the debate themselves. They use not simply Islam but also ideas about citizenship, women's rights and progress, to challenge the modernisers' claims to be the protagonists of the national interest and national development in Pakistan. Jamal continues by demonstrating, through many excellent quotes from her interviewees, how Jamaati women use the "Jamaati ideological and philosophical compass" to guide them through current global discourses on women and development. This is followed by a fascinating analysis of how the somewhat unforgiving and discriminating approach of Jamaati women to the issue of "enjoining the good and forbidding the evil" flows, in part at least, from the great ruptures brought about in South Asian Islam by colonial rule.

Jamal offers two major conclusions to the issue of the possibilities and limitations of the Islamist project for women. First, Jamaati women make good use of their class and cultural location "to challenge the dominance of liberal/secular social and political groups and to claim the leadership of working-class rural and urban women". Second, their modernist project, while liberating for some women, is threatening to others because of the way in which the Jamaat discriminates against so many expressions of being Muslim in Pakistan. "Indeed, I have argued", she declares, "that the Jamaat's conception of Islam is an interruption rather than a progression in the customary and traditional modes of understanding Islam in South Asia". With these arguments she hopes "to shift the focus of feminist theory away from the secular-versus-religious or the modernity-versus-tradition framework that continues to underpin what constitutes Islamic-religious or liberal-secular discourse in Pakistan". She hopes, too, that the debate might focus "on bringing together the best traditions of Islam and the best traditions of regional culture [by which she means Sufi traditions] in the interests of emancipatory political discourse". So, having analysed the achievement of her Jamaati women with affection and respect we must infer that she would rather they did not make much further progress but paid attention instead to the more liberal and inclusive traditions which run in her blood, those of the ulama of Farangi Mahall and the Sufis of Rudauli Sharif.

This is an important book. It not only excavates much new evidence about Jamaati women activists but it also brings significant support to that group of scholars who see the Jamaat-e-Islam as an essentially 'modern' project whose followers are striving to make aspects of modernity serve their understandings of Islam. The argument is supported by impeccable scholarship. As a contribution to our understanding of women's religious activism in Pakistan it is an excellent companion to Sadaf Ahmad's *Transforming Faith: The Story of al-Huda and Islamic Revivalism among Urban Pakistani Women* (2009), which was also published by Syracuse University Press.<F.Robinson@rhul.ac.uk>

Francis Robinson
Royal Holloway, University of London

Revolutionary Pamphlets, Propaganda and Political Culture in Colonial Bengal. By Shukla Sanyal. pp. ix, 211. Delhi, Cambridge University Press, 2014.
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In this monograph Professor Shukla Sanyal (Presidency University, Kolkata) explores revolutionary propaganda in Bengal between 1908 and 1918. Long years in gestation (p. vii), the book is based on primary sources found in the archives at Kolkata, Mumbai, and New Delhi. The documentation comprises not just the newspapers, pamphlets and leaflets produced by the insurgents themselves, but also police reports, trial records, and memoirs. The author anchors her approach in the grand theoretical insights of Benedict Anderson and Jürgen Habermas, along with the ideas of Bengali scholars of the nineteenth century and more recent studies by prominent Indian historians. The main text comprises

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five thematic chapters framed by an introduction and conclusion, all confined within 195 pages. One section of the monograph appeared in the *Journal of Asian Studies* in 2008.

'Propaganda', a new weapon in the local political arsenal, was used by the mutineers to influence public opinion and to publicise their programmes and ideologies. Acts of terrorism were 'propaganda by deed' (p. 3). The revolutionary nationalists originally set up a series of short-lived vernacular newspapers, most notably *Jugantar* ('New Age', 1906–8, which attained a peak circulation of twenty thousand); after these were closed down by the government, they switched to pamphlets and leaflets, which, being unregistered, were much more difficult for the authorities to control. The pamphleteers made intelligent use of cultural symbols to convey their thoughts, ideas and emotions to their readers; they repeatedly employed "certain arguments, images, stories, figures and messages that had deep resonance in Indian society as they were drawn from the rich reservoir of Indian mythology, philosophy, religion, history and contemporary politics" (p. 99).

The pamphlet-writers were mainly young men recruited from educated, upper-caste (*bhadralok*) Hindu backgrounds. This political community was regarded as an armed brotherhood, who would not only dedicate their lives to the achievement of national independence but also take a vow to remain celibate until this task was achieved. A favourite image was that of the mother-nation dependent upon her sons for protection. The role of women was to give up their husbands and sons to the revolutionary endeavour; but there was no hostility to the idea of women's participation in the public sphere (pp. 176–180).

The spur for the uprising came from the Partition of Bengal in October 1905, "implemented by a high-handed British administration in total disregard of the intense opposition that the proposed plan had provoked among important sections of Bengalis" (p. 24; also p. 101). Constitutional agitation having failed (p. 25), unveiling the fist would be the only thing that the *firinghi*s would understand.

The author's thesis is that no assessment of the revolutionary nationalist movement would be complete without a corresponding dissection of revolutionary propaganda (p. 50). The focus of the study is "the political ideas, value systems, hopes and aspirations of the revolutionaries that found expression through the medium of seditious pamphlets" (p. 2). The aim of the rebels was to prepare the country, through examples of heroism and supreme sacrifice, for the larger war against colonialism that was expected to follow (p. 3). The purpose of their publications was "to persuade the target audience that the prevalent state of affairs was so unacceptable and so irremediable that the only available course of action was to put an end to it through revolution" (pp. 4, 88).

Chapter Two analyses the political vision that the pamphleteers sought to articulate through their discourse of the 'nation'. Their arguments "were inscribed in an intellectual fabric woven together with themes and ideas that were an integral part of the political culture of contemporary Bengal" (p. 15). The writer examines the ideas of three representative thinkers, namely Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay (1838–94), Swami Vivekenanda (1863–1902), and Aurobindo Ghose (1872–1950) (pp. 64–74, 83–84). One problem was how an upper-caste Hindu movement could attain a wider appeal in a fragmented society. At this time, however, religion was not such a divisive force as it would become in later decades (pp. 80–81).

The core of the book comprises Chapter Three, which examines the justifications put forward for violence, and Chapter Four, which analyses the colonial response to the revolutionary movement. Chapter Five is a 'summing up'.

Violence had to be legitimised to public opinion by the insurgents (p. 88). Attempted defences were derived from both indigenous sources (the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*) and from foreign exemplars, such as Young Italy, Irish Nationalists, and Russian Nihilists (p. 114). The revolutionaries, who had God on their side (pp. 97–98) and were an instrument of the divine will (pp. 108, 114), were however, sometimes disappointed to discover that even some of their fellow Indians denounced their methods (p. 99).

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Press laws merely drove the movement underground whilst trials had the counter-productive effect of spreading revolutionary ideas and boosting public sympathy for the 'terrorists'. The successor pamphlets comprised those under the *Om Jugantar* brand (1908–16) and the *Swadhin Bharat* series (from 1910). *Liberty* leaflets were issued from May 1913 (p. 94). Despite the best efforts of the government, most attempts to trace the origins of the pamphlets ended in failure. Distributors were rarely caught red-handed. The leaflets were printed by hand presses, of which there were thousands in Calcutta alone (pp. 134–140). And so the battle continued: "The colonial discourse, condescending and contemptuous of the ruled, was countered with a revolutionary discourse that painted the rulers as deceitful, unjust and undeserving of loyalty. These two alternative discourses, representing fundamentally different images and perceptions of the 'self' and the 'other', structured the worldviews of the rulers and ruled, providing the rationale behind and justifying their actions in the fractured world of a colonial society" (p. 150).

Overall, the pamphlets were an important medium through which the claims of the colonial régime were contested. They destroyed the legitimising assumptions of foreign rule by asserting that the power of the state could not be allowed to override the interests of the nation; and they set about constructing an alternative vision of a nation-state within which a national community would fulfil its destiny (p. 194). <avmhorton@hotmail.com>

A.V. M. Horton
Bordesley, Worcestershire, United Kingdom.

The Indian Army, 1939–47: Experience and Development. Edited by Alan Jeffreys and Patrick Rose. pp. xi, 244. Farnham and Burlington, Ashgate, 2012.
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This collection of essays is the outcome of a conference held on 9 May 2009 at the Imperial War Museum, the joint organiser of the meeting along with King's College, London. The principal focus of the compendium is the Second World War, which accounts for five of the eleven articles, with another dealing with immediate post-war operations. Two papers discuss issues relating to Indian Partition in 1947. The three remaining chapters (Nos 1–2 and 11) are rather more wide ranging.

The editors are Alan Jeffreys MPhil (Senior Curator of Social History at the IWM) and Dr Patrick Rose (a senior analyst at the Ministry of Defence). The international team that they assembled comprised academics and military officers drawn from India, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The conference was opened by Field Marshal Sir John Chapple, whose foreword basically amounts to a plea for further research into what remains a vast subject (p. xi).

The tome has no list of abbreviations, nor any glossary. Although an overall bibliography is lacking, authors provide detailed footnotes. There are no illustrations (beyond the frontispiece) and only one map (more would have been useful). The standard of proof-reading leaves something to be desired. The index is vestigial.

The Indian Army expanded from 189,000 (p. 147) or 194,373 (p. 70) in 1939 to 2.5 million by 1945. It was entirely a volunteer force (p. 147). There were 1,912 British and 344 Indian officers in 1939, rising to 43,000 (including 14,000 Indians) by the end of the war (p. 62n). Following the fall of Singapore there were defections to the pro-Japanese Indian National Army, which numbered twelve thousand at the nadir of British fortunes in 1943 (p. 235). In wartime the regular Indian Army, the

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