

to Bose and his Indian National Army and ends the narrative with the decolonization of the subcontinent and Indian partition.

Only in the epilogue does Judd face up to the fact that '[t]here are big and complex questions to confront, like the fundamental query, did Britain develop India or exploit it? In whose interests was the economy run? Was it better to have had efficient, alien rule or that of local elites? Was British administration as free of corruption as it seems to have been? Were the reforms of the twentieth century essentially self-serving or genuinely altruistic?' (191-192). Similar questions have bothered many a historian of colonialism and shaped much of what has been written on colonial history in the second half of the twentieth century. Judd yields to his insight that '[w]hether all of this [i.e. British colonialism in India] has been for better or worse is almost impossible to say' (200), and does not tackle any of these big questions in *The Lion and the Tiger*. This is even more surprising, as on the flipside of the dust jacket questions such as 'Were the British intent on development or exploitation?', 'Were they the "civilizing" force they claimed?' or 'What were Britain's greatest legacies [...]?' promise a thorough examination of these matters in the book. Instead of living up to the challenges that he has obviously set himself, Judd merely re-narrates the story of the Raj and refrains from dealing with said questions or from drawing any new conclusions. Thus, Judd serves old wine in a new bottle, presenting a familiar story in – sometimes – new words. This is, at the same time, the great strength and the conspicuous weakness of the book.

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Harald Fischer-Tine and Michael Mann, eds, *Colonialism as Civilizing Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India*. London, U.K.: Anthem Press, 2004. vi + 361 pp. ISBN: 1-84-331091-0 (hbk.); 1-84-331092-9 (pbk.).

This edited volume of thirteen chapters and an introductory essay is a welcome addition to the burgeoning literature on colonial South Asia because it represents the first systematic study of colonialism as civilizing mission. Surprisingly, this important topic has not received much attention, perhaps in part because the notion that colonial regimes pursued civilizing projects has been taken for granted and in part because the first waves of colonial studies in the post-independence era understandably fixated on postcolonial states, historical studies in particular addressing this subject by concentrating on the extent to which their contemporary condition had been fabricated by colonial political, economic, and social policies and practices. Only in the last decade or two have scholars turned to investigating colonialism as a cultural formation, as a cultural project whose technologies extended and consolidated colonial rule even as these efforts were reconfigured by the initiatives and impulses of indigenous societies.

The main emphasis of this book is on delineating, to use its opening line, 'the impact of the British "civilizing mission" upon India' (1). The strongest essays in the collection do this particularly effectively by treating this impact as a two-way street, as an interaction in which the colonized, too, had an effect upon British ideas and actions. Michael Mann's fine introduction entitled "'Torchbearers Upon the Path of Progress'" offers an overview of what the content of the *mission civilisatrice* was, highlighting the British civilizing mission as ostensibly a quest for the 'improvement', 'betterment' and the 'moral and material progress' of the colony. His essay – and the volume as a whole – is best in exploring the scientific, technological, economic, and moral rhetoric and practices that the colonial state utilized to assert its superiority. Less consistently fleshed out is the extent to which the civilization ideology drew on

and targeted cultural and social issues and institutions. Nor is there much in this volume on – and in fairness to it, nor is it its stated concern to engage – the ways in which the colonial projects in India had their counterparts in the metropole, connections that have attracted much attention in other recent writings on colonialism and imperialism.

The first set of essays by Mann on the colonial assault on the notion of Oriental Despotism in Bengal in the late eighteenth century, Margret Frenz on the British 'concept of rule' as applied to the 'Race of Monsters' said to inhabit Malabar in the late eighteenth century, and Jana Tschurennev on the development of the colonial policy on sati leading up to its prohibition in 1829 are appropriately grouped together in Part I under the heading of 'Trial and Error'. They show the fits and starts that characterized the efforts of the new colonial regime to proclaim and impose its superiority and dominance over the 'supposed inferiority of the Indian civilization'. They also provide a useful context in which to understand the historical development of the civilizing ideology in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a historical context that is well worth underscoring because the ideology of rule evolved and changed over time and place.

The opening set of essays are also valuable in alerting us to the dangers of blithely accepting colonial categories that envisioned the West and India in terms of such simplistic binaries as 'black-white, traditional-modern, despotic-democratic' (53). The reality on the ground was much more complicated, as all the essays in this volume appear to recognize, although some make more of an attempt to address the kinds of conflicts and negotiations that ensued in the course of implementing the 'civilizing mission'. For example, how does one get beyond narrating this tale as an 'impact' story if one cannot voice to the Pazhassi Raja, who figures in Frenz's essay, or the 'suttees', who Tschurennev suggests may have consciously decided on immolating themselves.

Part II, organized under the rubric of 'Ordering and Modernizing', consists of chapters by Ravi Ahuja on how the development of railways was tied into the civilizing mission, on the one hand and pilgrimage practices in Orissa on the other hand; Malavika Kasturi on colonial interventions in the practice of female infanticide among Rajputs in North India; and Melita Waligora on the colonial ethnography that was produced to explain the caste system in nineteenth-century Bengal. The first two contributions are an especially good fit with the aims of the volume; the Waligora essay a little less so because it opens with a survey of the caste literature and then turns to reviewing briefly how caste classifications developed by Buchanan Hamilton (1762-1829) and Herbert Risley (1851-1911) served colonial interests. As is true of all the chapters in this volume, these three essays, no doubt abbreviated versions of much longer and more fully developed analyses published elsewhere, recognize to varying degrees – explicitly or implicitly – that colonial policies and practices were shot through with 'contradictions and inconsistencies' that generated unexpected and complex consequences. For instance, in many areas railways were built to capitalize on pilgrim traffic and different groups of Rajputs at times followed differential patterns of female infanticide.

The third section of this collection concentrates on colonial efforts to discipline the 'Body and Mind' of their subjects both discursively and in practice. The articles here, on the whole, give more play to Indian responses and initiatives. Paul Dimeo's article on 'Sporting and the "Civilizing Mission" in India' briefly looks at sports as 'a metaphor for, and an embodiment of, colonialism' (178). It rightly points to the complexities of government attempts to recruit sports to uphold 'the fantasy of colonial domination', particularly given the fact that Indian teams eventually bested their

British competitors. James H. Mills provides a snippet of his larger work on lunatic asylums and psychiatric practice, this particular bit taking on the issue of whether it was more important for the colonial psychiatric regime to civilize their patients or subdue them. His significant conclusion, which can probably be applied to many other colonial endeavors, is that British efforts were 'hedged in by other ideas and agendas that checked and limited the grander fantasies of reform' (190). Similar dilemmas and outcomes resulted from colonial efforts at 'Smallpox Prevention and Medical Benevolence in Early Colonial South India' as Neils Brimnes's article reveals. He also makes a telling point about the kind of tailoring that had to take place in order for the civilizing mission to fit local conditions that deserves additional consideration – in his essay as well as in all the other pieces. Other 'ideas and agendas', as Mridula Ramanna demonstrates in her chapter, also intervened in colonial sanitary and medical projects in Bombay between 1900 and 1914. Her emphasis though is on showing that there was 'opposition and competition between the western import and the established Indian system at most times, and... limited borrowings at others' (205).

The fourth set of essays casts the spotlight on 'The Civilizing Mission Internalized'. Although the three chapters in this final section highlight Indian actors more so than do most of the other chapters, they sit a little less comfortably with the rest of the volume, in part because they deal with the twentieth century when rules, rulers, and ruled were operating in a different colonial and global milieu and in part because they have more of a bottoms-up perspective. Interestingly enough, Harald Fischer-Tiné's essay on 'National Education, Pulp Fiction and the Contradictions of Colonialism' finds dissension within the official imperial discourse even as it also uncovers contradictions within the so-called traditionalist and nationalist educational institution known as the Gurukul Kangri. The next chapter by Benjamin Zachariah focuses on J.C. Kumarappa (1892-1960) and his version of Gandhism as it pertained to his nationalist and developmental agendas. The volume ends with Markus Daechsel's portrayal of Ghulam Jilani Barq (b. 1901) as a leader who sought to win over the Muslims of Punjab by offering a discourse that attempted to reconcile (not too successfully) his vision of a civilizing mission that championed western modernity with his Islamic faith.

As with any edited volume, the thirteen essays in this collection are of uneven quality. Taken together, however, they add up to the first comprehensive study of the British colonial mission to 'civilize' India and Indians and the resistances to it.

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Judith E. Walsh, *Domesticity in Colonial India: What Women Learned when Men Gave Them Advice*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2004. xviii + 235 pp. ISBN: 0-742-52936-3 (hbk.); 0-742-52937-1 (pbk.).

With few exceptions, at the centre of most studies on the modern recasting of Indian womanhood in the mid- to late nineteenth century stands the elite Hindu/Brahmo Bengali woman (Bandyopadhyay 1991, 1994, 1995; Banerjee 1989; Borthwick 1984; Chakrabarty 1994; Chakravarti 1990; Chatterjee 1989, 1993; Karlekar 1991; Murshid 1983; S. Sarkar 1985; T. Sarkar 1989, 1999, 2001). There is perhaps an explanation for this precedence of Bengal in the historical scholarship on Indian modernity and the impact of colonialism/ nationalism on the social architecture of femininity and domesticity: Calcutta, the capital of the Bengal Presidency, and of British India in the nineteenth century, was a centre of nationalist ferment and social reforms that had enduring effects on the lives of Indian women. By comparison, there