

nicht, um zu denselben Resultaten zu gelangen, eine andere Darstellungsform möglich gewesen wäre, weniger eine deskriptive Annalenschreibung, dafür mehr analytische Strukturgeschichte. Etwas zu bescheiden gibt sich der Autor schließlich, wenn er die Rolle des New Yorker Indienhandels nur dem "Versuch einer Deutung" zu unterziehen vermag. Da steckt dann doch mehr in den Materialien, auch wenn es noch zahlreicher anderer Studien zum Indienhandel US-amerikanischer Hafenstädte zwischen 1784 und 1812 bedarf, um ein Gesamtbild entwerfen zu können. Spindler hat aber sicherlich den ersten Mosaikstein dazu geliefert.

Michael Mann

LYNN ZASTOUPIL, *John Stuart Mill and India*. Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1994. VIII and 280 pages, \$ 58.00. ISBN 0-8047-2256-0.

Britain's most distinguished 19th-century philosopher spent his professional life as something like a permanent undersecretary of state responsible for drafting dispatches to officials in India. John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) entered India House at a tender age as his father's, the famous James Mill's, unpaid assistant. He was duly installed in the Examiner's Office in 1823 and continued his bureaucratic career until 1857/58 when he defended the record of the East India Company in the face of overwhelming criticism which led to its abolition and Mill's withdrawal from service to the Empire.

Mill scholarship has almost without exception overlooked the great man's mundane occupations. This was easily justified given the reticence on India in Mill's published writings, most strikingly in his famous *Autobiography*. Mill seems to have kept his clerical existence separate from his life as a man of letters. The literature on British perceptions of and attitudes to India, on its part, has generally followed Eric Stokes' lead in arguing that Mill had little impact on Indian affairs and in ignoring any possible influence in the reverse direction which India might have exercised on the development of the philosopher's ideas. Mill *père*, the author of the influential and notorious *History of British India*, cast a long shadow over his son who inherited, as it were, his position with the East India Company. Obviously, there was only one "Indian Mill".

Lynn Zastoupil has now persuasively corrected this received wisdom. He has mined the documents preserved at the India Office and Records for traces of John Stuart Mill's official activity and he has also scrutinized

Mill's work for resonances of his Indian experience, a paper experience to be sure. This double-track method has yielded a fascinating story of intellectual development at the confluence of diverse sources.

The young Mill, to be sure, started off from his father's Benthamite political theory and his views on the tasks of British reform in India. These ideas included a contempt for aristocratic privilege anywhere and "despotism" in India, confidence in the benefits of rational, if not scientific rule by an elite of Western administrators and the enlightenment conviction that institutions shape minds and not the other way round. John Stuart's famous mental crisis of the late 1820s led him not only to reject James Mill's rigid utilitarianism, but also to draw inspiration from various British and continental romantics. As Zastoupil demonstrates, Mill's involvement with British rule in India contributed significantly to his new emphasis on individuality and emotion.

Mill came to doubt the wisdom of a harsh and haughty interventionism in India, and he moved close to the "empire of opinion" school of thought among British administrators in India. Senior scholar-officials like John Malcolm and Thomas Munro demanded, in a neo-Burkean fashion, respect for the ancient institutions of India. They advocated indirect rule whenever possible, and they believed that British policy should strive to win the allegiances of Indians, especially the "natural leaders" of the country. Although in the late 1840s Mill, under the impact of Dalhousie's energetic policy, reverted to a more activist concept of empire and recommended direct rule under a reforming administration, he continued to insist on Indian participation in the imperial project and on the Raj's need for support from Indian public opinion. He never condoned the post-Mutiny theory (put forward, for example, by James Fitzjames Stephen), which based the British position in India on nothing but the right of conquest. At heart, Mill remained committed to "empire of opinion" sentiments.

In a particularly brilliant concluding chapter, the author turns from Mill's ideas on India to the imperial experience as an important source of new political ideas. Mill saw parallels between South Asia and Ireland and warned against repeating the mistake of disregarding indigenous traditions. He was captivated by Sir Henry Maine's researches on the village community in India and used them to challenge historical claims of the British aristocracy. Above all, passages in his *Considerations on Representative Government* echo ideas expressed decades earlier by men like Munro and Malcolm.

Lynn Zastoupil approaches his difficult subject with the skills of a historian of ideas as well as an expert on modern Indian history. He is familiar with discourse theory and the critique of "orientalisms". However,

the apparent fact that John Stuart Mill, like everybody else in his time, participated in an "orientalist discourse" on the Indian "other" is too blatantly true to satisfy a thoughtful historian. Not the smallest virtue of Zastoupil's outstanding book is that it imparts a new dose of subtlety to the somewhat ritualized debate about intercultural perceptions in the age of empire.

Jürgen Osterhammel

JAMES J. NOVAK, *Bangladesh. Reflections on the Water*. (The Essential Asia Series, edited by David I. Steinberg). Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993. xv, 235 pp, \$ 24.95. ISBN 0-253-34121-3.

To review this book must be a rare pleasure is what I thought when I started to read a book which does not begin by listing the endless problems of this archetype of a developing country, but starts in a sympathetic, although sometimes ironic style: "Every year they come. Usually in winter, indeed most of them in winter. When the weather is nice. They try to avoid the hot and rainy season, which comes in May and the summer. They come in winter because the winters are delightful ..." And he lists those who come: the officials, the salesmen, the reporters, and the few scholars, "serious of mien, analytical of eye." (p. 1). It is, thus, not only a book on Bangladesh, but also a reflection of a Westerner's perceptions and reflections. The writer calls himself a non-scholar and presents "not a book of original research so much as an interpretative one based on primary and secondary research sources." (p. xv). He has lived and travelled in Asia for thirty years as a pharmaceutical corporation executive, as a columnist and reporter for numerous newspapers and worked, from 1982 to 1985, as the Resident Representative of The Asia Foundation in Bangladesh. In these years, he certainly developed an eye for change in the region, although he might be reproached, like all other "experts", with feeling himself more expert than the others. The author is at his best when he narrates what he has seen and experienced; he is much weaker when he tries to sum up his extensive reading.

The book is arranged in eight chapters. In "The Scene" he starts with the foreigners who come to Bangladesh for one reason or another, but most probably not as tourists; Dhaka is, of course, a place where one may start to doubt the eternal wisdom of the "viceroys of charity" (p. 2), though the reviewer is not so certain whether they are all so successful in dictating the country's macroeconomic policy. And Amartya Sen (Poverty and