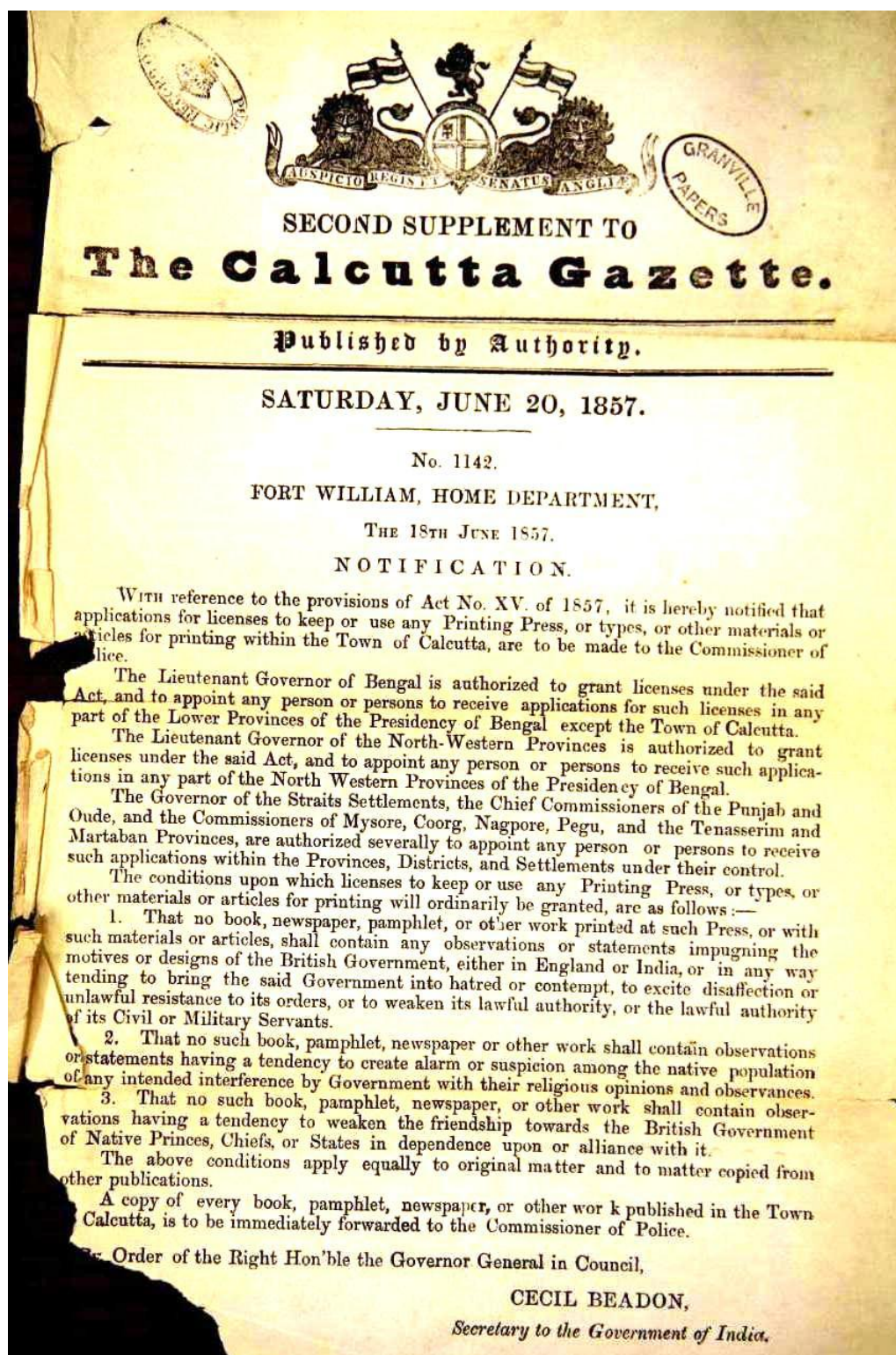
For the Success granted to our Arms in suppressing the Rebellion and restoring Tranquillity in Her Majesty's *Indian* Dominions.

By Her Majesty's Special Command.

LONDON:

Printed by GEORGE EDWARD EYRE and WILLIAM SPOTTISWOODE,
Printers to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty. 1859.

Supplement to The Calcutta Gazette containing notification of restrictions on printing and publishing in the vicinity of Calcutta



Document – PRO 30/29/23/10 (2 pages)

Extract from a secret letter of June 9th 1830 from the directors of the East India Company to the Governor General.



Extract Secret Letter to The Governor General in Council
at Fort William
in Bengal
dated 9th June 1830.

Made public
28th June 1830.



Para 29. It is our wish to respect all the rights of the Native Princes - Where Treaties directly authorize, or indirectly involve our interference with their internal administration, not to interpose without necessity nor longer than necessity may require; but misgovernment constitutes that necessity, and in the preeminent situation in which it has pleased Providence to place us, we have not a higher duty than that of securing to all within the sphere of our legitimate influence a beneficent Government.

30. Where our interference in the internal administration of a State is neither directly or indirectly the result of our engagements with it, nothing but the just and reasonable apprehension that its maladministration may endanger the
general

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general peace, can justify our authoritative intervention in its affairs. The benefits which in a particular case might attend our intervention would be more than counterbalanced by the danger of violating a principle of National Law.

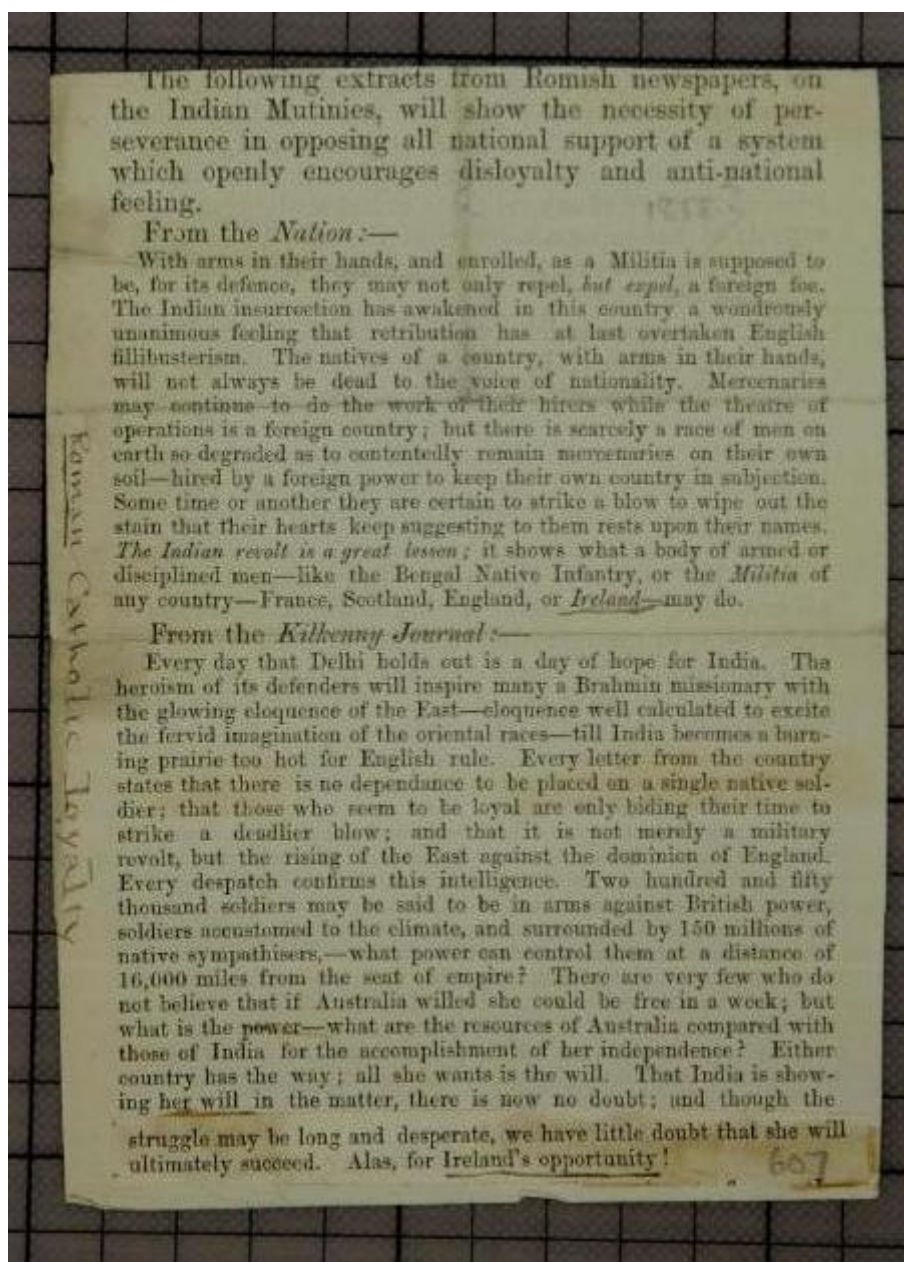
Transcript: Document PRO 30/29/23/10 - Extract from a secret letter of June 9th 1830 from the directors of the East India Company to the Governor General.

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Document – PRO 30/29/23/10 (4 pages)

Extracts from the Simachur Soodhartoursun, a Calcutta newspaper, May 28-June



Extracts, translated from a Calcutta daily
Paper published in Bengalee and Hindee called
the Somachar Soddaburshum dated 5 June 1857.

The Mutinies at Meerut and
Delhi have filled the mind of our Governor with
fear. He has therefore added 24 Men to his
body-guard - and has ordered the principal
gate, and all the minor entrances at Government
House to be closed punctually at 8 O'Clock P.M.
After the gates are closed, no one is admitted,
no matter who he be, or what his business -
and he goes every day to Durr Durr, Barrackpore
Hse., and saluting to the Sepoys with both hands,
with great address explains to them thus with sweet
words. -

"I will never attempt anything which

315 can

"can injure your religion - Do whatever your religion requires - no one shall prevent you."

The Members of the great Council of Parliament, having understood that the order to bite the Cartridges was at the bottom of all the present Mutinies of the Sepoys, have sent a letter of Commands to Lord Ganning - In it this is written "Iake means to make the Hindu and Musulman Sepoys abandon their Mutinous conduct, or else it will be much the worse for you." When he got these orders our Governor determined to burn all the Cartridges made of suspected Grass / paper? in the presence of the Sepoys all over the Country, in order that they might lose all suspicion in regard to their religion and return to their allegiance, but it does not seem as if the Sepoys would place any confidence in the word of the Governor."

20th May.

In another Article after affirming that it has only been constant war that has made us prosper hitherto, and that our constant aggressions were not bad policy, the writer proceeds "But now from the way in which they (our Rulers) have attempted to destroy religion, it seems that God is certainly displeased with them, and hence it is not probable that they will lose their Empire."

"When a servant gives answer to his Master, death is not far off" - It is clear that the Sepoys have given an answer "to their Master" upon the subject of the loss of their Caste - Let our readers consider for themselves what is likely to follow -

It was in an unbecoming manner that the Governor passed the order for biting the Cartridges, that he will not be able to effect his purpose is a trifle, but he will have difficulty in saving the Empire - Now he takes every kind of oath, but the mutinous soldiers attach no credit to what he says, and show no inclination to

317 leave

leave off fighting - on the contrary their rage increases every day and they have induced the people in many places to join them."

"The Raja of Rewa promised the Priests of the Sacred God had him at Gya 2 1/2 lakhs of rupees if he should conquer in the war with the English, so the Priests are praying God that he may be victorious."

"The Emperors of France and Prussia have made peace with the British Government upon condition that the Country which the British have taken from them respectively is to be restored, but the order of restoration have not yet issued. They will probably not long be delayed under present circumstances?"

Government has passed an order that all merchants are to assist in the war. The Merchants are in great trouble about this.

"All the Country people round Agra are buying weapons and arms in every direction saying 'If we die for it, we will fight with all our might against the English. Let us see what will come of it.'"

Transcript: Document – PRO 30/29/23/10 Quotations from the Simachur Soodhartoursun, a Calcutta newspaper, May – June 1857

Extracts translated from a Calcutta daily paper published in Bengali and Hindu called the Simachur Soodhartoursun dated 5TH June 1857

‘The mutinies at Meerut and Delhi have filled the mind of our Governor with fear. He had therefore added 24 men to his body-Guards and has ordered the principal gate, and all the minor entrances at Government House to be closed punctually at 8 O’ Clock p.m. After the gates are closed, no one is admitted, no matter who he be, or what his business and he goes every day to Dum Dum, Barrackpore [?] and salaaming to the Sepoys with both hands with great address explains to them with sweet words

“I will never attempt anything which can injure your religion. Do whatever your religion requires – no-one shall prevent you.”

The Member of the great Council of Parliament, having understood that the order to bite the Cartridges was at the bottom of all the present mutinies of the Sepoys, have sent a letter of command to Lord Canning – In it this is written “Take means to make the Hindu and Mussulman Sepoys abandon their mutinous conduct, or else it will be much the worse for you.” When he got these orders our Governor determined to burn all the Cartridges made of suspected covers /paper?/ in the presence of the Sepoys all over the country, in order that they might lose all suspicion in regards to their religion and return to their allegiance, but it does not seem as if the Sepoys would place any confidence in the words of the Governor’

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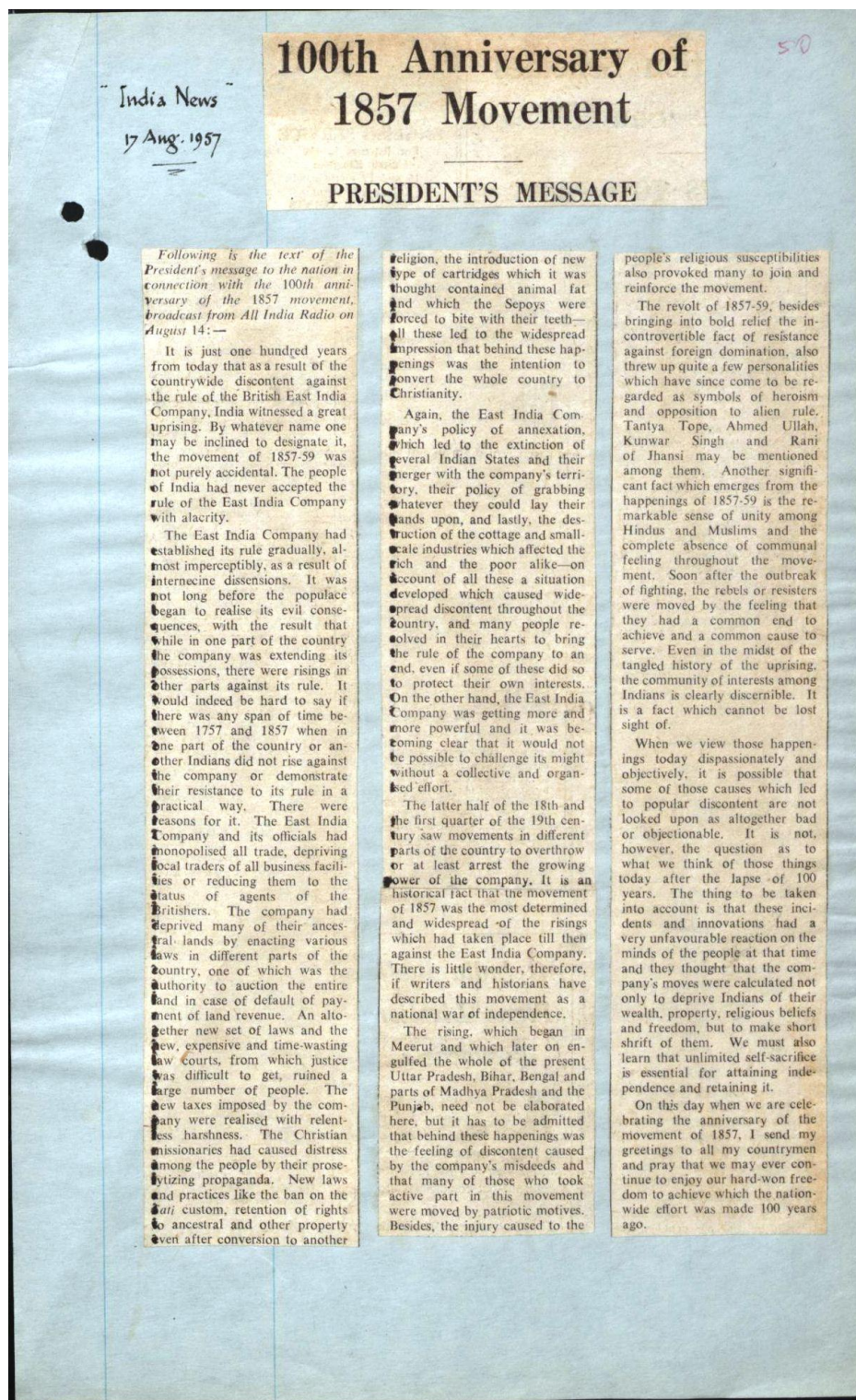
“The Raja of [Rewa?] promised the priests of the Sacred God [hadhur?] at Goya 2 ½ [lacks?] of rupees if he should conquer the war with the English, so the Priests are praying God that he may be victorious.”

“The Emperors of France and Russia have made peace with the British Government upon condition that the country which the British have taken from them [?] respectively is to be restored, but the orders of restoration have not yet issued. They will probably not long be delayed under present circumstances.”

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“All the country people [?] Agra are buying weapons and arms in every direction saying “If we die for it, we will fight with all our might against the English – Let us see what will come of it.”

The President's message on the Hundredth Anniversary of 1857, as reported in 'India News'



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THE MUTINY

**WHY AND HOW SEPOYS ROSE
AGAINST THE COMPANY**

By C. H. Philips
Professor of Oriental History in the University of London.

Times
10 May 1957

The beginning of the widespread mutiny in the East India Company's Bengal army in May, 1857, was remarkable in that almost everywhere the British were taken by surprise. Yet on no fewer than four occasions between 1824 and 1856 had large bodies of Bengal sepoy troops refused to obey their British officers, and their doubtful loyalty had become a stock subject of discussion in the Company.

It was to be expected that a country populated largely by Hindus and Muslims, which within a century had been conquered and brought under British paramount rule, should be alive with unrest and uncertainty, but it was not appreciated that the Bengal sepoy were to a peculiar degree a focus of resentment. In a mercenary army there were of course the customary grouses over pay and allowances, alarm also at the increasing prospect as the Company expanded of serving for long periods far from home and perhaps overseas, but of more fundamental importance was the fact that large numbers in the Bengal army were recruited from the Rajput and Brahman castes of the recently annexed state of Oudh; orthodox, high caste representatives of traditional Indian society and therefore both individually and as an organized body sensitive to British westernizing policy.

SUTTEE SUPPRESSED

To suppress *suttee*, to allow Hindu widows to remarry, to protect the civil rights of converts from Hinduism, to foster a system of education on western lines as the Company had done was to challenge the whole Brahmanical system. A trusted Brahman officer in conversation with Henry Lawrence during the early days of the fighting at Lucknow assured him that for years past the Government had sought to convert the sepoy and, when contradicted, replied, "I tell you what everybody says."

Chance in the form of a rumour that a new issue of cartridges was being greased with the fat of cows and pigs in order to defile the sepoy as a preliminary to converting him to Christianity provided the combination of circumstances which on May 10 set off the mutiny at Meerut, a garrison town some 40 miles from Delhi. After shooting down the British officers and killing their families, the sepoy moved off during the night, most of them, as if by instinct rather than plan, making for Delhi, the capital of the former Mughul empire, where as pensioners of the British the royal family and courtiers still clustered round the feeble old "emperor," Bahadur Shah. Surging into the royal palace, the sepoy brushed aside his bewildered plea—"I am in no condition to join anyone"—and proclaimed him emperor. They then turned on the few Europeans in the city and took possession of the great depot of arms and ammunition.

Under the Indian summer sun the Mutiny smouldered its way through the sepoy regiments. Each new outbreak took on an individual character, but almost everywhere, apparently blinded by the army's long record of military success, the British officers trusted their sepoy to the last. Precariously poised in its policy of reaching forward to the natural frontier of the Himalayas, the Company was caught off balance. Between Agra near Delhi and Barrackpore near Calcutta, a distance of 800 miles, there was only one British regiment and that divided, so that by the middle of July this thickly populated stretch of the northern plains was lost to the British, save for a few isolated centres, notably Cawnpore and Lucknow, where handfuls of British soldiers, civilians and their families, held out desperately.

PANIC SUNDAY

The European population of Calcutta, frightened by the turn of events and exasperated by the policy of the new governor-general, Canning, who was trying to coax the sepoy back to discipline at a time when coaxing was too late, lost its nerve and on "Panic Sunday" in mid-June quitted the city as if "smitten with a pestilence." But the administration held firm, awaiting promised reinforcements by sea.

As the fighting spread new causes of disturbance took effect, transforming the Mutiny into a struggle not so much between two as between half a dozen sides. In Oudh the great landholders, antagonized by the Company's recent attempts to undermine their position, seized the opportunity offered by the fighting at the capital, Lucknow, to foment a popular rebellion among their peasantry. Elsewhere, dispossessed Indian princes, who had lost their old life without finding a new one, also took their chance; in particular, the Nana Sahib, an adopted son of the former head of the once powerful Marathas of western India, managed at Cawnpore to get control of four sepoy regiments of mutineers and promptly took revenge on the British by massacring under promise of safe conduct the whole garrison, men, women and children. At Jhansi, in central India, the widow of the Raja took to arms in the hope of recovering the state which Dalhousie had annexed, soon being joined by Tantia Topi, the ablest of Nana Sahib's adherents. In the south, apart from a quickly suppressed riot at Hyderabad, the population remained quiet, and the Company's Madras army, recruited from a diversity of castes and peoples and therefore slower to react to the influences that had upset the Bengal sepoy, was held under firm discipline.

DELHI THE MAINSPRING

The first effective stroke against the mutineers came from the Punjab, where John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner, and a brilliant team of officers anticipated a rising. The situation was hazardous in that it was uncertain whether the Punjabi troops, Sikh and Muslim, would join with the 20,000 sepoy of the Bengal army in order to recover the independence they had lost in 1849, but when by a series of daring *coups* the latter were disarmed, "friends" as Herbert Edwards put it, "became as thick as summer flies and levies began from that moment to come in." The way was thus cleared for a counter-attack on Delhi, still the mainspring of the revolt.

Indian witnesses have left a vivid record of the confusion that persisted in Delhi. The emperor and his sons were helpless in the hands of a group of sepoy officers who, struggling among themselves for mastery, failed either to create an administration or to hold their followers in check. Communal rivalries emerged. The Muslims flouted the Hindus by hoisting the flag of the *Jihad* , and during the Muslim feast of Bakr-Id cow-killing had to be forbidden under pain of death. By September 19, 1857, when British forces which had been clinging to the Ridge outside Delhi, powerfully reinforced from the Punjab, finally stormed the city, the sepoy were already deserting in large numbers.

This was the turning point. The failure to produce leaders capable of combining to exploit the favourable situation, notably Nana Sahib's decision not to join with Delhi, undermined the sepoy's confidence and exposed them to piecemeal destruction. With the Mutiny turning to the defensive the massive counter-measures organized by Canning from Calcutta took full effect, and by the spring of 1859 the fighting was over. Bahadur Shah was exiled to Rangoon, Nana Sahib driven from India, the Rani of Jhansi killed in action, and Tantia Topi hanged.

LONG-TERM RESULTS

From the start all sides, driven by fear, had shown merciless ferocity. Mass mutiny met with mass retaliation. Mutineers when captured were subjected to what *The Times* correspondent W. H. Russell described as "spiritual and mental tortures to which we have no right to resort, and which we dare not perpetrate in the face of Europe," and many months passed before Canning, who throughout was looking ahead to the peace that was to follow, felt able to warn the British military against taking indiscriminate vengeance.

In British eyes the Mutiny acquired the character of a great national epic in which against a tragic background British heroism triumphed over Indian treachery, an interpretation which contributed to a gradual hardening of British political policy to the point at which a generation later the historian John Seeley could express the view that "it is necessary to govern India as if we were to govern her for ever." After the Mutiny sharp changes of policy took place. Army recruits were sought for preference from the loyal north-west and Nepal; and Indians were excluded from the artillery. The attention which the Muslim malcontents had drawn to themselves had the unfortunate effect of bringing the whole community under political suspicion. By comparison the Indian states, Canning's "breakwaters in the storm," were given guarantees against annexation, a gesture which was later to blossom into a policy of imperial partnership.

The Mutiny expressed traditional India's repugnance to the new life which was pressing upon her. If it had succeeded India would have been plunged back into the unending warfare from which she had suffered in the eighteenth century. Its failure meant that Indians would be exposed in still greater degree to "the belligerent civilization" of the west.

Homework – Basic Knowledge of the Indian ‘Mutiny’

What was the Indian Mutiny?	
What were the results of the Indian Mutiny?	
What is caste?	
How can caste be threatened?	

