Subaltern Voices in 19th Century Court Records: A Legal-Historical Perspective

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates how subaltern individuals—peasants, artisans, women, and lower castes—made their voices heard in 19th-century British colonial court records in India. While colonial courts chiefly served imperial interests, their archives inadvertently preserved detailed accounts of marginalized actors asserting grievances, negotiating rights, and engaging with legal norms. Employing a mixed-methods framework, we first systematically sampled 200 case files from the Bombay and Calcutta High Courts (1830–1900), identifying 70 cases involving subaltern participants. Through close textual analysis, we coded instances of legal argumentation, moral appeals, and invocation of customary norms. Concurrently, we surveyed 100 contemporary experts—legal historians, anthropologists, and archivists—using a structured questionnaire to gauge modern assessments of subaltern agency in these records. Our archival findings reveal that subaltern litigants not only understood key legal concepts (property, contract, inheritance) but also adeptly framed their grievances in hybrid linguistic registers, blending vernacular idioms with colonial legal terminology. Petitions and testimonies frequently referenced local customs to bolster claims, demonstrating strategic adaptation to the colonial judicial framework. Women's appearances, though less numerically frequent, exposed critical issues of gendered power in domestic disputes and inheritance conflicts. Survey responses underscore persistent methodological challenges—language translation, archival bias, and contextual gaps—yet affirm the feasibility of "reading against the grain" to recover subaltern subjectivities.

KEYWORDS

Subaltern, Colonial Court Records, Legal History, Agency, Archival Analysis

Introduction

The British colonial judicial apparatus in 19th-century India was conceived primarily as an instrument of imperial governance, aimed at codifying legal norms, imposing British jurisprudence, and integrating diverse populations under a unified legal regime. Yet, beneath this veneer of centralized control lay a rich substratum of subaltern agency. Indigenous peasants, skilled artisans, women, and members of lower castes encountered these courts not merely as passive subjects but as strategic actors. They learned to navigate unfamiliar procedures, deploy petitionary formats, and leverage both written and oral testimony to press claims. The formal court record thus became a contested textual terrain, where subaltern individuals inserted their voices—sometimes obliquely, sometimes forcefully—into colonial discourses.

Unheard

Silenced by colonial

court records

Textual Expert Survey Analysis Gauge modern Code legal assessments of arguments, moral agency appeals **Digital** Mixed-Methods **Sample Case Humanities Archival Analysis** Files **Tools** Identify subaltern Map patterns of participants in cases subaltern expression Marginalized Subaltern Voices Agency

Amplifying Subaltern Voices in Colonial Archives

Figure-1. Amplifying Subaltern Voices in Colonial Archives

Recovered

Nuanced

understanding of colonial contestation

Early Indian historiography often marginalized these actors, focusing instead on high politics, legislative reforms, and administrative structures (Watson, 1982; Mahajan, 1999). Subaltern Studies scholars subsequently critiqued elitist narratives, calling for recovery of grassroots perspectives (Guha, 1983; Spivak, 1988). However, most subaltern interventions emphasized peasant rebellions, folk traditions, and rural petitionary politics at the village level—leaving formal court archives relatively underexplored. As archival historians have argued, colonial justice records are not purely one-way inscriptions of imperial power but also accidental repositories of dissent (Dirks, 2001; Tosh, 2015).

This study positions itself at the intersection of subaltern studies and legal history. It asks: In what ways did marginalized litigants articulate agency within colonial courts? How did they appropriate legal forms to challenge property seizures, resolve contract disputes, or seek redress for domestic violence? What linguistic strategies and cultural references enabled their interventions? To answer these questions, we adopt a mixed-methods approach: first, a systematic archival sample of 200 High Court case files from Bombay and Calcutta between 1830 and 1900, isolating 70 cases with subaltern participation; second, a structured survey of 100 contemporary experts to contextualize and critique our archival interpretations.

By blending close textual reading with quantitative coding and expert insights, we aim to recover subaltern subjectivities that conventional legal histories have often overlooked. We argue that subaltern voices in court records reveal both constraints imposed by colonial legal categories and creative adaptations by litigants to assert rights. This introduction outlines the study's theoretical grounding, situates it within existing scholarship, and previews key findings that demonstrate the dual function of court archives as instruments of control and archives of contestation.

Balancing Archival Insights and Expert Perspectives



Figure-2.Balancing Archival Insights and Expert Perspectives

LITERATURE REVIEW

Research on 19th-century colonial courts in India has largely bifurcated into two streams. First, legal historians have traced the institutional evolution of courts, legislative reforms, and the transplantation of British legal codes (Watson, 1982; Mahajan, 1999). This scholarship meticulously documents changes in jurisdiction, introduction of Indian Penal Code (1860), and procedural amendments but rarely attends to the content of individual petitions or testimonies. Second, subaltern studies scholars have highlighted the political potential of local petitionary practices—grassroots petitions to collectors or district magistrates—as expressions of peasant agency (Guha, 1983; Chakrabarty, 2000). Yet, these studies seldom engage with high-court records, which are perceived as too "elite" or heavily mediated by colonial clerks.

More recent interventions advocate "reading against the grain" (Tosh, 2015), urging historians to mine colonial archives for traces of marginalized voices. Dirks (2001) demonstrated how caste disputes in district petitions encoded subaltern moral worldviews, while Raychaudhuri (2011) analyzed eighteenth-century rural petitions for evidence of indigenous legal reasoning. Grover (2007) examined the 1818 Batala petitions to reveal peasant strategies of negotiation. Such work illustrates the richness of petitionary archives but leaves High Court files—often available only in English or Persian—relatively untapped.

Studies of gender and law have probed women's appearances in civil suits over dowry or inheritance (Ahmed, 2013). Ahmed found that while women comprised fewer than 10% of litigants, their testimonies illuminated domestic norms and patriarchal power structures. Banerjee (2009) explored legal literacy among peasants, revealing selective appropriation of contract law concepts in

rural disputes. Yet, the broader picture of subaltern engagement with colonial jurisprudence across multiple social groups remains incomplete.

Digital humanities projects (Singh, 2018; Roy, 2015) have begun to leverage text mining and network analysis to trace petition patterns across vast corpora, but these initiatives are nascent and often limited by incomplete digitization. The present literature thus suggests significant methodological opportunities: (1) systematic sampling of court archives to quantify subaltern participation; (2) thematic coding of legal language to uncover strategies of agency; (3) integration of expert surveys to reflect on interpretive frameworks; and (4) digital-humanities tools to scale analysis.

Our study builds on these strands by focusing explicitly on High Court records—the primary forum for significant civil disputes—and by combining qualitative and quantitative approaches. We aim to demonstrate how marginalized litigants employed colonial legal forms as arenas of contestation, thereby enriching both subaltern studies and legal history.

SURVEY

To situate our archival analysis within current scholarly debates, we designed an online survey targeting 100 experts drawn from three broad domains: legal history, anthropology, and archival studies. Invitations were distributed via professional mailing lists (Indian History Congress, Law and Society Association, Digital Humanities South Asia), and participants spanned India, the UK, and North America. The questionnaire comprised three sections: quantitative Likert-scale items, qualitative open-ended prompts, and demographic questions.

Quantitative Findings

Respondents rated on a five-point scale (1 = "Not at all visible" to 5 = "Highly visible") the extent to which subaltern agency is recoverable in colonial court records. The mean rating was 3.4 (SD = 0.8), indicating moderate visibility. On methodological obstacles, 84% identified "archival bias" (loss of vernacular testimonies, clerk mediation) as a major challenge; 78% cited "translation barriers" (Persian, Bengali, Marathi to English); and 71% pointed to "contextual lacunae" (lack of social background information).

Qualitative Themes

Thematic coding of open responses revealed three recurrent recommendations:

- 1. **Digital Text-Mining**: Over 65% advocated large-scale application of optical character recognition (OCR) and natural-language processing (NLP) to detect patterns of subaltern expression.
- Collaborative Archival Networks: Many recommended partnerships between Indian and foreign institutions to digitize
 and annotate court records, improving accessibility and contextual metadata.
- 3. **Interdisciplinary Training**: Scholars emphasized the need for legal historians to acquire linguistic skills (Persian, regional languages) and anthropologists to familiarize themselves with colonial legal procedures.

Implications for Our Study

These expert insights validate our mixed-methods design. Quantitative data justify systematic sampling to capture variability in subaltern participation; qualitative recommendations guide future expansion into digital-humanities methodologies; and demographic diversity ensures that our interpretations resonate across scholarly traditions.

METHODOLOGY

Our research design integrates archival sampling with expert survey to recover subaltern voices in 19th-century High Court records.

Archival Corpus and Sampling

We accessed original case files at the Maharashtra State Archives (Bombay High Court) and West Bengal State Archives (Calcutta High Court). From court calendars listing ~10,000 civil appeals and original suits (1830–1900), we randomly selected 200 case files. Inclusion criteria required identification of at least one non-elite participant—determined via caste declarations, occupational titles (peasant, artisan, laborer), or female litigant status.

Data Extraction and Coding

For each selected file, we digitized petitions, witness depositions, and judgments. Using NVivo software, we coded passages for:

- 1. Grievance Articulation (e.g., land seizure, unpaid contracts)
- 2. Legal References (citations of statutes, precedents)
- 3. Customary Appeals (invocations of village norms, caste panchayat decisions)
- 4. Subjective Narratives (personal accounts of harm, moral arguments)

Inter-coder reliability tests (Cohen's $\kappa = 0.82$) confirmed coding consistency.

Survey Administration

We constructed a 20-item online questionnaire in Qualtrics, including eight Likert items, five multiple-choice items, and seven open-ended prompts. The survey was open for four weeks, yielding a 67% response rate (n = 67). Data were anonymized and analyzed using SPSS for quantitative items (descriptive statistics, cross-tabulations) and thematic analysis for qualitative responses.

Ethical Considerations

Though archival materials are in the public domain, we adhered to ethical guidelines by anonymizing litigant names in published excerpts and obtaining institutional approval from the University Research Ethics Board. Survey participation was voluntary, with informed consent and data protection compliant with GDPR standards.

RESULTS

Archival Analysis

Frequency and Demographics

- Subaltern litigants appeared in 70 of the 200 sampled cases (35%).
- Of these, 42% were peasants, 30% artisans, 20% lower-caste laborers, and 8% women.

Forms of Grievance

- Land and tenancy disputes accounted for 45% of cases.
- Contractual disagreements (shopkeepers, artisans) comprised 28%.
- Domestic and inheritance conflicts (mostly involving women) made up 15%.
- Labor exploitation claims (debt bondage, unpaid wages) were 12%.

Legal and Customary Strategies

- In 60% of petitions, subaltern actors cited prior judgments or statutory clauses (Indian Contract Act, 1872).
- Customary appeals featured in 70% of cases, where petitioners invoked village panchayat decisions or caste norms to legitimize claims.
- Hybrid linguistic registers emerged: vernacular idioms translated into formal English petitions, indicating clerk-mediated drafting but client input.

Gendered Testimonies

- Women's testimonies (n = 6 cases) emphasized moral appeals to fairness and compassion, often invoking Hindu dharma texts.
- Courts tended to adjudicate these claims under civil law, yet judges occasionally expressed sympathy for female petitioners.

Survey Findings

Visibility of Agency

- Mean visibility rating = 3.4/5.
- Experts noted that explicit assertions of rights were often tempered by deference to colonial authority.

Methodological Challenges

- Archival bias (84%) and translation (78%) were top concerns.
- -65% urged integration of oral histories to contextualize written records.

Digital-Humanities Prospects

- 65% recommended OCR-NLP pipelines.
- 55% supported creation of annotated, open-access databases with metadata on litigant backgrounds.

CONCLUSION

Our mixed-methods investigation confirms that subaltern actors in 19th-century colonial courts were neither voiceless nor entirely scripted by imperial power; rather, they exercised agency through strategic use of legal forms, customary norms, and moral narratives. Peasants and artisans demonstrated familiarity with key legal principles, women advanced gendered appeals within patriarchal frameworks, and lower-caste petitioners invoked collective norms to bolster claims. While colonial courts aimed to standardize justice, their procedures inadvertently produced detailed records of subaltern contestation.

Survey insights from contemporary scholars highlight both the potential and challenges of recovering these voices: archival biases and translation barriers remain significant, yet digital-humanities tools and interdisciplinary collaboration offer promising pathways.

We advocate for large-scale OCR/NLP applications, creation of multilingual annotated corpora, and partnerships between Indian and global institutions to democratize access to court archives.

By foregrounding subaltern voices within formal legal records, this study contributes to a richer legal-historical narrative that acknowledges colonial archives as contested spaces where marginalized subjects asserted rights and shaped legal discourse. Future research should extend this approach to district-level courts, integrate oral histories from community elders, and employ network analysis to map litigant interactions across time and space.

SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS

While our study offers novel insights, several caveats apply:

1. Geographical and Institutional Focus

- We examined only two metropolitan High Courts (Bombay and Calcutta). District and Sessions courts—where local disputes were first heard—may exhibit different patterns of subaltern participation.

2. Language and Translation

- Many petitions were filed in Persian (pre-1837) or regional vernaculars (Marathi, Bengali). Although professional translators rendered texts into English, nuances of legal idioms and cultural references may have been attenuated or altered.

3. Archival Survival Bias

- Case files are subject to selective preservation. Petitions deemed trivial or politically sensitive may have been destroyed, skewing our sample.

4. Survey Sample

– Although diverse, our expert pool (n = 67 respondents) may over-represent digital-humanities practitioners, potentially biasing recommendations toward technology-driven solutions.

5. Temporal Scope

- Our period (1830–1900) captures major legal reforms but excludes late-colonial developments (post-1900) and the transition to independent India's judiciary.

6. Interdisciplinary Integration

- While we sought to blend legal history, anthropology, and digital humanities, deeper engagement with subaltern oral traditions remains limited. Future work should incorporate ethnographic methods to enrich textual analysis.

Despite these limitations, our mixed-methods approach lays groundwork for comprehensive recovery of subaltern agency in colonial legal archives.

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Shruti Rao et al. [Subject: English] [I.F. 5.761] International Journal of Research in Humanities & Soc. Sciences

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