

ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: "BECAUSE WE WERE TOO ENGLISH:"
JOHN KAYE AND THE 1857 INDIAN
REBELLION

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History

Throughout the nineteenth century, no other rebellion received the same level of attention in Britain as the 1857 Indian Rebellion. This was one of the most written about events in the nineteenth century. The foremost writer on the rebellion is Sir John William Kaye. This thesis examines John Kaye's writings on India before and after the rebellion. Kaye viewed the British-Indian relationship through a paternalistic lens. Kaye viewed the role of the British to uplift the condition of Indians through personal examples. He was therefore critical of the East India Company's policies and actions which were detrimental to this agenda, while he still defended it as an institution of progress. After the 1857 Mutiny, Kaye re-examined his standpoint on British interference in India. He did not forsake his paternalistic viewpoint, which allowed Kaye to examine how British actions had caused a divide between the British officers and the sepoys.

“BECAUSE WE WERE TO ENGLISH:” JOHN KAYE AND THE 1857 INDIAN
REBELLION

by

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Dedication

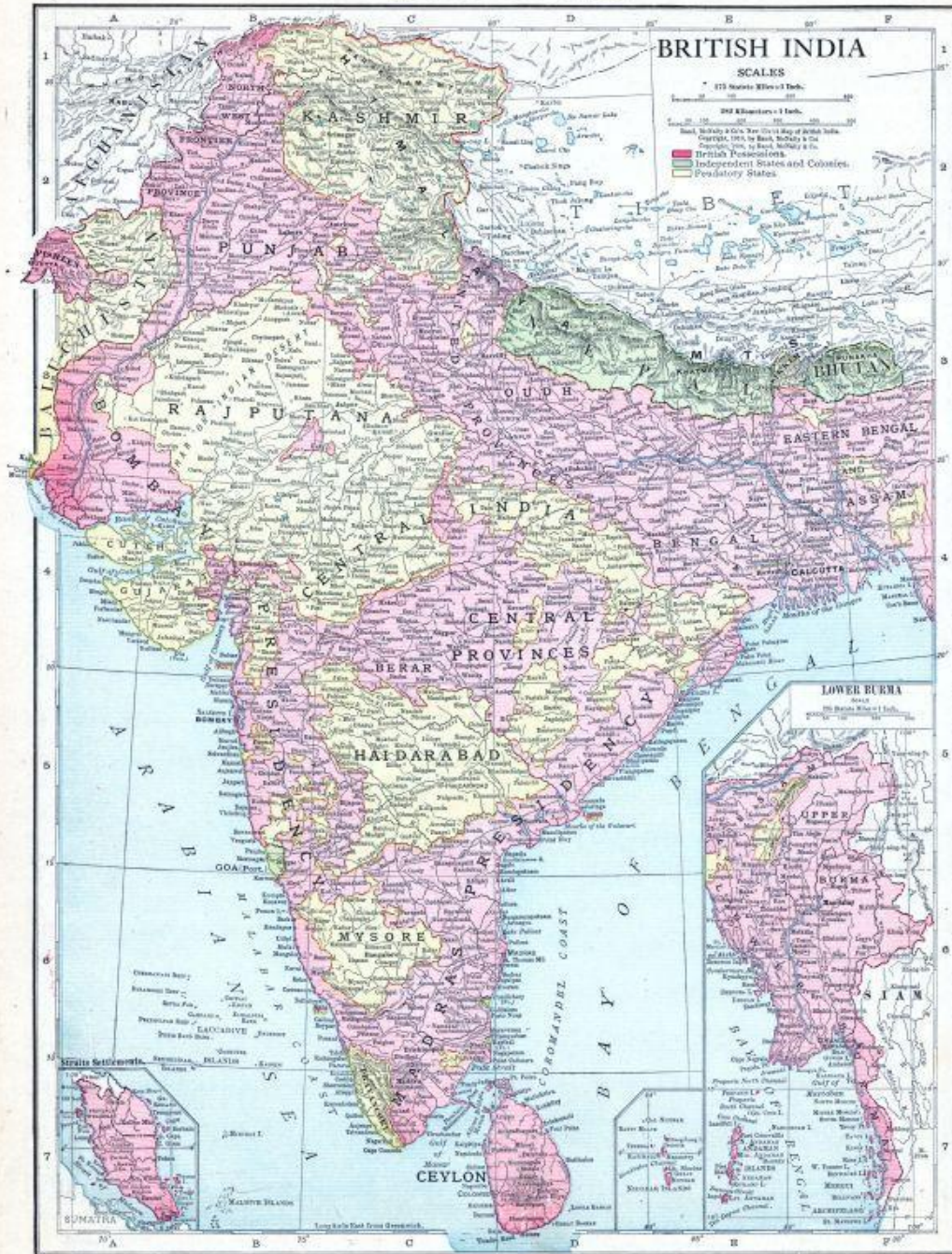
To all of my friends and family who encouraged me to finish this project. In particular, I dedicate this thesis to my parents, Bufkin and Robin Fairchild, who encouraged me to pursue education and gave me the support I needed.

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¹ "World Atlas 1913, British India" (Rand McNally and Company, 1913)
<http://www.proquest.historicmapworks.com/Map.php?c=WM&m=230&l=India&cont=Asia>.



² Portrait of John Kaye in *The Calcutta Monthly Journal and General Registrar of Occurrences Throughout the British Dominions in the East from an Epitome of the Indian Press For the Year 1838* (Calcutta: Samuel Smith and Co., 1839), 31.

Chapter 1: An Introduction to the Writings on the 1857 Indian Rebellion

The British had traded with India since the early seventeenth-century and Parliament gave the East India Company a monopoly on this trade. During the late eighteenth century, the East India Company (EIC) began to adopt governing powers in India while also extending their territorial control. Although many wars and numerous mutinies occurred in India during British rule, none received as much attention as the 1857 Indian Mutiny. In 1857, a great mutiny began when the sepoys, Northern Indian soldiers serving in the British Indian Army, rebelled against their British officers. This event was instigated by the introduction of Enfield rifles into the Indian army, which required the use of greased cartridges for firing. Sepoys had religious objections to using the cartridges due to rumors of unclean animal fat used for the grease. In many cantonments, British soldiers and residents were murdered by Hindu and Muslim troops. Due to the low ratio of the British to Indian troops within India, the British home government had to send extra troops to assist Lord Canning in regaining control of India. By 1858, the British had retaken Northern India. This event changed how the British governed India and had a great impact on Victorian society. Parliament removed the East India Company from power and instead made India a Crown colony. In addition to this change in government, the mutiny upset British society and contributed to shifts in nineteenth-century racial ideology.

Most Victorians responded with shock and horror at the boldness of Indians to revolt against the British. The fact that a less developed race rebelled against the empire was disturbing to Victorian sensibilities. This horror was reinforced by reports

of rape and murder perpetrated by Indians against British women. The time it took for Victorians to receive news from the colony exasperated the unease because they had to wait to learn if loved ones had survived the violence in India. Domestic British news sources did not have informants in India and therefore had to wait for individuals living in the sub-continent to send information to Britain.³ The revolt shook the Victorian belief that non-British subjects of the empire were content under British rule. The supposed Indian savagery which accompanied the uprising made the British doubt the possibility of future self-rule for India. In the nineteenth-century post-Mutiny writings, sepoys were vilified while British cruelties were praised as justified actions.⁴ In interpreting this event and searching for the origins of the revolt, blame came to settle primarily on the East India Company for failing to predict the rebellion and to maintain control of their army.

Not all Victorians agreed with this narrative of Indian savagery and placed blame on the EIC for the revolt. The writings of Sir John William Kaye are one counter-narrative to the general Victorian reaction. Prior to the rebellion, he was considered a subject expert on India and an established historian. Writing was Kaye's primary source of income during large periods of his life. He believed that the British Empire should play a cautious, paternal role in assisting the subjects of the empire towards progress. After the Mutiny, Kaye was one of the few Victorians who

³ Shiv Gajrani, "Writings on 1857 and the Punjab: Official Perceptions," in *Rethinking 1857 and the Punjab* edited by Navtej Singh (Patiala, India: Punjabi University, 2008), 180.

⁴ The conflict of 1857 has been remembered as a Mutiny. However, how the conflagration should be termed has been an issue of debate. Even though it began as an army mutiny, most of the Northern population in India assisted in the rebellion. Various historians have referred to the events of 1857-1858 as a mutiny, a rebellion and a war. Kaye referred to the event in some of his writings as a mutiny. However, his history of the event referred to it as a war. In this thesis, all of these terms will be used. Since the event has been predominately referred to as the Mutiny, this term will be used in addition to the more appropriate description of a rebellion or war.

investigated the causes of the revolt. Through his writings, Kaye acknowledged British failures in India and adopted a more nuanced view of the Mutiny and of India. His worldview of India did not dramatically shift after the Mutiny, but he became more reflective on empire and how British actions might have created greater discontent within India. His framework for interpreting India was based on a paternalistic view on the British-Indian relationship which colored all of his writings. After the rebellion, Kaye continued to defend the East India Company, British individuals, and most of the Indian people. Kaye is significant therefore as one of the foremost authorities on India, who did not share the general negative Victorian reaction and stands as an example of a more complex response to the Mutiny.

This thesis will examine John Kaye's writings on India and explore his reaction to the Mutiny. The introduction will briefly review the writings on the Mutiny, both nineteenth-century sources and modern historiography. The second chapter will cover the life of Sir John William Kaye and his career as a significant Anglo-Indian, the British community who lived in India for a long time. This chapter will consider Kaye's life experience in the Indian Army, the EIC Administration, his writings in India, and his continued writings and positions held while living in England. The third chapter will examine Kaye's view of the British Empire in India before the 1857 Mutiny. Chapter three will breakdown Kaye's idea of the empire into three concepts: race, the British debates on "reforms" in India, and territorial expansion. This chapter demonstrates that Kaye's views of the events in India were highly affected by his view of the close relationship between the British and Indians. Because Kaye viewed the role of the British to uplift, through personal relationship,

the condition of Indians, he was critical of the EIC's policies and actions which were detrimental to this agenda. Even though Kaye was critical of specific policies of the EIC, he argued that it was a vehicle for progress. The fourth chapter will address Kaye's opinions on India after the 1857 Mutiny. Kaye re-examined his standpoint on British interference in India. He had not forsaken his paternalistic viewpoint, which allowed Kaye to examine how British actions had caused a divide between the British officers and the sepoys. Kaye continued to defend the EIC and argued that reconciliation between India and Britain was still possible. Unlike most of his counterparts, he believed that the people of India could still be loyal to the Empire.

Nineteenth-Century Writings about the Mutiny

The vast number of works, both historical and fictional, about the Mutiny indicate the variety of reactions within Great Britain to this rebellion. This was not a short-term fascination with the Mutiny, but one which continued into the twentieth century. The fervor for these materials continued and increased. During the 1890s, more books were published on the rebellion than in the previous three decades. Overall, more than 700 books have been written about the 1857 Mutiny. The number of cultural productions about this rebellion demonstrates how important this event was to the British psyche. How the British and the rebellion were written about in the nineteenth century was foundational to how the British imagined themselves and related to their surrounding world. The novels and histories reflected the changing British priorities and viewpoints. As Gautam Chakravarty wrote, the Mutiny was important because "rebellion turns upon congeries of political, ideological, literary, cultural, ethnographic and administrative representations and decisions by means of

which the British had construed their presence in the Indian subcontinent since at least 1765."⁵ Victorian writings generally pointed to the dangers in colonial possessions, which needed identification in order to maintain the Empire.⁶ Post-Mutiny Victorian writings displayed a British desire for violent revenge and reprisals in India. Even though the British response was similar in other colonial conflicts, the cruelty expressed in the Victorian publications made Benjamin Disraeli, the British Prime Minister, question if British religion had been changed by the rebellion since it evoked such unchristian sentiments.⁷ However, immediately after the Mutiny the EIC became the scapegoat for the rebellion, which left other reasons for the rebellion to remain unexamined. The novels and histories had many common themes, but varied in their arguments and presentation. These similarities and differences demonstrated the public reaction to the rebellion and how different genres addressed varied aspects of the revolt.

Nineteenth-Century Novels about the 1857 Indian Mutiny

British readers could not consume enough works on the 1857 rebellion. Before 1857, India did not feature prominently in British literature. The events of 1857 ushered in a new age of novels which used the dramatic circumstances in India as a backdrop for their stories of heroes, conquests, and romance. Immediately after the rebellion, the majority of writings were of a more historical nature. In the late nineteenth century, the new imperial age encouraged the production of fictional stories featuring the rebellion. This new age of expansion is one reason why there

⁵ Gautam Chakravarty, *The Indian Mutiny and the British Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 13.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 41.

were more writings in the 1890s about the Mutiny than previously. This trend included important writers such as Charles Dickens, G.A. Henty, Rudyard Kipling, and others. Victorian novels included three common themes across the genre: the atrocities committed by sepoys against British women, the violence and betrayal of Indians towards the British, and the desire for British retaliation against those who had murdered so many perceived innocents. These novels did not consider the Indian viewpoint or show sympathy for the deaths of Indians in the British reprisals.

Victorian novels exploited the position of women in India during the rebellion, focusing on the ravages of women at the hand of Indians. When reports arrived in Britain about the Mutiny, the violent actions of sepoys were exaggerated, such as claims of sexual assault on British women. The rumored treatment of British women by sepoys during the Mutiny called for vengeance and no clemency towards Indians. Authors such as R.E. Forrest praised heroines for their boldness in the conflict. Forrest's *Eight Days* (1891) specifically praised British women for their "mild, gentle," and "saint-like" behavior.⁸ Charles Dickens also used the trope of the ravaged women as a compelling justification for violence against Indians. His annual Christmas story in 1857, "The Perils of Certain English Prisoners," was situated in a South American colony but allegorically represented the circumstances of the British in India.⁹ Dickens praised the bravery of British women and the pluck of a few British officers who had been captured by pirates and held in the jungle. In this work, Dickens called for the extermination of the pirates, representative of the rebellious

⁸ Christopher Herbert, *War of No Pity: The Indian Mutiny and Victorian Trauma* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 264-265.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 211.

Indians, who had perpetrated these atrocities against the British.¹⁰ Another example was Edward Money's *The Wife and the War; or, a Life's Error* (1859). This novel, about the siege and massacre of Kanpur, followed the fictional Captain Edington. This novel showed pre-1857 Anglo-Indian society and how it struggled to survive during the siege. Edington was married to Marion, who demanded that Edington kill her instead of allowing her to be ravaged by Indians.¹¹ In alignment with British belief about pure womanhood, it would have been better to die than to be sexually assaulted by an Indian. This work used the roles of British women in India during the Mutiny to exaggerate Indian savagery. These works relied on the trope of the endangered British woman, for whom the British officers would do anything to protect. The killing and defilement of British women was used as a justification for violence towards Indians.

The second major theme in these novels was Indian violence towards Europeans, and particularly the unprovoked, savage nature of that violence. Post-Mutiny novels focused on this Indian violence, which was once again used to justify harsh British reprisals. One event which appeared in many novels was the Cawnpore Massacre. The rebellion reached Cawnpore in June of 1857. The sepoys in the cantonments revolted, released the prisoners, and killed their British officers. Some British officers and their families took shelter within the cantonment and defended it for nearly a month. At the end of June, the British surrendered to Nana Sahib under the terms of safe travel away from Cawnpore. However, once the British were on

¹⁰ Herbert, 212.

¹¹ Chakravarty, 109-110.

boats leaving, the rebel forces ambushed the British boats on the river and committed betrayal and murder, including women and children. This massacre took a primary role in many of the novels, including G.A Henty's *Rujub, The Juggler* (1893), Maxwell Grey's *In the Heart of the Storm* (1891), and Hume Nisbet's *The Queen's Desire* (1893).¹² Once again, the focus on Indian violence and betrayal created a dramatic story which argued for legitimate British reprisals.

Because of the violence of the sepoys against British women and officers, Victorian novels demanded retribution, criticized Indian sympathizers, and asserted that the people of India could not be trusted in the future. These writings include works such as L. E. Ruutz Ree's *Personal Narrative of the Siege of Lucknow* (1858). Ree's work focused on Lucknow and how moral law had disappeared. The ability to trust the word of Indians and to rely on a moral code became impossible during the rebellion.¹³ *The Greatest Game* (1930) by C. Lestock Reid criticized those who sympathized with Indians.¹⁴ This book was published seventy-three years after the Mutiny and yet continued to play on the theme of anti-reconciliation feelings. Other works suggested that future violence was probable in India such as Jules Verne's *The End of the Sahib* (1880). In this novel, Nana Sahib returned from hiding and fomented another rebellion, once again threatening British lives.¹⁵ These works demonstrated the anger and fear which the rebellion sparked in the British people.

Victorian literature in response to the 1857 Indian rebellion is significant because these works illustrated how the British viewed their place in the world. The

¹² Herbert, 276.

¹³ Chakravarty, 217.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 116.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 112.

novels displayed fear and outrage at the treatment of women, children, and British soldiers. This theme of focusing on the cruelties against women and children showcased Indian barbarity. How Indians treated women was important because of the outrage it sparked and because Victorians believed that gentle treatment of women was considered a mark of a highly civilized society. These novels also pitted British bravery against Indian betrayal and savagery. The Mutiny remained a popular theme in British novels and continued into the twentieth century.

Nineteenth-Century Histories about the Mutiny

Novels were not the only cultural productions about the Indian rebellion. Many personal accounts and histories were published detailing the events of 1857-1858. Most histories were limited in scope and portrayed the Mutiny as a military event, while ignoring other factors which might have contributed, such as economics.¹⁶ Like the novels, these histories also focused on the outrageous actions of the sepoys and their atrocities against British women. British historians were extremely biased and did not consider the Indian viewpoint. Most historians blamed the greased cartridges episode as the sole reason for why the Mutiny occurred. Even though there was a variety of viewpoints as to the origins of the rebellion and the responsibility of the British, these histories tended to share similar ideas on race and Indian religion. The number of historians who examined the rebellion and the role the British played critically were few. There are several important themes which influence how Mutiny histories were written: the dividing factions within India, the

¹⁶ Sashi Bhusan Chaudhuri, *English Historical Writings on The Indian Mutiny, 1857-1859* (Calcutta: The World Press Private LTD, 1979), 21.

contribution of religious belief to the outbreak of the rebellion, the manipulation of the British by the sepoys, and the racial inferiority of Indians.¹⁷

Within Anglo-Indian society, the three major interest groups were missionaries, the EIC, and the Indian military. The historian Chaudhuri found these three different interests in India as more polarizing than traditional political parties. The EIC had discouraged missionary activity in India since the 1806 Vellore Mutiny, blaming missionaries for stirring up discontent amongst the natives. Most administrators identified the need to cautiously allow missionaries to convert natives, without it seeming as a threat to the general religions of India. The EIC did not officially support the missionary effort in India because they feared causing too much disaffection. Some writers, like Reverend Duff, interpreted the rebellion as a punishment from God. Duff believed that the British had not been proactive enough in converting Indians and therefore allowed them to remain in their sinful practices and traditions.¹⁸ The EIC blamed the British government for ill-advised foreign policy

¹⁷ Some of the other works, both personal accounts and historical works include: General J. Adye, *The Defiance of Cawnpore by the Troops under the Orders of Maj-Gen.* (London: C.A. Windham, 1858), G. Anderson, *A Personal Account of the Siege of Lucknow* (London: 1858), Major Brevet Anson, *With the H.M 9th Lancers During the Indian Mutiny* (London, 1896), Charles Ball, *The History of the Indian Mutiny* (London: London Printing and Publishing Co., N.D.), Mrs. K.M. Bartrum, *A Widow's Reminiscences of the Siege of Lucknow* (London, 1858), Colonel J. Bonham, *Oude in 1857* (London, 1928), Sir Colin Campbell, *A Narrative of the Indian Revolt from its outbreak to the capture of Lucknow* (London, 1858), Reverend John Cave-Brown, *The Punjab and Delhi in 1857* (Edinburgh, 1861), F. Cooper, *The Crisis in the Punjab from the 10th of May until the fall of Delhi* (London, 1858), Dr. Alexander Duff, *The Indian Rebellion, its causes and results, in a series of letters* (London, 1858), Mrs. Hamilton Forbes, *Some Recollections of the Siege of Lucknow* (1905), Sir George William Forrest, *Life of Field Marshal Sir Neville Chamberlain* (Edinburgh, 1908), Sir George William Forest, *History of the Indian Mutiny, three volumes* (Edinburgh and London, 1904-1912), J. Holloway, *Essays on the Indian Mutiny* (London, 1864), Lady Macgregor, *Life and Opinions of Major-General Sir Charles Macgregor* (Edinburgh, 1888), G. B. Malleeson, *The Mutiny of the Bengal Army, a historical narrative by one who served under Sir Charles Napier (Red Pamphlet)* (London, 1872), Sir George O Trevelyan, *Cawnpore* (London, 1865).

¹⁸ Chaudhuri, 18.

and the military society in India for causing the unrest. Since Kaye was a strong supporter of the East India Company, this viewpoint will be examined more thoroughly later. The military viewpoint claimed the EIC was at fault because of its mismanagement of Indian affairs. Many officers who served in India during the rebellion published personal accounts and histories describing this conflict from a military perspective. Colonel Malleon was one of the most published historians from this category. The Mutiny was a personal event for Malleon who fought and who also lost his brother-in-law during the rebellion.¹⁹ He first wrote the “Red Pamphlet” about the Mutiny and later finished Kaye’s volumes on the Sepoy War. Malleon concentrated his writings on the military events from his battlefield perspective.

Most Victorian historians recognized a religious component as a reason for the revolt. Many historians thought that the missionary efforts to convert Indians to Christianity had caused increasing pressures which instilled fear about possible forced conversion. Mutiny historians distinguished between Hindus and Muslim in this conflict by placing more blame on Muslims. Cooper wrote that a Shah had called faithful Muslims in India to “oust the treacherous tribe of the British.”²⁰ Since both Hindus and Muslims revolted, this theory seems unlikely. Cooper might have constructed this theory on the embarrassment of the British from their failed war in Afghanistan at the hands of Muslims. Others more broadly considered religion as a significant reason for the Mutiny. Charles Ball wrote that “it is more than possible that the alleged insult offered by the greased cartridges, and the dread of conversion

¹⁹ Colonel Malleon, *Kaye and Malleon’s History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1897) V.

²⁰ Frederic Cooper, *The Crisis in the Punjab, From the 10th of May Until the Fall of Delhi*, (London: Smith, Elder and Co, 1858), Xiii.

to Christianity, gave the *main impulse* that roused the discontented spirit of the troops into mischievous activity.”²¹ Utilizing his knowledge of Indian society, Ball admitted that the cartridge questions could have been the actual start of the revolt.

Yet, many considered that even though religion was important, sepoys exaggerated their beliefs to manipulate the British. Being an Asiatic race was significant in how the British viewed and treated Indians. For example, Charles Ball wrote that the Sepoy "knows well that government never intended any insult to his creed, however absurd it may be; but he knows that, by crying out about his caste, he keeps the power in his hand, saves himself from many of the hardships of service, and makes his officers afraid of him."²² Reverend Alexander Duff, a missionary in India, also viewed the motives of sepoys to be dubious. In his letter, Duff wrote that “throughout all ages the Asiatic has been noted for his duplicity, cunning, hypocrisy, treachery.”²³ Duff later wrote that; “kindness, conciliation, benefits conferred, all have gone for nothing. The moment the external restraint has been removed, the old spirit, which exalted in the merit of sending the souls of infidels to the abyss of hell, has burst forth with uncontrollable fury.”²⁴ Many Victorians believed that Indians purposely manipulated the British through their religious beliefs.

Another major theme Victorian historians revealed in their studies was how the rebellion reflected the racial character of Indians. As racial theories shifted in the

²¹ Charles Ball, *The history of the Indian mutiny: giving a detailed account of the Sepoy insurrection in India; and a concise history of the great military events which have tended to consolidate British Empire in Hindostan* (London: London Print and Pub. Co.,1858), 40. Emphasis Mine.

²² Cooper, 36.

²³ Alexander Duff, *The Indian rebellion; its causes and results* (New York: Carter, 1858), 58, letter 6, Calcutta, July 7th.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 72.

mid-nineteenth century, environmental difference became a more common view of the subjects of the empire. Ball approached race by looking at how the environment affected the nature and development of human beings. The English believed that weather and climate affected an individual's mental capabilities. Charles Ball wrote that "the direct rays of a nearly vertical sun, and even those of the moon cause affections of the brain, that are frequently productive of fatal results; and when not so, require removal to the temperate zone for their relief."²⁵ Ball believed that the climate had made Indians inferior due to mental degradation caused by the sun. Frederick Cooper followed a different type of racial bias. In his 1858 work, he attributed the Mutiny to the inferiority of Indians. His writings documented Englishmen who called the 16th sepoy 'niggers,' and that the "Asiatic mind, 'unstable as water,' ha[s] been dealt with in the mode that has ever insured success."²⁶ Cooper claimed Indians had a different mental state which conditioned their behavior. He asserted that when a Goorkha was angry he acted as "a savage demon."²⁷ Even though Ball and Cooper approached race from two different perspectives, both of their writings demonstrated that the British perceived that Indians rebelled because of their mental inferiority and inability to control their passions. This Indian weakness meant that sepoy could quickly turn to their savage ways when situations became complex and they could not logically understand that the British were there for India's benefit.

Few historians approached the Mutiny by looking at a longer period of British Empire in India. George Dodd's history of the Indian Revolt examined many of the

²⁵ Ball, 3.

²⁶ Cooper, 6.

²⁷ Ibid., 97.

causes of the revolt and contextualized India within the empire. His book, *The History of the Indian Revolt and of the Expeditions to Persia, China, and Japan*, was published in 1859. His history began with the 1806 Vellore Mutiny, which indicates that in his view the rebellion had more causes than just the greased cartridges. Dodd viewed the people of India as childlike rather than simply barbaric. He viewed Indians like children who looked to the EIC as their mother.²⁸ In this viewpoint, Indians needed the British and it was beneficial for them to be controlled by this empire. He did not go into detail about who instigated the Mutiny, except for “evil people” spreading rumors about greased cartridges. This was one way in which he could remove blame from the Sepoy and envision future reconciliation. Dodd recorded that “some [English officers] believed that the native soldier was docile, obedient, and loyal as long as his religious prejudices were respected,” but he would go mad and rebel if his religious belief was violated.²⁹ Dodd did not view the people of India as manipulative. Rather, he argued that they were not intelligent enough and were therefore fooled into rebellion by enemies of the empire.

Nineteenth-century historical writings demonstrate a wide variety of responses to the Mutiny. The majority showcased the inferiority of Indians through their treatment of women, their untrustworthy character, their lower status as a race, and their child-like mentality. In contrast, the British men and women were depicted as strong and brave individuals who could overcome the savagery of the Indians. The majority of Victorian writings was reactionary and did not question whether or not

²⁸ George Dodd, *The History of the Indian Revolt and of the Expeditions to Persia, China, and Japan, 1856-79* (London: Edinburgh, W. and R. Chambers, 1859), 17.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 48.

the rebellion occurred because of any other reasons besides the greased cartridges. Instead, the writings focused on the inferiority of Indians. Those who considered other reasons for the revolt, such as Dodd and Kaye, were few and far between.

Twentieth-Century Historiography on the Mutiny

The historiography of the Mutiny shifted significantly in the twentieth century due to the decline of empire and the Indian fight for independence. This shift reflected the changing nature of India's relationship to the British Empire, and particularly Indian Independence in 1947. During the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century the British controlled publications in relation to India and shaped what could be written about the Mutiny. Because Indian nationalism opposed British interests in India, the government banned nationalist publications from printing in the United Kingdom. Even with these publication restrictions, there were some early examples of a nationalistic interpretation of the rebellion. In 1907, V.D. Savarkar wrote a history in which he argued that the Mutiny was the first Indian War of Independence of 1857.³⁰ Savarkar interpreted the uprising of 1857 as the first national movement. With Indian independence in 1947, the British ceased to control the discourse about the Indian rebellion. Around this period, Indian writings on the Sepoy War began to depict it as the first patriotic movement for Indian liberation. For British scholars, the Indian Mutiny became an awkward topic of research because of the shift away from imperialism in the mid-twentieth century and Indian

³⁰ Kim Wagner, *The Great Fear of 1857: Rumours, Conspiracies and the Making of the Indian Uprising* (Whitney: Peter Lang, 2010), 12.

independence. It was not until the end of the twentieth century that there was renewed scholarship from both British and Indian historians.

Since the 1940s, Indian historians have claimed that the Mutiny was the first nationalistic movement which led to Indian independence in 1947. There were many problems with research because of the lack of Indian sources and the overtly biased surviving British materials. In these studies, a major focus was to determine if the outbreak of 1857 was a mutiny, rebellion, or the first war of Indian independence. This clarification was critical because each of these interpretations had a different implication for how the uprising could fit into their national narrative. For the nationalist argument, it was hard to justify how such a diverse people had formed together without common interests, a shared past, ethnicity, religion, and language to form a movement. Historians who argued for the rebellion as a nationalist movement pointed to the general dislike of the British which was a unifying cause even if the basic elements of nationalism did not yet exist in India.³¹ However, most twentieth-century historians agreed that it was unlikely that nationalism in India was a driving force behind the rebellion. Most British historians insisted that claims of nationalism in 1857 were premature and merely reflected the claims of modern Indian nationalism. For example, Cave Brown pointed to the unity of the Punjab troops who fought with the British against the sepoys as an argument against nationalism.³² The fact that Indians helped to suppress the rebellion and were integral to British operations was a strong argument against nationalism. Kim Wagner evaluated

³¹ Daljit Singh, "Punjab and The Revolt of 1857" in *Rethinking 1857 and the Punjab*, 200.

³² Harmeem, "Revolt of 1857 and Punjab: Official Perceptions," in *Rethinking 1857 and the Punjab*, 177.

nationalistic claims as responding to British colonial historical bias. In their response to nineteenth-century prejudice, Indian historians encountered the same pitfalls of nineteenth-century historians because both groups failed to question their own bias.³³ Historians began to question if the discussion should move beyond nationalism.

With this divergence of research into the rebellion, historians began to move beyond questions of nationalism and the factual causes of the uprising to examine how this event affected the British. Navteg Sing suggested historians should examine the consequences of political violence and recover local histories.³⁴ Historian Kim Wagner examined the fear which pervaded both the British and Indian societies by presenting a microhistory which studied India leading up to the rebellion.³⁵ Wagner's overarching theory was that the small problems in India, which might have been discounted by previous historians, were actually important because they became amplified when combined with other issues.³⁶ His work is important because it diverged from the dichotomy of a planned nationalistic revolt versus a spontaneous uprising. He, therefore, focused not on determining the facts, but about emotional reactions of both the Indians and the British. Wagner found that there were rampant fears and distrust between the Indians and British. Wagner argued that the perceptions of the British and Indians were far more important than the actual events of 1857. Wagner maintained that what happened in 1857 does not matter as much as how each side perceived the other. The pervasive fear on both sides was more important in

³³ Wagner, XXVI.

³⁴ Navteg Singh, "Commencement," in *Rethinking 1857 and the Punjab*, xvii.

³⁵ Wagner, *The Great Fear of 1857*.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 22-23.

explaining how the events progressed instead of trying to determine if events like the passing of chupatties occurred.³⁷ The fear of sepoys and of the British officers was what compelled each side to take their specific actions. Once this fear is understood, the violence committed on both sides is more readily understood.

The historian Christopher Herbert's writings addressed the interpretations of the rebellion. His writings examined the Mutiny as a literary event, many times retold, and analyzed the stylistic format many of these accounts used. Herbert identified in early British writings the tendency to minimize British violence towards Indians and instead focus on the British shock over the rebellion.³⁸ The theme of affection that military officers felt towards their sepoys and their sense of betrayal dominated many histories of the rebellion. Most of these accounts showed how the British felt the sepoys had betrayed them. Herbert identified paternalism as an important concept in nineteenth-century writings. Paternalism marked British officers as father figures for their sepoy troops, who were relegated to the child's position in this relationship. British officers were needed to guide their troops and assist them in understanding orders as a father would to his child. As Herbert pointed out, however, even though it is easy to read these pieces as blaming the sepoys for their betrayal, these histories also show the culpability of the British officers for allowing this bond to be broken.³⁹ Herbert also insisted that using this trope of a father-son relationship offset the rampant racism in Victorian society during the rebellion.⁴⁰ Herbert asserted

³⁷ Chupatties (chapatti) are a small, flat cake-like food item.

³⁸ Christopher Herbert, *War of No Pity: The Indian Mutiny and Victorian Trauma* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 8.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 35-37.

that the father-son motif used in describing the betrayal of the sepoys deepened the impact of the rebellion on the public mind because it made the treachery feel more personal. It was not random soldiers who rebelled, but sepoys who were viewed as sons. The deaths caused by the sepoys led the British to commit equally, if not more, horrible acts against the sepoys. Victorians feared that violence in others could evoke the less civilized nature of the British. They were a society who believed in continual progress and cruel behavior required justification or it could be termed as regressive behavior. Victorians justified this British violence by depicting the Mutiny as a battle between light and darkness, defending patriotic values, and in many circumstances dehumanizing Indians.

Herbert argued the uprising had such an impact because it created questions about British Empire in India, even if most writings attempted to avoid these topics. He pointed out how the rhetoric of empire worked to reinforce the idea that empire was beneficial for all. The Indian rebellion challenged this ideal. Herbert wrote that:

all mechanisms of imperialist society, political, cultural, psychological, work in concert to reinforce and to rationalize domination: such is the assumption guiding this scholarly field. To inhabit imperialist society is virtually by definition to be blind to the cruel reality of imperial domination. That an imperialistic society could experience serious ideological instability- that its inner contradictions could be visible to itself and interfere for that reason with its flow of business; that public media could be channels of resistance to the imperial enterprise- is not a possibility that postcolonial analysis in its usual forms is equipped to entertain.⁴¹

The rebellion challenged the imperialist assumption that the empire was beneficial to its subjects and was desired by the other societies under British control. The rhetoric

⁴¹ Herbert, 5.

of this period primarily dehumanized the rebels as a way of creating a narrative in which the British were the victims. However, as Herbert pointed out, this was a unique event which starkly contrasted empirical dogma to the effects of British rule on the native people.

There have been many writings about the rebellion since 1857. These writings are important in understanding Victorian reactions to the uprising. The novels and histories demonstrate a society which was traumatized by this conflict. This created a large number of materials about the rebellion which continued into the twentieth century. The rebellion challenged British preconceptions of India. Most Victorians responded in anger, fear, and a desire for retribution. However, not all Victorians responded in this manner. John William Kaye offers a different discourse about the Sepoy War. Unlike other contemporary writers, he examined the reasons for the rebellion and argued for future reconciliation.

Modern historiography on the rebellion has examined nationalistic claims and has worked to recover lost facts about 1857-1858. Many historians are still trying to determine what happened to specific Indian units during the conflict. Some historians, such as Chaudhuri, have examined the bulk of nineteenth-century histories on the rebellion to identify common themes. Others have considered how the rebellion impacted British culture. A few historians, like Wagner, have examined the perceptions of participants in the uprising. Kaye's volumes on the Sepoy War have been widely used by scholars of the Mutiny. Few historians have specifically studied the arguments in John Kaye's writings. Kaye's works have primarily been used for factual evidence instead of examining his arguments about the British in India. His

writings, both before and after 1857, were critical of the British empire and encouraged the British to change India through paternalistic relationships. Most other Victorian historians described the outbreak of the rebellion and how the British retook control of India, but they failed to address the long history of Indian complaint which culminated in the Mutiny. Unlike his peers, Kaye's history of the rebellion was more compassionate towards Indians who rebelled and praised Governor-General Canning's call for clemency towards mutineers. Few historians have carefully studied why Kaye attributed the rebellion of 1857 to British actions, desired reconciliation with the people of India and defended the EIC for being the best vehicle for Indian progress. Considering that his three volumes on the Sepoy War have remained the basic texts for research on the rebellion, analyzing Kaye's core arguments is essential to understand the volume which have impacted historiography on the Mutiny up to the present.

In addition, Kaye's writings are important to study because of his experience and his unique viewpoint. His post-rebellion writings did not align within the general Victorian reaction to the Mutiny. Unlike the majority of Victorian historians, Kaye's writings did not demonstrate a racial shift after the rebellion. Kaye's long intellectual engagement with India before and after the rebellion renders him an exceptional example to interpret British policies in India and the events of 1857. By living in India before the Sepoy War he acquired a paternalistic view of India and took a cautious stance between Anglicization and orientalism. This fully developed viewpoint remained with him throughout 1857-1858 and accounts for his more compassionate response to these sepoys and strengthened his argument for why the

EIC was beneficial for ruling India. It is because of Kaye's life experience and because his writings do not fit in the normal British response that his writings are valuable for research. Kaye's texts have been reprinted many times. By 1880, his histories of the Sepoy war were in their ninth reprinting. His works have continued to be reprinted based off these nineteenth-century publications. Even though his volumes on the Sepoy War have been well studied and remain a basic text for historians studying this rebellion, Kaye's paternalistic outlook has been overlooked.

Chapter 2: The Life and Experience of Sir John William Kaye

John William Kaye was one of the most prolific writers about India during the nineteenth century. Unlike previous writers, like James Mill who focused on the whole history of India, Kaye primarily concerned himself with British India. Kaye was particularly interested in the policies of the EIC and how they affected the inhabitants of India. Kaye had a unique view of India because of his experience living there and his scholarship in this field, which included reviewing articles and books about India in addition to his own writings. One of the primary reasons Kaye frequently wrote about India was to inform individuals in India and Britain about important debates and events relating to India. Kaye continued to write about Indian affairs and correspond with prominent Anglo-Indians after his return to Britain in 1845. His writings are distinctive because Kaye extensively researched original sources and personal papers in addition to his own experience. Other contemporary writers relied solely on personal experience when writing about India. This chapter will examine Kaye's life, writings, and his experience. It will demonstrate how Kaye contributed to Indian scholarship and display how Kaye's life in India shaped his viewpoint, and gave him greater writing authority.

The Life of Sir John William Kaye

John William Kaye was born on June 3, 1814, into the middle-class family of Charles and Eliza Kaye of Acton.⁴² His grandfather, Joseph Kaye, and father were in the legal profession. His grandfather and father both became solicitors for the Bank of

⁴² E. J. Rapson, "Kaye, Sir John William (1814-1876), Military Historian" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2016), 1.

England.⁴³ Kaye was a bright student and his family intended him for a political career. Kaye attended the schools of Rugby and Repton as a boy. In 1823, he began to attend Eton College. However, due to his father's financial problems, Kaye left Eton in 1826 to attend Salisbury under the tutelage of Dr. George Radcliffe.⁴⁴ His grandfather was able to obtain a cadetship in the Indian military service for Kaye from William Astell, a director of the EIC.⁴⁵ From 1831-1832, Kaye attended Addiscombe College, which was the training school for Indian officers.⁴⁶ In 1832, at the age of eighteen, Kaye departed to India, commissioned as a Second Lieutenant in the Indian Army.⁴⁷ In 1837, he moved to Calcutta to command an artillery attachment. During this time in India, he married Mary Catherine Puckle of Surrey in 1839.⁴⁸ In 1841, Kaye resigned from the military due to ill health and committed himself to writing.⁴⁹ During this time he wrote for the *Bengal Harkaru* and established the *Calcutta Review*.

When Kaye return to England in 1845, he supported his family by writing for various journals and publishing his books. Indeed, the primary source of his income was from his writings. His family had grown during Kaye's time in India and he had

⁴³ Singh, 1.

⁴⁴ N. N. Singh, 3.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 4. William Astell (Nee Thornton) was the son of a director of the Bank of England. He was a Director of the East India Company from 1800-1846. In this role, he was a chairman four times and deputy three times. During his tenure, he pushed greater involvement of Indians in the lower administration of the EIC to be more inclusive and to save money. "Astell, William (1774–1847)," Katherine Prior in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed., ed. David Cannadine, Oxford: OUP, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/view/article/815> (accessed November 13, 2016).

⁴⁶ Nihar Nandan Sing, *British Historiography on British Rule in India: The Life and Writings of Sir John William Kaye, 1814-1876* (New Delhi: Janaki Prakashan, 1986), 14.

⁴⁷ N.N. Singh, 15.

⁴⁸ Rapson, 1.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

six children to support.⁵⁰ In 1856, he began to work at the home service of the East India Company. Even though his work and interest kept him apprised of the situation in India, he never returned to the colony. When John Stuart Mill stepped down as the secretary of foreign affairs for India in 1858, Kaye succeeded him as Chief of the Political Department.⁵¹ Kaye described himself as having “served the honest merchant in his great house in Leadenhall,” which demonstrated not only his working history, but also his commitment and respect for the Company.⁵² For his service to the British in India, Kaye was made a Knight Commander of the order of the Star of India on May 20, 1871.⁵³ Once again, failing health forced a change in his career path and Kaye retired from public service. According to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, "owing to failing health" Kaye retired from "the post of secretary in the Political and Secret Department of the Indian Office" after nineteen years of service.⁵⁴ In 1874, the India Office and the Marquis of Salisbury awarded Kaye a generous pension for both his official service and literary contributions on India.⁵⁵ Sir John William Kaye passed away at the age of sixty-three in 1876 with less than 1,500 pounds to his name.⁵⁶

Kaye’s World: Empire and Movements in the Nineteenth Century

The nineteenth century was marked by many changes, considered by Victorians to be positive reforms, both within Britain and the Empire. These changes

⁵⁰ N. N. Singh, 47.

⁵¹ Rapson, 1; "Sir John William Kaye," *The York Herald* (York: England, October 20, 1874), 7, *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*.

⁵² John Kaye, "The House that Scott Built" *The Cornhill Magazine* 16 (September 1867), 856.

⁵³ Rapson, 1.

⁵⁴ "Summary of This Morning’s News," *The Pall Mall Gazette* (London, England), Monday, October 19, 1874; Issue 3018, *British Library Newspapers, Part I, 1800-1900*.

⁵⁵ Rapson, 1; "Sir John William Kaye" *The York Herald* (York, England), Tuesday, October 20, 1874; pg. 7; Issue 5522. *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*.

⁵⁶ "Wills and Bequests" *The Morning Post* (London, England: Friday, March 23, 1877; pg. 7; Issue 32678. *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*.

included the rise of evangelicalism, the growth of the middle class, the industrial revolution, parliamentary reform, and the abolition of slavery. Kaye grew up in a society that was greatly influenced by this spirit of reform. The early nineteenth century was optimistic about progress, both within Britain and for the people in the empire. The abolition of slavery, won in 1833, fundamentally shifted labor practices, especially in the Caribbean. The 1832 Reform Act widened the voting base and more equally distributed parliamentary seats. The middle class, due to the industrial revolution, greatly expanded and became a driving force in politics and morality. The British believed that they were the representatives of the progress spirit which they needed to bring to the subjects of their empire. The desire for progressive reforms and the expansion of empire were not always well aligned. Both movements were dependent upon racial theories and justifications for empire.

The British Empire had grown significantly by the time Kaye was born in 1814 and it continued to expand. After the British lost the American colonies, they turned to their second empire, which was centered on India and the East. The British had a strong belief that their rule brought justice and freedom to its peoples. However, for foreign subjects of the empire, liberty was limited. Indians were constricted by British notions of civilization and denied the very freedoms which the British admired. For example, the British valued representative government and freedom. However, Indians were denied self-government and any input into how their regions were controlled by the British. They had limited freedoms that fit within the framework of the British Empire. Because of this disconnect, the British theorized

justifications for empire. Within these arguments, there were debates about the level of British interference in Indian traditions.

British policy towards India vacillated between trying to quickly improve Indian society through Anglicization versus slow developmental changes. One group adopted Indian customs and culture and had no desire to change India. They were usually referred to as orientalist, but by the time Kaye was writing, this group was becoming less popular and prevalent. Utilitarians believed that too much change to India's customs would unravel Indian society that was entrenched in the caste system, and that, Indian customs should be respected.⁵⁷ These views were particularly appealing to Anglo-Indians who thought that implementing changes too quickly would cause great discontent in India and threaten the ability of the British to preserve control of their territories. This group was more pragmatically concerned with maintaining power in India than in progressive reforms. Utilitarians were more prone to adopt Indian ways and did not champion quick change. Even though the trend of British men going native and adopting oriental customs was fading out of style, many still championed slow Anglicization with the adoption of some Indian practices. Anglicists, on the other hand, were in support of expanding British territory and control and more in favor of forcing British culture on Indians.⁵⁸ These two viewpoints were in tension over how aggressive the EIC should be towards progressive reforms. As governor-generals changed, the policy of the EIC vacillated between Anglicist and Utilitarian strategies.

⁵⁷ George Bearce, *British Attitudes Towards India, 1784-1858* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 26.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 33,41.

Liberalism was the primary theory of empire used during the nineteenth century to justify expansion. Historians had treated empire and liberalism as two separate topics until Theodore Koditschek placed these theories in dialogue with each other. He defined nineteenth-century liberalism as "a loose constellation, encompassing free trade, free labor, free association, free press, and formal equality" and that "by the middle of the nineteenth century, Britain had gone quite far toward becoming a liberal society," even if this meant freedom to starve.⁵⁹ This racial aspect of Liberalism rested on the idea of mono-genesis, which was the belief that all people shared common ancestors and were part of one human race. This theory followed the biblical account of the creation of one race which all human beings are descended. Over time, some groups advanced further than others and developed faster. The differences between races were cultural. Because all races had potential to better their civilization, improvements and progress was beneficial to all. In India, British respect for its ancient past declined and instead, there was a renewed interest in finding the inadequacies of Indians.⁶⁰ Certain interest groups who desired to witness greater progress, such as missionaries, viewed the continued backwardness of India to be the fault of the EIC for not using enough resources to promote progressive reforms. British rule was justified by arguments that they brought improvements to India and was demonstrated by the renewed efforts to educate Indians; through Anglicization Indians could rule their own country in the distant future. Yet others, like James Mill, believed that British cultural superiority trumped Indian culture and gave the British

⁵⁹ Theodore Koditschek, *Liberalism, Imperialism, and the Historical Imagination: Nineteenth-Century Visions of a Greater Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 1.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 62.

free rein in ruling India.⁶¹ Instead of having the responsibility of ruling India and bringing civilization, the superiority of the British gave them free rein in making changes without regard for Indian practices. This viewpoint also argued that Indians would never be capable of self-rule.

Liberalism and ideas on race worked together to define and justify imperial policies. Racial ideology infiltrated and influenced every aspect of Victorian society. Racial thought was integral to discussions of progress, the structure of society, and of empire. As Robert Knox wrote, "race is everything: literature, science . . . civilization depends on it."⁶² All parts of Victorian society were touched by images of race, which in turn helped to cement racial ideology. Race in the nineteenth century was an evolving topic driven by historical context, representations, and subjectivism.⁶³ Douglass Lorimer asserted that during the second half of the nineteenth-century racial ideology changed. This shift occurred partially because of advances in science, but also due to the changing political realities resulting from the abolition of slavery, the mutinies, and the expansion of empire.⁶⁴ The theory of racial difference shifted from cultural difference to biological difference. Cultural racial difference postulated that each civilization was in a different stage of advancement in comparison to each other, but that each society was part of the human race. Cultural racial difference was based on the idea of monogenesis, which argued that all humans were descended from the same race but through the process of time had culturally

⁶¹ Ibid., 80.

⁶² Christine Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971), 1.

⁶³ Shearer West, *The Victorians and Race* (Brookfield, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1996), 8.

⁶⁴ Douglass A. Lorimer, "Race, Science and Culture: Historical Continuities and Discontinuities, 1850-1914" in *The Victorians and Race*, 23.

diverged, which left certain civilizations less developed. This variation in civilization allowed the British to judge other societies as inferior and gave them the responsibility to interfere to help lead others to a more civilized society, akin to the British. How other nations ranked could also change over time. John Stuart Mill, as an example, believed India was only "half-civilized," a decrease of status from previous evaluations.⁶⁵ For the British, this analysis legitimized benevolent despotism and limited the right of representative governments to Europe and Britain.

Victorians used the theory of cultural racial difference to elevate themselves above other societies by using a shared common past to trace the development of different civilizations and how they had deviated over time. George Stocking used the Great Exhibition of 1851 as an example of how exhibits representative of nations were arranged to show this progression in development. The exhibition showcased the various stages of civilizations other countries were ranked in comparison to the British.⁶⁶ Victorian anthropologists studied indigenous people to learn more about the past of the British people.⁶⁷ The Great Exhibition displayed how far the British had come by displaying tribes against the backdrop of British society. The Great Exhibition displayed the intelligence and industry of the British as the epoch of civilization against the tribal practices of other ethnicities.

In the second half of the nineteenth century colonial rebellions, such as the Morant Bay Rebellion and the Indian Mutiny, shifted racial thought. Race continued to be an overarching viewpoint that affected every aspect of Victorian society, but the

⁶⁵ George Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology* (London: Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1987), 32.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 15.

way racial difference was interpreted changed. The predominant theory of racial difference became biological difference, which argued that humans were comprised of multiple races arranged hierarchically. Most Victorians did not experience racial "others," but instead relied on personal and official accounts from the empire on which to base their opinions about other ethnicities. Mutinies were one of the forces that changed racial thinking in the nineteenth century. This was due to the accounts which flooded Britain and the perceived rejection of British customs by the natives of the Empire. This was particularly true of the Indian rebellion. Many post-1857 writings, which idealized the British and degraded Indians, inundated the market and contributed to Victorian opinions on race. The British interpreted the mutinies and rebellions throughout the empire as a rejection of their civilization. This supported the idea that racial difference was not just cultural because the empire had failed to fundamentally improve other cultures and that their subjects were ungrateful for British assistance. The rebellions were used as evidence to undermine the idea of monogenesis and encouraged the development of the polygenesis theory. This concept delineated three different races: Aryan (northern India shared in this ancestry), Mongolian (Asiatic), and Ethiopian (African).⁶⁸ The rejection of British culture and morality by subjects of the empire, which was demonstrated by mutinies throughout the empire, ended Victorian optimism about the potential of other races to elevate themselves and instead supported the belief in biological difference. The British had believed that Anglicization could be an equalizer in the British Empire.

⁶⁸ Bolt, 6-17.

The Indian Mutiny ended this romantic view of empire and replaced it with realism and caution.⁶⁹

Even though Victorians had these general ideas on race, some non-white races were viewed as more civilized than others. Victorians viewed Indians as racially superior to Africans. Bolt demonstrated this concept through comparing missionary strategies of Africa with those of India. Even though they had similar approaches, the average Victorian had a greater belief in Indian than African potential, which led to the better treatment of Indians in comparison. This was partially due to British respect for the old glory of Indian civilization, and also due to Northern India's purported shared Aryan descent. After the rebellion, the rise of biological racism amalgamated colored peoples as inferior. By 1869, there were cases of Indians being referred to as "niggers" by the British press.⁷⁰ Even so, India was still treated better than other regions of the empire.

Kaye's Publications About India

Kaye wrote for a variety of audiences and genres. Kaye's first published works were written during his time in the Indian Artillery. Kaye began by writing fictional stories, two of which were set in India and a third in Afghanistan. His published novels included: *Jerningham: or, The Inconsistent Man: a Novel* (1836), *Doveton: or, The Man of Many Impulses* (1837), *The Story of Basil Bouverie* (1842), *Peregrine Pulteney: or, Life in India* (1844, three volumes), *Long Engagements: a Tale of the Afghan Rebellion* (1846). Kaye published his first novel at his own risk after being

⁶⁹ Bolt, 157.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 178-190.

rejected by a publisher. He later recounted how he was proud of his work, but realized how *Jerningham* was deficient.⁷¹ His novels portrayed a theme of “virtuous men marry rich women.”⁷² Even a man who was not born rich could still achieve good standing in society. These novels held to the Victorian ideal that virtue would triumph and lead to success. Kaye's novels were partially self-reflective of his own life. They mirrored his own financial situation in which he had to embark on a career without much, if any, assistance from his parents. According to Singh, Kaye’s works highlighted both political and social aspects of life in India.⁷³ Once he started seriously writing for periodicals, he no longer published novels.

For the most part, his writings consisted of serious articles and historical books in which he critically portrayed events in Britain and the Empire. During his lifetime, Kaye wrote over one hundred and thirty-nine articles, four histories (most were multi-volume), and five biographies. Kaye did not sign his name to many of his articles, which gave him greater critical freedom to express his opinions. Due to the variety of papers he wrote for, his topics were wide ranging and included gardening, touring Bath, women’s suffrage, progress within India, and government changes in India. Kaye worked for the *Bengal Harkaru* during the Afghanistan War, which took a more critical approach to Anglo-Indian affairs than official sources. This ability to censure the British Empire continued in Kaye’s writing in which he questioned the actions of the British government. The most significant journal that Kaye worked for was the *Calcutta Review*, which he established in 1844 and wrote for from 1844-

⁷¹ Kaye, "The Wrong Side of the Stuff," *The Cornhill Magazine* 19 (July 1861), 58.

⁷² N.N. Singh, 25.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 29.

1855. Kaye acted as editor until his return to England, at which point he passed his role to Reverend Duff, a prominent missionary and friend who remained in India. Over his lifetime, Kaye wrote almost fifty articles for the *Calcutta Review*. Kaye also wrote for the *North British Review*, *Bentley's Miscellany*, the *Edinburgh Review*, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, and *Cornhill Magazine*. By writing anonymously in the majority of his writings and the variety of platforms, he had great freedom to explore his arguments without retribution.

Kaye had lived in India for twelve years by the time he established the *Calcutta Review*, which he dedicated as his “vigorous offspring.”⁷⁴ Kaye wanted to ensure the survival of this journal by receiving the blessing from the Governor-General. Lord Ellenborough granted this permission and Kaye also garnered support from the missionary Alexander Duff, J.C. Marshman, and Henry Lawrence.⁷⁵ Kaye wanted the *Calcutta Review* to stimulate interest in the events and culture in India and publicize this knowledge in both Britain and India. Kaye had noticed a disconnect between the metropole (the British at home) and the colony because of inaccurate information infiltrating Britain. Citizens in Britain were not aware of what took place in India. Some of this was due to lack of interest. However, many of the opinions Britons held of India were dated. Kaye wrote that “it is our duty to notice such books [on India], whether published in India or in England, as relate to Indian Affairs, and

⁷⁴ “Genesis of the *Calcutta Review*,” *Calcutta Review* 117 (1903), 111-115.

⁷⁵ Singh, 19-20; Lord Ellenborough, Edward Law, (1790-187) was the first earl of Ellenborough. He was on the India Board from 1828-1830 and was in favor of Crown rule. He was Governor-General of India from 1842-1844. He oversaw the British withdrawal from Afghanistan and intervened in Gwalior and other surrounding territories. This set a precedent for British interference and maintaining control in bordering Indian territories.

we seldom pass over any that yield materials, either singly or conjointly with others, for a readable article . . . we do our best with what is set before us, and are thankful for what we can get.”⁷⁶ Kaye not only wanted a venue for discussing Indian Affairs, but saw the need for a publication for lengthier pieces. Kaye wrote in the first issue that:

The object of this work is simply to bring together such useful information, and propagate such sound opinions, relating to Indian affairs, as will, it is hoped, conduce, in some small measure, directly or indirectly, to the amelioration of the condition of the people. Our first desire is, to awaken interest; to induce a thirst after information; then to supply that information; and finally to teach the application of it to its most beneficial users. The bane of this country is ignorance; Ignorance not in the dark recesses of native life- there it is comparatively harmless; but in the high places,- among the ruling body.⁷⁷

Kaye’s writing was meant to encourage knowledge among Anglo-Indians and the British at home about the conditions in India. Kaye did not intend this publication to educate Indians about his concerns. Rather, he thought that for the British to “ameliorate” the Indian condition they had to first learn more about the people of India. The purpose of spreading Indian knowledge was to educate the British on how to engage with and help the people of India. Kaye here revealed himself to be a

⁷⁶ John Kaye, “Recent Military Memoirs” *The Calcutta Review* 14 28, 295. “Law, Edward, first earl of Ellenborough (1790–1871),” David Steele in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. David Cannadine, January 2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/view/article/16143> (accessed November 13, 2016).; Henry Lawrence (1806-1857) was an Indian Army officer. He came to India when he was sixteen as a Second Lieutenant in the Bengal Artillery in 1822. He was a devout Christian. He was involved in Afghanistan, the Sikhs, and the Punjab. He disagreed with the Governor-General Dalhousie and argued against annexing the Punjab. Lawrence was the head of the governing board in the Punjab until the disagreement with Dalhousie became too great and he resigned. When Canning became the Governor-General, Lawrence was restored to power. His policies in the Punjab are considered critical in ameliorating the people to British rule. During the Mutiny, he was in Lucknow and was known for his policy of reconciliation.

⁷⁷ John Kaye, “Advertisement” *The Calcutta Review* 1 (1844), 1.

standard Victorian believer in the duty of empire to bring “progress” and enlightenment. Kaye saw success in his endeavor. By 1847, he noted in reviewing recent writings on Anglo-Indian Society that “we may congratulate ourselves on a growing desire among our brethren at home for information regarding the affairs of the Eastern World.”⁷⁸ Kaye cared about how India was discussed and that both the British and Anglo-Indians were well apprised on Indian topics. He wrote about the people and events in India because he viewed these as important as a focus of his work. The *Calcutta Review* was just one example of his many writings to educate the public both before and after the rebellion.

In addition to writing articles and his editorial duties, Kaye also wrote four historical narratives which totaled eight volumes. Each of these were supportive of the EIC. He wrote *History of the War in Afghanistan* (1851), which he later expanded to three volumes. In this work he discussed the events leading up to the first Afghanistan war and concluded by listing the mistakes the British made which led to their own embarrassment. Even though he was already well known in India before writing this history, it was this work that made Kaye famous in Britain as well as India. This book went through many reprints and was later expanded by Kaye. This conflict was not popular to the British public because of the British failure in placing their own ruler in Afghanistan. *The Administration of the East India Company* (1853), which was subtitled “a history of Indian progress,” was a narrative of the Company’s role in India. In this work, he discussed many of the governors-generals of India and other Anglo-Indians who he viewed as heroes. Kaye chose heroes who had respect for

⁷⁸ John Kaye “Illustrations of Anglo- Indian Society,” *The Calcutta Review* 8 (1847), 548.

the people of India, maintained close relationships with Indians, and who demonstrated British loyalty and bravery. Kaye had the satisfaction of seeing his work quoted in the 1853 debate in Parliament over whether to renew the EIC's charter.⁷⁹ In this history, he viewed the EIC as a successful vehicle of bringing progress to the people. Kaye demonstrated this viewpoint through tracing the moral and physical improvements that had taken place in India since the late eighteenth century. The increased focus on morality in Britain mirrored the same trend in India. In addition, the establishment of Addiscombe and Haileybury created an orthodox training which helped to prevent British officers and administrators from adopting oriental manners while in India. *Christianity in India* (1859) was another opportunity for Kaye to demonstrate the progress which the EIC had brought to India. In this book, he argued that India was ripe for Indians to convert to Christianity. However, Kaye also argued that the British needed to proceed with caution and temper their zeal in order to avoid frightening Indians that the British would force conversion. *The Life and Correspondence of Charles, Lord Metcalfe* (1854), *The Life and Correspondence of Henry St. George Tucker* (1854), *Selections from the Papers of Baron Metcalfe* (1855), and the *Life and Correspondence of Sir John Malcolm* (1856) addressed how these men contributed to India and gave Kaye an opportunity to praise his heroes. *The History of the Sepoy War* (1864-1876) was his most famous work and became a basic textbook for studying the Mutiny.

⁷⁹ "Sir John William Kaye" 1874, York, England.

One important aspect of Kaye's writings was his view that history was the product of the work of great men, which was in alignment with the writings of Thomas Carlyle. Carlyle wrote that the

Universal History, the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is at bottom the History of the Great Men . . . they were the leaders of men, these great ones; the, patterns, and in a wide sense creators of whatsoever the general mass of men contrived to do or to attain; all things that we see standing accomplished in the world are properly the outer material result, the practical realization and embodiment, of Thoughts that dwelt in the Great Men sent into the world.⁸⁰

This theory depicted history as driven and created by individual men who made impactful decisions. In each of his histories, Kaye focused on the individual men who were integral in the story. In Kaye's history of the East India Company, he concentrated on the governor-generals Hastings, Clive and Cornwallis because of how each had an impact on the morality and his idea of progress in India. Kaye viewed the rebellion as a testament to the British character because of the bravery of the British officers and used it as a way to highlight the biographies of certain men.⁸¹ Kaye wrote that "the best history is that which most nearly resembles a bundle of biographies, it is especially true when said with reference to Indian history; for nowhere do the characters of individual Englishmen impress themselves with a more vital reality upon the annals of the country in which they live; nowhere are there such great opportunities of independent action."⁸² Kaye's histories demonstrated Carlyle's great men theory by emphasizing the actions of his heroes and downplaying their

⁸⁰ Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1849), 1.

⁸¹ Herbert, 194.

⁸² Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War*, xii.

faults. This belief that great men made history was also influential in his views against centralization and other actions of the EIC which reduced the decision making power of British officers.

Kaye's historical methods distinguished him from his contemporaries because his writings were research based whereas many contemporary histories were more akin to published personal journals. There were two typical types of writings Victorians used to learn about the empire: travel journals and histories. The nineteenth century abounded with travelers who published their travel journals. These accounts showed individual experiences without extensive research to substantiate their travels as authoritative. Sometimes, these travel journals were treated as histories. Many historians wrote synthesized histories without performing any original research. Kaye, however, combined personal experience with research. Kaye remained apprised of the debates regarding India by reviewing many articles and books about the colony, published in both India and in Britain. Not only was Kaye involved in the scholarship on India, but he also performed original research using private papers. Because of his connections, he was able to request to see personal papers. Kaye had special permission to access a number of his sources, many of which have not survived.⁸³ In doing research for his histories, Kaye also used

⁸³ His sources for the *History of the War in Afghanistan: from the unpublished letters and journals of political and military officers employed in Afghanistan throughout the entire period of British connexion with that country* included the *Manuscript collection of the Correspondence of Sir John Malcolm*; *The unpublished correspondence of Sir W. H. Macnaghten*; *Sir Harford Jone's account of the transactions of H.M.'s mission to the Court of Persia &c.*; *Brigadier Malcom to Lord Minto: MS. Records*; *Minute of Lord Minto: MS. Records*; *The autobiography of Shah Soojah*; *The letter of Captain Wade to Mrs. Macnaghten: March 5, 1834*; *Sir Harford Jone's Account of the Transaction of his Majesty's Mission to the Court of Persia, 1807-1811*; *Calcutta Christian Observer, September, 1832*; *Unpublished Correspondence of Sir A. Burnes*; *Ungarbled Correspondence of Sir A. Burnes*; *Correspondence of Sir A. Burnes-privately printed*; *Eldred Pottinger's MS Journal*; *Draft of a Note to*

government papers. These additional sources allowed Kaye to more critically and accurately relate information. Kaye's writings were comprehensive and detailed, with many quotations from original sources. Additionally, Kaye recognized that there was British bias in most of the published writings. In 1849, Kaye wrote, "there is a great deal too much one-sidedness in the generality of our war-narratives."⁸⁴ He viewed historians as "rarely disposed to be prejudiced against his own countrymen; and we conceive that such prejudices, when they do exist, are less injurious than those which set in the opposite direction."⁸⁵ This acknowledgment about British bias was clear in his writings in which he attempted to be fair towards other political powers. As a result of living in India for a long period of time and being a part of the Indian army, Kaye was critical of British Imperial policies regarding India. In Kaye's critiques, he was aware of personal and national bias.

The Reception and Historiography on Kaye's Writings

Kaye's writings were well received in his lifetime and continue to be used and debated amongst historians. Most attention has been towards his three volumes on the Sepoy War. However, all of his published books went through several editions. By 1880, the Sepoy War volumes had been reprinted nine times. Kaye's work has been heavily used by historians as a reference for the events which occurred during the

be presented by the Marquis of Clanricarde to Count Nesselrode. Published Papers; Minute of Lord Auckland; And Major Outram's Rough Notes of the Campaign in Sindh and Afghanistan.

For the *History of the Sepoy War* Kaye's sources included the *private and demi-official correspondence of Lord Canning*; other materials provided by Sir John Lawrence and Sir Herbert Edwardes; *the papers of Colonel Baird Smith*; and *The Correspondence of Sir James Outram*, and more.

⁸⁴ John Kaye, "Cunningham's History of the Sikhs," *The Calcutta Review* 11 (1849), 541.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

mutiny. In describing Kaye's historical writings, N.N. Singh wrote that, "Kaye's writing reflected a keen individual mind with a sensitive awareness of the major issues of his day."⁸⁶ Singh wrote the first and largest monograph on Kaye. In this work, Singh viewed Kaye as a pragmatist who was influenced heavily by theories of liberalism while also promoting the slow spread of Anglicization.⁸⁷ Singh approached Kaye by evaluating his various types of writing. Singh broke Kaye's writing into the intellectual distinctions of military historian, defender of the Company, biographer, and his volumes on the Sepoy War. He evaluated Kaye's writings by these types, but did not compare Kaye's writings before and after the rebellion. One of the major shortcomings of Singh's work is that he did not incorporate all of Kaye's writings into his analysis because many of Kaye's articles were not signed in the journals. When Singh wrote his history, many of these works had not yet been identified as Kaye's writings.

Douglas Peers examined how imperial ideology was reflected in Kaye's writings. Peers wrote that the "writings of J.W. Kaye provide unique opportunities to test the ideological and material processes at work in the production of colonial discourse, for his writings not only straddle a range of genres, but Kaye himself was variously located in a number of different communities."⁸⁸ Because of the transitional period Kaye lived in and conflicting ideas about empire, Kaye's work allows historians to examine how this discourse was produced. Peers found that Kaye

⁸⁶ N.N. Singh, 6.

⁸⁷ Singh, 7.

⁸⁸ Douglas Peers, "There is Nothing More Poetical than War": Romanticism, Orientalism, and Militarism in J.W. Kaye's Narratives of the Conquest of India in *Imperial Co-Histories: National Identities and the British Colonial Press*, Julie F. Codell ed. (London: Associated University Press, 2003), 273.

believed in the Victorian ideas of progress, but was also still part of the romantic age, believing that the British could bring advancements to Indian society and that loyalty and heroism would win. This explained how Kaye could exalt men without examining their faults and also be critical of the British Government and the EIC.

As may be expected, Kaye's writings have received criticism from both his contemporaries and modern historians. The two most consistent complaints about Kaye's writings were his factual inaccuracies and his high praise of certain British individuals. Chaudhri acknowledged that Kaye's mistaken facts are problematic in taking his account as valid. This is one critique of Kaye's writings that has been used in most reviews of Kaye. Some pointed to how Kaye mistook important historical characters. For example, Chaudhri wrote that "for a careful historian which he claims he is, it is surprising that he should mistake major-general Thomas Reed who succeeded Sir Henry Barnard."⁸⁹ This is a significant blunder considering that Reed was in India during the first Anglo-Sikh War and Barnard did not arrive in India until 1857.⁹⁰ However, even though Kaye included these inaccuracies, his writings demonstrate a critical view of the British Empire that has value on its own. One reason researchers have identified so many inaccuracies in Kaye's writings is because of the prominence and widespread use of his writings. It is natural for a history that has been given that much attention to have many mistakes found. Many other

⁸⁹ Chaudhri, 57.

⁹⁰ "Reed, Sir Thomas (1796–1883)," rev. James Lunt, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. David Cannadine, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/view/article/23277> (accessed November 14, 2016).; "Barnard, Sir Henry William (1798–1857)," John Sweetman in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. David Cannadine, January 2009, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/view/article/1452> (accessed November 14, 2016).

histories of the Sepoy War have not received the same degree of attention by historians and similar mistakes may not have been discovered. Because Kaye's viewpoint and his interpretations of events in India are more valuable than the basic facts, these few inaccuracies do not negate the importance of Kaye's writings.

The other primary critique is that Kaye was too biased toward men he respected and gave too much praise to select men. As Kaye approached history through biography, certain men whom he admired were not highly criticized in his work. K.C. Yadav viewed Kaye as too highly praising certain English men and justifying their behavior in the Mutiny.⁹¹ Because of this, Yadav viewed Kaye's work as too unreliable for accurate history. Peers also argued that in some sections of Kaye's biographies he skipped over the ugly actions of men he respected.⁹² For example, *The Standard* published a letter from Lord Colchester in regard to Kaye's work, *Lord Ellenborough and the Generals in Afghanistan*, as not being factual. Lord Colchester wrote that "I have no wish to speak disrespectfully of Sir John Kaye, but any reader of his remarks on this topic should remember his close connection with the directors of the company, and Lord Ellenborough's' vehement disagreement with them . . . He [Kaye] must be heard as an advocate rather than a judge."⁹³ Kaye defended his impartiality by pointing to the fact that he wrote the article before he worked for the Company in England. Yet, this demonstrated that the perceived bias Kaye had in his writing towards certain individuals was viewed as problematic during

⁹¹ K.C. Yadav, "Interpreting 1857: A Cast Study," in *Rethinking 1857*, Sabyasachi Bhattacharya, ed. (Delhi: Chaman Enterprises, 2007), 10.

⁹² Peers, 288.

⁹³ "Lord Ellenborough and the Generals in Afghanistan," *The Standard*, London, April 10, 1874, pg. 5, issue 15507, British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900.

his career. Even though Kaye might not have accessed secret documents or written his histories on the behalf of Company, he did not easily criticize men he respected. As Colchester's criticism demonstrated, not all of Kaye's writings can be viewed as impartial. For example, Kaye was quick to criticize the failings of Hastings for sexually immoral behavior, but skipped over any corruption on the part of Cornwallis, whom he thought was a great man.⁹⁴ Even with these failings, Kaye's writings are still valuable for his perspective and critical view of British India.

Kaye's Foundational Life Experiences and Viewpoints

Kaye's life experience and knowledge made him a competent writer and expert on British affairs in India. His ability to identify with the Indian Army, missionary effort in India, and the EIC Administration made him capable of negotiating between the claims each group made within India and the faults each interest group claimed the others had made. This has made Kaye's writings very valuable for studying how the rebellion shifted an Indian expert's standpoints on empire. Before 1857, Kaye witnessed a changed Indian society through the abolishment of the sati-the burning of widows (suttee), female infanticide, thugee, and slavery.⁹⁵ These changes helped to create the India that Kaye knew and wrote

⁹⁴ Charles Cornwallis, first Marquess Cornwallis (1738-1805) was the governor-general of India from 1786-1793. His career took him a diverse route in which he served in America, India, and in Ireland. Cornwallis was the first governor-general appointed under the India Act of 1784 which was meant to give the crown more control over India and reduce the corruption. Cornwallis spent much of his career in India changing the both British and Indian society. He began to regulate British positions to protect the Company and to reduce corruption. He also brought Indian systems more directly under British control. With the help of John Shore, Cornwallis also changed the land revenue system. His reputation was for tightening up the government of India and bringing reform. For more information: "Cornwallis, Charles, first Marquess Cornwallis (1738–1805)," C. A. Bayly in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. David Cannadine, September 2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/view/article/6338> (accessed September 8, 2016).

⁹⁵John Kaye, "Modern India" *Bentley's, Miscellany* 31 (April 1852).

about. It gave him a strong belief in Anglo-Indian society and that India was beneficial for British because it freed them from industrialization. Finally, Kaye's involvement with the Indian Army allowed him to understand how it functioned. These different perspectives allowed Kaye to be critical of imperial policy. Kaye viewed himself as one of the most qualified writers on India because of his army and administrative experience in India. His experiences shaped a positive view of British work in India and the EIC and are essential in understanding Kaye's arguments about India.

As an Anglo-Indian, Kaye understood the unique British society in India. "Anglo-Indian" was the term used to identify Englishmen who lived in India for a long period. This term was used up to 1911 and described a unique and very specific community.⁹⁶ This group was a distinct society that straddled the ideas of two different cultures. During the beginning of British India, it could take months to travel from India to Britain, which led many individuals to rarely, if ever, return home. By the 1850s, travel time between Bombay and London had been reduced to a month due to increasing ship speeds, new routes through the middle east, and the Suez Canal. This community was committed to India and led Anglo-Indians to be more concerned with the policies regarding the EIC than the domestic needs of Britain.

Living in India and participating in the Anglo-Indian culture made Kaye value and defend this society in his writings. Kaye doubted that someone who was in India for a short time could be able to understand the people of India or Anglo-Indian

⁹⁶ David Finkelstein, "Imperial Self-Representation: Constructions of Empire in *Blackwood's Magazine*, 1880-1900" in *Imperial Co-Histories*, 107.

society. Kaye argued that Anglo-Indians were important because it took time to learn the colony and the people it governed. Many of the works Kaye read and reviewed were evaluated through this mindset. This was clear in his critiques of writings about India, which were mostly written by travelers who were only in India for a relatively short time. Kaye wrote that “all we can say is, that if people will write amusing books about India, we will undertake to review them.”⁹⁷ His main criticism was that these writers used their brief time in India to support generalizations on the Indian Empire and Anglo-Indian society. Kaye did not doubt the authenticity of the described experiences, but whether these stories were representative of Indian norms. Kaye believed that an individual needed to be committed to India and to have lived in the colony for many years before being able to articulate Indian culture without using obscure circumstances to represent the whole of India. It was only because Kaye had insider knowledge of India through his long tenure in British India that he could write about India and understand the process by which an individual could learn about the people.

Kaye also witnessed the enforced standards of behavior in Anglo-Indian society that gave him the ability to defend the modernity and morality of the British who lived in India. Kaye argued that nineteenth-century Anglo-Indians had the same behavioral codes as the British at home. Kaye recognized that the majority of British were ill-informed and were unaware of the moral improvements in India since the eighteenth century. India, like far East, was popularly conceived in Britain as an exotic land where Europeans went native and were corrupted by Indian culture. Kaye

⁹⁷ Kaye, “Recent Military Memoirs,” 265.

recognized the misinformation that was spread abroad about British India. He wrote that “on the whole we are inclined to think, that the average social and official morality of Anglo-Indian residents in India, is not below the common standard of British morality in other parts of the world.”⁹⁸ British men previously went to India and rarely, if ever returned home. These men formed relationships with Indian women instead of marrying a British woman and starting a legitimate family. However, these were no longer the circumstances. Kaye pointed to the evidence that it only took a month to travel from Bombay to London, which meant that the colony and the metropole were not as separated as they had once been. Also, British women began coming to India in the nineteenth century; this helped to keep British men out of the Zenana.⁹⁹ This also meant that men could take furloughs back home to Britain and were not disconnected from British society. Kaye was committed to this society and recognized its equality to any other in the British Empire, including Britain itself. This theme appeared in many of Kaye's writings and, once again, was a lens through which he judged accounts of India and wrote about it himself.

Another important aspect of Kaye's experience in India was his view of India as a liberating influence from the work atmosphere in Britain. Kaye romantically regarded India as freeing men from the trappings of modernity. During the nineteenth century, there was a movement within Britain for a return to nature and a rejection of industrialism. Even though Kaye viewed the climate of India as rough on the British constitution, he still found that India liberated men. Kaye found the lack of

⁹⁸ Kaye, “Society in India,” *Bentley's Miscellany*, (January 1852), 243.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 248-249.

industrialization, the abundance of nature, and the ability for men to act without approval from a bureaucracy as harkening back to a romantic ideal of a more pastoral England. Kaye wrote that:

Indian official leads a much more active, stirring life than his brother, who is employed in the Public Service at home. There is in India much less of the go-cart of official routine- much *less of that mechanical desk-work* which belongs to our public offices. The duties of the Indian official bring him into communication with a larger number of men, and evolve more *stirring incidents* in a month than years in a department at home. He leads a busy and varied life. . . early in life he learns to rely on himself; there is no one to help, no one to support him; he is thrown into the water, and left to sink or swim; *so he strikes out manfully*, and in a little time rejoices in the very isolation, which at first alarmed his youth and startled his inexperience.¹⁰⁰

Kaye viewed India as forcing men to rely upon themselves because of the lack of family and other supports. This gave men the freedom to use their own intellect to solve problems. Kaye's reaction was probably in response to the Industrial Revolution, which shifted the workforce into new social categories and was demeaning to man and nature. Kaye wrote that “business in England clings to a man, like the poisoned shirt of the centaur. Here [in India] it sits lightly upon him, and flutters in the evening breeze. Its corroding anxieties do not eat into us, like venom at morning and evening prayer- do not make young men old, and turn the healthy into wretched hypochondriacs. . . *men are not drones.*”¹⁰¹ Kaye supported the idea that men could truly live in India, unlike in Britain where men worked only for survival and could not enjoy their lives. Kaye believed that this influence within Britain would affect everyone, even returning Anglo-Indians. He remarked that “there is something

¹⁰⁰ Kaye, “Writers and Cadets,” 331. Emphasis Mine.

¹⁰¹ John Kaye, “Civis on Indian Affairs,” *The Calcutta Review* 13 (1850), 416.

in British air, which seems prematurely to rust the minds of returned Indians, who often from active energetic men, possessing first-rate abilities and eager to turn them to good account, sink suddenly into indolent listless drones, with scarcely a thought beyond their breakfasts and dinners, the play-houses, the opera, and the races.”¹⁰²

Perhaps Kaye romanticized India, yet, his comment displays a revulsion to the effects of the Industrial Revolution and a desire for space and freedom, which he found in India. This love of India- the community of Anglo-Indians, the advancement of his society, and the freedom found in India- were important components of how Kaye viewed India and were based on his life experience.

Kaye’s military service was an important aspect of his life that he thought gave him authority on military matters. When Kaye graduated from Addiscombe, he was commissioned in 1832 as a second lieutenant in the Bengal Artillery. This was a sign of his intelligence and academic success because the artillery was reserved for higher achieving students.¹⁰³ Kaye arrived in Calcutta on September 16, 1833, which marked the beginning of his long Indian career. Kaye was only in India for 11 months before he had to return to England due to illness. Kaye was on sick leave from August 15, 1834 to November 27, 1837, a little more than three years.¹⁰⁴ By 1838, Kaye was the commander of an artillery detachment at Kyaukpyu in Arkan. He once again fell ill and had to take a six-month sick leave. However, by August 1840, Kaye was promoted to a full lieutenant, but his ill health continued and Kaye resigned from the Indian military in April 1841.¹⁰⁵ In total, Kaye was a commissioned officer

¹⁰² Kaye, “Recent Military Memoirs,” 267.

¹⁰³ Singh, 5.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 7.

¹⁰⁵ Singh, 18; Rapson, 1.

for over nine years and was active in his military career for approximately five years. Kaye believed his career gave him the ability to understand the military culture in India and authority to write about military affairs. In one of his articles, Kaye gave his credentials as “an ex-noncommissioned officer, holding an appointment in the civil service of the Crown; and, therefore, possessed of military experience, as well as of experience in civil life.”¹⁰⁶ Because of Kaye's military and civil service experience, he viewed himself as an able judge of problems and debates in India. His military experience combined with his work for the EIC gave him the required knowledge to navigate these opposing factions. Kaye had taken part in both groups during his life and could therefore discuss both military and non-military life in India.

Kaye's military training was foundational in forming his view of the Indian Army. His experience of two years at Addiscombe became a focus of several of his writings and augmented his view of the military. Kaye's article, "Rules and Regulations of the Honorable East India Company's Seminary at Addiscombe, 1834", seemed to rely heavily on his own personal experience and was only set two years after he was commissioned and left for India.¹⁰⁷ In this article, he continually quoted his own novel titled *Peregrine Pultuney; Or, Life in India*, to reflect on his own experiences at Addiscombe. Kaye insisted that Addiscombe, one of the Company's schools in Britain, was essential to the future of India because "the flower of our Indian Army" came from there and Haileybury.¹⁰⁸ Kaye criticized the organizational

¹⁰⁶ John Kaye, "Employment of Military Men in Civil Life, At the Expiration of One Year's Service," *Saint. Pauls: A Monthly Magazine* 6 (June 1870), 238.

¹⁰⁷ Kaye, "Rules and Regulations of the Honorable East India Company's Seminary at Addiscombe, 1834," *Calcutta Review* 3 (October 1844).

¹⁰⁸ Kaye, "Addiscombe," 122.

structure of the school, argued cadets did not have enough time outdoors, and thought the age disparity amongst cadets gave too much advantage to the elder students and led to bullying behaviors. This criticism seemed to be based on his own experience. However, Kaye later wrote positively of these colleges in 1852, noting that the cadets were “fine ingenious youths, full of hope and full of ardour, standing thus on the very margin of manhood, eager for the first plunge. . . . When we survey in imagination the immense continent of Hindostan, number the hundred millions of people who inhabit it, and remember that mainly by the alumni of Haileybury and Addiscombe the affairs of this mighty country are administered, there is wonderful suggestiveness in these half-yearly examinations.”¹⁰⁹ Kaye claimed that the two years of preparation at these schools equipped men to quickly take their place in India. The cadets were trained in such a variety of materials that they could fulfill and shift between roles to support the Indian Civil Service. Kaye viewed these schools as essential to transforming India from a society where men adopted Indian ways to one which the British formed a morally upright community. Kaye argued in his works that after the establishment of these schools in the early eighteenth century, the numbers of higher caliber men coming from England increased. Because of his own experience, Kaye understood the training officers received before coming to India and how well prepared these men were to lead troops.

Kaye was the most prominent writer during his lifetime on India. Out of the many historians who have written about the rebellion, his volumes on the Sepoy War have become the primary text. Kaye’s writings are respected not only because of the

¹⁰⁹ Kaye, "Writers and Cadets" *Bentley's Miscellany* 31 (July 1852), 330.

number of pages he wrote about British India, but his unique viewpoint. He lived in India for a duration of thirteen years, with occasional trips back to Britain because of sickness. He was dedicated enough to India to remain in the subcontinent for an additional four years after his retirement from the Indian army. Kaye interacted with all aspects of British involvement in India and could articulate the varying British interests represented in India. Kaye's critical view of Indian Empire is what makes his writings valuable. Even though historians have found factual errors in Kaye's writings, these faults do not negate the worth of his writings. Kaye wrote prolifically before and after the uprising and the shift of his arguments will be the topic of the next two chapters.

Chapter 3: Kaye's Interpretation of the British Empire in India Before the Sepoy War

Kaye's writings covered a large array of topics and events, the majority of which discussed British Empire in India. His standpoints on the policies and relationships in India do not align with one traditional view of empire. Like traditional imperialists, he believed that British government, culture, morality, and Christianity were superior to Indian equivalents, and that under British care, India could enter a new period of economic and social progress that had already begun during the late eighteenth century. However, he also found value in Indian culture, was not in favor of westernizing India too quickly, and was opposed to forceful religious conversions of Indians. Though Kaye believed that the British Empire benefited the people under its rule, he did not believe in rampant expansion. Rather, Kaye viewed annexation and expansion as events which should happen rarely and only under certain conditions. Kaye believed the British needed to have personal relationships with the people of India. The British needed to model the type of behavior that Indians should emulate. In the army, British officers were meant to play a paternalistic, or fatherly, role to the sepoys under them, whom they would guide not only in military matters but also in westernization. Kaye's proposed policies do not align with any one traditional view of empire and cannot be described as imperialist, purely progressive, or focused on missions. His view was more nuanced and developed by living in India and critically examining Britain's role in India.

This chapter will analyze Kaye's views on both British and EIC policies towards India, including the discussion of paternalism, progress, Christianity, and expansion before 1857. Each of these topics was an essential part of the EIC in India. Paternalism, the subjection of Indians to a child-like role, determined Kaye's racial views of Indians. Race was integral in all discussions of empire because this ideology was used to justify imperial actions. But racial ideology varied, and Kaye's paternalistic view was not the predominant view during the mid-century. Kaye's paternalistic view of Indians demonstrated a belief that Indians could be advanced, but that this progressive process should be limited and gradual. Progress and paternalism were closely tied together in his mind with the British guiding Indians through these changes. Christianity was an integral part of British Empire that was used to justify interference in other cultures. During the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century the British continually expanded their territories in India. Kaye had a more nuanced view on British expansion in India than the traditional imperialist. He supported expansion when circumstances required it, but he did not think that rampant expansion was beneficial because of the negative impact on India and the delay of potential progress. This chapter will demonstrate that Kaye's paternalistic care of Indians was an overarching theme that demanded the people of India, Anglo-Indians and the natives, be considered in progressive policies and expansion. In both progress and expansion, Kaye was a cautious progressive who viewed slow and steady progress as a necessity with limited expansion to protect British interests, while also respecting native interests. In addition, Kaye expected that other leaders and countries should be respected by the British authorities.

Kaye's Paternalistic View of Indians: The Cornerstone of His Ideology

Kaye viewed Indians through a paternalistic lens. Paternalism was not a unique viewpoint to Kaye; it was generally how the Irish, women, and racial “others” were treated in nineteenth century Britain. By labelling women and other racial groups as infantile or effeminate, traditional English liberties could be denied because of their perceived inabilities.¹¹⁰ In India, the British role was to the guide Indians in education and progressive policies that were meant to create a more civilized India. This ideology helped to justify the need for withholding independence and self-government from Indians while also promising them future freedom after becoming more advanced under British care. Kaye believed paternalism required close relationships, akin to a father-son relationship, between the British and Indians, not just official interactions that occurred through business. Kaye was obviously not the only individual to bring this viewpoint to India. Yet, Kaye's writings combined this perspective with a respect for Indians and a highly developed British responsibility for Indian actions. Many other writers did not view the British as responsible for Indian actions. Kaye's viewpoint was therefore not as dehumanizing as others and this racial view permeated all of his standpoints on the EIC's policies. Kaye's paternalism also displayed an optimistic view of Indians, that with British guidance, they could become more like the British and their civilized society. His paternalistic view of

¹¹⁰ Koditschek, 143.

India was unusual because he placed responsibility for maintaining this kind of mentorship on the British and viewed British officers as partially responsible for the actions of their sepoy

But, Kaye's paternalism also demonstrated a view of Indians as childlike. In 1852, Kaye wrote that "Jack Sepoy is, in many respects, quite a child" and described his traits as "docile, but not without occasional fits of obstinacy; and he is easily to be won by kindness."¹¹¹ Just as a child could be coaxed by kindness, so too could a Sepoy. Kaye did not give any individual examples of this immature behavior by sepoy. Rather, he amalgamated Indians and used general examples, such as Indian obstinacy. Kaye believed that it was impossible to change an Indian's mind once it had become determined on a path. Instead of blaming Indian mistakes on their inferior race, he noted that this was natural because "Jack Sepoy, like all other mortal beings, sometimes makes a mistake."¹¹² He believed that sepoy were truly childlike, capable of great mistakes, but also capable of great potential with the help of the British. By placing sepoy in a childlike position, this removed partial responsibility for their actions. It placed this charge to develop the sepoy on the British, just as parents were accountable for the education and discipline of their children. However, this did not mean that Indians should not be punished for rebellious actions. But rather, they could not be held fully accountable for their behavior and the British had the obligation to train and develop India and its people.

¹¹¹ John Kaye, "Jack Sepoy," Bentley's Miscellany 31 (April 1852), 80.

¹¹² Ibid., 86.

Kaye believed that there were two necessary conditions for paternalism to succeed in the British-Indian relationship. First, sepoys had to trust their British officers. Second, British officers had to know and understand their Indian troops. This could only occur by personal interactions with each other. Kaye described sepoys as desirous to please their officers, but that they did not have blind faith in their officers. Kaye believed sepoys were loyal because “it is his delight to prove himself worthy of the good opinion of his leader, and to do his best to support and assist him.”¹¹³ Therefore, sepoys should be inspired by their officers to serve them with excellence. This was only possible if sepoys and officers interacted with each other in a setting in which they could learn more about each other. The trust of the sepoys could only be earned by officers who knew and understood their troops. This required understanding Indian culture which included religion, caste, and languages.

Because Kaye recognized the need for the British to understand Indian culture, Kaye respected and praised men who encouraged this behavior. One reason why Kaye admired John Shore, an employee of the EIC who later became a Governor-General (Lord Teignmouth), was his desire to learn about the people, culture, and languages of India.¹¹⁴ In the 1770s, Shore's "local knowledge was far

¹¹³ Kaye, “Jack Sepoy,” 88.

¹¹⁴ John Shore, first Baron of Teignmouth, (1751-1834) was the governor-general of Bengal. Shore came to India in 1769 as a writer for the secret political department. He later worked with the revenue system for the Bengal territories. In 1775, Hastings appointed Shore to the provincial revenue council of India, a result of the directors deciding that the EIC could no longer use Indian intermediaries to collect taxes. Shore became governor-general in 1793 after Cornwallis left office. During his time as governor-general, he followed a policy of non-intervention. For more information please see: "Shore, John, first Baron Teignmouth (1751–1834)," Ainslie T. Embree in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. David Cannadine, May 2009, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/view/article/25452> (accessed September 7, 2016).

greater than that possessed by the Governor-General . . . and there were few Europeans, at the time, with a deeper insight into the native character.”¹¹⁵ If an employee of the government did not understand the value of caste and the importance of religious practice, the officer could unwisely guide sepoys through changes. For example, the officer could issue insensitive orders or not understand why sepoys were reluctant to obey orders which interfered with caste and religious practices. Kaye believed that this was an important component of British rule in India.

Because of the paternalistic British-Indian relationship, Kaye thought that British officers were largely responsible for sepoy actions. Just as a father was responsible for the behavior of his children, officers were supposed to have this kind of relationship with the sepoys under their command. Because British officers were supposed to have a close relationship with sepoys, the officers should have been able to guide their soldiers through difficult times and know when there was discontent amidst the ranks. Kaye clearly articulated this idea in his writings about the mutinies that predated 1857. The best example was the 1806 Vellore Mutiny. This mutiny took place in northern India after the British made changes in the Indian army to require uniformity in the ranks. Previously, many regiments allowed Indians to wear caste and religiously specific accessories, which allowed Sikhs to wear a dastar- a turban with religious significance. The military reforms enforced uniform western military headdress that would not allow the Sikhs to wear their dastars. Kaye argued that the reason for the Vellore Mutiny was the failure of paternalism because “whenever we hear that a Sepoy regiment has evinced a mutinous spirit we feel the strongest

¹¹⁵ John Kaye, "Lord Teignmouth," *The Calcutta Review* 1 (1844), 52.

possible conviction that the European officers of the regiment are not wholly blameless. If nothing else can be said against them, it may be generally assumed that *they do not know their men.*"¹¹⁶ The Vellore mutiny was an example of gross ignorance on the part of the British officers. The failure of these British officers to understand the Indians under their command was problematic because they did not appreciate the religious and social consequences of changing headdress requirements. Another problem at the same time was the close living quarters of Indians of different castes, who could not share the same food preparation, plates, and drinking vessels. In Indian society sharing the lotha (drinking vessel) with an individual from a lower caste meant being ostracized. This combination of the lotha and the additional fear caused by the headdress changes compounded worries of forced westernization and conversion to Christianity. Their British officers were unable to understand these concerns and explain the true British intent. Kaye placed partial blame for this mutiny on British officers not fully understanding the sepoys and therefore not being able to lead them well through the changes which occurred with pay and headdresses. By 1806, westernization had weakened familiarity between the British and sepoys. The officers were also unable to report to higher officers the fear over losing their caste due to contamination from lower caste Indians.

Kaye believed that the British-Indian paternalistic relationship had been declining since the late eighteenth century. Initially, when the EIC began to trade in India during the 1600s, the British tended to become "Indianized." The men took on Indian customs and manners, even cohabitating with Indian women, which reduced

¹¹⁶ Kaye, "Jack Sepoy," 80.

the culture clash between the British and Indians. The British were not interested in changing Indian culture, except where it could increase their own profits. Kaye recounted that the Anglo-Indians in the eighteenth century were men who “betook themselves to India with little expectation, perhaps with little desire, of ever returning to their native country. *They very soon forgot their native land.* They forgot all the old ties. *They divorced themselves from the habits and the feelings which they had taken out with them.*”¹¹⁷ The “evil” of the distance between the British and the sepoys was a more recent development because “there was formerly more sympathy between Europeans and natives than there is in these days. The former [British] were not only courteous in the demeanor to the latter, but took pleasure in conversing with them.”¹¹⁸ Until regulations to limit British behavior began to take place in the mid to late 1700s, there was not a large divide between the Europeans and Indians. The British had adopted Indian customs and this created many similarities. Kaye viewed this intimacy between the two groups as significant in peacefully ruling India. It allowed the British to understand the people under them and through interacting with each other, to gain trust in the other.

The understanding between the British and Indians significantly changed through the eighteenth to nineteenth-centuries because of the EIC strategies to stop the tide of British men “going native” and to improve the EIC administration. The EIC began to be increasingly concerned about Anglo-Indian culture and the continued “Indianization” of their employees. This reflected a variety of influences. There was

¹¹⁷ Kaye, “Jack Sepoy,” 78. Emphasis Mine.

¹¹⁸ John Kaye, “Military Society in India,” *The Calcutta Review* 22 (44), 432.

growing pressure from humanitarians in Britain to criticize Indian society because of the progressive reforms in Britain. In addition, there was the growing professionalization of the EIC's administration as illustrated by the establishment of the colleges Addiscombe and Haileybury to educate future British men to serve in India. These schools trained men in the appropriate languages and discouraged them from going "native:" they instilled "imperial responsibility and ingrained with a sense of Britain's imperial greatness."¹¹⁹ This education changed Anglo-Indian society by creating a growing cultural gap between the sepoys and the British. Kaye identified these schools as beneficial for the government of India by preparing trained men since he viewed Indianization as negative for the British and Indians. Kaye wrote that the reforms in India since the 1700s had been beneficial to the health, morality and comfort of British officers. But, he also viewed these schools as having a negative consequence because he directly linked them with creating a growing divide between the British and Indians. but by 1850 these reforms played a negative role in paternalism. Kaye wrote that:

They have spoilt him for a Sepoy officer. There is hardly a genuine Sepoy officer now remaining with the army. Time was, when our officers, to a great extent, denationalized themselves; when their habits were rather of the Asiatic than the European type; when the language they spoke, the sympathies they encouraged, and the companions with whom they associated, were more frequently Hindustani than English: when, in a word, they lived more like natives than like Christians, and looked upon their Sepoys with kindness and affection as brethren and children. The supremacy of Englandism in India seems now to have made an impassible gulf between the English officer and the Hindustani soldier.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ Bearce, 39.

¹²⁰ John Kaye, "Civis on Indian Affairs", *The Calcutta Review* 13 (1850), 425.

The westernization of India, which Kaye often referred to as progress, negatively impacted the paternalistic relationship because it divided Indian and British societies. The British no longer respected Indian culture the same way, but viewed European ways as superior. This changed attitude on the part of the British was dangerous because it could lessen the respect Indians had for their officers. Kaye praised the moral benefits which came from this training as he did not view Indianization as beneficial for the British. Kaye did not envision an equal cultural exchange between the British and Indians in his writings. Kaye viewed the growing distance of Anglo-Indians from the people of India as problematic, not that he wanted the British to adopt Indian customs.

Kaye's Ideas on Indian Progress Before the 1857 Rebellion

Kaye was very optimistic about the future of India and proud of the changes wrought by the EIC in India. Kaye frequently wrote about how the East India Company had improved its territories through increasing morality by limiting excessive drinking and stopping the practice of the sati, and through public works such as improving roads. These perceived improvements applied to Anglo-Indians and Indians. Many of Kaye's articles and books demonstrated this progressive history; his book on the EIC was subtitled *A History of Indian Progress*. These two improvements were closely tied to missionaries being able to spread Christianity. Kaye's writings displayed the progression of Anglo-Indian society from being filled with debauchery and solely concerned with profit to one that attempted to govern the people of India well. Kaye viewed this as a slow, but a beneficial process, which began with reforming British society in India and thereby gradually changing Indian

society and culture. Kaye believed that change occurred from the top down in society. Rules and regulations in and of themselves could not make changes without the modeled behavior of leaders in society. British leaders led the behavior they expected of their British subjects in the empire. In certain cases, such as structural improvement, Kaye viewed these changes as having a beneficial influence on Indians. However, for the British to bring moral change and convert Indians to Christianity, the Anglo-Indians needed to live pious and morally upright lives as examples to be modeled by Indians. Before Indians could be westernized, Anglo-Indians had to first live as a society to be imitated by Indians. Both the EIC and Parliament worked since the late eighteenth century to improve the moral quality of British society in India. Kaye believed that the government was responsible for the improvement of the people under it and that it should be judged by how well it improved the people.¹²¹ Kaye viewed progress as a top-down transition. As leadership reformed and became an example, then the people, both British and Indians, would make these changes as well. Kaye viewed this process as essential in both moral changes and also in spreading Christianity in India.

Kaye's View of Moral Progress of Anglo-Indian Society

Kaye's histories of India demonstrated his view that the British in India during the 1600s and 1700s had little or no morality. He viewed them as selfish, depraved and uncaring about the situation of the people in India. In Kaye's history of the East India Company, he wrote that in the early stages, the EIC "did not care about the

¹²¹ Kaye, "Modern India," 462.

people of India, the happiness of the people was a means to an end.”¹²² The British were in India solely for their own gain and did not live as a Christian society. Kaye described the Anglo-Indians in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as people who “traded briskly; they fought bravely; and they lived hardly. *But they neither feared God nor loved their neighbors.*”¹²³ Kaye asserted that there were two reasons for the immorality he described of the British in India. The first reason was that the British in Britain did not live by much higher standards of morality. This was a common Victorian belief that the seventeenth century was filled by immorality. The second reason was that in India there was no standards of behavior and no social consequences for immorality, which left the British without any restrictions on adopting Indian practices and living by their passions.

First, Kaye thought the immoral community in India reflected the British at home. Kaye claimed that changes in India could not begin until there were moral reforms in Britain since the men who went to India came from Britain. Kaye began his examination of moral reforms with early eighteenth-century Britain. While he specifically identified the problems rampant in British India, Kaye claimed that the British at home were no better. He argued that both the British and Anglo- Indian societies were equally guilty because “we have seen them drinking, gambling, fighting, and taking bribes [in India] . . . *they merely reflected the manners of their*

¹²² John William Kaye, *Administration of the East India Company: A History of Indian Progress*, (London: Richard Bentley, 1853), 2.

¹²³ John William Kaye, "Christianity in India," *The North British Review* 13 (August 1850), 609. Emphasis mine.

brethren at home."¹²⁴ It was not until reform began in England that India could also be anglicized by new men coming to India who were morally sound. Following Kaye's view that history was made by great individuals, he attributed the moral progress in England to George the Third's personal example, who reigned from 1760-1801. Kaye wrote that "morality appears to have advanced steadily in England with the reign of George the Third."¹²⁵ George III, he argued, was influential because he "waved the royal privilege of gilding vice . . . denied himself the luxury of contaminating, by his example, the morals of a whole country; and proved to the world, that with every source of sensuality open to him, it was possible to be a virtuous man. During his reign, men ceased to make an open business of licentiousness."¹²⁶ Kaye claimed that change through personal example was a lengthy process and could take a lifetime, such as with the life of George III.¹²⁷ Kaye always viewed the morality of high positioned men as influential on society and this was no different with the king.

Second, the British came to India where there were few moral guidelines and structure, which made it easy to regress and go native. There were also no leaders who modeled appropriate behaviors. Kaye credited this lack of support with creating an environment for men to abandon their ways, for "a man, cut off from the society of his countrymen, is not only removed beyond all the obstructions of immorality, but is

¹²⁴ John Kaye, "The Indian Civil Service: Its Rise and Fall (part I)," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 89 (January 1861), 130. Emphasis Mine.

¹²⁵ Kaye, "The English in India," 291.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

doubly exposed to all its temptations. There is in fact everything to allure- and nothing to stay him.”¹²⁸ These men had “left a country of checks- checks imposed not only by civil polity but by the moral strongest code of opinion.”¹²⁹ They arrived in a country where these same checks were not imposed upon them and therefore did not follow these morals, but, acted as men who were only interested in their own profit and pleasure. Considering that during the early period of the Company the majority of the British went native and many times cohabitated with Indian women, took bribes, and drank too much, there were few constraints against this lifestyle. This also demonstrated that Kaye’s idea of a civilized and moral society required all the mechanisms of the society to maintain high standards. Changes in Britain along with increasing governing power in India forced the EIC to consider regulating the behavior of its employees in India. When the EIC gained governing powers in Bengal, it became more concerned with governing its territories because “up to that point in the history of our Indian Empire the Company’s servants had been almost exclusively merchants- now they grew into administrators.”¹³⁰ At this point, the Company and Parliament began attempting to stop excessive drinking, gambling, and licentiousness.¹³¹ Parliament limited gambling in the early 1700s through making gambling more than 10 pounds’ illegal.¹³² It was a struggle for the Company to change the culture of Anglo-Indian society. Kaye recorded how the directors and Parliament continually worked to effect change, but with little success.¹³³ As the

¹²⁸ Ibid., 298.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 299.

¹³⁰ Kaye, "The Indian Civil Service," 123.

¹³¹ Parliament was interested in India and required the EIC to continually renew its charter.

¹³² Kaye, "The Indian Civil Service," 120.

¹³³ Ibid., 122.

authority of the EIC shifted, the Company tightened the rules and expectations for individuals in its employ. These regulations and laws had a limited effect transforming British society in India.

While India was governed by men who lived immorally, moral changes could not take root. Just as Kaye believed that history was driven by great men, change also was driven by the personal examples and policies of these men. Kaye believed that Robert Clive and Warren Hastings, though great men, could not drive moral reform because of their own examples.¹³⁴ This argument was driven by Kaye's idea of paternalism which required close bonds between the British and Indians. Change was driven through personal example and Clive and Hastings' lives were incapable of inspiring change because their behavior was immoral. They both left Britain when they were young and grew up in the immoral Anglo-Indian society. As products of this society, they were unaware of what needed to change. Kaye wrote that "Clive and Hastings had left England as mere boys" and therefore "brought with them to India no settled principles, their morals accordingly were Indian morals- formed in the worst

¹³⁴ Warren Hastings (1732-1818) was the governor-general of Bengal. He, like Kaye, had to make his own way in the world. His guardian secured a writership position for Hastings in the East India Bengal Service. Hastings served under Clive in India during the "Plassey Revolution." He served in a variety of positions and even returned to England for a stint. In 1772, Hastings became governor of Bengal, which became by default a British province. Hastings viewed this province as important and encouraged the learning of Indian languages. He thought that some of the traditional practices in India had some merit and were suited to the people's temperament. When reforms forced on the EIC came into effect, Hastings became the first governor-general of India. He oversaw many treaties and wars, many of which the English were heavy-handed. Claims of corruption were also brought against Hastings. In 1787 Edmund Burke brought charges against Hastings for mismanagement within India. Hastings was acquitted. For more information please see "Hastings, Warren (1732–1818)," P. J. Marshall in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. David Cannadine, October 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/view/article/12587> (accessed September 7, 2016).

possible school.”¹³⁵ Kaye was able to point to these specific examples of when they were leaders and failed his standard of acceptable behavior. For example, both men committed adultery, with Hastings living with the wife of another man.¹³⁶ Kaye focused on their moral faults and did not discuss as much the personal economic gains during their power.

Kaye equated a steady improvement in British reforms in Anglo-Indian society with the influx of honorable governor-generals into India. Kaye saw “substantial improvement” beginning with the arrival of the Marquis of Cornwallis in 1786, who the Company specifically brought in to stop corruption.¹³⁷ Kaye described Cornwallis as having “all the finest characteristics of a high-minded English nobleman; he came among his exiled countrymen with the English ideas of honor and morality” and initiated changes which Kaye believed would lead to moral progress that continued through Kaye’s own time.¹³⁸ Another important figure, Governor - General John Shore, served as an example of the morally upright EIC officer who, Kaye believed, through personal example changed the community around him. Kaye wrote in 1861 John Shore “even in corrupt times, walked purely and honorable before God and man, this improvement continued. *Personal example did much.*”¹³⁹ Kaye viewed change as a process which began and was modeled by leadership. He viewed these men as responsible for changing Anglo-Indian society. Then, under Cornwallis,

¹³⁵ Kaye, "The English in India," 292.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 313.

¹³⁷ Kaye, "The English in India," 292.; Bearce, 43-44.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 293.

¹³⁹ Kaye, "The Indian Civil Service," 129. Emphasis Mine.

social occasions became more controlled because he limited access to excess alcohol, which decreased drunkenness at these functions. Through these social efforts gambling and drinking had gone out of “fashion.”¹⁴⁰ A man of exemplary personal example could enforce and encourage the reforms which the EIC had attempted to make by regulations. Kaye tracked these moral changes through cultural productions, such as newspapers and journals, and noted that overtime the topics, such as novels and approved social events, became more morally acceptable. Kaye viewed this kind of progress as extremely important to India and that it had to come from the example of prominent British individuals.

Kaye's View of the Potential of Christianity in India and the Moral Upliftment of the People

Kaye argued strongly that Indian society could not be reformed without the British in India modeling behaviors that could be emulated by Indians. This was especially true when it came to Christianity. Kaye envisioned missionary work through a government hands-off approach. Kaye believed that Christianity would be beneficial for Indians. But, because of his view of the Indian psyche and convictions that perceptions of forced conversion would cause unrest, Kaye insisted that missionaries should be allowed into India, but that the government should not support them. Kaye believed that outright support and financial assistance to missionaries from the EIC would cause panic among Indians.

¹⁴⁰ Kaye, "The English in India," 317-318.

Kaye was highly aware of how controversial missionaries were in India. Many feared that missionaries would cause discontent among Indians, even a revolt. Missionaries were tolerated until the Vellore Mutiny of 1806, which some viewed as the fault of missionaries stirring up discontent among Indians.¹⁴¹ After this, however, the Company wanted to remove them because missionaries were blamed for this mutiny because the change in headdress was thought by Indians to be the last step before forced conversion.¹⁴² But in 1813, Parliament gave missionaries official permission to be in India against the wish of the East India Company, which feared that potential unrest would result.¹⁴³ From this point there was a great influx of missionaries. However, tensions remained high between the missionaries and both the EIC and Kaye felt that government sponsorship of missionaries was dangerous because it could make Indians fear forced conversion by the government. Kaye asserted that conversion to Christianity should be encouraged by individual missionary groups and through personal example.

For Indians to convert to Christianity, Kaye believed Anglo-Indians had to model Christian behavior by providing a morally sound society. Kaye asserted that in the eighteenth century, when the British were living in debauchery, profit, and going native, Indians had no incentive to convert because they viewed the British as more morally bankrupt than themselves. During this period, British behavior caused Indians to disrespect Christianity because “the general belief among the natives was,

¹⁴¹ Bearce, 60.

¹⁴² Kaye, "Alisons' Chapters of Indian History," 135.

¹⁴³ Bearce, 61.

that if the English traders had any God, they had left him in oblivion at home.”¹⁴⁴ In another work, Kaye argued that the British should "first convert ourselves, and then think of converting the people of India. It is certain that the English, in our Eastern settlement, are not now open to the old reproach, 'Christian-man—Devil-man.'"¹⁴⁵ During the early period of the EIC, the British could not convert Indians to Christianity when their behavior made the best argument for not converting from Hinduism and Islam because of their immoral behavior. But Kaye argued, as Anglo-Indian society became more moral, Indians took notice and were similarly influenced by the changes in the British culture. In 1844, Kaye wrote that gradual moral improvements of the British “cannot but have been attended with a corresponding influence, directly or indirectly, *on the native mind*.”¹⁴⁶ The actions of the British affected Indians. Kaye noted that, whether or not the hearts of Indians were changed, their outward behavior changed with the reforms in both Anglo-Indian and Indian society. Kaye documented the change by showing that because of the British presence Indian actions were altered. He compared the past actions of Indians to the current state, in which “atrocities such as these [unjust beheadings] no native of India, or of the neighboring states, would dare to commit or even meditate in the presence of English gentlemen.”¹⁴⁷ Kaye maintained that these changes in Indian society only occurred after the British themselves went through the process of reforming their own society. Kaye claimed that that British regulations were not sufficient in making great

¹⁴⁴ Kaye, "Christianity in India," 609.

¹⁴⁵ Kaye, *The Administration of the East India Company*, 654.

¹⁴⁶ Kaye, "The English in India", 292. Emphasis Mine.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 297.

changes in society. However, the change of Indian behavior must also be attributed to British law and power to enforce it in addition to the examples of great men.

Kaye believed that Christianity was meant to be spread through private channels and personal examples, not through official EIC policy. This did not mean that Kaye was uncaring about Christianity in India or think that it was non-essential. He believed that Indian conversions were possible and beneficial for the people of India. In 1845, Kaye wrote that Indians were “well prepared not only for the reception but for the origination of great moral and religious change. To discourage and to check these yearnings after better things would be an act of as wicked and insane folly.”¹⁴⁸ But Kaye believed the government should not be perceived to have any support for this missionary progress.¹⁴⁹ Kaye did not support blind interference. He wrote “we are no advocates for the exercise of blind unregulated zeal in the obtrusion upon the people of India of legislative forms or in private interference with their religious prejudices or social customs.”¹⁵⁰ For Kaye, the primary point of difference was whether the government or private groups supported missions. As he wrote, “the question was not whether Christianity was to be supported in India, and heathenism discouraged; but how far, consistently without- standing pledges and existing obligations, Christianity could be supported and heathenism discouraged.”¹⁵¹ Kaye insisted evangelism as necessary and helped to justify British Empire in India and that it would be morally wrong to bar missionaries and to kill any growing desire for

¹⁴⁸ Kaye, “Alisons' Chapters of Indian History,” 140.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Kaye, *The Administration of the East India Company*,” 656.

Christianity among the natives. However, he also noted the concern of the British that more mutinies could occur out of fear because of missionary efforts. Kaye also recognized the importance of religion to caste and that the wrong action by the EIC would be dangerous. Therefore, to allow missionaries who were not sponsored by the government was a moderate approach for the EIC and Parliament since it did not restrict missionary access, but also did not force Christianity on the people of India.

British Reforms in Indian Society- Public Works and Education

Kaye viewed the moral improvement of Anglo-Indian society as the predecessor to reforming Indian society. Kaye wrote about two types of changes in Indian society spearheaded by the British: the first was structural changes, such as laws and regulations governing Indian practices and providing them with European education; the second was moral upliftment of Indians, potentially leading to Christianity. He tended to favor making humanitarian changes quickly, such as outlawing barbaric practices, such as infanticide. But, because of his knowledge of Indian culture and religion, he thought most reforms and Christianity should be introduced more slowly. Instead of implementing official changes, Kaye argued for a gradual change in Indian culture which was inspired by British personal examples, not through legislation and forced conversion.

Throughout the nineteenth century the EIC debated about at what rate and to what degree westernization should be made in India by the EIC. There were two general parties in this debate: Orientalists and Anglicists. Orientalists were more willing to adopt Indian customs and to not interfere with Indian culture. Due to the

increasing professionalization of the EIC, these numbers were decreasing by the nineteenth century. Orientalists believed that India historically had great and ancient achievements which should be respected. Future improvement rested on the ability to draw on ancient traditions and laws as the foundation.¹⁵² For example, caste was not a system which the British wanted to abolish because it was intrinsic to Indian culture.¹⁵³ Caste was part of the Hindu religious tradition. However, some Muslims adopted a similar stratified social structure in India, though it did not have the same religious implications if rules were broken.¹⁵⁴ Hindu religious practices could not be separated from caste structure. Kaye focused more on Hindu practices because of how complicated it was and the probability of British interference having major implications on the caste system. However, other traditions such as the suttee, the burning of widows after their husband's death, were considered inhumane and garnered additional support for an immediate ban. Anglicists believed in the duty of the British to make Indian culture more British because of their belief in the superiority of British religion, culture, and governing structures. Anglicists argued that the British needed to take more direct efforts to implement progressive reforms. The Anglicist view of India saw it as behind Britain in civilization and that the British needed to be more proactive in enacting changes. Kaye took more of a middle

¹⁵² Bearce, 26.

¹⁵³ For many of the British, the caste system was complicated to fully comprehend because it varied so much from the British class system. Caste and religion were tied together, which was not the same in Britain. In addition, it was much easier to lose caste standing.

¹⁵⁴ Charles Lindhol, "Paradigms of Society: A Critique of Theories of Caste among Indian Muslims" *European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes De Sociologie / Europäisches Archiv Für Soziologie* 26, no. 1 (1985): 131-41. <http://www.jstor.org.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/stable/23999296>.

ground. He was on the cautious side, but truly believed in the potential of British rule for India.

Kaye did not want to push for quick changes, but for gradual change. Kaye saw that the people of India could be changed, but there needed to be measures and checks in place to ameliorate Indian backwardness.¹⁵⁵ Changing Indian society rapidly would encourage mistrust amidst Indians and therefore cause instability. He described the nature of Indian people as able to “bear a great deal so long as they are used to it. *They are very intolerant of change.* They do not understand it. They are timid and suspicious. Benevolence and wisdom may go hand in our measures, but the people are not easily persuaded that what we are doing is for their good.”¹⁵⁶ Kaye believed Indians could withstand great injustices if it was an established practice. Change was dangerous. The people of India might not tolerate changes in Indian customs, technology, and society. This was one reason why Kaye was against immediate reforms and was also why he did not think that missionaries should be supported by the government because that would give the impression of the EIC forcing change upon the people. Kaye’s view was a hybrid of the Anglicist and Orientalist. Kaye believed that westernization was generally better and that European practices such as Christianity, were an important part of British rule in India. However, his knowledge of Indian psychology led him to believe changing Indian practices too quickly was hazardous to maintaining British rule in India.

¹⁵⁵ Kaye, *The Administration of the East Indian Company*, 485.

¹⁵⁶ Kaye, *The Administration of the East Indian Company*, 141. Emphasis Mine.

On the other hand, Kaye argued that certain improvements in Indian society were necessary, humane and required more immediate changes through new laws. These laws included banning the sati, infanticide, and eliminated the criminal Dakotee and the Thugee gangs. Kaye summarized his respect for these changes, for the “suttee, in our own provinces, was utterly abolished . . . female infanticide, if not altogether extirpated, has been much diminished in all parts of India. In our own provinces it does not exist at all. Thugee, another hideous evil- the systematic professional strangling of unsuspecting men – has, by a series of vigorous well-directed efforts, been almost entirely struck down and demolished.”¹⁵⁷ The sati was not common everywhere in India and traditionally local officials had to approve the sati. At first, the British banned compulsory burning, but, with local help, the British determined that this was not required for the Hindu faith and banned the practice completely.¹⁵⁸ The Thugee and Dakotee bands were groups of thieves and murderers whom the British hunted and destroyed. Kaye wrote that "I have shown how they have toiled and striven, and with what great success, to win the benighted savage to the paths of civilization, and to purge the land of those cruel rites which their false gods were believed to sanction. There is nothing in all history more honorable to the British nation than the record of these humanizing labors. It is impossible to write of them without a glow of pleasure and of pride."¹⁵⁹ By thus changing Indian culture under their dominion, they brought the natives closer to civilization. Yet, it is important to note how cautious the British were about some of these laws. For

¹⁵⁷ Kaye, “The Government of the East India Company,” *North British Review* (1853), 557.

¹⁵⁸ Kaye, *The History of the East India Company*, 529-530.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 587.

example, the sati was slowly abolished and in accordance with the council of Hindus. This was important to Kaye, that the British not act rashly in destroying Indian culture.

Kaye also viewed infrastructure improvements as essential parts of good government. Kaye's references to public works primarily concentrated on those which affected most Indians and would uplift their economic, and therefore, moral wellbeing. In his history of the EIC written in 1853, Kaye devoted a chapter to discussing the canals and roads created in India. Kaye briefly discussed railroads but thought it was too early to determine if they increased the prosperity of the people.¹⁶⁰ Kaye believed the canals in the Northwest and Northeast regions of India, the former had been more successful, uplifted the state of the people. He demonstrated the benefits by examining the money collected by the EIC for usage taxes, as proof of how much these canals were used by the people.¹⁶¹ Kaye explained why he believed canals were one of the most important public works created in India:

Of the moral results of these great reproductive works I need not particularly speak, for they are those which ever attend increased security and prosperity, the accumulation of capital, and the diffusion of wealth. *To fertilize the land is to civilize the people.* It is impossible to conceive anything that will have a greater effect upon the civilization of the inhabitants of Upper India than the great remedial measure which guards them collectively against the barbarizing and dehumanizing effects of famine, and secures to every man individually his daily bread.¹⁶²

Because canals affected most Indians and were a safeguard to famines, Kaye believed that this progress was significant. Kaye argued that by increasing the economic

¹⁶⁰ Kaye, *The History of the East India Company*, 314.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 275-282.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 304.

prosperity of Indians, they would become increasingly interested in protecting their property and therefore easier to guide to making India more civilized.

The second improvement Kaye emphasized was the development of the roads. These had been improved and better secured throughout British India. One specific improvement was the widening of the road between Calcutta and Delhi.¹⁶³ These expanded roads led to more secure highways, protecting private property and human life. These improvements also led to increased communications throughout the provinces. Kaye viewed these public works as essential in British India because they improved the quality of life. He wrote that the EIC had done much, but that the money spent on these works was minimal in comparison to the cost of expansionist wars. He wrote that "on the whole, it would appear from these statements that there has been a progressive tendency, on the part of the Indian Government . . . to promote great works of public utility. That the amount of money expended on such works is miserably small in comparison with the immense sums lavished on unproductive wars, is a fact which cannot be too deeply deplored."¹⁶⁴ Kaye believed that the improvements of the people were more important than these wars demonstrating the importance he placed upon uplifting the people.

Kaye also wrote about the educational reforms which took place in India. Kaye did not discuss the educational reforms in detail or the writings of Macaulay on Indian education. Rather, he wrote about the development of schools and the men who helped to create them. Macaulay was significant in proposing the teaching of

¹⁶³ Ibid., 309.

¹⁶⁴ Kaye, *The History of the East India Company*, 317.

English literature and science in India not discuss this proposition. Rather, he focused on the governor-generals who implemented educational reform, such as Lord William Bentinck.¹⁶⁵ Education was believed to be the answer to this problem. In 1813, the EIC became more interested in educational reforms, but it took about a decade for institutional progress to be made. In 1817, the Hindu College of Calcutta was created by Sir Henry Hyde in conjunction with the EIC, but attendance remained low.¹⁶⁶ Most of the schools propagated orientalist views and old beliefs, they were not true centers of westernization. In 1830, the home office of the EIC in Leadenhall, London determined that European education should be encouraged amidst the Indian elite. This new educational system was supported by Macaulay, Trevelyan, and Governor-General Bentinck. Macaulay was appointed to oversee Indian education and "from that time English education has been a dominant in the chief Government schools throughout India, as before it was languid and depressed."¹⁶⁷ These schools were not

¹⁶⁵ Lord William Bentinck (1774-1839) was born William Henry Cavendish into an aristocratic family. His father was prime minister twice. Even though his family had great political power, they had little money, which led Lord Bentinck to find positions which guaranteed him a steady income. He served in the British army in Flanders, Ireland, Northern Italy, and Egypt. He married Lady Mary Acheson in 1803, who was an evangelical Christian and credited as being a beneficial influence in his life. He was made governor of Madras from 1803-1807. He was blamed by for the Vellore Mutiny and removed from power. He held various other postings before returning to India in 1828 as the governor-general. He is known for the large number of reforms he made in India and credited for laying the foundation for modern India. Bentinck brought social, economic and political reforms to India. These included abolishing the sati, waged a successful campaign against the thugees, reformed the land-revenue system, and opened India to western education. He encouraged western schools and removed Persian from being an official language. He left India in 1835. "Bentinck, Lord William Henry Cavendish- (1774–1839)," Douglas M. Peers in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. David Cannadine, October 2009, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/view/article/2161> (accessed December 13, 2016)

¹⁶⁶ Kaye, *The Administration of the East India Company*, 591.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 597.; G. C. Boase, Sir Charles Edward Trevelyan (1807-1886) was from a prestigious family and was educated at Haileybury. He came to India in 1826 as a writer in Bengal for the EIC. He was known for his proficiency of Indian languages. In 1831, Kaye moved to Calcutta to be the Deputy Secretary to the Governor in the political department. He was highly interested in education and was influential towards Macaulay's Minute on Education which encouraged teaching European

meant to remove Indian culture, the vernacular was still taught, and English was an added subject. Many Anglo-Indians feared that the changes made by the British were only accepted in practice by the Indians, that these would not take root in the hearts of the people.¹⁶⁸ However, Kaye argued that the effect of this schooling seemed to only affect the boy's mechanical abilities to be able to write and understand English. It did not create moral improvement. The success of the public schools varied, but Kaye pointed to the fact that throughout the century the missionary schools were successful because of the number of students. He pointed to the efforts of Duff in Calcutta who had many pupils in his schools.

Kaye believed western education was important, but did not think that it should be only a means to an end. In 1844, as an encouragement for pursuing European education, Henry Hardinge declared that Indians with this education would be preferentially treated in seeking government employment.¹⁶⁹ Kaye viewed this promise of employment as problematic. First, he admitted that by the British taking over governing functions in the majority of India, the local elite had lost their jobs

literature and science in India. He later held various appointments around the Empire. "Trevelyan, Sir Charles Edward, first baronet (1807–1886)," rev. David Washbrook, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. David Cannadine, January 2016, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/view/article/27716> (accessed November 15, 2016).

¹⁶⁸ Kaye, *The Administration of the East India Company*, 589.

¹⁶⁹ Henry Hardinge, first Viscount Hardinge of Lahore (1785-1856) was governor-general of India from 1844-1848. He served in both the army and parliament before coming to India. When Ellenborough was recalled in 1844, Hardinge was appointed governor-general. Hardinge oversaw a lot of reform in India including suppressing human sacrifice, overhauling tax systems, beginning railway construction, and more. "Hardinge, Henry, first Viscount Hardinge of Lahore (1785–1856)," David J. Howlett in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. David Cannadine, January 2013, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/view/article/12271> (accessed September 8, 2016).

and had few, if any, other prospects. Providing Indians education and a path for advancement was important to Kaye to remedy the displacement of the nobility by the British.¹⁷⁰ However, Kaye believed that there were not enough government positions to be able to support the number of students coming out of these colleges. Kaye argued that the EIC could not promise that Indian men with a western education would be placed into the EIC's employment. Kaye believed that education had its own rewards. He wrote that "it was a great thing that the natives should be encouraged to cultivate their minds by the promise of the high reward of official employment; but it was a still greater thing that they should learn to rely on themselves- to look to education as the means of independent advancement in life."¹⁷¹ Kaye thought this education was an important part of Indians being able to become independent again. Kaye believed that trained Indians could be helpful in the government's administration. His only criticism was the false hope some Indian statesmen gave to Indians for future EIC employment because there were too many educated Indians for the limited number of EIC positions.

Kaye disliked the inequality and ill-treatment of Indians in the Civil Service. One author, Mr. Alison, described the potential for natives as "still ineligible to offices of trust both in the civil and military departments."¹⁷² Kaye replied that "had Mr. Alison perused the existing charter of the Indian Government, he would have perceived that natives of India are not 'inegible'" to offices of trust. Had he made any

¹⁷⁰ Kaye, *The Administration of the East India Company*, 595.

¹⁷¹ Kaye, *The Administration of the East India Company*, 607.

¹⁷² John Kaye, "'Alisons' Chapters of Indian History," *The Calcutta Review* 4 (7), 129.

inquiries relative to the practice of the Indian Government, he would have ascertained that natives of India are, every week, appointed to offices of trust.”¹⁷³ Kaye did not define the offices open to Indians, but he did notice the progress within India and the potential for natives. Yet, Kaye noted that Indians were not able to reach equality with Europeans because he doubted “whether they [Indians] are yet admitted to a fair share in the administration of the country is a question, which may be properly discussed.”¹⁷⁴ Kaye was unclear in his writing about how much upward mobility Indians should have, but he acknowledged the discontent that the absence of mobility for Indians would cause in India. Kaye thought that in the future, Indians would be included in all parts of the government. Kaye did note that it was difficult for sepoy to gain a rank higher than an NCO. Also, these men were always supervised by British officers. There was a great limit to Indian promotion within the army.¹⁷⁵ Kaye clearly thought that there needed to be a type of amelioration for the elite Indians who had lost their governing positions. Once Indians had been westernized, they should have been trusted in important positions. Kaye was critical of the racially imposed limits on Indian potential.

Kaye’s Pre-1857 Writings on the Expansion of the British Empire

During the beginning of the nineteenth century, British India expanded significantly, to include the Punjab, Oude, Sindh, and Gwalior. Kaye viewed the British government as continuously hungry for more lands. Kaye did not think this

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Kaye, "Alisons' Chapters of Indian History," 133.

would change because “history forbids us to believe, that the British Government will long be contented with what it has got.”¹⁷⁶ Kaye was not a rampant expansionist. Rather, he had a critical and cautious view of British expansion. His criticisms of the British Government’s and the EIC’s policy towards expansion were guided by his paternalistic view of Indians, his respect for other cultures, and his desire for the British to refrain from intimidating behaviors. Kaye was against general territorial expansion because it was costly and diverted funds that could otherwise be used for public improvements. Even though he was against expansion, he viewed it as sometimes inevitable within India because of aggressions from outside. Kaye was not a pacifist. He believed that under certain circumstances the EIC and the Empire should defend their territories and were justified to take over other regions.

Kaye argued that in many situations the British had no option but to expand their empire within India. In 1849, Kaye generally defended the EIC's annexations in India by arguing that “the extension of our Indian Empire has been a matter of sheer necessity.”¹⁷⁷ Certain wars and annexations were necessary either because of Indian aggression or previous British interventions which left them no moral option but to interfere in other Indian principalities. In 1853, when Kaye defended renewing the Company’s charter in India, he insisted that the company did not want uncontrollable expansion. He wrote that the Company had "never dreamt of establishing principalities in India- of conquering native states and ruling native tribes- of sending out soldiers and law-givers to Hindostan.”¹⁷⁸ Kaye believed that there was not a

¹⁷⁶ Kaye, “The War in China,” *Calcutta Review*, Vol 1, 188.

¹⁷⁷ Kaye, "Civis on Indian Affairs," 407.

¹⁷⁸ Kaye, "The Government of the East India Company," 528.

general wish for senseless expansion. In this, Kaye distinguished between the British Empire in general, of which he was very critical about expansion, and the EIC. As noted earlier, Kaye claimed that the British always desired expansion, but that the EIC did not want additional lands. Kaye argued that the EIC was better to bring progress in India and make governing decisions. Kaye differentiated between wars of the EIC and conflicts, which might have used the EIC's resources, but which were instigated by the British home government. He wrote, "it is a common thing to cry out against the Company's lust of dominion; but there never was a government less greedy of conquest. We have seen a smile of incredulity on the lips even of intelligent men, when it has been asserted that such acquisitions as those of the Punjab have been forced upon us."¹⁷⁹ Kaye believed that circumstances had forced the EIC into war. Previously, Kaye argued that the British were continuously in want of more land. The annexations and wars that Kaye was the most critical of were under Lord Auckland and Ellenborough. This could be a conflict in thinking or an important differentiation. Kaye was more likely to defend the EIC's decisions and to interpret actions of the British Empire as selfish and impeding his view of progress.

Kaye admired men who strove for peace, but who could engage in war when necessary. He praised Hardinge because he only entered into war if it were a necessity. Hardinge brought the EIC into war, as a last resort, and not as something that had been manipulated. Kaye believed that Hardinge's own experience of the trauma of war had led him to avoid pointless conflict. For, "men who know best what are the horrors of war are the least likely to plunge a country into them" for Kaye, this

¹⁷⁹ Kaye, "The Government of the East India Company," 539.

explained why, even after having a militaristic youth, Cornwallis had no craving for war, “he was resolute to maintain the country in peace, if it could be done consistently with our honour and our safety; but did not disguise from himself the fact that he might be unwillingly precipitated into war.”¹⁸⁰ Kaye admired men who did not have a “vigorous” government, but who appreciated peace and yet, when necessary were not scared to engage in warfare.

Kaye’s View of Justified Reasons for War

Even though Kaye favored peace, he believed there were justifiable reasons for war. The East India Company had expanded significantly from the early eighteenth century to the mid nineteenth century and Kaye thought there were two legitimate arguments for land annexation. The first was to prevent or stop the British from supporting a despotic power. During the long period of British involvement in India they had established relationships with surrounding kingdoms. This support could be in the form of soldiers, money, or political support. But along with this involvement came the British right to interfere when the poor native leadership led to the oppression of the people. If these Indian rulers began to be despotic towards the people under their care, the British would be guilty by association. Kaye believed military intervention to be justified when the British previously had intervened and supported evil leaders. The second justified reason for war was to protect the EIC from foreign aggression.

¹⁸⁰ Kaye, “Lord Hardinge,” *Bentley’s Miscellany*, 456.

Kaye used the British annexations of the Punjab and the Oude as justified examples of expansion within the empire. The Punjab was the home of the Sikh Empire, located in northern India and annexed to the British Raj in 1849. Kaye recorded that since the death of Runjeet Singh in 1839, “the annals of the Sikh nation have presented one continued series of tragic events, in which almost every possible form of murder and violence had been developed.”¹⁸¹ But because of the Company's non-interference policy, “the British Government in India was, for years, an idle spectator” to the evils committed.¹⁸² The position of the Punjab was strategic for the protection of India. Kaye debated if the British could interfere in the Punjab without a legitimate cause in order to maintain the British policy of non-interference. In 1844, Kaye did not see any reason to invade.¹⁸³ The British relationships with the Sikhs continued to grow more tenuous. The Afghanistan War increased these strained relations because the British hired part of the Sikh army to assist in their campaigns. The British criticized the Sikhs for inadequate assistance in the conflict. After the war, the Punjab was mismanaged by the native rulers and its army became restless and desired to invade India. Kaye argued that for a while, the British did not take these threats seriously. For safety measures, the British stationed an army nearby the Sutlej, the border between British India and the Sikh empire.¹⁸⁴ When the Sikh army crossed the Sutlej, and thereby broke their treaty with the British, war was declared.¹⁸⁵ The clear aggression shown by the Sikhs justified the British going to

¹⁸¹ John Kaye, "The War on the Sutlej (in the Punjab)," *The North British Review* 5 (May 1846), 246.

¹⁸² Kaye, "The War on the Sutlej," 247.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁴ Kaye, "History of the Sikhs", 523-558.

¹⁸⁵ Kaye, "The War on the Sutlej," 247, 256.

war to defend British India. Kaye also viewed this annexation as very beneficial to the inhabitants of the Punjab. In 1849, Kaye emphasized that “we know that the Sikhs have not proven themselves worthy of the forbearance which was exercised towards them . . . but we were never more assured than at the recent moment of the wisdom and the nobility of the course pursued by Lord Hardinge, and never less inclined to regret it.”¹⁸⁶ The British could not fail to act and because the British had previously been involved, it was just for them to act. They could not stand by and see people suffer at the hand of rulers once supported by the British. Kaye justified this annexation by claiming the Sikhs had shown first signs of aggression and were unjust rulers to their people.

The second example was the territory of the Oude which was annexed in 1856. Kaye justified this annexation by arguing that the British had already been interfering in the territory and the Indian prince was no longer the true ruler. He wrote that “we must waste no sympathy on the extinction of an ancient sovereignty” because “the Governor of Oude was no more an independent sovereign than is the Lord- Lieutenant of Ireland.”¹⁸⁷ Kaye claimed that the native rulers were no more than puppet kings for the British. Kaye referred to this as dual government. The British were thus partially responsible for the treatment of the people under the Oude princes. Kaye argued that the Oude government “ground the people to the dust.”¹⁸⁸ The rulers of the Oude had been warned that if they did not change and start to help

¹⁸⁶ Kaye, "The Fall of the Sikh Empire," 619.

¹⁸⁷ John Kaye, "The Annexation of the Oude," 516.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 518.

the people, then the British would have to take over.¹⁸⁹ British support made the situation worse because this “connection with the country had largely contributed to the sufferings of the people, inasmuch as it had afforded protection to tyranny, and rendered hopeless the resistance of the oppressed.”¹⁹⁰ Because the British had set up native governors in Oude, when these governors turned cruel and broke treaties, the British had to intercede. To have just removed the British troops from the territory would have been worse because it could have thrown the Oude into a civil war. This meant there would be a lot of violence and eventually the British would have later interfered after more evil had been done to the people.¹⁹¹ It was better for the British “to assume the administration of Oude before than after a civil war in the course of which, in all human likelihood, the king himself would have been barbarously slain.”¹⁹² Kaye believed that in some cases the British had no choice but to intervene in surrounding Indian territories. If it were necessary, then Kaye approved of these actions.

Kaye's Criticisms of Unjustified War

Kaye was opposed to continued expansion for many reasons. One of the greatest objections Kaye had against continued expansion was how it would negatively impact the people of India already under the EIC's care, a view highly influenced by paternalism. Kaye disagreed with some wars started by the EIC and the majority of wars directed by the British home government. Kaye believed further

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 520.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 524.

¹⁹¹ Kaye, “The Annexation of the Oude,” 546.

¹⁹² Ibid.

expansion was dangerous because of the monetary cost which could be better used elsewhere. Kaye was very aware of the burdens of war to the EIC. In 1848, Kaye wrote that “it is, doubtless, a very humiliating fact, that the representatives of the people have been voting away large sums of *public money* for the purchase and the support of the instruments and agents of *human destruction*.”¹⁹³ Kaye viewed war as counter to good government because it was wasteful of resources. In 1853, Kaye claimed that further expansion would “swallow up the surplus revenue.”¹⁹⁴ By emptying the public treasury, public works could not be completed which would benefit the British and Indians. Kaye wrote that

all beneficent schemes of the development of the resources of the country- the education of the people- the protection of their lives and property- the furtherance of their commerce- every measure, indeed, for the advancement of their social happiness, the improvement of their political condition, must be for a while suspended. Instead of digging canals we must cast cannon; instead of framing beneficent laws we must send forth martial manifestos; in place of new roads we must have new regiments; hospitals and colleges are wanted, and we erect barracks in their room.¹⁹⁵

It was not just for the betterment of the people that war should be avoided. If the people were less burdened the government, and therefore the EIC, would prosper. Kaye argued that peace would be mutually beneficial. This paternalistic perspective greatly influenced Kaye’s writing and was a large element of his viewpoint on expansion. Even though Kaye had specific opinions on different annexations and invasion, he viewed peace as better than the consequences of war.

¹⁹³ John Kaye, "Army Reform- Limited Enlistment," *The North British Review* 9 (August 1848), 509. Emphasis mine.

¹⁹⁴ Kaye, "The Government of India," 545.

¹⁹⁵ Kaye, "War on the Sutlej," 259.

Kaye disliked the war-mongery and bullying British behavior he identified in the debates over potential annexations. Kaye identified Lord Ellenborough as particularly favorable towards war and manipulating situations to lead to conflict. This was a shift for Kaye, who was initially in favor of Lord Ellenborough because of his anti-war stance and his denouncement of the Afghanistan War.¹⁹⁶ When Ellenborough became governor-general in 1841, he declared that he detested aggressive policies and would instead focus on the “arts of peace; to emulate the magnificent benevolence of the Mahomedan conquerors; to elevate and improve the condition of the generous and mighty people of India.”¹⁹⁷ Ellenborough’s pronouncement aligned with the priorities Kaye argued were important in a government. Kaye respected this position because of the focus on how British rule affected the people of India. But, between a small mutiny and his withdrawal from Afghanistan, Ellenborough’s viewpoint on war became more aggressive.¹⁹⁸ Kaye was disappointed that Ellenborough was not the man of peace he had claimed to be when he came to India. Instead Ellenborough had been tantalized by war. Kaye argued that Ellenborough’s “hatred of war was confined to the wars made by other men.”¹⁹⁹ After this war, Ellenborough was seduced by the “allurements of the camp which had dazzled his eyes and captured his ear and led astray his understanding.”²⁰⁰ As Ellenborough went through the beginning of his time as the Governor-General of India, he became power hungry, which displeased Kaye. During his short tenure as

¹⁹⁶ John Kaye, “The Administration of Lord Ellenborough,” *The Calcutta Review* 1 (2), 511.

¹⁹⁷ Kaye, “The Administration of Lord Ellenborough,” 511-512.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 526.

¹⁹⁹ John Kaye, “The Ameer of Sindh,” *The Calcutta Review* 1(1), 231.

²⁰⁰ Kaye, “The Administration of Lord Ellenborough,” 534-535.

Governor-General, the EIC was at war nearly the whole period of 1842-1844.

Ellenborough failed to quickly and adequately withdraw the troops from Afghanistan, he went to war with the faithful Amirs of the Sindh, and annexed Gwalior. Kaye was highly critical of each of the conflicts which occurred during Ellenborough's period as governor-general because they were not legitimate reasons for war.

Kaye also disagreed with the British bullying behavior towards surrounding regions. He viewed this as unacceptable British conduct which placed Indians in an untenable position and manufactured circumstances used to justify annexations. The British many times claimed they had negotiated with a region before invasion or annexation. Yet, Kaye claimed that many of these "negotiations" between the EIC and less powerful princes was a method of forcing their will on other regions. Kaye found that the treaties made with surrounding powers favored the British, who then viewed it as their right to interfere regardless of circumstances. Kaye summarized these negotiations by asking his "readers to look well into this struggle between strength and weakness. The strong man forces upon the weaker a covenant of his own invention; no matter how inequitable it is, the weaker one must accord his consent."²⁰¹ Kaye used the Ameers of the Sindh, who bordered Afghanistan and the Indus river, as an example of British intimidating behavior which led to illegitimate annexation. The British and the Ameers had disagreements over river usage rights; the British broke the previous treaty to use the Indus to move military forces, an action which was barred in their treaty. Kaye argued that the Ameers, aware of the

²⁰¹ Kaye, "Ameers of the Sindh," 233.

British style of forceful negotiations, met the British with an army in an attempt to make the talks more equal.²⁰² Ellenborough used this amassing of the Sindh army as an act of aggression which justified war, even though the British broke the treaty beforehand and also had a nearby army. Kaye argued that Ellenborough used a double standard. Many times, the British came to negotiations with an army waiting to invade. Yet, when Indians mimicked the British example, Ellenborough used it as a justification for war because he viewed it as aggressive behavior against British interests.

Another trend in British-Asian relations was the British tendency to invade and annex other territories without any justification except for the British strength to do so. Kaye used the annexation of Gwalior to demonstrate his argument. Kaye did not believe the British had any “just pretext for the absorption of Gwalior . . . to do evil that good may come of it is no more admissible in politics than in morals.”²⁰³ Kaye did not defend British actions in which the end could justify the means. There needed to be a legitimate reason to interfere in another culture before invading. Kaye claimed that this annexation was only justifiable by:

might makes right- and might has made right from the beginning of the world, and probably will, to the end of it. To defend, in accordance with any abstract principles of justice, the doctrine that a weak state, continuous to a stronger one, only exists by sufferance. . . the character of a just and uprising statesman is never more clearly evinced than in the measure of respect for the rights of the weak, which his policy exhibits.²⁰⁴

²⁰² Ibid., 235.

²⁰³ Kaye, "The Administration of Ellenborough," 550.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 541.

Gwalior was now a British Province with “a stroke of a pen”²⁰⁵ Kaye described this bullying behavior as unacceptable. He believed that the British needed legitimate reasons for annexation and negotiations needed to occur with respect and justice towards the natives. Even though Kaye did not write explicitly about the personal Indian-British relationships, throughout his writings, he clearly thought that the British needed to emulate the behavior expected by their subjects. In these instances, such as the annexation of Gwalior, Kaye identified British conduct which was not honorable and worse than the natives around them. This was against Kaye's expectations of the British role in India and was the opposite of the kind of paternalistic behavior he expected.

Kaye also did not believe that war was justified by economic gain. Kaye recognized that the British war in China (1839-1842) was only for commercial interests; there was no aggression from the Chinese and no broken treaty. Kaye summarized the war as a three-year “murderous conflict” in which all the “worst miseries of war were let loose, in this unequal contest, upon myriads of innocent human beings.”²⁰⁶ Kaye viewed war as causing death and misery. He did not play down Chinese deaths versus British deaths. In Kaye's writing on this conflict, it was clear that he disagreed with the inhuman way the Chinese were treated by other British writers. The people of China were described as mere objects that were broken like clay pots, not human beings who were killed. Kaye argued that the British press presented the war without “a thought to murderous grape and canister riddling dense

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 555.

²⁰⁶ Kaye, “The War in China,” *The Calcutta Review* (1844), 183.

masses of humanity jammed into narrow streets. No; in the imaginations of these merry witlings, there was nothing worse than an immortal smash of China; -round-shot booming into porcelain-warehouses and damaging, not men, but tea-cups.”²⁰⁷ This dehumanizing view of the Chinese contradicted Kaye’s racial ideas; being from the East did not make the Chinese less worthy of human consideration. Rather, Kaye had a positive view of the Chinese who were a “people quick to learn; docile and initiative.”²⁰⁸ Kaye in no way approved of this conflict, but he did look for ways the people of China could benefit. He hoped that since the country had been invaded in such a way, that the Chinese people would at least have further access to educational possibilities. In this vein, he saw the blessings of “the glorious effulgence of Christianity and civilization serenely beaming over all.”²⁰⁹ Even though Kaye was appalled by the violence toward the Chinese and their representation by British writers, he hoped that in return for these atrocities, the Chinese would be able to gain greater education and Christianity.

One of Kaye’s major critiques of British expansion was the invasion of Afghanistan. His criticisms of this conflict included the majority of his arguments against war. In 1844, Kaye wrote about the British expedition to secure the Indus River and to protect India by placing a “puppet king” who would be beholden to the British in Afghanistan. The British were concerned about European foreign invasions into India through surrounding countries. In 1809, the British forged a treaty with

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 155.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 188.

²⁰⁹ Kaye, "The War in China," 185.

Persia in which the latter would not allow foreign armies to pass through to British territories.²¹⁰ A dispute between Afghanistan and Persia in the 1840s compelled the British to invade Afghanistan to place their own puppet king on the throne and remove Dost Mohamed from his throne. Kaye wrote that the British had made “negotiations” in which Dost Mohamed had many demands placed on him by the British with little promised in return. Dost Mohamed requested that the British protect Kabul and Kandahar from Persia, that Runjeet Singh surrender Peshawar, and for the British to protect the individuals in Peshawar when it returned to Sultan Mohamed Khan.²¹¹ Kaye argued that the British should have made reasonable negotiations with Dost Mohamed from the beginning. Kaye’s post-war writings displayed great respect for Dost Mohamed because he had done “much that may be regarded with admiration and respect even by Christian men. Success did not disturb the balance of his mind, nor power harden his heart.”²¹² The British did not agree to any of Dost Mohamed’s requests and instead invaded Afghanistan, but were ultimately unsuccessful. Kaye listed specific reasons for why the war failed as making war with a peace establishment, making war without a safe base of operations, bringing Indians into a foreign country where they were ‘infidels’, invading a country which was poor and therefore unable to supply what they needed for the army, and the mismanagement of the military after the outbreak of Kabul.²¹³ Kaye viewed the results of the first War in Afghanistan as laughable and immoral. He articulated the pointlessness of the war by showing how all three powers had failed to meet their objectives because “the

²¹⁰ Kaye, *War in Afghanistan*, 70.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 206.

²¹² Kaye, *War in Afghanistan*, 122.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 668.

Persians had failed to take Herat. The Russians had failed to make good their way to Khiva. And the English had failed to consolidate the Afghan empire under its old Suddozye sovereigns. In these vain attempts the three states had squandered life and money.”²¹⁴ Kaye thought that the British results were worse because they accomplished the opposite of their goals. He wrote that if “the great object of our advance beyond the Indus having been to secure a friendly power in Afghanistan, it is -obvious that we have failed” because they made an enemy.²¹⁵ Further, Kaye argued that pre-emptive wars were morally reprehensible. He wrote that “we are not to do evil that good may come of it; we are not to make war in order to maintain peace.”²¹⁶ His words of wisdom were that “to anticipate danger is often to create it.”²¹⁷ By starting a pre-emptive war, Kaye believed the British looked foolish and suffered a national embarrassment.

The war in Afghanistan exemplified Kaye's idea of a failed war and unjustified because this conflict was unnecessary and was manufactured by the British. This war epitomized British bullying behavior by making unreasonable demands on another power and then invading when the demands were not met. As indefensible and embarrassing as this war was to Kaye, more importantly, he viewed it as very unfair to the Indian people. The war was not the machinations of the EIC, but the British home government. Yet, it was the EIC's purse which was emptied to pay for the war. Kaye wrote that Lord Auckland, who initially had committed Britain

²¹⁴ John Kaye, "India, Persia and Afghanistan," *The Edinburgh Review* 105 (January 1857), 269.

²¹⁵ Kaye, "Civis on Indian Affairs, 411.

²¹⁶ Kaye, "Lord Teignmouth," 60.

²¹⁷ Kaye, "India, Persia, and Afghanistan," 283.

to this conflict, had confessed that this war lost “eight millions of money” from the Indian treasury and that the costs “fell upon the revenues of India; and the country is still groaning under the weight.”¹⁰⁹ This money could not be spent on roads or schools. What made this worse was that the money was not spent to protect India itself. Indians received no benefit. This was not how the EIC should have spent its funds; money spent on the people was better than money spent on death. Another reason this war was problematic for Kaye was that it forced sepoys to leave their home country and cross the Indus River. Sepoys were willing to fight for the British, but were used to staying within India and close to their families. To leave India for war was one of the problems which caused fear amongst Indians. This was another example of how the British ignored sepoy concerns and forced them into an uncomfortable and unfair position- they had not signed up to fight for the British Empire at large.

Conclusion

Kaye’s arguments on India were guided by paternalism, which shaped how Kaye viewed progressive policies in India. Kaye believed that the British had to live in a manner which would inspire change in the lives of Indians. Paternalism even influenced Kaye’s criticisms of the EIC’s policies on expansion. Continuous expansion cost money. This money could not be spent on education and public works. Because of his experience in India, Kaye believed that reforms needed to be enacted slowly in order to not scare the people of India. Kaye also demonstrated a respect for other cultures and disliked the forceful behavior of the British in negotiations with

surrounding princes. His viewpoint of how the EIC operated within India is important because Kaye's worldview affected how he interpreted the events of 1857.

Chapter 4: Kaye's Paternalistic Interpretation of the 1857 Indian Rebellion

Kaye interpreted the 1857 rebellion through his well-established paternalistic view of British India. His writings became more reflective on how British interference had caused discontent among the people of India. Even though he was critical of the policies of the EIC before the rebellion, afterwards he directly tied changes the British made in India to the causes of the outbreak in 1857. His first book published after the rebellion was a defense of Christianity in India. It argued that missionaries did not cause the uprising. He later published three volumes on the Sepoy War, each of which was over five hundred pages. These works, in addition to Kaye's articles, articulated his position that the rebellion was the result of the slow degradation of the Indian-British relationship through westernization and that the greased cartridges were only the ignition point of a much deeper problem. Expansionist policies and the doctrine of lapse, claiming land with no blood heir, had upset the aristocracy of India. The greased cartridges were nothing more than the

spark igniting the fear and discontent already caused by British changes in India and the failure of paternalism. In addition to his four books which were published to address the rebellion, Kaye wrote numerous articles about the future of the EIC. Kaye, unlike the majority of the British, defended the EIC and argued for its continuance and against crown rule of India. Kaye depicted the EIC as a necessary vehicle for bringing progress to India. Even though Kaye was more aware of the negative impact of British “reforms” in India, he did not believe that the British had done anything wrong except in striving for good. Westernization reforms, in combination with the breakdown of the paternalistic bond, led to the increase of fear and mistrust by Indians which led to the outbreak of the rebellion. Many of the changes the British made caused Indians to mistrust the British. This chapter will examine Kaye’s paternalistic analysis of the causes of the rebellion by looking at how he described Christianity, westernization, British land acquisitions, and his defense of the EIC. First, this chapter will consider the unique nature of his published writings after 1857 and how his publications created a narrative. Next, this chapter will examine how Kaye viewed the slow decline of the British-Indian paternalistic relations as heavily responsible for the rebellion, even though he did not directly blame the British. Kaye depicted how the British had unintentionally helped to create the circumstances for the rebellion. Lastly, this chapter will depict how Kaye argued for the continuation of the EIC. Kaye depicted the British as being responsible for improving India and maintaining a strong relationship with their subjects. Kaye represented the EIC as well equipped to bringing the British idea of progress to India. He continued to defend the EIC even though his was not a popular argument after

1857. Overall, Kaye demonstrated an exceptional reaction to 1857 which refused to place the blame on one segment of the people or on the racial inferiority of Indians.

Kaye's Post-1857 Publications

Kaye wrote many books and articles after the outbreak of the rebellion. The first book published was *Christianity in India* in 1859. This work covered the influence of missionaries in India, beginning with the spreading of Nestorian Christianity and ending with the start of the rebellion. This book drew on his past writings about Christianity and was published relatively quickly after the outbreak of the Sepoy War. Kaye wrote this book in direct opposition to the two popular arguments about how Christianity caused the 1857 rebellion. The first argument was that the sepoys had responded in fear to overly invasive missionary activities. The second was that the British, in fact, had not done enough to convert Indians to Christianity and therefore God brought the rebellion as a punishment. Kaye's work was meant to disprove both predominant ideas because in his view the British had taken an intermediate course in its policies towards missionaries and had not favored either extreme. Kaye believed that it was important to disprove both of these theories quickly because of how these debates had disrupted Victorian society and distracted from other legitimate reasons for the rebellion. Kaye wrote that during the rebellion he often "found in society that men would turn away from the consideration of the most important political events, or the most touching personal incidents, to discuss the great subject of the future place of India among the Christian nations of the world. The missionary seemed, even then, to overlay the military element in men's minds; and now the Indian question has become so largely a *religious question*, that many

have ceased to regard it in any other light.”²¹⁸ Indeed, Kaye believed that the debates in Britain about the causes of the rebellion during 1857 and 1858 were filled with errors.²¹⁹ Kaye insisted that it was a mistake to put so much emphasis on Christianity and that doing so overlooked other reasons for the rebellion. This book was an attempt to correct these inaccurate debates in Indian society, but it also looked forward and proposed future policies on missionary work in India.

In addition to this book, Kaye wrote three others to explain the events of 1857-1858.²²⁰ These writings are what he is remembered for and have remained basic texts for studying the rebellion. These books vary from the norm for a variety of reasons. The first is that these are the most thorough writings on the Sepoy War, ending with the capture of Delhi by the British in September of 1857. The conflict began in May of 1857, which meant his second and third histories covered five months in total. This thoroughness is exceptional because most other writers of the Mutiny completed their histories in a maximum of two volumes. Also, Kaye dedicated a whole volume to the long history of how the rebellion began. Colonel Malleson finished Kaye's history in an additional three volumes. Secondly, Kaye used the personal papers of high-ranking men involved in the events, such as the papers of Lord Canning. Many of the sources Kaye used have not survived, making Kaye's histories the closest accounts to the original records. Many other authors did not have

²¹⁸ Kaye, *Christianity in India*, Xi.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Xii.

²²⁰ Kaye wrote three volumes which were republished several times. *A History of the Sepoy War in India, 1857-1858, Volume I, Seventh Edition*. London: W.H. Allen & Co, 1876; *A History of the Sepoy War in India, 1857-1858, Volume II, New Edition*. London: W.H. Allen & Co, 1874; *A History of the Sepoy War in India, Volume III, 1857-1858*. London: W.H. Allen & Co, 1876.

access to these direct sources and only used official government publications and other previously published histories. Thirdly, Kaye's organizational structure of his histories, and the narrative he wrote of the events before the sepoy rebellion, demonstrated that the greased cartridges were not the sole reason for rebellion. Through his first volume, Kaye insisted that the Sepoy War was caused by the breakdown of paternalism because of westernization which created discontent among Indians, particularly with the aristocracy. In this volume, Kaye placed partial blame for the rebellion on the British, though he refused to place the majority of the blame on the British.

Kaye opened his first volume by summarizing his argument that the Indian uprising was the result of British interventions in India, even though he did not believe the British were wrong for instituting changes in India. His writing demonstrated a slow progression of events which eventually culminated in the rebellion. In this gradual development, Kaye could not erase the role British interference in Indian life played in causing the discontent which led to the rebellion however good intentioned. Kaye wrote that:

Indeed, the errors of which I have freely spoken were, for the most part, strivings after good. It was in the over-eager pursuit of Humanity and Civilization that Indian statesmen of the *new school* were betrayed into the excesses which have been so grievously visiting upon the nation. The story of the Indian Rebellion of 1857 is, perhaps, the most signal illustration of our great national character ever yet recorded in the annals of our country. *It was the vehement self-assertion of the Englishman that produced this conflagration; it was the same vehement self-assertion that enabled him, by God's blessings to trample it out.* It was a noble egotism, mighty alike in doing and in suffering, and it showed itself grandly capable of steadfastly confronting the dangers which it had brought down upon itself. If I have any predominant theory it is this; *Because we were too English*

*the great crisis arose; but it was only because we were English that, when it arose, it did not utterly overwhelm us.*²²¹

Kaye did not sidestep the fact that the British desire for change was a part of the reason for the uprising. Rather, it was the self-assertion of the English which was problematic. The British strove too much for good. British character in India- the pride, superiority, and desire to cause change- what Kaye referred to as “too English” is what caused the conflict. One of the problems Kaye wrote about during the various annexations and changes made within India was the continuing divide between Indians and the British, partially due to the increased haughtiness of the British. He covered the conquests of the Punjab and Pegu, the doctrine of lapse, the annexation of Oude, the erosion of the Indian aristocracy, westernization, the attributes of the Indian army and how it deteriorated through centralization, various mutinies, the Afghanistan War, and the immediate events leading up to the uprising. By starting his history of the Sepoy War with this long history of incremental British self-assertion, Kaye indicated that these events were connected to the rebellion in some way. Kaye argued that these policies over time had eroded the trust between the British and Indians to a point that the sepoys could be easily manipulated to fear the British. By 1856, the “inflammability of the native mind was continually increasing; and . . . there were many influential persons, both Hindoo and Mahomedan, running over with bitter resentments against the English, who were eagerly awaiting a favorable opportunity to set all these combustible materials in a blaze.”²²² This degradation of

²²¹ Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War*, Volume I, Xii.

²²² *Ibid.*, 200.

the paternalistic relationship through perceived wrongs by the British created the perfect circumstances for Indians to react in fear and to distrust their British officers.

Kaye's Defense of Christianity in India

Kaye disagreed with the popular views of how Christianity had caused the Sepoy War through either the overreach of missionaries or the lack of conversions bringing God's wrath. Kaye maintained that the long history of missionary activities in India without large negative reactions from Indians supported his point that the rebellion was not caused by conversion activities. For Kaye, the fact that the English Church very slowly instituted itself in India was one reason why Indians did not panic over missionary activities. If Protestant missionaries had arrived in large numbers when the British initially arrived through the EIC's support, then Indians might have feared loss of their own culture. He wrote that it took eighty years to build a church in Bengal after the British first arrived on the sub-continent.²²³ Kaye emphasized how "slow, indeed, was the growth of religion and morality among the English in India. Hospitality, kindness, generosity, nay, even a sort of conventionality, which might have been mistaken for something better, sprang up among our people; but it was long before Christian piety and its fair fruits began to bless our adopted land."²²⁴ He asserted that "it is a profound conviction in my mind- that the cause of Christianity in India is indebted, humanly speaking, to nothing so much as the often-condemned 'backwardness' of our forefathers."²²⁵ By the EIC trying not to encourage Christianity, Indians did not fear conversion, their guard came down, and they

²²³ Kaye, *Christianity in India*, 52.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, 90.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 479.

tolerated the building of churches. The British only asserted themselves because Indians felt secure. Kaye argued that individual missionaries did not cause fear in India. He wrote that the "natives of India have no fear of the persuasive efforts of Christian ministers, that the arguments and exhortations of individual men or of private societies create no apprehensions in their minds."²²⁶ Kaye emphasized that individuals proselytizing natives did not cause fear and persuasive missionaries were acceptable if they were not agents of the EIC. Rather, the British government instituting a change which had religious implications created a fear of forced conversion. Hindus and Muslims could live peacefully with those of another faith. The problem was how Indians perceived EIC policy. Kaye argued that because of the slow progress of Christianity in India, Indians viewed it as non-threatening to their religious practices and therefore did not revolt because of missionaries proselytizing.

Kaye insisted that the EIC had taken an intermediate policy in regards to supporting missionaries, which he believed was wise, and supported his argument against missionaries causing the 1857 rebellion. Kaye argued this by discussing his theory of how the EIC should interact with the Indian people regarding Christianity. He wrote that "the duty of the Government was the practice of general toleration towards all the religions professed by the people under their rule, permitting every man, without restraint and without interference, to worship his God, true or false, in his own way."²²⁷ Kaye did not believe the British had the right to outlaw the practice of religious activity, whether it was a Christian or pagan belief. Kaye fully believed

²²⁶ Ibid., 249.

²²⁷ Kaye, *Christianity in India*, 367.

that Christianity would benefit Indians. However, he believed that this conversion should come through personal examples and the work of individuals and not through forced behavior modification—once again illustrating the place of paternalism within his system of rule.

Other parties in Britain did not think that the EIC was doing enough to spread Christianity. Rather, they thought that the EIC should have taken direct actions to convert more Indians to the Christian faith. Kaye observe that the government's lack of support was viewed by some as a support of Indian idolatry.²²⁸ Religion and caste were protected by the Indian legislatures and by the British Parliament, once again making it look like the government supported Hinduism and Islam.²²⁹ In the early nineteenth century, the British debated if they were inadvertently supporting paganism through collecting the pilgrim tax. When Indians travelled to certain religious sites and festivals they traditionally paid a tax to the native government. When the EIC became a governing power, it continued to collect this tax. Many viewed this as a support of paganism and idolatry, especially as the EIC profited from it.²³⁰ Kaye argued that it was a difficult decision because to abolish the tax might also have encouraged more pilgrimage visits.²³¹ The EIC kept the tax to maintain the temples, which was regarded as its duty as rulers to prevent them from falling into disrepair. Kaye wrote that "the British Government here undertakes to maintain the religious institutions of the Hindu faith. Thus was Government connection with

²²⁸ Kaye, *Christianity in India*, 373.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 375.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 381.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 383.

Idolatry openly declared and authoritatively established.”²³² Kaye believed that the EIC had chosen a careful and thoughtful course of action. By 1840, the EIC removed the pilgrim tax, but not before it had been declared as encouraging pagan belief. For Kaye, the policy of the EIC demonstrated that it knew that interacting with the Indian populace on matters of religion was complicated. Kaye used this debate to highlight how the Company tried to take a middle stance and neither encourage what they viewed as paganism nor upset the people by forcing Christian practices on a country which primarily consisted of Muslims and Hindus. For Kaye, the EIC’s backing of Indian tradition while also supporting Christianity demonstrated that the EIC was not at fault for failing to support Christianity. The 1857 rebellion was not the result of punishment from God on the British.

Kaye also argued that the true danger to maintaining control in India was Indian officials who mixed religion and duty because there was a danger of making it seem as if the EIC was pushing for forced conversion of Indians. Kaye wrote that Indians "are keenly sensitive of anything that even faintly resembles coercion by the State, and the least appearance of authoritative Government interference, therefore, excites, first in the teachers, and then in the followers both of Hindooism and Mohammedanism, the most unreasonable emotions of alarm."²³³ The true danger to the empire was the Anglo-Indians who mixed their civic duties with their personal beliefs, causing Indians to fear the intentions of the government. Kaye wrote that “tidings reached England that a proselytizing spirit was abroad among the officers of

²³² Ibid., 385.

²³³ Kaye, *Christianity in India*, 242.

the State- that soldiers and civilians were usurping the functions of the missionary- and so interfering with the religions of the people of the country as to awaken suspicion of the good faith of the Government itself.”²³⁴ In 1847, the EIC officially forbade company employees, both civil and military, to participate in mission work because they did not want it to appear as if the British government officially supported the spread of Christianity.²³⁵ Kaye emphasized how important it was for Indians to believe their religious institutions were safe from British interference. After 1813, when the EIC was mandated to allow priests in India and permit the building of a church infrastructure “the natives regarded with disinterest, because their own institutions were safe.”²³⁶ For “in the neutrality of the Government lies the hope of missionaries. It is the basis of all evangelical success.”²³⁷ There was a clear line between the state and religion, which in a country with three dominant religions was a necessity to keep the peace. The British had to live like Christians in India before there could be conversion of the populace. When it came to the EIC’s policy, he thought the Company should have an intermediate approach to maintain peace in India and refrain from directly encouraging proselytizing of their subjects.

Kaye concluded that neither the lack of missionary work nor the anger of Indians towards missionaries caused the rebellion. Kaye concluded that missionary work had not caused the Sepoy War because he did not think that “anything which tended to the downfall of our temporal kingdom in India could have contributed to the

²³⁴ Ibid., 448.

²³⁵ Ibid., 450.

²³⁶ Kaye, *Christianity in India*, 481.

²³⁷ Ibid., 491.

extension of Christ's kingdom on earth."²³⁸ For God to allow a rebellion in response to spreading Christianity was antithetical to Kaye's beliefs. However, Kaye admitted that religion could not be ruled out as a contributing factor to the revolt. He wrote that Christianity "contributed something to the vague feeling of insecurity and alarm which predisposed men's minds to regard with suspicion the designs of the Christian Government, and to distort into the most grotesque shapes of the manifestations of its power."²³⁹ Even though Kaye acknowledged that religion in this way could have contributed to the rebellion, he refused to overemphasize the role of Christianity. Kaye argued that the EIC needed to be cautious moving forward in how their policies affected religious practice and needed to demonstrate that one religion was not favored. For example, if Christianity were taught in the public schools from the public purse, then Hinduism and Islam had to also be instructed.²⁴⁰ Even so, Kaye still saw the potential for the conversion of more Indians and he did not want the EIC to adopt any policy which might damage this. He wrote that "for the small handful of Christian men whose mission I firmly believe it is, in God's good time, to evangelize the great Indian races . . . doing nothing rashly, nothing precipitately, lest our own folly should mar the good work, and retard the ripening of the harvest."²⁴¹ In Kaye's writings he viewed spreading Christianity as important, and he was optimistic of the future of converting Indians to Christianity even after the rebellion.

²³⁸ Ibid., 480.

²³⁹ Kaye, "India Convalescent," *North British Review*, 1861, 28.

²⁴⁰ Kaye, *Christianity in India*, 490.

²⁴¹ Ibid., 500-501.

Kaye's Argument for Westernization and the Decline of Paternalism's

Contribution to the outbreak of 1857

A large part of Kaye's post-1857 writings re-examined the EIC's policy in Indian government and society. The British brought westernization to the Indian army, government, and infrastructure. Before the rebellion, Kaye viewed most of these changes as beneficial and a form of progress. Though Kaye urged for caution in these "progressive reforms," he did not view them as a negative British influence. After 1857, although Kaye continued to approve of the changes the British made in India, his discussion of the events leading up to the rebellion revealed a newly cautious attitude towards those policies. He emphasized how the changes created a disconnect between the Anglo-Indian community and the people. Kaye argued that these changes for modernization and improved morality in India ruined the paternalistic relationship, leading to the British being unaware of the discontent growing within certain areas of India.

In his post-rebellion writings, Kaye attributed the declining paternalism to the growing cultural divide between the British and Indians. He wrote that increased intercourse between India and "Europe gave a more European complexion to society. English news, English books, above all, English gentlewomen, made their way freely and rapidly to India."²⁴² Because the time it took to travel between the colony and Britain had been shortened, there was an increase in British culture being brought into India. This westernization created a division between Indians and the British because the British were less likely to

²⁴² Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War*, Volume I, 259.

adopt Indian customs. Gone were the days when the British went “native.” This division created an atmosphere where “there was no reciprocity of kindly feeling, no bond of sympathy between the white-faced captain and the dusky sentinel. *The bond had been broken*, people said, by the encroachment of Western civilization; and there was a growing feeling of indifference or distaste on the one side, and of bitter resentment on the other.”²⁴³ The British belief in their superiority, which led to pride in their interactions with Indians, contributed to their “indifference” towards Indians. The result was Indians feeling increasingly bitter towards their British officers. This increasing separation of Anglo-Indian and Indian cultures because of westernization decreased the familiarity between the two races. The British, because of their perceived superiority, did not interact with Indians in a more familiar setting. This created growing resentment amongst the Indian population because of the way the British treated them. Since Kaye had viewed change as operating osmotically through great men, this breakdown was detrimental to the types of change which Kaye viewed as essential to British rule. Kaye identified the problematic relationship between the British and Indians due to the egoistic British attitude towards Indians, which increased with the shift from orientalism to Anglicization. He recognized that because of racial differences, Indians were treated as inferior within British India and in such a way that Kaye argued that it was unfair. Kaye wrote that:

We have not, in our daily lives, treated them [Indians] with the gentleness, the respect, the consideration which they would have won from us, had they been of the same colour and the same creed. I am afraid that we have rarely, in our intercourse with them, forgotten the

²⁴³ Kaye, “The Future of India and Her Army” (*Blackwoods*, 1859.), 635.

difference between the conqueror and the conquered, and that when we have not treated them with cruelty, we have treated them with contempt. The tone of the dominant race continually asserts itself in a manner which, if ever applied to ourselves, we should feel to be galling in the extreme. There are some who vehemently assert that this tone should now become louder and more imperious. . . . But God will never suffer us so to hold these Eastern races in subjection. If there be one thing which more than another He has taught us, speaking terribly to us throughout these late calamities, it is that the natives of India- abject, down-trodden as we have long supposed them to be- are capable of rising against their conquerors, and that we cannot permanently hold them in subjection to their fears.²⁴⁴

Kaye recognized this as a problematic attitude on the part of the British. He argued against allowing this negative British attitude towards Indians to continue. Kaye claimed that “increased kindness and consideration towards the natives of the country should now be the rule and the practice of every Englishman whose lot is cast among them. The amnesty which has been proclaimed by the Queen of England should be echoed by every Christian heart.”²⁴⁵ Kaye agreed in his writings with policies declared by Queen Victoria and Lord Canning (the Governor General). He argued for a future of forgiveness in India. The British should adjust their attitudes toward Indians. Instead of vengeance, they should try to reconcile.

Kaye examined specific changes wrought by the British which contributed to the degradation of the officer-soldier relationship. Westernization and changes in the military structure were one of the forces that had created a growing divide between the British and the Indian Army. Kaye suggested that many army reforms altered paternalism and led to many smaller mutinies before the 1857 rebellion. Kaye deemed these to be at least partially the fault of the officers who had failed to explain

²⁴⁴ Kaye, *Christianity in India*, 503-504.

²⁴⁵ Kaye, *Christianity in India*, 501.

to their troops the benefit of British reforms. In 1857, Kaye summarized the phenomenon of British culpability in these rebellions as “it is not so much that the Sepoy is not to be trusted, as that we have proved ourselves not worthy to be trusted with the use of so perilous an instrument.”²⁴⁶ He wrote in August of 1857, that “if proper relations had been maintained between the Sepoy and his English officer, there would never have existed this dangerous delusion, ‘that they should believe a lie.’ The Sepoy is very credulous. There is, indeed, a childlike simplicity in the readiness with which he believes and ponders over the most absurd story.”²⁴⁷ This failure of paternalism allowed sepoys to believe rumors and lies about British intentions. Kaye insisted that the Anglicization of the Indian army was problematic because it caused Indians to fear the loss of their own identity. The westernization of the army was a process which included changes in drilling, dress, and the persons allowed into the Indian Army. Kaye wrote that Indian soldiers were being “drilled after a new English fashion. He was to be shaved after a new English fashion . . . They were stripping him, indeed, of his distinctive Oriental character; and it was not long before he began to see in these efforts to Anglicize him something more than the vexatious innovation and crude experiments of European military reform.”²⁴⁸ As has already been mentioned, the British desired to increase uniformity in the ranks and changed the traditional headdresses.

In Kaye’s *A History of the Sepoy War in India*, he expanded upon the various mutinies which had occurred in India since British rule began and demonstrated a

²⁴⁶ Kaye, “Lord Canning/ The Crisis In India,” *North British Review*, 1857, 275.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 268.

²⁴⁸ Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War*, Volume I, 217-218.

correlation between westernization and mutinies. His narrative structure emphasized that as the treatment of Indians in the army declined and British officers became increasingly separated socially from their troops, the mutinies became more frequent. Kaye stressed his belief in the degradation of the Indian army through making it a section in his first volume of one the Sepoy War. He titled this section of his volume the “Decline of the Indian Army,” which covered the initial formation of the Indian army and the 1764 Bengal Mutiny. European officers were disgruntled because they did not receive their pay and the Bengal Indian Army therefore followed suit and mutinied.²⁴⁹ Indians convicted of mutiny were executed by being tied to and shot from cannons. Kaye wrote about this as if it were an unfortunate event, not something that he rejoiced or believed was well deserved. During this horrific punishment, the native Indian officers noted that their troops were about to revolt to save their comrades about to be executed. However, the native officers felt comfortable enough to come forward to General Munro to discuss the potential mutiny. By coming forward, Munro could fulfill his obligation of executing guilty mutineers while also adopting a strong-handed policy which guaranteed the troops would not rebel. Munro had the canons with grapeshot pointed at the Indian troops to thwart any attempted resistance.²⁵⁰ This is an interesting mutiny for Kaye to discuss because even though he emphasized the freedom Indian officers felt in coming forward to British commanders, it also demonstrated the iron fist the British used in many situations to ensure compliance with laws and regulations. This paternalistic example showed how

²⁴⁹ Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War*, Volume I, 206.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 208.

British reactions affected Indians under their command. In this case, it was a negative consequence because of the unfortunate behavior of the British officers.²⁵¹ Kaye did not avoid discussing how the British threatened violence to keep Indian troops in line. However, his writing indicated that he thought it was better to threaten violence instead of having an additional mutiny which would result in more deaths.²⁵² What was more unique in this description, compared to other mutinies Kaye described, was that Indian officers still felt like they could report problems amongst Indian troops to their British officers and were believed and welcomed to give feedback. This was, for Kaye, an important component of the British-Indian relationship which was later lost.

Kaye claimed that the degradation of the Indian officer was an important component in the decline of paternalism in India. This occurred because of an influx of young British officers and the erosion of respect for Indian officers. Kaye argued that changes in the retirement policy of the Indian army significantly decreased the number of experienced British officers and resulted in an influx of young British officers in India. In 1796, the policy on retirement was reformed which meant that officers could retire earlier. This led to a greater number of officers leaving the army at the same time instead of a gradual retirement system. The incoming British officers were not only inexperienced, but had not spent enough time in India to understand their troops, another contributing factor to the decline of the paternalistic relationship. Also, the Indian army no longer used the system of selecting officers on competency,

²⁵¹ Kaye concentrated on the punishment of the sepoys. He ignored the punishment of the British officers

²⁵² In Kaye's second and third volumes on the Mutiny, he wrote when discussing the British violence in subduing Indians that it would be better to act quickly and decisively to end the conflict quickly, even if it meant through violence. For Kaye, the continuance of the rebellion because of less-violent British methods would have resulted in more overall deaths.

but solely based on their rank. This led to many troops being led by officers who did not appreciate Indian culture and sometimes did not know any Indian language. Kaye used the example of Indian troops who could not ask for a water break in their own language because of the inadequate knowledge of their officers. This distance, and in some cases the inability to communicate well, resulted in a breakdown of paternalism because there was no longer trust and understanding between the two groups.

These new officers were not only unknowledgeable about Indian customs, but were haughty in the interactions with sepoys. Kaye viewed the complaints of the sepoy as valid because they were racially discriminated against and then ridiculed for the blunders of their English officers.²⁵³ As Kaye wrote in his history of Christianity in India, that the haughtiness of the British had become problematic. Between the reorganization of the army, the increasing westernization of Anglo-Indian society and the British officers, and the increasing numbers of new officers, the sepoys had legitimate complaints and the paternalistic bond which relied on personal and intimate relationships was frayed. He wrote that:

The complaints of the Sepoy were many. If he were to pass his whole life in the Company's service and do what he might, he could not rise higher than the rank of Soubahdar; there had been times when distinguished native soldiers had been appointed to high and lucrative commands, and had faithfully done their duty; but those times had

²⁵³ In the Indian army, there was a variety of positions. There was one set of ranks for Indians and one for the British. A sepoy was an infantryman and a cavalryman was called a sowar. Indian NCO had British equivalences, however, an Indian officer was always inferior to a British officer, especially after 1796. A jamadar was equivalent to a lieutenant, a havildar to a sergeant, and a nail to a corporal. It was not until 1918 that Indians were allowed to be trained at Sandhurst and receive equal ranks to the British. "Indian Officers and Other Ranks," British Library, <http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelppregion/asia/india/indiaofficerecordsfamilyhistory/occupations/indianofficersandotherranks/indianofficers.html>; Sundaram, Chandar S. "Swords Trembling in their Scabbards: The Changing Status of Indian Officers in the Indian Army, 1757-1947." *Journal of Military History* 80, no. 3 (July 2016): 881-883. Historical Abstracts with Full Text, EBSCOhost (accessed November 20, 2016).

passed, and, instead of being exalted, native officers were habitually degraded. A Sepoy on duty always presented or carried arms to an English officer, but an English soldier suffered a native officer to pass by without a salute. Even an English Sergeant commanded native officers of the highest rank. On parade, the English officers made mistakes, used the wrong words of command, then threw the blame upon the Sepoys and reviled them. Even native officers, who had grown grey in the service, were publicly abused by European striplings.²⁵⁴

The first warning of the growing distance and discontent of the sepoy was the Vellore Mutiny of 1806.²⁵⁵ Kaye saw the lack of coming forward by the native officers as emblematic of their degraded position and their belief that the British would not believe them. The distrust and lack of faith in their British officers led the sepoy to believe false rumors which led to the Vellore Mutiny. If the sepoy-officer relationship had been closer, British officers would have heard of these rumors and could have been able to dispel them.

Kaye documented that by 1796, after the British had made significant reforms to the Indian army, there was very little upward mobility for natives in the army. The new regulations, in addition to the new officer's haughtiness, limited the possibility of Indian advancement and created a British-Indian relationship which many times embarrassed the sepoy. Indians were always inferior in rank to the lowest British officer. Kaye emphasized that a British officer could have no military experience, but because of his perceived racial superiority, still outrank Indian officers with years of experience. Kaye acknowledged that this upset the Indian soldiers. Military service

²⁵⁴ Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War*, Volume I, 221.

²⁵⁵ A policy change in the headress troops wore led to rumors about religious conversion. Between the rumors, the complaints of the sepoy, and the inability of their officers to recognize the problem, the sepoy reverted to mutiny. Thus, this mutiny was due to a broken bond between British officers and the sepoy. Unlike the previous 1764 Mutiny of the Bengal Army, Indian officers did not come forward to warn of discontent.

previously had been an avenue of greater advancement for upper caste Indians. Kaye wrote that “the little authority, the little dignity, which still clung to the position of the native officers was then altogether effaced by this new incursion of English gentlemen; and the discontent, which had been growing up in the minds of the soldiery, began then to bear bitter fruit.”²⁵⁶ This degradation of the Indian officer was caused by a system that was determined by racial difference. Kaye noted that for Indian officers this was a frustrating situation and many times brought humiliation. British officers would mistake commands and then place the blame on the Indian soldiers and officers instead of admitting their own faults. Kaye did not agree with this hard-racial line in military command and how Indian officers were treated. Before the rebellion, Kaye had discussed British education for Indians and saw the potential of greater Indian involvement in the government. He did not speak directly about how much Indians should be allowed to advance in the government. However, Kaye's attitude to the barring of Indians from government, his encouragement of education, and his post-rebellion accounts of the treatment of Indians officers suggests that he saw greater potential for Indians than many of his contemporaries.

Kaye wrote that this broken relationship was partially mended through warfare, which occurred regularly during the early nineteenth century. During war, there was little extra time for rumors on the part of the sepoys and for British officers to abuse their position. Kaye wrote that during end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century “were years of active Indian warfare . . . the Sepoy had constant work, under great generals whom he honoured and trusted; he had

²⁵⁶ Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War*, Volume I, 216.

strong faith in the destiny of the Company; and his pride was flattered by a succession of brilliant victories.”²⁵⁷ However, during times of peace, the differences between the Indian and the British officer became more pronounced. Warfare had the ability to reduce the difference between the British and Indians in the army because they were united against a greater enemy. War made both races depend on each other for survival and victory. During this period of constant warfare, the “English officer felt a personal attachment for the Sepoy, the relations between them were in no degree marred by any considerations of difference of race. There was a strong sense of comradeship between them, which atoned for the absence of other ties . . . the heart of the Sepoy officer again turned towards his men, and the men looked up and clung to him with child-like confidence and affection.”²⁵⁸ War and expansion were able to help mend the broken officer- sepoy relationship. Neither side had time to stir up division between the races. Kaye argued that these times of war made mutiny less likely.

Kaye argued centralization removed the ability of British officers, who understood their troops, to make decisions in the best interests of their units. Kaye argued that centralization of command through expedited transportation and telegraph reduced the power of British officers over their troops. Prior to these advances, officers had to make swift decisions on their own and based off their knowledge of their men. Centralization meant that decisions were made from afar and could potentially be made in a manner that hurt the paternalistic relationship.²⁵⁹ Leaders

²⁵⁷ Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War*, Volume I, 216.

²⁵⁸ Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War*, Volume I, 256-257.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 259.

who rarely interacted with the troops and who did not understand the sepoy psyche could quickly make damaging decisions. Kaye continued to argue that westernization benefited both the British and Indian societies, but was a poor influence on the British- Indian relationship. He wrote that “these influences were sensibly weakening the attachment which had existed between the native soldier and his English officer.”²⁶⁰ The EIC had a great need for men to serve in the Civil Service. Many British officers took this opportunity to make a change in their careers and switched to serving as civilians.²⁶¹ This further damaged the Indian army because of the loss of officers again. Centralization not only removed decision making power from British officers but also continued to increase the rotation of new British officers in the Indian army.

It was these kinds of grievances that Kaye believed fueled the 1824 Barrackpore Munity. The Indian army was being sent to fight in Burma.²⁶² Sepoys were accustomed to being near home and were cautious about crossing the sea due to Hindu restrictions.²⁶³ In this campaign the army was unable to provide cattle for the

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 260.

²⁶¹ Ibid., 265.

²⁶² Tensions had been rising between the British and the Burma due to border disputes since about 1817. The First Anglo-Burmese War was meant for the EIC to protect their North-East provinces against infringement from Burma. The war resulted with an expansion of British rule. The region in questions was the island of Shahpuri, which both Burma and the EIC claimed was their territory. The fact that an island was in question in addition to many part of Burma were more easily accessible via boat resulted in the need to transport the Indian Army by boat. Ramachandra, G. P., “The Outbreak of the First Anglo-Burmese War.” *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 51, no. 2 (234) (1978): 69-99.

²⁶³ The 47th Native Infantry mutinied due to not being adequately provided for and also for having to cross the sea. The lack of animal provision was important for transporting their supplies. The second problem was that the Bengal Army consisted of higher caste Hindus, making sea travel detrimental to their way of life. The Bengal army was supposed to be exempt from sea service, unlike the Madras and Bombay armies. Guatam Sharma, *Indian Army Through The Ages* (London: Allied Publishers Private Limited, 1966).

troops, which was unusual for travel on land; instead, the sepoys were supposed to provide for themselves. However, rumors began to spread that the lack of cattle was not because of a shortage, but because of a secret plan to transport the army via sea. Kaye wrote that “it was said that as the Bengal regiments could not, for want of cattle, be marched to Chittagong, they would be put on board ship and carried to Rangoon, across the Bay of Bengal. Murmurs of discontent then developed into oaths of resistance. The regiments warned for service in Burmah [Burma] met in nightly conclave, and vowed not to cross the sea.”²⁶⁴ This misunderstanding also led to an outbreak of a mutiny. However, if the British had officers who were approachable and understood their troops, this could have been avoided. The British officers should have heard the rumors, recognized the fear, and explained the plans to their troops so that it was clear that the British did not intend to force Indians to violate their religion. Kaye wrote of other mutinies that followed the same pattern of miscommunication and mistrust.

Kaye argued many officers did not understand the importance of caste to how Indian society operated. Therefore, when the EIC changed military uniforms and practices, the officers were not always aware of the fear these changes caused amidst their troops. Kaye held to the belief that the British never appreciated the caste system and many times it appeared to Indians as if the British would try to eliminate it. Caste tied together the whole Hindu society, including religion and social structure. An Indian who lost his caste was subject to great personal consequences. Committing an action which endangered caste could result in being a social outcast. The sepoy would

²⁶⁴ Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War*, Volume I, 267.

be ostracized from his peers. Kaye insisted that the Indian fear of losing caste was a partial reason for the rebellion. In 1860, Kaye wrote that the British “nearly lost India by a mutiny provoked by inexcusable neglect of caste prejudice.”²⁶⁵ Not only did the British fail to understand the caste rules, they also failed to comprehend the lasting consequences of breaking caste. Kaye used the example of how the British expanded which classes of Indians would be accepted into military ranks. Traditionally, the warrior caste was of a higher rank. This simplified living near each other since it was practically difficult to live with and share food with a man of a lower caste. For an Indian of higher caste to drink from the Lota (water carrier/cup) of a lower member of the caste system would be cause for the first man to lose his caste. The general enlistment order, which increased the number of castes the British could recruit, had the potential to result in caste contamination. This brought fear because of the rumors that Canning had secret orders from the Queen to forcefully convert Indians to Christianity.²⁶⁶ Kaye wrote that “there was an end, indeed, of the exclusive privileges which the Bengal Sepoy had so long enjoyed . . . all the old pride, therefore, with which the veteran had thought of his boys succeeding him was now suddenly extinguished. Besides, the effect, he said, would be, that high-caste men would shrink from entering the service, and that, therefore, the vacant places of his brethren would be filled by men with whom he could have no feeling of comradeship. *And this was no imaginary fear.*”²⁶⁷ Kaye’s comment pointed to both the fear of caste contamination and also the damaged pride of upper castes Indians if lower caste

²⁶⁵ Kaye, “Administration of India”, *Blackwoods* (1860), 554.

²⁶⁶ Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War*, Volume I, 473.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 469-470. Emphasis mine.

Indians could serve besides them. In this, Kaye did not argue that the British had made been mistaken in trying to modernize the Indian Army. Rather this critique pointed to the growing disconnect between the British government and the people of India. For Kaye, this showed that the British did not know how much trouble they were causing by making what seemed to them to be innocent changes. Between British haughtiness towards the caste system and the lack of understanding of Indian culture, the British were unable to see the problems they were creating and the Indians were not able to voice their complaints.

Kaye's Arguments About the Discontent Caused by Increasing British Land Control

Kaye asserted that the continued land annexations by the British added to the discontent growing in India. His writings correlated British land annexation and growing Indian dissatisfaction. In his first volume on the Sepoy War, Kaye particularly emphasized how the Punjab and the Oude annexations upset Indians. These territories, which rebelled in 1857, were both annexed less than ten years before the mutiny. Kaye re-examined the EIC's land expansion policies and reflected on how these actions contributed to the rebellion. Kaye continued to uphold land annexations that were necessitated by prior British interference and the need to protect the people against tyrannical rulers. However, Kaye questioned several annexations that did not have this moral and legal imperative. Kaye also examined the doctrine of lapse, which he had not discussed in his previous writings. Lapse allowed the British to annex territories of Indians who died without

leaving a bloodline heir instead of following the Indian tradition of adoption. This blatant disregard for Indian customs was greatly upsetting to the aristocracy.

These steps of expansion by the EIC created greater distrust between sepoys and the officers because of the rejection of Indian ways by the British and the lack of respect shown to the indigenous aristocracy.

Kaye had written of the Punjab and Oude annexations before the rebellion.²⁶⁸ Kaye admitted that the British made mistakes in annexing the Punjab territory and in their methods of rule after annexation. Kaye wrote that it was “probable that some mistakes were committed [by the British]- the inevitable growth of benevolent ignorance and energetic inexperience- at the outset of our career as Punjabee administration.”²⁶⁹ In many cases, Kaye viewed government as an experiment. Kaye never doubted that the British could make mistakes in their government. The British might have made mistakes, but it was in pursuit of an honorable and beneficial government. Kaye believed that this annexation had damaged the Indian aristocracy. Kaye wrote that the aristocracy did not recover from this annexation because “the chief sufferers by the revolution have been found among the aristocracy of the land. The great masses of the people have been considerately, indeed generously treated, but the upper classes have been commonly prostrated by the annexing hand, and have never recovered from the blow.”²⁷⁰ Kaye wrote that the British had taken a harsher approach to the Indian aristocracy because of their assumption that the Indian aristocracy had exploited

²⁶⁸ These annexations are covered in chapter three.

²⁶⁹ Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War*, Volume I, 23.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 57.

the people. By using this annexation in his history, Kaye highlighted it as important in causing discontent. Kaye did not argue that it was wrong, but rather that the perceived benefits of British rule were not always clear to Indians and this event helped to cause discontent by the loss of a royal family.

The second region Kaye addressed was the Oude territory. Kaye continued to view the annexation of Oude as justifiable because of the lawlessness in the territory which the British had inadvertently reinforced by giving support to the native rulers. After 1857, Kaye re-examined British involvement in Oude and viewed it as an important reason for the rebellion. Kaye explained how “indirectly the condition of Oude, the ferocity of its chiefs, the warlike habits of the people, the fanaticism of its castes, and the hatred which prevails in that province against the restraints of law and government did *promote the insurrection*, and served to render Oude the rallying point of the disaffected, and the area of a protracted resistance.”²⁷¹ Kaye did not think that the British should be surprised that the territory most recently annexed would be the rallying point for rebellion. The people of Oude had not yet been conditioned to accept British rule and not forsaken their fierce spirit. Although he became more reflective about how the annexation of the Oude might have upset the people, he did not challenge the British right to rule or the benefits which the British could bring to Oude.

However, Kaye examined how the British failed to recognize two primary problems in maintaining their control of Oude. The Oude army and the aristocracy

²⁷¹ Kaye, “The Conquest of Oude,” *Edinburgh Review* (1858), 513-514. Emphasis mine.

were made irrelevant by British annexation. The British disbanded large numbers of men and many of them could not locate equitable employment. Kaye wrote that it was easy to be “wise after the event [1857], we see clearly now what were the dangers which threatened the Government of India in the first years of its rule in Oude. In the first place, there was a large body of disbanded soldiery [thousands let loose with no employment].”²⁷² This part of the population was restless and ready for an opportunity to apply their skills to war. In addition, Kaye looked at the disgruntled landowners, which also caused discontent in Oude. These annexations disproportionately harmed the aristocracy and higher castes of the Oude. Since warriors came from the higher castes in Indian society, this displacement and loss of status was important to sepoys, many of whom came from the Oude territory. Once again, the aristocracy lost power and prestige with British rule. With the British annexation “there were no longer any privileged classes . . . equal justice was administered to all. What the Sepoys lost, the people gained; and, doubtless, the aggregate result of the change was extremely advantageous to Oude.”²⁷³ But in Oude, “the rebellion of 1857 . . . saw the whole landed aristocracy of Oude arrayed against us” which Kaye interpreted as evidence that the British treatment of the Oude aristocracy caused great discontent.²⁷⁴ Kaye clearly demonstrated in his post-rebellion writings that the annexation upset Indian elites and soldiers, both of whom lost tangible benefits due to British rule. His inclusion of this annexation in the

²⁷² Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War*, Volume I, 525.

²⁷³ Kaye, “Conquest of the Oude, *Edinburgh Review*, 529.

²⁷⁴ Kaye, “India Convalescent,” *North British Review* (1861), 16.

beginning of his *History of the Sepoy War* is a clear indicator of how it contributed to the ill feelings towards the British, culminating in rebellion.

The second area Kaye addressed on the question of land annexation was the doctrine of lapse. This was an EIC policy which Kaye did not agree with and which he viewed as increasing Indian discontent and damaging the British-Indian relationship. The British annexed many lands because the prince or landowner in control did not have a bloodline heir. Traditionally, Indians could adopt a son as an heir and this was an important part of Indian society. Kaye wrote that “the right of adoption is, therefore, one of the most cherished doctrines of Hindooism.”²⁷⁵ This adoptive heir had all the same rights and privileges as a biological son. These adopted sons had many responsibilities, such as burial of his adoptive father which would determine his father’s life after death. Yet, the British did not view adoption as a legitimate course to choosing a new leader. In these cases, the British claimed the land under the right of lapse when territory did not have a legitimate heir. Kaye wrote that most of the British could not culturally understand why adoption was important to Indian culture. In 1849, lapse became an officially approved doctrine in governing India.²⁷⁶ Kaye wrote that “lapse is a dreadful and an appalling word; for it pursues the victim beyond the grave. Its significance in his eyes is nothing short of eternal condemnation.”²⁷⁷ For Indians, this was against their customs and against how they understood legitimate claims to land. Many territories were annexed due to

²⁷⁵ Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War*, Volume I, 70.

²⁷⁶ Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War*, Volume I, 75.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 69.

lapse, including Sattarah, Nagpore, Kerwolee, and Sumbhulpore.²⁷⁸ These annexations ignored adopted sons and also did not allow widows (as would be allowable in Indian culture) to appoint an heir if her husband had failed to do so before death. With lapse, the British many times provided for the descendants of the deceased land owner or prince since they would no longer be able to support themselves on their revenues.²⁷⁹ For Kaye, this standard of lapse had no moral or legal standing and only served to expand British territories. This was not even an inheritance standard which the British followed themselves. Kaye viewed the doctrine of lapse as damaging to the Indian aristocracy. This greatly affected princes who, with only an adopted heir, were not able to pass their power and wealth to another selected Indian. Instead, the British gained greater control. For Kaye, this fit into his previous criticisms of the EIC creating policies that benefited themselves by expanding their territories to the detriment of the people of India.

These examples demonstrated overarching themes in Kaye's viewpoint on the EIC's expansionist policy. Kaye compared how the EIC used lapse and annexation through war to expand their lands. Kaye generally agreed with the Oude and Punjabee annexations because he thought the EIC could free the people from evil rulers and uplift the condition of the people. Both of these annexations were also military campaigns which made the land won through right of conquest, which was more acceptable in Indian customs. However, for the British to claim land through lapse did not make sense to the people of India. The doctrine of lapse seemed to be only a

²⁷⁸ Ibid., 74-76, 92, and 97.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 108.

self-serving policy of the EIC. Kaye wrote that the annexation of Nagpore and Sattarah caused unrest because of the perceived injustice against Indians. He wrote that these annexations through lapse

had a bad moral effect; that it had shaken the confidence of the people in the justice and good faith of the British Government; that people had asked what crime Sattarah had committed that sentence of political death should thus have been pronounced against it; that throughout India acquisition by conquest was well understood, and in many cases admitted to be right; that the annexation of the Punjab, for example, had not been regarded as a wrong, because the chiefs and people had brought it on themselves, but that the extinction of a loyal native State, in default of heirs, was not appreciable in any part of India.²⁸⁰

Here Kaye pinpointed why this form of expansion was more damaging to the British-Indian relationship. Even though these annexations caused discontent among Indians at some level, the reason for British control aligned with Indian traditions. War was not an uncommon idea to Indians and it was only natural that the victors should become the new rulers of a territory. However, to ignore Indian custom and to take control of a territory because of a default of heirs was not perceived by Indians as a legitimate claim. It created distrust of the British which was another deteriorating influence on the paternalistic relationship.

Kaye's Thoughts on the Expansion of British India and the Resulting Downfall of the Indian Aristocracy

Kaye's post-1857 narratives displayed how the changes implemented by the British might have helped the poorer Indians, but slighted the aristocracy, and this fed into the discontent that led to the rebellion. Many of the aristocracy lost power and

²⁸⁰ Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War*, Volume I, 80.

prestige due to British interventions in ruling India through expanding their empire, reforming the Indian army, and spreading their religion. Kaye believed this displacement of the aristocracy was an important reason for the outbreak of the rebellion. First, this underlined how the British had failed to care for a portion of the population under their paternalistic care. Except for providing education, a whole segment of the population was displaced with no hope of regaining their former status. Second, Kaye's focus on the aristocracy displaced blame from the traditional soldier onto the elite. Even though Indians revolted against the British in Northern India, many Victorians believed the instigators were the Indian aristocracy.

Kaye pointed to the negative view Anglo-Indians had of the Indian aristocracy. The British approached rule in India under the assumption that the people had been downtrodden under the native aristocracy who profited off their people. He wrote that, "the utter worthlessness of the upper classes was assumed to be a fact; and it was honestly believed that the obliteration of the aristocracy of the land was the greatest benefit that could be conferred on the people. And thus, it happened that whilst the native sovereigns of India were one by one being extinguished, the native aristocracy had come well-nigh extinct."²⁸¹ The British viewed the Indian aristocracy as a problematic obstacle in the way of British progress. Kaye argued that this attitude affected British policies in India, which helped to turn the upper castes against the British.

²⁸¹ Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War*, Volume I.

Kaye's histories demonstrated how the aristocracy and higher castes had slowly lost positions of power because of expanded British roles in governance and increased territory. Upper caste Indians could no longer use the army as a respectable form of advancement. In the early days of the Company, an Englishman could have served under an Indian officer from the upper classes.²⁸² As the British made the army more rigid and uniform, Indian officers became limited in their upward mobility because they could no longer command European officers. Indian officers could only lead other Indian troops because they were racially excluded from the highest positions of power. This created a hard racial division between the British and Indians. By 1796, when the EIC instituted new regulations and earlier retirement for British officers, a sepoy officer received limited benefits for their experiences and were superseded by young Englishmen who were less qualified. Kaye wrote that as this "degradation" took place it changed the army because "it ceased to be a profession in which men of high position, accustomed to command, might satisfy the aspirations and expend the energies of their lives. All distinctions were effaced. The native service of the Company came down to a dead level of common soldiering, and rising from the ranks by a painfully slow process to merely nominal command. There was employment for the many; there was no longer a career for the few."²⁸³ Indians could only serve in relatively lower positions in the Indian army. For Kaye, this clearly fueled Indian resentment towards the British officers who outranked them and towards the changes implemented by the EIC.

²⁸² Ibid., 204.

²⁸³ Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War*, Volume I, 211-212.

The upper classes were also further restricted in their role in land management. Since the permanent settlement of 1793, the British directly controlled the collection of rents. When the British acquired new lands, they had to assess the properties to determine the value for taxes. The British were inclined to favor the peasants and not the Talookhars, the aristocracy.²⁸⁴ The British assumed that the lower castes had been abused by the aristocracy and that they now had to protect the people's rights. This view that the British Empire brought freedom, equality, and democratization to the colonized people represented a traditional imperialist approach to empire. Kaye's viewpoint also reflected the British assumption that native rulers did not use their power for the benefit of the people. The Talookhars had the rights of a manorial lord and were an established institution. During this period, Kaye wrote the British removed land from the aristocracy and restored much of it to the lower castes or took over the land themselves. In many cases the British gave the management of the land to a newly emergent class of Zamindar. Kaye believed that the upper classes were repressed by these land settlements and resumption policies and that many of them were left with only huts to live in.²⁸⁵ Kaye observed this policy as "it was at the same time a cruel wrong and a grievous error to sweep it away as though it were an encumbrance and an usurpation. The theory of the settlement officers was that the village Zamindars had an inalienable right in the soil, and that the Talookhdar was little better than an upstart and an imposter. All the defects in his tenure were rigidly scanned."²⁸⁶ This treatment of the aristocracy affected the general

²⁸⁴ Ibid., 159.

²⁸⁵ Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War*, Volume I, 155-160.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

populace and their views of the British. According to Kaye, British actions in the North before the rebellion was a mistake because “this great work of the Settlement of Northern India, that it involved a grave political error” because it alienated the people against the British.²⁸⁷ Kaye thought that the British “*should have respected the rights, natural and acquired, of all classes of the community, instead of working out any abstract theory of our own.*”²⁸⁸ Regardless of how the British enacted their land policies, it is evident that Kaye thought the EIC needed to respect the customs and rights of the people. Kaye thought that they could have respected the rights of the aristocracy while still making changes in India that would benefit all.²⁸⁹ Kaye’s writings did not address British management of Indian lands until his post-rebellion writings. This was one way in which Kaye’s writings became more reflective and critical of British actions in India.

Kaye claimed that British land policy alienated the upper castes by diminishing Indian control over the land. Although Kaye never claimed that the British should relinquish government to Indians he did suggest that the British should have done more to ameliorate their social and economic positions. Kaye disagreed with how the land was managed in conquered territories. The British brought their own assumptions about proper management and their bias against the Talookars. Instead of learning more about the Indian system, the British restricted the land revenue system and created more discontent in the alienated aristocracy. This treatment of the aristocracy left a significant and powerful section of the population

²⁸⁷ Ibid., 165.

²⁸⁸ Ibid., 154.

²⁸⁹ Ibid., 155.

feeling alienated by the British and created mistrust of the British, which had serious consequences when the sepoy uprising broke out.

Kaye's Argument for Future Reconciliation with India

Kaye's post-rebellion writings looked to the future of British rule in India and the prospect of reconciliation with the people of India. He believed that the events of 1857 could eventually be overcome particularly because he believed that the uprising in the North was not a national cause. If it had been a national uprising, he claimed, it would not have been possible to sustain British rule. He believed that the bond between the soldier and officer had not been completely broken, and where it had been fragmented, it could be repaired. Kaye's way forward required repairing the broken and frayed paternalistic bonds between the two races.

Kaye's writings demonstrated that reconciliation was possible because not all of India had revolted against the British. During 1857, only Northern India rebelled. Kaye noted that in Lucknow "there was no rising of the populace" against Lawrence.²⁹⁰ Kaye illustrated this loyalty by telling many personal stories of sepoys who warned their officers to flee because the situation was becoming uncontrollable. Indeed, the British were only able to reclaim northern India because of help from other Indian units. Kaye wrote that the "services rendered to the British Government by the native princes and chiefs were of the most substantial character, and tended largely to the re-establishment of our authority."²⁹¹ This assistance was essential for the British, especially considering the greater percentage of native troops to British

²⁹⁰ Kaye, "The Conquest of Oude," *The Edinburgh Review* (1858), 533.

²⁹¹ Kaye, "What we have done for the princes of India," *Blackwoods*, (1860), 498.

troops. Furthermore, for Kaye, the localized nature of the rebellion meant two things. The first was that only a segment of the population was moved enough to rise against the British, and this suggested that there were other reasons for the uprising besides nationalism. This meant that the people could be reconciled back to pre-mutiny status if the reasons for the rebellion were alleviated, avoided in the future, and the paternalistic bond restored. Second, it also indicated that recent British events in Northern India were at least partially responsible for the rebellion since that was the epicenter of the Sepoy War. Kaye wrote that “we can conceive nothing more preposterous than to write or to speak of these men as patriots, fighting for the independence of their country and resenting the indignity of a foreign yoke.”²⁹² Even though Kaye was generally optimistic about Indian potential, he did not believe that Indians were organized enough to purposefully rebel. Yet, by discussing the possibility of nationalism, it meant that Kaye was forced to consider nationalism a legitimate reason for the revolt. Kaye insisted that it was the changes in the society which caused the revolt, not Indians’ desire for a free India. By arguing the rebellion was the result of fear and discontent, Kaye minimized the larger implications of the potential of a unified India against the British. In 1860, Kaye wrote that:

The idea of patriotism and nationality has never presented itself to us as an element in the discussion. If there was anything of an elementary and intelligible character about the whole affair, we must regard it as a struggle between order and disorder- between constituted authority and licentious military power- in which the *princes of India*, for their own sakes, might well have made common cause with the paramount state in defense of their own sovereign rights. But, in truth, the entire movement appears to have been altogether eccentric and exceptional.²⁹³

²⁹² Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War*, Volume I, 532.

²⁹³ Kaye, “What we have done for the princes of India,” *Blackwoods*, (1860), 497.

The common people were not united to oust the British from India and to start their own state. If anything, it was the princes of India who used the discontent to start the rebellion against the British. Instead of placing great nationalistic meaning in the uprising, Kaye viewed it as an "exceptional" moment and a "sudden madness." This was in no way a united front to remove the British from power. Kaye's writings did not indicate that he believed the British would rule India forever and he desired the betterment of the people and continued education.

Rather than nationalism, Kaye argued that the rebellion was a result of the sepoys' fear and mistrust of the British, which had developed over time, that caused the revolt. This fit into Kaye's framework of paternalism in which the Sepoy needed guidance because they were "very ignorant and very credulous, and they are very easily alarmed."²⁹⁴ The sepoys were driven by panic and fear at what they perceived as forceful abandonment of caste and religion exemplified by the British enforcing the use of greased cartridges. The rebellion was not meant to create an Indian state or to support one national cause and "it is an undoubted fact, that more were driven into mutiny by their fears than by their hopes."²⁹⁵ Furthermore, he did not subscribe to the opinion that sepoys were "fiends, or wild beasts, or men devoid of noble feelings and generous emotions" for these events "have prominently elicited the good qualities of the Indian races, and the good deeds of which they are capable. They who have risen against us are but the few. They who have disgraced their manhood by foul deeds are few."²⁹⁶ Panic and fear caused the rebellion among a few, but the majority showed

²⁹⁴ Kaye, "A Familiar Epistle," *Blackwoods* (1858), 250.

²⁹⁵ Kaye, "Lord Canning," *North British Review*, (1862), 227.

²⁹⁶ Kaye, "The Royal Proclamation to India," *Blackwoods* (1859), 126.

bravery in battle while assisting the British. With the proper guidance from the British, Indians would be able to continue to serve the British.

Finally, Kaye pointed to the fact that it was common after conflict for societies to eventually reconcile their differences. In this, Kaye placed Indians on a more equal basis with the British than many of his contemporaries who viewed Indians as inferior. He wrote that “nations slaughter each other one day, and embrace each other on the next. . . But it is hard to forget treachery and outrage- murder committed upon unresisting victims, and foul indignities wreaked upon the helpless, unoffending little ones. And it is hardest of all to forget, *when our humiliation comes from those whom we had before trodden down and despised.*”²⁹⁷ Kaye acknowledged that it would be more difficult for the British to reconcile with the people of India because of the presumed inferiority of Indians. For the British to have been dealt such a blow by an inferior society, or for some, a different race was an embarrassment and a shock to the British psyche. The fact that Indians could have killed so many Anglo-Indians and maintained the rebellion for such a long period of time was shocking. The rebellion was an embarrassment and, for many of the British, reconciling with Indians who caused such shame seemed impossible. Kaye knew that with time reconciliation would be more probable, but he also thought that some within Britain wanted to use this event to stir up more trouble. He wrote that there were those:

who appear to desire that hatred between the white man and the black should be the normal condition of our tenure in India. They dwell upon the ethnological differences of Race; upon the natural superiority of the children of the West over the children of the East; upon the distinctions engrafted upon it by the advancing civilization of Europe; and contend that, as conquerors, we have every right to impose

²⁹⁷ Kaye, “India Convalescent,” *North British Review* (1861), 5. Emphasis mine.

disabilities and restrictions upon the conquered. . . the more we know of the people of India, of their early history and literature . . . To rank them with the black races of Africa is philosophically absurd; but it is more to our purpose to say, that the theory which upholds the expediency of a general recognition by the State of these distinctions of race, is politically false and dangerous.²⁹⁸

This was one reason why Kaye praised Lord Canning, who refused to legislate based on racial difference in India.²⁹⁹ Canning refused to make racial law codes in India, though racism in the enforcement of the law was still a possibility. Canning's refusal to legislate harsher treatment of Indians post-rebellion was hopeful for Kaye and a beginning step towards reconciliation. Once again, the British would be able to take a leading role in helping to "progress" Indian society. Kaye's desire for reconciliation fit into his paternalistic view. For the British to make good changes in India, there had to be personal relationships. If reprisals and hatred remained, then the restoration of the paternalistic relationship would be impossible.

Kaye's Defense of the East India Company Post-1857

Kaye was one of the few Victorians who defended the EIC after 1857. The tide had turned against private companies as ruling powers, which made the EIC less popular in Britain. Most Victorians believed that the EIC had mismanaged Indian Affairs. Between the perceived failure of the EIC for the rebellion and the dislike for companies as governing powers, many Victorians concluded that the EIC's rule in India should end. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the autonomy and power of the EIC in India had given way to a greater British parliamentary role. The EIC's power in India rested on a royal charter which gave

²⁹⁸ Kaye, "India Convalescent," *North British Review* (1861), 6.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

it a monopoly on trade, but the charter had to be regularly renewed. In 1813, the EIC lost its monopoly on trade. After the rebellion, Kaye acknowledged that the EIC would have eventually ceased to rule because “the East India Company was being destroyed piecemeal . . . it would have died out in the course of a few years. It was simply a question of time.”³⁰⁰ The rebellion sealed the fate of the EIC and, in 1859, India became a crown colony. Few disagreed with this transition or argued in favor of the EIC publicly. Immediately after the start of the uprising, Kaye wrote articles about the success and importance of the EIC for India and made four main arguments. First, Kaye claimed that the EIC had not caused the rebellion nor could have predicted it. Second, that India required committed men to colonial rule in the subcontinent- and not just the empire in general. Third, that the Crown could not rule any better than the EIC had. Fourth, that the Indian army and British army should not be amalgamated because it would have negative consequences for India. Kaye's arguments continued to display his paternalistic view of India in which Indians and the British needed close ties and the British to bring slow change modeled by personal example.

First, Kaye argued that the Company could neither have predicted the rebellion nor avoided it. He suggested that mutiny was not an irregular act for eastern armies and they were not usually shocking. There had been many smaller mutinies in India, and the Company had always stopped the movements relatively quickly. It was the size and impact of the 1857 rebellion which was unprecedented and left the Company unprepared. Kaye wrote that in “my own impression mutiny

³⁰⁰ Kaye, “The Transition State of our Indian Empire,” *Blackwoods* (1860), 241.

always has been the normal state of an Eastern army; and that the marvel is, not that after so many years the Sepoys revolted, but that they did not revolt before.”³⁰¹ Kaye insisted that the EIC had no ability to foresee such a large rebellion and he disagreed with how the EIC became the scapegoat for the uprising. Kaye wrote that if the EIC had prepared for the Sepoy War then they would have been viewed as a “timid old fool” for placing that much respect in Indians.³⁰² British pride in their own power, and the strength of the British belief in the inferiority of Indians, made any claim of an upcoming dangerous uprising seem laughable. Kaye’s writing demonstrated his opinion of the superior attitude of the British and how it blinded them to problems in India. Because of this, Kaye believed that no one could have predicted the rebellion of 1857 and that this perceived failure should not have counted against the EIC.

Second, Kaye argued that there was a need for a firm commitment to progress in India for paternalism to be effective as opposed to the ignorant rule of British officers blinded by prejudice. This was an important component of Anglo-Indian culture; Kaye viewed newly arrived Englishmen in India as “almost always haughty, insolent, and even cruel, the natives, and the officers of line regiments have, hitherto, rarely become more considerate towards them throughout the period of their residence in India.”³⁰³ Kaye viewed this superior attitude of the British in India as problematic because they did not have the best interests of the people at heart and could not build close ties with Indians. Kaye’s description of

³⁰¹ Kaye, “The Future of India and Her Army,” *Blackwoods*, (1859), 636.

³⁰² Kaye, “A Familiar epistle,” *Blackwoods*, (1858), 246.

³⁰³ Kaye, “The Transition State of India,” *Blackwoods* (1860), 245.

new officers demonstrated a superior English attitude which could take years of learning about India in person to change. Because most British individuals viewed themselves as inherently better than Indians, they no longer welcomed Indians into their homes or tried to understand the beliefs and customs of India, both of which were indispensable in Kaye's view of paternalism. Kaye did not think that a continual flux of newcomers running the Indian government and army would be beneficial for India. With the EIC, many British men became a part of the Anglo-Indian community and made a commitment to India. Kaye argued that the knowledge needed to rule India could not be learned through textbooks, but required personal experience in the sub-continent.³⁰⁴ Kaye argued that for the EIC to be beneficial for Indians it required a long-term commitment that was vital for paternalism.

Third, Kaye claimed that Crown rule of India would not be any better than the EIC. Immediately after the rebellion, there were discussions of making British India a crown colony and revoking the EIC's charter. During these debates, the Queen issued a declaration with her intentions for Indian rule under the Crown. According to the royal proclamation, Queen Victoria declared that "we desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and while we will permit no aggressions upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others."³⁰⁵ Kaye argued that even though the proclamation insinuated that this was a new policy towards India, the EIC had followed a similar

³⁰⁴ Ibid., 251.

³⁰⁵ Kaye, "Royal Proclamation to India," *Blackwoods* (1859).

policy.³⁰⁶ Kaye claimed that the “East India Company, always resisting territorial aggrandizement, seldom fell into the folly- especially ruinous in the presences of Asiatic neighbors.”³⁰⁷ Even though Kaye clearly had differences with the policies of certain Governor- Generals whom he viewed as greedy for expansion, in particular Lord Ellenborough, he did not think that the Queen’s proclamation was substantially different than the EIC’s policy. Therefore, the transition of government from the EIC to the Crown was unneeded and dangerous. For Kaye, this demonstrated how ignorant the British were about India because they were unaware of the policy the EIC was committed to in India. The EIC was filled with subject experts who understood the complicated nature of British rule in the East. Kaye suggested that the new forms of government would condense power and create a dictatorship.³⁰⁸ The new proposed form of government drastically reduced the number of directors of the colony, which condensed power into the hands of a few who would not have the necessary expertise to rule India. The fact that the Queen thought she had proposed a new policy proved that those in Britain were not well enough informed to rule India. This was an extension of his paternalistic view where a few committed men should live their lives in India instead of rule from abroad.

Fourth, after the final decision was made to abolish the EIC and make India a crown colony, it was proposed to combine the Indian Army with the British Army, which Kaye viewed as a mistake. Kaye had two primary reasons for arguing for two separate armies. First, he argued that amalgamation would be unfair

³⁰⁶ Ibid., 116.

³⁰⁷ Kaye, “The Administration of India,” *Blackwoods*, 544.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., 543.

punishment, considering the majority of Indians had remained faithful during the rebellion. Kaye wrote that even though the rebellion brought shame to the Indian army:

At worse, it was only the rebellion of a part of that army. It is common to write and to speak of the outbreak as if the whole army had violently thrown off its allegiance, and given itself up to the wild delights of rapine and murder. But considering the infectious character of this disease of mutiny- how the evil influence runs, as it were, like a fine electric fluid, from link to link of the great chain- *it is subject of admiration that so large a portion of the Indian army remained, throughout all that troubled period, true to its alien masters.* Or should it be forgotten that even some of those rebellious regiments, which died at last in such fiery convulsions, had years and years, perhaps nearly a century, of good and faithful service . . . Let us not forget this. Dear old Jack Sepoy has become in men's minds only an accursed Pandy.³⁰⁹

Kaye recognized that the British were not the natural masters of the sepoys, yet Indians remained faithful instead of joining their brethren in rebellion. To end the Indian army would be an overreaction since the majority were loyal to the British. It would be an unfair to punish the sepoys who remained faithful to the British. He asked whether is “the Sepoy, then, never to have absolution?”³¹⁰ Kaye instead maintained that there were Indians who could be trusted. He encouraged the British to consider that “every English officer who has served with the native Sepoy knows right well that he had many good and noble traits of character, that he was faithful to his employers, that he did, when well treated, love his English captain; and there are few who do not believe that, if trusted again, they would be true again.”³¹¹ If the

³⁰⁹ Kaye, “The Demise of the Indian Army” *Blackwoods* (1861), 101. Emphasis mine. Mangal Pandy was the sepoy who in March of 1857 mutinied against the British.

³¹⁰ Kaye, “The Demise of the Indian Army” *Blackwoods*, (1861), 101.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, 102.

British could trust Indians again, then the Indians would respond by being trustworthy of this British faith. Kaye instead argued for a better-balanced army. The Indian army was primarily comprised of Indians, which led to instability during times of revolt. Officers could not be certain if their troops would remain faithful. It also meant that most of the army did not share the same culture or priorities as the British. If there was a mutiny, officers were completely outnumbered and had little chance of maintaining order. Kaye called for more Europeans in the Indian army to ward off the threat of future rebellion instead of the complete amalgamation of the British and Indian armies.³¹² An influx of British officers would create a greater barrier to rebellion and aid in keeping order.

Kaye further claimed that, following amalgamation of the two armies, it would be unfair for men who joined the Indian Army to be forcefully transferred to the British Army. He pointed to the fact that there were many Scotsmen and Irish who served in the Indian Army. These men, particularly the Irish, might not readily join an army which supported the empire and enforced law and put down uprisings in their native country. These men “had enlisted, they said, for the service of the East India Company; the East India Company had ceased to exist, and therefore their service was at an end.”³¹³ It would be unfair to alter the terms of their enlistment, especially when it could force them to support a mission they disagreed with. As Kaye wrote, “the majority, we believe, simply resented the abstract notion of an enforced transfer from one authority to another.”³¹⁴ Kaye argued that forcing the Scottish and Irish men

³¹² Ibid.

³¹³ Kaye, “The Transition State of our Indian Empire,” *Blackwoods* (1860), 243.

³¹⁴ Kaye, “The Transition-State of our Indian Empire,” *Blackwoods* (1860), 245.

into the British Army would be outrageous considering that they could then be sent to Ireland and Scotland as an occupying force.

Because the British Army moved units around the globe, amalgamation would result in the loss of an army committed directly to India. If the British constantly moved officers and troops around the empire, the British would be less equipped to understand the people they ruled. Paternalism was dependent on the close bond of the officers with their troops and a frequently moving army was not well disposed to Kaye's vision for future paternalism. This would heighten the differences between the British and Indians and continue to grow the cultural divide. British officers would no longer be able to learn Indian culture over time and less haughty in their interactions with Indians.

Conclusion

Kaye's post-rebellion writings showcased his perception of a slow decay of paternalism and a consequent increase in the number of Indian complaints against the British. He argued that the rebellion was not caused by one conflict, such as the greased cartridges. Rather, it was the increasing westernization in India which led to a breakdown of the British-Indian relationship. The intimacy which Kaye viewed as essential in paternalism was broken. These changes included new officers whose attitudes were Anglicist rather than Orientalist. In addition, the extensions of British domain over places like the Punjab and Oude upset the aristocracy and, in cases of lapse, caused a loss of faith in the British. However, Kaye believed that this

relationship of trust which had once existed could be restored. Reconciliation was a possibility because Indians were not united against the British. For this to happen the British needed to show leniency, restore the officer-Sepoy bond, and ensure that India was ruled by men who were committed to India and had spent their lives learning about the people and culture. By examining the 1857 rebellion through this unique paternalistic viewpoint, Kaye could more oppose the against harsh reprisals against Indians because he regarded the sepoys as acting out of fear. The EIC had created the conditions of discontent in their pursuit of beneficial government, that led to the revolt. For Kaye, with proper guidance from the British, Indians and the British could once again continue their story of “progress.”

Chapter 5: The Conclusion

The uprising of the Indian army and populace in Northern India during 1857-1858 was a shock to Victorian society. This event garnered much attention from the public and was the subject of many novels and histories. For India, the rebellion brought an end to the EIC and placed the colony under crown rule, also known as the British Raj. The British Raj did not encompass all of India and there remained many independent Indian states. The British allowed these Indian princes to keep their lands if they pledged loyalty to the crown. The official British policy was that they could only intervene in these surrounding provinces to protect British lands or to end gross misrule by native princes. As Kaye argued, India continued to have a separate army apart from the regular British army. To safeguard against further insurrections the British doubled the number of British soldiers in India and that number never fell below 60,000.³¹⁵ This remained the status quo until India gained independence in 1947.

Kaye's life was centered around India and this did not change after the rebellion. He had lived in the sub-continent and when he returned to Britain he focused his time on writing about it. He began to work for the EIC in London in 1856. With the transition of the Indian government to the Crown in 1858 and the retirement of John Stuart Mill, Kaye took over as the political and secret department secretary for the Indian Office. He wrote many articles for *Blackwood's Edinburgh Review* defending the EIC and writing on rebellion related subjects. His writings

³¹⁵ Philippa Levine, *The British Empire: Sunrise to Sunset* (London: Pearson Longman, 2007), 79-80.

about modern Indian events tapered off in 1862. Many of his articles were about subjects such as travel and gardening. Yet, Kaye continued to write books focused on the historical past. He wrote about the great men of India and published biographies of them. He continued to write volumes on the Indian rebellion, but his writings on India did not move past 1858. He only completed three volumes on the Sepoy War before his death in 1876.

Modern scholars have focused on how this event impacted British society and culture. Others have focused on whether the rebellion was the first Indian nationalist movement. However, few scholars have focused solely on the works of Kaye in order to evaluate his interpretation of the Mutiny. Though his histories on the Sepoy War have been frequently used, historians have focused on Kaye's presentation of the facts of 1857-1858 instead of on his paternalistic arguments about the British-Indian relationship. Kaye refused to accept the general interpretation of the rebellion and examined a longer period of Indian history than others to determine the reasons for the revolt. Considering Kaye's expertise and experience in India, his response is significant. Kaye's attribution of the rebellion to the decline of paternalism through arrogant British behavior and cultural complaints which began in the eighteenth century is significant because it left the British partially culpable for the Mutiny. Unlike many of his contemporaries, Kaye continued to view Indians as eligible for positions of trust and still capable of advancing as a society. His contrary opinion on the reasons for the rebellion rested in his personal knowledge of India and his paternalistic viewpoint.

Kaye's view of India and the EIC's policies did not fit within any predominant theory. Kaye was not strictly an orientalist, utilitarian, or Anglicist in his writings about India. He varied from the orientalist viewpoint because he saw the value in importing western practices. Kaye's writings demonstrated that he approved of what he saw as western progress in India. These changes included restricting certain British behaviors, including licentious living and drinking, while also discouraging British men from adopting Indian practices and going "native." Kaye's writings displayed his pride in the changes within India since the late eighteenth century which helped to restrict British men from being orientalists. He wanted to see a more British society in India where British ideas of morality and western progress were upheld. Kaye's opinions were in many ways similar to the utilitarian's arguments in India. He was opposed to implementing reforms too quickly because he did not want to stir up discontent which would threaten British rule in India. Kaye believed that introducing British culture too much, especially anything that threatened Hindu and Muslim religious practices, was dangerous for the EIC to maintain peaceful rule. However, unlike other utilitarians, Kaye viewed the British enabling Indian progress not only as possible, but as necessary. His concern did not only lie with maintaining British power, but also assisting the people they ruled. Even though Kaye approved of many Anglicist measures, he thought that westernizing India too quickly would lead to unrest. Kaye believed that Christianity was beneficial for the people of India. He had a personal desire for proselytization to occur and a belief that there could be many conversions in India. Kaye also agreed with regulations and laws which restricted certain practices, such as the sati and infanticide. However, Kaye was particularly

concerned that a more official presence of missionaries would cause problems.

Kaye's writings do not fit within one predominant theory because he used the British paternalistic relationship with Indians as his basis for critiquing the EIC's policies in India.

In many cases, Kaye's viewpoints seemed contradictory. Kaye's writings represent a Victorian who tried to reconcile the overbearing nature of British imperialism with his liberating and progressive view of British tutelage. He desired to bring westernization to India, but also viewed it as detrimental to the paternalistic relationship. Kaye was proud of the moral advancement of Anglo-Indian society and the higher caliber of students who came from Haileybury and Addiscombe. Yet, he recognized these changes as damaging to the British-Indian relationship because it reduced the commonality between the two groups and created a haughty class of British officers. He was generally against war, but still found occasions where the British were justified to engage in warfare. Kaye wrote about the discontent that British changes brought to Indians and yet refused to blame the British for anything except for desiring to assist Indians. In many of proposed policies, he argued for a medium course of action to balance his desire for change while respecting Indian culture. Kaye's arguments about India are demonstrative of a Victorian who had to reconcile two opposing viewpoints.

Instead, Kaye balanced his desire for change with what he understood about Indian culture and mentality. He approved of certain types of land annexations and westernization reforms, while he was critical of others. The details of how and why the British made changes mattered to Kaye. He emphasized the importance of the

personal relationship between Indians and the British. He thought the security of British rule in India rested on each group understanding each other and being aware of each other's reactions. Close personal relationships meant that there would be more understanding between the two groups and less haughtiness from the British officers. These relationships helped the British keep a pulse on Indian discontent and plans, as was seen in the Bengal Mutiny.³¹⁶

More importantly, these personal relationships were a way of implementing change in India. Kaye expected the British to emulate the behaviors desired in their subjects. In this vein, Kaye believed that change could happen when leaders modeled moral and upright behaviors. Kaye insisted that change happened from a top-down approach. He attributed the personal lifestyle of George III as an important factor in what Kaye perceived as the moral upliftment of the people in Britain.³¹⁷ Just as history was made through the action and lives of greater men, the British in India had to live in such a manner that Indians could emulate. In Kaye's writings, this pattern of moral influence worked by the king modeling behaviors for the Governor-Generals who modeled behaviors for the British in India and finally having these behaviors emulated by Indians. These relationships were important because Kaye argued that a

³¹⁶ After the 1764 Bengal Mutiny, while the Indian troops were being punished, another mutiny almost occurred. The Indian officers warned General Munro about the rising discontent which allowed the British to stop any uprising through positioning the cannons and using heavy force to demand obedience.

³¹⁷ Kaye tracked the beneficial transformation of Anglo-Indian society as beginning during the reign of George III. Even though Queen Victoria is generally viewed as an icon of British morality and culture in nineteenth century Britain, Kaye did not write about this because he already viewed Anglo-Indian society as advanced. Instead, he focused on expansion and westernization practices during the reign of Victoria. It was also during her reign that the EIC lost its charter and control of India went to the Crown.

government was judged by the condition of its people and that it was the duty of the EIC to improve the condition of the people under it.

Kaye identified the weakening of this paternalistic bond before the rebellion through a growing cultural distance between the British and Indians and through westernization reforms causing discontent and fear. He viewed this as a downside to the progress that he otherwise praised. Kaye's approval of training British officers for India did not negate that these changes created a greater cultural divide between these two groups. Cultural differences created a growing haughtiness of the British and resentment of the sepoys. After the Sepoy War, Kaye more thoroughly examined the consequences of British actions in India and argued that this paternalistic bond had indeed been broken. This, in addition to the increasing westernization which also brought discontent in India, led Indians to fear and distrust the intentions of the British towards their caste and religions. Kaye argued that this fear of Indians led to the perfect circumstances for a revolt to occur. Even though he wrote about the greased cartridges, he documented that there were many other reasons for discontent within India, which once added together led to the greased cartridges being the starting point for the rebellion.

The rebellion did not alter Kaye's view of Indians and how the British should interact with their subjects. Kaye, unlike his contemporaries, continued to fight for the continuance of the EIC. This commitment to the EIC was based on Kaye's belief that the EIC had been a good agent of change and had not been directly responsible for the rebellion. The EIC had provided men who were dedicated to India, educated them to bring a high level of leadership to India, and brought steady changes to the

sub-continent. Gone were the days of the sati, infanticide, and the thugees. The EIC had diligently worked to remove these elements from the regions from the regions they controlled. It wisely balanced how to negotiate its involvement in evangelistic activities. Throughout his writings, Kaye documented his pride in how much Anglo-Indian and Indian society had advanced since 1800. For the future, Kaye argued that India continued to require a strong commitment from British individuals who worked in India. The EIC and a separate Indian army provided this commitment. Crown rule and army amalgamation threatened further decay of the British-Indian bond because of the constant interchange of personnel. Kaye did not allow the rebellion to alter his racial view of Indians. He continued to believe that Indians were capable of greater potential with the assistance of the British. Even though Kaye admitted his sorrow at the deaths of the Europeans during the rebellion, he still argued for reconciliation in India. Kaye believed the paternalistic bond between the British and Indians could be mended and eventually lead to Indian self-rule.

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