

Ruling the World

Ruling the World tells the story of how the largest and most diverse empire in history was governed, everywhere and all at once. Focusing on some of the most tumultuous years of Queen Victoria's reign, Alan Lester, Kate Boehme and Peter Mitchell adopt an entirely new perspective to explain how the men in charge of the British Empire sought to manage simultaneous events across the globe. Using case studies, including Canada, South Africa, the Caribbean, Australia, India and Afghanistan, they reveal how the empire represented a complex series of trade-offs between Parliament's, colonial governors', colonists' and colonised peoples' agendas. They also highlight the compromises that these men made as they adapted their ideals of freedom, civilisation and liberalism to the realities of an empire imposed through violence and governed in the interests of Britons.

Alan Lester is Professor of Historical Geography at the University of Sussex and Professor of History at La Trobe University. He is the author of Imperial Networks: Creating Identities in Nineteenth-Century South Africa and Britain (2001) and the co-author of Colonization and the Origins of Humanitarian Governance: Protecting Aborigines across the Nineteenth-Century British Empire (2014).

Kate Boehme is a Leverhulme Early Career Fellow at the University of Leicester. She has published on South Asian history in a number of journals, including the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

Peter Mitchell is a writer and historian from Newcastle. He is the author of *Imperial Nostalgia* (forthcoming).





Ruling the World

Freedom, Civilisation and Liberalism in the Nineteenth-Century British Empire

Alan Lester

University of Sussex and La Trobe University

Kate Boehme

University of Leicester

Peter Mitchell





CAMBRIDGEUNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108426206 DOI: 10.1017/9781108584227

© Alan Lester, Kate Boehme and Peter Mitchell 2021

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2021

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

ISBN 978-1-108-42620-6 Hardback ISBN 978-1-108-44489-7 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



For Patricia Joan Lester, 1940–2019





Contents

j	List of Figures	page ix
	List of Maps	X
4	Acknowledgements	xi
Ι	ntroduction	1
Part I	1838: The Year of Freedom	
1	Setting the Scene for Emancipation	35
2	Managing Expectations	61
3	Political Freedom	83
4	Settler Liberties	108
5	Free Trade, Famine and Invasion	144
6	Steam and Opium	168
(Conclusion to Part I: An Empire of Freedom?	183
Part II	1857: The Year of Civilisation	
7	Setting the Scene: Hubris and Crisis	189
8	'A Struggle of Life and Death'	220
9	A New Imperial Government	250
(Conclusion to Part II: An Empire of Civilisation?	269
Part III	1879: The Year of Liberalism	
1	0 Liberal Fathers and Sons	275
1	1 Imperialism	299
		vii



viii	Contents		
	12 Imperial Wars and Their Aftermaths	317	
	Conclusion to Part III: A Liberal Empire?	336	
	Appendix: Cast of Characters	340	
	Notes	345	
	Index	390	



Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-42620-6 — Ruling the World Alan Lester , Kate Boehme , Peter Mitchell Frontmatter More Information

Figures

1.1	'Am I not a man and a brother?'	page 44
2.1	House of Correction for Apprentices from James Williams	,
	A Narrative of Events since the 1st of August, 1834	66
3.1	The Battle of Saint-Denis	90
4.1	Anna Gurney	114
5.1	Arrival of Dr Brydon at Jalalabad, 13 January 1842	167
6.1	The stacking room, an opium factory at Patna, India	175
7.1	The British bombardment of Canton during the Second	
	Opium War	211
8.1	Syed Ahmed Khan and his son Syed Mahmood	221
8.2	Outlying picket of the Highland Brigade at the time of the	
	Indian Mutiny in 1857	247
9.1	The Durbar Court, Foreign and Commonwealth Office,	
	St James Street, London	266
11.1	Sir Henry Bartle Frere	303
12 1	'A Black White Flenhant' 1879	330



Maps

0.1	The British Empire in 1838	page 25
4.1	The Eastern Cape frontier, 1838–57	110
8.1	British India in 1857	227
8.2	'Routes from Europe to Upper India and Central Asia via	
	Red Sea, the Euphrates Valley, and Kurrachee'	238
10.1	The British Empire in 1879	291
11.1	Southern Africa in 1879	300

X



Acknowledgements

This book's origins lie in a research project, 'Snapshots of Empire'. I would like to thank the Leverhulme Trust for providing the necessary funding and Kate Boehme and Peter Mitchell, the research fellows who worked so professionally and collegially in The National Archives and the British Library, to lay its foundations.

I am very grateful to Mandy Banton, who shared her phenomenal expertise in the Colonial Office records, and to Penny Brook and Antonia Moon of the British Library, who helped enormously with the East India Company and India Office research. Clare Anderson, Dan Clayton, Ann Curthoys, John Darwin, Saul Dubow, Catherine Hall, Amanda Nettelbeck, Steve Legg and Sujit Sivasundaram all provided constructive feedback as the project progressed, for which I am very grateful.

The book was contemplated and written alongside a tenure as Research Professor in History at La Trobe University. I would like to thank my wonderful colleagues there, and especially Katie Holmes and Kerry Nixon, for their hospitality. There I helped see through to completion the late and greatly missed Tracey Banivanua Mar's PhD students, Crystal Mackinnon, Nikita Vanderbyl, Lucy Davies and Jessica Horton. It was a pleasure working with them and my co-supervisor, Liz Conor. I have benefitted greatly from their insight.

Thanks also to both the universities of Oxford's and Cambridge's Global and Imperial History seminars and the History seminar series of La Trobe, the University of Leicester, the University of Melbourne, Deakin University, Monash University, the University of Queensland, Flinders University, University of New South Wales, the University of Adelaide and the University of Sydney for opportunities to test out ideas and approaches in this book. Clare Anderson, James Belich, Leigh Boucher, Joy Damousi, John Darwin, Lisa Ford, Kate Fullagar, Anna Johnston, Amanda Nettelbeck, Lynette Russell and Tiffany Shellam all provided opportunities for helpful discussion, as did Luke Gibbon at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Anne Curthoys and Amanda

хi



xii Acknowledgements

Nettelbeck very kindly read through drafts and their advice and corrections are greatly appreciated. Johanna Skurnik helped greatly by providing material from her own postdoctoral research. Thanks also to the Uckfield Dads Club for their stimulating debate.

Alan Lester