

Ethnology and colonial administration in nineteenth-century British India: the question of native crime and criminality

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Abstract. This paper examines the central role of ethnology, the science of race, in the administration of colonial India. This occurred on two levels. First, from the late eighteenth century onwards, proto-scientists and administrators in India engaged with metropolitan theorists through the provision of data on native society and habits. Second, these same agents were continually and reciprocally influenced in the collection and use of such data by the political doctrines and scientific theories that developed over the course of this period. Among the central interests of ethnographer-administrators was the native criminal and this paper uses knowledge developed about native crime and criminality to illustrate the way science became integral to administration in the colonial domain.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the contribution of ethnology, the science of race, to administration in nineteenth-century British India. During this period ethnological investigations were conducted into a wide range of questions on native society and conduct where administrative and scientific interests coincided. The theories of liberal governance that developed during this period sought to provide an intellectual justification for British rule at home and – perhaps less successfully – abroad and, in doing so, both drew upon the product and influenced the direction of scientific enquiry. Colonial administrators were subject to both these forces. Their thinking about how India ought best to be governed was structured in light of metropolitan political doctrines, such as those advanced by James Mill, John Stuart Mill and James Fitzjames Stephen. Yet the armoury of that theorizing was a certain kind of knowledge about Indian society and culture, a knowledge developed, shaped and elaborated in the process of colonial administration. This paper will attempt to draw out these connections, showing, first, how the approach to ethnological investigation was crucially structured by ideas of individual autonomy, civilization and governance and, second, how the raw material of such ethnological investigations became critical in decisions about the governance of marginalized and supposedly criminal communities.

The difficulty facing the historian attempting to chronicle this period is that these various enterprises of imperial administration, science and ideas of government, although contemporaneous, shifted in their relative significance and influence at different points throughout the century. They were not connected or driven by a single overarching ideological framework and, indeed, progress within each field was characterized

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as much by dissent over appropriate courses as by any unity of outlook or direction. Those who have sought to understand these events have tended to emphasize the way in which knowledge in its different forms – the scientific tract, legal or political treatise, epic novel, travel journal or parliamentary speech – sought to underwrite the projects of the day. Looking across this literature¹ it is possible to discern in British thought of the nineteenth century what might be termed a Victorian episteme, or a set of foundational assumptions about knowledge and its importance to the projects of that era. One sphere in which such coinciding interests may be observed is the issue, both administrative and scientific, of native crime and criminality. The birth of a modern discourse on crime in Britain features as part of this, but it is a part that emerges later rather than earlier in the period.² By the time notions of habituation to crime or hereditary criminality emerged in British domestic discourse in the 1860s more than half a century of historical, ethnological and biological enquiry into the status and ordering of humankind in India had firmly located and described the hereditary criminal type. These programmes of research – scientific, quasi-scientific, amateur and administrative – provide something of a case study of the important role played by ethnology in the development and extension of British power and authority in India.

The remainder of this paper will attempt to chart the progress and convergences in thinking on race and governance as they were drawn together and acted upon in the process of colonial administration. Ethnological investigations into India's criminal communities were important to the administrator-scholars of the East India Company and, from 1858, the Government of India, for reasons reflecting both their practical and scholarly interests. The first section will lay the background to this by sketching very briefly some of the key ideas of nineteenth-century racial theory. The fact that some of the main objects of this ethnological attention, such as liberty and morality, were far more social than scientific in character may be explained in part by the pervasive influence of liberal political doctrine. The second section will describe the way in which this metropolitan liberalism significantly shaped ethnological, and by extension administrative, enquiry in India. Just how this occurred in practice will be described in the next section. Ethnological investigations of native criminality were central to understanding the phenomenon of *thuggee* and were later recruited to support policies directed towards the so-called 'criminal tribes' of northern India. This section will show how ethnological theorizing, importantly influenced by a liberal teleology of progress,

1 See, for example, T. Asad (ed.), *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*, London, 1973; Z. Baber, *The Science of Empire: Scientific Knowledge, Civilization and Colonial Rule in India*, New York, 1996; C. A. Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars: North Indian Society in the Age of Colonial Expansion 1770–1880*, Cambridge, 1983; C. Breckenridge, 'The aesthetics and politics of colonial collecting: India at World Fairs', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (1989), 32, 195–215; P. Chatterjee, *Texts of Power: Emerging Disciplines in Colonial Bengal*, Minneapolis, 1995; B. S. Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*, Princeton, 1996; W. Ernst and B. Harris (eds.), *Race, Science and Medicine, 1700–1960*, London, 1999; J. Gascoigne, *Science in the Service of Empire: Joseph Banks, the British State and the Uses of Science in the Age of Revolution*, Cambridge, 1998; T. R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*, Cambridge, 1994; R. Singha, *A Despotism of Law: Crime and Justice in Early Colonial India*, Delhi, 1998.

2 See, for example, M. Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal: Culture, Law and Policy in England, 1830–1914*, Cambridge, 1990.

was central to the conceptualization and implementation of the criminal tribes policy from its introduction in 1871 through into the twentieth century. The paper concludes with a discussion of the significance of this socio-cultural ethnology to the task of colonial administration.

The emergence of scientific race theory

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, places and people were known principally through their history. Moreover, the influential position of scriptural theory meant that foreign cultures, religions and people were often slotted into biblical tales as a way of accounting for the diaspora of God's folk to distant parts of the world.³ To the extent that racial theory could be said to have had a scientific dimension at this time, it was in the notion that knowledge of race would in some way emerge from data if enough of it were collected. In India colonial archaeologists, ethnologists and administrators since the late eighteenth century had established vast compilations of such facts, about the country and its history and society.⁴ From these facts had emerged ideas about race and caste and their function in native society, but their practical significance in a wider sphere remained at that time ambiguous. In this connection, Bates argues that although by about 1850 in India 'notions of racial difference and of the distinctive characteristics of so-called "castes" and "tribes" were becoming established, no-one had yet attempted actually to measure, codify and standardise these differences in anything other than anecdotal or religious terms'.⁵

Something of a solution to this was to appear within a few years, in the wake of the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859). Although Darwin's theory of evolution directly contested what were to become some of the central axioms of race theory throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century,⁶ the idea of evolution itself provided the heuristic key that race theory had to that point been lacking. Suddenly the practical significance of race became apparent. If humankind had evolved in a process of progressively more successful adaptations, race could explain the progress of civilization and, thus, of forms of social organization, political consciousness and government. Previous methods of mining human history, such as archaeology and palaeontology, had been limited by their reliance upon what could be extracted from beneath the ground. Race theory, on the other hand, offered the prospect of viewing the entire progress of humankind in one contemporary snapshot. Different races, with their

3 Cohn, *op. cit.* (1).

4 See, for example, F. Buchan, *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, 3 vols., London, 1807; W. Hunter, 'Some account of the astronomical labours of Jayasinha, Raja of Ambhere or Jayanagar', *Asiatick Researches* (1799), 5, 177–211; J. Rennell, *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan: or the Mughal Empire*, London, 1792; Capt. D. Richardson, 'An account of the Bazeegurs, a sect commonly denominated Nuts', *Asiatick Researches* (1808), 7, 451–79; J. Shakespeare, 'Observations regarding Badheks and T'hegs', *Asiatick Researches* (1820), 13, 282–92; H. Vansittart, 'The descent of the Afghans from the Jews', *Asiatick Researches* (1784), 2, 67–76.

5 C. Bates, 'Race, caste and tribe in central India: the early origins of Indian anthropometry' in *The Concept of Race in South Asia* (ed. P. Robb), Delhi, 1995, 219–59, 238.

6 Such as the concept of racial progress – see A. Kuper, *The Invention of Primitive Society*, London, 1988.

differing levels of civilization and social organization, now could be understood to fall on a scientifically grounded continuum of human development. The race hierarchies of old, such as those derived from the monogenicist doctrine of degeneration, had lacked such an underpinning.⁷ Darwin's theory of evolution thus opened up the whole world as an experimental laboratory for the examination of human origins and, importantly, for an insight into Britain's own rise through history. Although ethnologists and anthropologists would need to look to their own back yard for recent evidence of social evolution, and ethnologies of Britain were undertaken in this spirit,⁸ it was the colonies where 'inferior' races were to be found that would prove to be the focal point of scientific interest. In this respect, India was a jewel in the British scientific crown. It was felt to hold, as if like a crucible, all the diversity of humankind down the ages. On this note the Governor of Bengal, George Campbell, wrote in 1866 in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* that

it is now evident, that as this country, in a far greater degree than any other in the world, offers an unlimited field for ethnological observation and enquiry, and presents an infinity of varieties of almost every one of the great divisions of the human race, so also there is no lack of able and qualified men to reap this abundant harvest.⁹

These administrator-scholars who collected data in India and who by this activity engaged themselves in the pan-European scientific debates of the day were thus concerned with more than simply colonial organization. This certainly does not accord with the image of the narrow imperial strategist as colonial bureaucrat presented by writers like Inden.¹⁰ It is representative, however, of a more recent trend in Indianist scholarship that has revisited with more detailed attention the colonial and Victorian texts of the time. Illustrative of this revisionist critique is Bates's argument on the present point that

it is in the unique relationships and in the transmission of ideas between a relatively small intellectual elite in America and Europe, and in the colonial administrations in Africa, the Middle East and Asia at this time that we may find the origins of the modern conception of race.¹¹

Similarly, speaking with reference to the development of physical sciences and the techniques of mapping and cartography in India, Baber emphasizes how until the mid-nineteenth century few were able to engage in 'science' as a full-time profession and scientific progress and metropolitan theorizing thus relied heavily upon the administrator-scholars working in the colonies.¹² More recently, in pursuing this theme he has shown how colonial administration functioned as a stepping stone into scientific careers

7 See S. J. Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, New York, 1996.

8 J. Beddoe, 'On the testimony of local phenomena in the West of England to the permanence of racial types', *Memoirs of the Anthropological Society of London* (1865–6), 2, 37–45; J. Beddoe, *The Races of Britain: A Contribution to the Anthropology of Western Europe*, London, 1885.

9 G. Prakash, *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India*, Princeton, 1999.

10 R. Inden, *Imagining India*, Oxford, 1990.

11 Bates, op. cit. (5), 221.

12 Baber, op. cit. (1).

and how, also, not only Western scientific knowledge but also its institutions developed out of the colonial encounter.¹³

European writers in the metropolis were thus actively involved in furnishing the theoretical frameworks that assisted colonial administrator-scholars in making sense of their data. Among the most influential of these in the period after Darwin's *Origin of Species* was recapitulation theory, presented by the German zoologist Ernst Haeckel and summarized in the phrase 'ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny'.¹⁴ Haeckel's thesis was that the human individual, in the stages of its development, represents in miniature the stages of human evolution. Each stage of development from the embryo onwards reflects a chronological stage in adult evolutionary development. As Gould puts it, 'an individual, in short, climbs its own family tree'.¹⁵ Races could thus be plotted for their stage of development on this continuum, from ape to male European aristocrat. Between these points lay apish races like the Australian Aborigine, the more developed Negroid groups, the still further developed Indo-Europeans of the Indian subcontinent and, of course, at the pinnacle of human development, the Aryan races of Europe, of whom the Nordics were regarded, at least by some, as supreme.¹⁶ Moreover, science came to be used not only as a tool for the measurement of such differences but also as a cultural measure in its own right, as the following passage written by E. B. Tylor in 1871 attests:

Civilization actually existing among mankind in different grades, we are enabled to estimate and compare it by positive examples. The educated world of Europe and America practically settles a standard by simply placing its own nations at one end of the social series and savage tribes at the other, arranging the rest of mankind between these limits according as they correspond more closely to savage or to cultured life. The principal criteria of classification are the absence or presence, high or low development of the industrial arts ... the extent of scientific knowledge, the definiteness of moral principles, the condition of religious belief and ceremony, the degree of social and political organization, and so forth. Thus on the definite basis of compared facts, ethnographers are able to set up at least a rough scale of civilization. Few would dispute that the following races are arranged rightly in order of culture: Australian, Tahitian, Aztec, Chinese, Italian.¹⁷

This description of the indices upon which a society might be measured and ranked has another significant feature. Tylor's listing of ethnographic classification criteria reveals just how broad was the scope of such a nominally scientific investigation and how broadly 'social' were its criteria. This is indeed one of the more notable features of colonial ethnology in the second part of the nineteenth century. While it had on the one hand cast off the Sanskritic analysis of comparative philology and the early Orientalists, it remained for some time unmoved by the more physiologically determined racial

13 Z. Baber, 'Colonizing nature: scientific knowledge, colonial power and the incorporation of India into the modern world-system', *British Journal of Sociology* (2001), 52, 37–58.

14 Gould, op. cit. (7).

15 Gould, op. cit. (7), 143.

16 Gould, op. cit. (7), 144. For comparison between martial Rajputs and Scandinavian peoples see J. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, or the Central and Western Rajput States of India*, London, 1829–32.

17 Quoted in F. G. Hutchins, *The Illusion of Permanence: British Imperialism in India*, Princeton, 1967.

science then developing in the metropolitan context.¹⁸ Although the latter part of the century would see H. H. Risley's important equation of biological race with caste and his development of anthropometry, and in the sphere of criminal investigation the development in Bengal of a system of fingerprint identification,¹⁹ from the 1860s onwards there developed an important socio-cultural strain within ethnology. The next section will draw out this relationship between ethnology and governance, revealing how ideas about government worked to fashion this quite specific form of ethnological investigation.

Liberal ontology and the structure of ethnographic research

Addressing the House of Commons prior to passage of the Charter Act 1833, T. B. Macaulay, who would shortly depart for a post on the Governor General's Council in India, argued that 'no nation can be perfectly well governed till it is competent to govern itself'.²⁰ In doing so he was giving voice to an axiom of orthodox liberalism, to an assumption that would run through the work of political theorists like John Stuart Mill and would permeate the thinking about India by liberal governors general, viceroys and administrators alike.²¹ In fact, the ideal of self-government was itself required by a set of ontological assumptions that underpinned the liberal world view. These included the abstract assumptions of the value of liberty, utility and individuality, but they were superintended by the enlightenment assumption of human rationality and by what Uday Mehta terms a 'teleology of progress'.²² Together these formed the structure of orthodox liberal thought. Rational, autonomous individuals should be free to exercise choice and conduct themselves and their interactions with others without coercion or constraint. The bounds of this freedom were provided by the principle of utility – that the greater good of both the individual and society should guide decisions about what constituted reasonable choices and courses of action. Laid across this, and serving to make sense of human agency, was a valorization of progress. The objective to which individuals and societies should aspire was a movement forwards, a progress, towards some indefinite, ideal end.

Yet when writers like J. S. Mill dealt with the assumption of human rationality and freedom of choice, they encountered an anomaly. Although the ontological universalism of enlightenment rationalism made all equally capable in potential, the case of children plainly illustrated that an unformed reason if given its head could lead to choices that would operate against the principle of utility. Thus was established in liberal theory an intervention of social or psychological conditions upon the absolute right of an individual to exercise free choice. For children, the liberal regime of

18 For a discussion of the relationship between the two, see T. R. Trautmann, *Aryans and British India*, Berkeley, 1997.

19 Bengal Police, *Criminal Identification by Means of Anthropometry*, 2nd edn., Calcutta, 1895.

20 T. B. Macaulay, *Speeches, Parliamentary and Miscellaneous*, 2 vols., London, 1853, i, 183.

21 See, generally, Hutchins, *op. cit.* (17); R. J. Moore, *Liberalism and Indian Politics, 1872–1922*, London, 1966; U. S. Mehta, *Liberalism and Empire: A Study of Nineteenth-Century British Liberal Thought*, Chicago, 1999; E. Stokes, *The English Utilitarians and India*, Oxford, 1959.

22 Mehta, *op. cit.* (21).

education would operate to form their thought, to prepare them for an autonomous life and to ensure that when they did exercise choice they made choices of the right sort. The liberal doctrines of rationality and liberty were thus predicated and qualified by a maxim of capacity. In *Considerations on Representative Government*, published in 1861, J. S. Mill described how the ideal of extending representative government to all peoples must in the same way be qualified by this criterion of capacity.²³ A savage or barbarous people, he argued, were not fit for the exercise of political liberties. But if they were to be judiciously governed by a more advanced civilization, savage societies like India could be prepared for eventual self-government. Governance, thus, would work like a motor to propel a society from one state of civilization to the next:

The state of different communities, in point of culture and development, ranges downwards to a condition very little above the highest of the beasts. The upward range too is considerable ... A community can only be developed out of one of these states into a higher, by a concurrence of influences, among the principal of which is the government to which they are subject.²⁴

In this 'lesson which the pupils, in this stage of their progress, require' the government 'must be nearly, or quite, despotic',²⁵ for its aim was to teach the savage mind those disciplines of individual self-government – obedience to law, restraint, public spirit, the value of suffrage – that pave the way for representative government. Such tutelage, a 'government of leading strings', seemed to Mill from historical analysis 'to be the one required to carry such a people most rapidly through the next necessary step in social progress'.²⁶ Laying the ground for the socio-cultural ethnologies that would inform a government of such people, Mill proposed that knowledge was required of the specific defects of individual capacity and culture that hampered the society. Only then could a benevolent despotism such as that which he proposed secure its goal of societal uplift:

To determine the form of government most suited to any particular people, we must be able, among the defects and shortcomings which belong to that people, to distinguish those that are the immediate impediment to progress; to discover what it is which (as it were) stops the way. The best government for them is the one which tends most to give them that for want of which they cannot advance, or advance only in a lame and lopsided manner. We must not, however, forget the reservation necessary in all things which have for their object improvement, or Progress; namely, that in seeking the good which is needed, no damage, or as little as possible, be done to that already possessed.²⁷

Part of the groundwork for such an analysis of native society had been laid in the monumental *History of British India*, published in 1817, by his father James Mill. Here, Indian society was presented as degraded, degenerate and almost entirely without merit. Indeed, even the remarkable achievements of Indian mathematicians and astronomers were set aside as ingenuity of a wasteful, contemptible and mischievous kind

23 J. S. Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government*, London, 1861. Reprinted in *Essays on Politics and Society by John Stuart Mill* (ed. J. M. Robinson), Toronto, 1977.

24 Mill, *Essays*, op. cit. (23), 394.

25 Mill, *Essays*, op. cit. (23), 394.

26 Mill, *Essays*, op. cit. (23), 396.

27 Mill, *Essays*, op. cit. (23), 396.

since they were made in the pursuit of astrology.²⁸ James Mill's *History* utilized three strategies of representation that were to become central to the liberal resolution to the question of how best to analyse and interpret non-Western societies and cultures. Uday Mehta has broadly identified the first two of these, though in a somewhat different context to the present discussion.²⁹ First was the recruitment of history – as a concept – and historical analysis – as a strategy – into a quasi-scientific exercise of making normative assessments of individual rationality and the readiness of societies and peoples for self-government. History, in this case, attains importance as a metric of progress. As Mehta observes, the Enlightenment ideal of progress that so underpinned liberal thought was both made possible and evidenced by history. Without such a record of the state of society and ideas through time, not only would it be impossible to represent the progress of societies up to the present, but so too it would be difficult to establish a trajectory for their progress into the future. Past, present and future become critical reference points in liberals' cultural and civilizational auditing of societies. That, in fact, was the principal purpose of James Mill's *History*: to establish the position of India against a universal standard of civilizational progress.

In order to locate such progress upon the continuum of time, a second strategy of representation was utilized by Mill. This involved the benchmarking of European progress as, in a sense, 'on time', and thus the designation of societies with non-Western social structures as civilizationally 'backward'. In this context the purposes of history and scientific ethnology were conjoined. An ethnology of backward societies would by definition mean an accounting of a society's history and the identification of levels of cultural progress attained on the different dimensions of civilization, the broad outlines of which will be recalled from Tylor's summary of ethnographic classification criteria cited above. In this exercise the distinction between the group and its individual members becomes muted. The science of race interpolated the characteristics of individuals through knowledge gained of the wider social group or type. This was particularly the case with ethnologies undertaken in India where, as H. H. Risley would put it in his *People of India*, caste and the stalled progress of society had left social types relatively isolated, pure and unmixed.³⁰

A final representational strategy established in Mill's *History*, but perhaps more effectively elaborated by writers like Macaulay and J. S. Mill, runs at cross-purposes to the last. While ethnological knowledge focused on the characteristics of the group or type, and transposed those characteristics onto the individual, liberal thought also required that a space be left for individual potential to shine through. Such a distinction between group and individual was theoretically important, for liberalism's universal individual subject required that all human beings should be regarded equal in capacity or potential, even while historical and ethnological data – Tylor's 'positive examples' – provided prima facie evidence of vast disparities in civilizational progress. Although the distinction proved difficult to sustain for those whose historical or ethnographic interest was more administrative than scholarly, and in the face of a rising

28 Trautmann, op. cit. (18), 123.

29 Mehta, op. cit. (21), Chapter 3.

30 Metcalf, op. cit. (1), Chapter 4.

racist tendency in the latter part of the century, it was in fact a crucial element of the link between socio-cultural ethnology and governance. It was resolved by Macaulay, for instance, who was scathing of the debased practices of native culture, by placing an emphasis on the redemptive potential of education. For J. S. Mill, as we have seen, it was the engine of good government that would raise a people to higher civilization and teach them the arts of self-government. In the section that follows, the combination of these three tendencies within socio-cultural ethnography and their recruitment to the task of governance will be examined in the specific instance of crime control.

Ethnological investigations into crime and native society

Questions of public order and safety had concerned British administrators since the establishment of the East India Company's authority in Bengal in 1765. Yet, as writers on this period have noted,³¹ information collected on crime and criminals in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was at best patchy and haphazard. Indeed, even criminal statistics, ostensibly the most elementary form of bureaucratic knowledge about disorder and the legal response to it, were far from satisfactory. Basudeb Chattopadhyay reports the first Inspector General of Police in Bengal noting in 1863 that, 'Under the old regime, there were many different ways of recording the amount of crime' and a frustrated Governor General describing such statistics as 'mere dry epitomes of figured abstracts displaying very little information of any interest'.³² The evolution of more detailed information on crime and criminals was slow, but it also mirrored in important ways the contours of ethnographic thinking as that science emerged and was shaped and reshaped from the early nineteenth century onwards. The primary focus of this section will be with the use of socio-cultural ethnographic data in the development and administration of policies directed at the so-called 'criminal tribes' of northern India after mid-century. It is perhaps worth observing, however, that this latter form of ethnology, shaped as has been described by the doctrines of liberalism that informed colonial administration from mid-century onwards,³³ was preceded by a form of ethnographic criminal investigation that reflected the dominant philological discourses of early century.

Consistent with the philological presumption that the medium of language provided key insights into social and cultural history and difference, ethnographic analyses of the *thuggee* phenomenon of the 1820s and 1830s concentrated very much upon the argot of these gangs.³⁴ Perhaps the best example of this early ethnographic-administrative

31 See, for example, B. Chattopadhyay, *Crime and Control in Early Colonial Bengal*, Calcutta, 2000; J. Fisch, *Cheap Lives and Dear Limbs: The British Transformation of the Bengal Criminal Law 1769–1817*, Wiesbaden, 1983; R. Singha, op. cit. (1).

32 Chattopadhyay, op. cit. (31), p. ix.

33 Mehta, op. cit. (21).

34 Thugs and the crime of thuggee emerged into the light of administrative consciousness around 1810. Thuggee was supposedly a cult form of murder involving strangulation of the victim with a silk scarf and sanctified by the Hindu goddess Kali (sometimes known as Devi). See M. Brown 'Crime, governance and the Company Raj: the discovery of thuggee', *British Journal of Criminology* (2002), 42, 77–95; Singha, op. cit. (1), 168–228.

connection is the case of the extirpation of thuggee by Captain (later Sir) W. H. Sleeman, who headed up the Department of Thagi and Dakaiti established in 1830 by the reformist Governor General Lord Bentinck. Published in 1836, *Ramaseeana, or a Vocabulary of the Peculiar Language used by the Thugs, with an Introduction and Appendix, Descriptive of the System Pursued by that Fraternity and of the Measures which have been Adopted by the Supreme Government of India for its Suppression* is Sleeman's attempt to illustrate how his breaking of the code of language provided entry into the world of the thugs and so then the key to undoing their system of crime. Combined with a historical narrative of the thugs' descent from bands 'who, in the sixteenth century infested the roads ... between Delhi and Agra'³⁵ and an account of their contemporary forms of practice and belief, Sleeman attempted in *Ramaseeana* to represent language as the final factor providing for an understanding of thug behaviour. He had collected and interpreted 'every thing to which Thugs in any part of India have thought it necessary to assign a peculiar term' and was 'satisfied that there is no term, omen or usage that they have intentionally concealed' from him, though if such had in fact occurred 'they can be but comparatively few and unimportant'.³⁶

The case of Sleeman and the thuggee campaign is significant not only for the connections that may be observed between administrative strategy and contemporary thinking in ethnology. It also represents perhaps the earliest clear example of Company officers buttressing ordinary criminal investigation and prosecution techniques with ethnographic ideas. The confessions of thug approvers from which Sleeman derived his *Vocabulary* became the central feature of prosecutions of thug gangs, most of whom left little if any evidence of their crimes to form the basis of a normal prosecution case. Moreover, the Thagi and Dakaiti Department, with its extensive network of informers and deep penetration into native society, became until at least the mid-1870s a key location within the colonial bureaucracy for the collection of ethnographic data on native criminals and what might be described as the native cultures of crime.

The scope of the Thagi and Dakaiti Department's work was narrowed under the police reforms of the 1860s to the territories of native rulers. Criminal gangs tended to retreat to these enclaves after committing offences in British territory, however, and as a consequence the Department continued to have a strong voice in law and order policy. Obviously, one issue of contention was the extent to which native rulers could be expected to cooperate with British efforts to apprehend gangs pursued over these territorial boundaries. In the late 1860s, however, the then Superintendent of the Department, Colonel Chas Hervey, began alerting the Government of India in Calcutta to the depredations of so-called criminal communities based in northern India who extended their plundering expeditions throughout central India and even into western Bengal.³⁷ In fact, the governments of the Punjab and North-Western Provinces had since

35 W. H. Sleeman, *Ramaseeana, or a Vocabulary of the Peculiar Language used by the Thugs, with an Introduction and Appendix, Descriptive of the System Pursued by that Fraternity and of the Measures which have been Adopted by the Supreme Government of India for its Suppression*, Calcutta, 1836, 11.

36 Sleeman, op. cit. (35), 3.

37 Collected at India Office Records, British Library (hereafter IOR) Government of Punjab (Home), November 1875 No. 1 (A).

the mid-1850s been experimenting with a number of strategies to curtail such tribes' activities. But the confluence of interests that emerged in the late 1860s between the federal Thagi and Dakaiti Department and the provincial governments of northern India now brought criminal communities to centre stage and signalled the emergence of what would come to be known as the criminal tribes policy.

The events that had occurred in the Punjab and North-Western Provinces in the decade before 1867 in fact prefigured much of the thinking about so-called criminal communities that would develop over the next half-century or more. The case of the Punjab is illustrative. In 1856 the Punjab Government issued an executive order providing for the internment of three 'criminal' tribes, the Sansis, Harnis and Baurias. Ostensibly the internment settlements aimed to restrict these tribes' movement, provide for more constant surveillance of their activities and wean them from criminal to agricultural activity. As a number of writers noted at the time, however, these communities were strongly averse to agriculture and to sedentary life generally, meaning that many settlements failed to provide sufficient food for their own needs and came to depend upon food aid. As Lepel Griffin, Secretary to the Government of Punjab, later put it in a letter to the Government of India, 'They have an almost invincible repugnance to agriculture.'³⁸ Notwithstanding such practical failures of the settlement experiment, the Punjab Chief Court in 1867 struck out the executive order providing for it as a form of illegal detention. While this might have been taken as an opportunity to let a dead idea lie, it in fact provided the spur for the governments of the Punjab and North-Western Provinces to petition the Government of India for a national law to deal with what was by then being represented (particularly by the Department of Thagi and Dakaiti) as a crime plague perpetrated by itinerant and semi-nomadic communities. The North-Western Provinces Government was asked to produce draft legislation and by late 1870 a bill for the *Registration of Criminal Tribes and Eunuchs*³⁹ was being circulated to the provincial and presidency governments for comment.

The sort of data recruited in 1870 to support the criminalization of entire communities marks a period of transformation in the bureaucratic use of ethnographic data on native crime and criminals. At this stage, data both gathered in support of the bill and presented in responses made by governments and interested parties, such as police inspectors general, magistrates or justices, tended to a kind of narrative historicization of criminal conduct and recounting of notorious crimes.⁴⁰ While the latter were more frequent, the forms of historicization included in these papers set a pattern for the representation of tribes in years to come. At least two sorts are readily identifiable. The first attempted to present criminal conduct as a hereditary and caste-sanctioned professional creed. In one of the more infamous statements associated with the first reading

38 National Archive of India (hereafter NAI) Government of Punjab (Home), July 1879 No. 20 (A).

39 This second object of the bill, which did proceed into law, has received little attention. It was directed at a 'eunuch problem' in the North-Western Provinces.

40 NAI Government of India (hereafter GOI) Legislative Department, November 1871 No. 44–127 (A).

of the bill, the law member of the Viceroy's Council, J. F. Stephen, quoted from a report given by the Commissioner of East Berar:

We all know that traders go by castes in India: a family of carpenters now will be a family of carpenters a century or five centuries hence, if they last so long, so will grain dealers, blacksmiths, leather makers and every other known trade. ...

If only we keep this in mind when we speak of 'professional criminals' we shall then realize what the term really does mean. It means a tribe whose ancestors were criminals from time immemorial who are themselves destined by the usages of caste to commit crime and whose dependants will be offenders against the law, until the whole tribe is exterminated or accounted for in the manner of the thugs.

Therefore when a man tells you he is a Buddhuk or a Kunjar or a Sunoria he tells you (what few Europeans ever thoroughly realize) that he is an offender against the law, has been so from the beginning and will be so to the end; that reform is impossible, for it is his trade, his caste, I may almost say his religion, to commit crime.⁴¹

Central to such statements was a crucial meshing of quasi-scientific ideas about hereditary behaviour (phrased in the bill as an 'addiction to non-bailable offences') with a logical linking of conduct, 'profession' and caste. Since Sleeman's dealings with the thugs the idea of hereditary criminal conduct had found a place in official discourse on crime. But by the late 1860s, with the development of more elaborate 'scientific' taxonomies of criminal behaviour, the presumption that Indian society harboured hereditary criminal communities was widespread.⁴² This was supported by a second form of historicization, which was the recruitment of historical data to illustrate either the permanence of such conduct down the ages or the existence of some form of historically causal set of events that would explain the continuity in tribes' behaviour. J. F. Stephen, again in the first reading of the bill, illustrated this in his description of the Burwar tribe:

More than four centuries ago, one of the tribes was ploughing a field close to a river. A woman who belonged to the family of a rich banker came to the river bank to bathe, and having taken off her necklace of pearls of great value, put it on the ground and went into the water. A kite or crow took the pearl necklace in its claws or beak and flew away. This jewel fell into the field which the Kurmi was ploughing. He took it up, was pleased with the prize, and went home and gave it to his wife. He then thought to himself that when a bird could take away such a valuable article, why should not he, who was a human being, betake himself to freebooting. After considering this matter deeply, he started on a journey, and in a short time obtained so great a wealth that all his forefathers could not have earned it by means of ploughing. Flushed with this success he spent the whole of the remainder of his life in predatory occupation, and laid the foundation of the Burwar clan.⁴³

While contemporary readers might view such stories as purely apocryphal, they in fact formed a central part of the administrative ethnologies that developed from the 1860s onwards. Their use, however, must have entailed some considerable suspension of doubt or reason, for very often a number of competing stories could be found. For

41 IOR Legislative Council Proceedings, V/9/11-13, 410-20.

42 See M. Brown, 'Race, science and the construction of native criminality in colonial India', *Theoretical Criminology* (2001), 5, 345-68.

43 IOR Legislative Council Proceedings, op. cit. (41), 420.

example, in responding on the bill for the province of Oudh, Lieutenant Colonel R. H. M. Aitken, VC, Deputy Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, put the view that ‘a legislative enactment, such as that proposed ... is much required to enable the Police to deal with professional criminals’, and pointed to the Burwars of the province as just ‘such a class’. He enclosed with the Province’s response an *Etymology of the Burwars of Gondah and Sunorias of Nagpore* for the Government’s information. Chapter 1 of the report begins as follows:

Before giving a history of the Burwar tribe, it is necessary to describe its origin. The Burwars of Gondah are an offshoot of the Koormee tribe known by the appellation of Putrya. Buttoo, the founder of this clan, was the illegitimate son of a Chuttree woman, and owing to his poverty, married the daughter of a Buniah. He lived for a time with his father-in-law, but subsequently, owing to a quarrel, separated, and began to live by agriculture and trade in cereals. His descendants are called Koormees, – a term which in Sanscrit means one who subsists on his own earnings. One of this family happened to marry a woman of low caste, by the name of Golee, and his descendants by her are called Burwars which means spurious.⁴⁴

For the Sunoria tribe three such origin stories were offered. It was, however, not until after the passage of the bill into legislation on 12 October 1871 that these sorts of data became established as an administrative necessity. The reason they became so lay in two sections of the resulting Criminal Tribes Act 1871 (which was initially restricted in its jurisdiction to the Punjab, North-Western Provinces and Oudh). Section 3 required a local (provincial) government to petition the Government of India for a tribe to be declared criminal under the Act. In doing so, the local government was required to submit a report on the tribe in question:

3. The report shall state the reasons why such tribe, gang or class is considered to be addicted to the systematic commission of non-bailable offences, and, as far as possible, the nature and circumstances of the offences in which the members of the tribe are supposed to have been concerned ...⁴⁵

Section 17 of the Act gave local governments the power to make such rules as might be needed to administer the Act. Administrative rules were thus produced that covered procedures like the roll call of registered tribes, the system of passports, the engagement of village headmen in notifying police of absences and, importantly, the strategies of surveillance that would be maintained over the tribes.⁴⁶ In the first decade of the Act effort seems to have been put principally into the process of registering known troublesome tribes. In the Punjab, for instance, the Sansi tribe was registered in December 1873,⁴⁷ the Pakhiwars, Gurmangs, Harnis, Baurias and Bilochis in August 1875 and,⁴⁸ belatedly, the Minas in July 1876.⁴⁹ The difficulty of compiling information required to satisfy the requirements of section 3 of the Act proved much greater than

44 GOI Legislative Department, op. cit. (40), No. 59.

45 GOI Legislative Department, op. cit. (40), No. 126.

46 See, for example, the rules developed in the Punjab. They were published in the *Punjab Gazette* of 13 February 1873. IOR Government of Punjab (hereafter GOP) (Home) November 1873 No. 14 (A).

47 IOR GOP (Home), March 1874 No. 14 (A).

48 IOR GOP (Home), October 1875 No. 9 (A).

49 IOR GOP (Home), July 1876 No. 6 (A).

proponents of the Act initially expected. The Minas, for example, were described by J. F. Stephen in the third and final reading of the bill as the sort of tribe ‘chiefly in the mind of the framers of the Bill when it was introduced’,⁵⁰ yet it took almost five years for the Punjab Government to secure their registration under the Act. Indeed, information forwarded in 1872 was deemed wholly insufficient and the elements of section 3 were reiterated. ‘This information’, continued the reply, ‘is expressly required by the law, and without such a detailed report the Government of India is not in a position legally to consider the case’.⁵¹

Administrative socio-cultural ethnographies of criminal communities

Registrations of tribes continued and the Act received minor amendments in 1897 and 1911. By this time and with the increasing size and better organization of police and government in northern India, civil officials there had established a far more coherent ethnological analysis of tribes subject to restrictions under the Act. Following the 1911 amendments V. T. P. Vivian drew this knowledge together in the Punjab in *A Handbook of the Criminal Tribes of the Punjab*.⁵² This handbook, and those like it, produced in other jurisdictions,⁵³ was a compilation of the extensive research undertaken by police, district officers and ethnologists into criminal tribes’ culture and social habits. Vivian’s aim, as Assistant Superintendent of Police in the Punjab, was to produce ‘an elementary hand-book for the use of district officers, whereby they may gain a passing knowledge of the castes which are held responsible for the greater part of organized crime in the Punjab and elsewhere’. Although Vivian notes that in ‘seeking for the origin and descent of the various tribes, I have often been confronted with a mass of contradictory evidence’, so that he had ‘purposely touched on the ethnical side of the matter [only] very briefly’, the structure and focus of the handbook belies just how far socio-cultural ethnology had penetrated and coloured the administrative view of problems of social disorder. Vivian divided the fifteen tribes subject to the Act in the Punjab into two sorts:

- (i) Genuine Criminal Tribes, i.e., those whose traditions and early history draw them inevitably to the practice of crime ‘as the sparks fly upwards’, and who are inherently and hereditarily criminal, (ii) Artificially constituted Criminal Tribes, i.e., those tribes which have been found to be criminal and have been declared to be so under the provisions of the Act.⁵⁴

The focus of the *Handbook* was on the former class, of whom both more was known and greater attention required. The latter class, Vivian felt, would reform simply by the passage of time and changing circumstances. The basic structure of Vivian’s description

50 IOR Legislative Council Proceedings, op. cit. (41), 656.

51 IOR GOP (Home), January 1873 No. 20 (A).

52 V. T. P. Vivian, *A Handbook of the Criminal Tribes of the Punjab*, Lahore, 1912.

53 For example, Bengal: F. C. Daly, *Manual of the Criminal Classes Operating in Bengal*, Calcutta, 1916; Central Provinces: G. W. Gayer, *Some Criminal Tribes of India and Religious Mendicants*, 2nd edn., Saugor, 1910.

54 Vivian, op. cit. (52), 2.

of the 'true' criminal tribes is established in Chapter 1, which deals with the Bawarias. Under each of the following headings Vivian describes and discusses contemporary knowledge concerning the Bawarias:

Alternative names taken by the tribe,
Origin,
Religion,
Dress, appearance, &c.,
Language,
Criminality,
Types of crime committed,
Modus operandi,
Miscellaneous.

In each case, the focus of the text is upon how these socio-cultural data would allow police and district officers more effectively to identify, interrogate, monitor or pursue members of the Bawaria tribe. A few examples from this highly detailed chapter should give a sense of the way the administrative discourse on the Bawarias was constructed.

Origin. The stories of origin as set out in the *Handbook* seek to construct a teleological historicization of tribal conduct. Among the Bawarias, Vivian noted, every member of the tribe 'claims as his place of origin the Rajput stronghold of Chitaur in Udaipur State, and dates the degradation of his race from some catastrophe to the Rajput power ... possibly ... in the year 1305, A.D.' Yet Vivian disputed this account, suggesting it more likely that Bawarias were merely vassals to the Rajputs, probably forming something of a military profession. This, he argued, 'forms a convenient explanation for the hereditary criminal instinct, which marks so strongly the tribal character'.⁵⁵

Dress, appearance, &c. The physical characteristics of the tribe received only small mention by Vivian. He was instead more concerned to describe their modes of dress and, by extension, their modes of disguise. He noted that the Bawarias' distinctive clothing was once of black woollen blanketing, but that owing possibly to scarcity of such wool, or more probably to the force of the Act, they had sought 'to conceal their identity by adopting less distinctive garb'.⁵⁶ Therefore the most important point to note, Vivian argued, was that Bawarias now sought to disguise their identity: 'The greatest menace to the interests of the public' was their tendency 'to travel great distances in the guise of [Hindu] Sadhus or Jogis with the object of committing crime'. Such disguise was recognized as putting the police at great disadvantage for, as Sleeman had discovered in the thug campaign of the 1830s, interfering with religious mendicants aroused great hostility in the native population. Vivian therefore proposed a series of tests that a policeman or district officer could use to distinguish the genuine Sadhu from the disguised Bawaria. From the influential ethnographer William Crook's 1896 *Tribes*

⁵⁵ Vivian, op. cit. (52), 4.

⁵⁶ Vivian, op. cit. (52), 5.

and *Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh* he cited the following, showing that the only way to identify such a disguised Bawaria is by a

peculiar necklace of small wooden beads, which they all wear, and by a kind of gold pin which they wear fixed to their front teeth. It seems, however, doubtful whether this last test is conclusive. In cases of doubt their mouths should be examined, for under their tongues a hollow is formed by constant pressure from their early days, in which they can secure from fifteen to twenty silver bits.

Even the latter test seemed to Vivian, however, possibly inconclusive, and his final recommendation in this respect was that a genuine member of the Sadhu's professed sect should be located and a test on 'points of his religion' conducted.⁵⁷ Further extensive information from intelligence reports on the peculiarities of Bawarias disguised as Sadhus was then presented and discussed.

Language. A description of the Bawarias' own language was given and a glossary of their words attached as an appendix. The divergences of Bawaria language from Hindustani was, Vivian decided, 'a type of variation, which in the case of the Sansi dialect is held to have been consciously manufactured for the purposes of crime'.⁵⁸

Criminality. This section of the chapter serves as a general introduction to the tribe's criminality. It repeats and rehearses notions of habituality and an oppositional stance taken by most of the 'true' criminal tribes. It thus serves as something like a modern history of the tribe, describing attempts by British authority to curtail the Bawarias' predatory activities and their equally spirited resistance to such incursions upon their autonomy. The following passage, while describing the Bawarias, adopts a form of representation that was applied in similar fashion to the other 'true' criminal tribes in this section of the *Handbook*, such as the Sansis and Minas. Subsequent to suppression efforts in Central India in the 1830s,

They have of necessity adopted less violent forms of crime, and with them methods that render the discovery of their offences a matter of far greater difficulty. They have spread over the face of India in every direction, wanderers and unsettled; yet they keep intact their distinctive language, their customs, and their connection with the different – even distant – branches of the tribe. ... [Records] show that their inherent criminal propensities are very far from eliminated from their character in the present day. Customs die hard, and it cannot be supposed that the hereditary thief will in a short generation or two abandon the calls of his blood and settle to a quiet life of cultivation or cattle-breeding, because a paternal Government has ordered that he is to do so. Trade of any kind he will not learn; the influences of heredity, equally with the caste-system, are against it; he learns his own ancestral and (to him) honourable profession from his earliest days and would think it beneath him to adopt any meaner craft.⁵⁹

In part, this establishment of static, durable, hereditary or caste-based tendencies was a device utilized to bridge gaps in knowledge. In the sections of the chapter that follow, on types of crime and on the modus operandi of criminal conduct, large gulfs of knowledge are continually traversed and elided through references back to the arrested 'progress' of this community.

⁵⁷ Vivian, op. cit. (52), 6.

⁵⁸ Vivian, op. cit. (52), 8.

⁵⁹ Vivian, op. cit. (52), 8–9.

Modus operandi. Consistent with the Tylorian notion of the ethnographic fact, or the positive example, this section on criminal techniques is arranged as a series of case studies around which discussions of key features of the tribe's conduct are set. In fact, some of these data are of considerable age but are restored to contemporary relevance by the device of durability, as the following passage illustrates:

The following is an account of the manner in which Bawarias of more daring times were in the habit of committing dacoities. Orientals are creatures of custom, and it is probable that a Bawaria dacoity of to-day would be planned and executed according to the letter of bygone days, though modifications would of necessity be made to suit the altered conditions of the times.⁶⁰

The case studies drawn from intelligence and administration reports and re-presented in this section to illustrate methods of dacoity, burglary, counterfeiting and so on date back to the 1860s and, in one case, constitute a third-hand rendering of events reported by W. H. Sleeman in the thuggee campaign of the 1830s.

Miscellaneous. In concluding the chapter Vivian advised the district officer or policeman that groups of Bawarias on criminal expeditions had also been found to communicate through marks and signs left upon roads and upon the walls of their camping places. The ability to interpret these cryptograms would surely aid the pursuit of a gang or potentially head off a raid. The signs ranged from directional markers to more complex diagrams communicating where a gang was camped, whether it had split into separate parties, the value of property in its possession, whether or not such property was secured, and so on. The progressive and iterative nature of this knowledge-acquisition process was indicated also by the fact that one mark remained untranslated, presumably presented for the astute officer should he come across it in the future and thus be able to assist in the continuous process of building knowledge.

The effect of reading all the reports, case studies, notes and discussion in this first chapter of the *Handbook* is to make clear that by the early twentieth century the tasks of the ethnologist and the district officer or policeman had become, in a very real sense, intermeshed. To follow the pedagogical obligations established in the *Handbook* the district officer or policeman would need to become a master of native cultural knowledge and practices, and to do so not just for one tribe but for perhaps a dozen or more. The detail of this ethnographic knowledge is nowhere better demonstrated than in the tests devised for separating the disguised Bawaria from the genuine Sadhu or in the chapter's final section of miscellany where cryptography emerges as another essential skill for the administrator to master. In Vivian's *Handbook* history is repeatedly recruited to shore up normative assessments of the tribe's cultural achievements and, consonant with the teleological narrative of progress, to plot its future path. Moreover, the paradox of reading individual lives through the history of their group or type, backed against a presumption that properly devised strategies of administration will provide the 'leading strings' of behavioural reform, is present throughout the chapter. At heart, however, the *Handbook* was principally a tool to assist the policeman or district officer to assess, judge and know each of the fifteen tribes registered under the

⁶⁰ Vivian, op. cit. (52), 10.

Criminal Tribes Act in the Punjab. The question of exactly what sorts of intervention might be most successful in achieving transformations in conduct was pointed to, but the issue of reform constituted a rather larger policy issue and was clearly beyond the remit of this sort of manual. In fact, a committee established to consider just this issue began meeting shortly after the publication of the *Handbook*, in November 1913. Its findings, published in 1914 as a *Report on Questions Relating to the Administration of Criminal and Wandering Tribes in the Punjab*, presented for government consideration a series of proposals for resolving the problem posed by these criminal communities.⁶¹

Conclusion

This article has investigated the role of ethnology in the colonial response to problems of law and order. Far from operating as a kind of scientific sideline to government in India, ethnology can be seen to have been central to the whole process of conceptualizing and understanding problems in the domain of native criminality. Such an influential position in colonial thought was no mere happenstance, however. As the central section of this article attempted to illustrate, matters like the appropriate approach to colonial governance and the sort of data required to know and progress native society was a central theme of liberal texts, from James Mill's multi-volume *History of British India* which appeared in 1817 to his son John Stuart Mill's *Considerations on Representative Government* published in 1861. From philologically inspired beginnings in the 1830s through to the formalized handbook designed for the district officer or policeman in the second decade of the twentieth century, this article has attempted to show how a brand of socio-cultural ethnology emerged as the dominant form of bureaucratic knowledge concerning native criminality. Indeed, as Vivian describes at a number of points in the Punjab *Handbook*, administrators perceived ethnological profiles of tribes to be a far more reliable tool than simple criminal statistics, for the latter were felt to be subject to many errors produced, in the main, by the very characteristics of tribes – mobility, disguise, evasion – that the ethnologies sought to describe.

The shape and character of these ethnologies is also important. They have been referred to here as socio-cultural to distinguish them from other streams within the ethnological enterprise, particularly the more biologically oriented models that supported an emerging end-of-century scientific racism. The extensive socio-cultural ethnology that developed in support of the criminal tribes policy seems to have viewed biological racial profiling with ambivalence. Despite the availability of fingerprinting and anthropometric measurement techniques, until at least the 1920s little was made of the former while anthropometry registered almost no mention at all. Instead, the concept of race with which socio-cultural ethnology worked was that which flowed from political doctrine. When J. S. Mill referred to 'savage races' he was describing a whole amalgam of ethnic groups – Indian, Chinese, South American – who could be either

61 H. K. Kaul and L. L. Tomkins, *Report on Questions Relating to the Administration of Criminal and Wandering Tribes in the Punjab*, Lahore, 1914.

grouped or distinguished upon social and cultural, not biological, indices of development. Similarly, when British administrators in India argued for legislation to pacify the 'turbulent races' they were using 'race' in a determinedly socio-cultural sense. It is hoped, therefore, that this description of socio-cultural ethnology will serve also to broaden the general characterization of race theory as being something fundamentally pernicious in nature. Lynn Zastoupil, in a study of the Mills in India, has observed in this regard that as a product of the Scottish Enlightenment James Mill wrote his *History of British India* with the intention of better illuminating 'the general laws of social development'.⁶² Similarly, the emphasis of T. B. Macaulay on education and conviction of John Stuart Mill that the tutelary experiences of good government would pave the way to representative government reflect a strong paternalistic and facilitative underpinning to political doctrine during this period. Clearly, the extension of these ideas to colonial administration was not uniform, but as Vivian's *Handbook* demonstrates, by the early twentieth century, ethnological thinking inspired by them had become crucial to at least one important domain of colonial governance.

62 L. Zastoupil, *John Stuart Mill and India*, Stanford, 1994, 8.