Percival Spear: Historian and Indophile

David R. Syiemlieh

Chairman UPSC

Prof. Ram Ramaswamy , President of the Indian Science Academy, Prof. S. K. Srivastava, Vice- Chancellor ,North-Eastern Hill University , distinguished Members of the Academy, faculty, invitees, ladies and gentlemen.

Thank you Prof. Ramaswamy for inviting me to deliver a lecture at the Indian Science Academy in its 83rd Annual Meeting at the North-Eastern Hill University. I gladly accept the invitation. This gives me an opportunity to come to interact with distinguished scientists Members of the Academy, and to come home to experience the beauty of these hills at autumn and see the cherry blossoms. This is also an occasion to revisit my alma mater and where I taught for many happy years.

I wish the Annual Meeting all success.

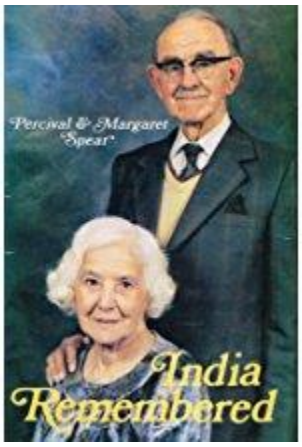
Introduction:

In 1972 in my second year studying history in St. Edmund's College, the syllabus prescribed a paper on modern Indian history. When I enquired from Modern Book Depot, Shillong, what was the best text for this course I was recommended Percival Spear's *Oxford History of Modern India*, a copy of which was purchased and has remained a valued text for my understanding of modern Indian history. A generation of Indian students studied under Percival Spear at Delhi's St. Stephen's College and Delhi University. Another generation continued to come under his influence at Cambridge where he spent his most productive years in teaching and research. His bequest is that generations to come will have the opportunity to read the masterpieces of the histories written by this historian of India.

Teaching and Research:

Thomas George Percival Spear was born in Bath, Somerset in 1901 and attended

Monkton Combe School, Bath and studied at St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, where he read history. Unlike many of the early British historians of India who took interest in Indian history while in service in India or had studied something of the sub-continent's past in British universities, Spear came to India with practically nothing of that history. He came to India to teach undergraduates European and English history. It was through that experience over sixteen years and subsequent involvement and witness to the transition of India from colonial rule to independence that enabled him to entirely branch out, as it were, into what became his forte - the history of the Mughuls and of modern India. Spear arrived in India on 10th February 1924. The beauty of Bombay struck him even in the few hours he was in the city between his arrival by ship and his departure by train for Delhi. His first impressions of Delhi were of light and colours of flowers, bright sun and blue sky which had a curious and exhilarating effect on him[1]. Delhi was to be Spear's home for the next twenty-two years, first as a bachelor finding himself a place in the college and society and joined by his wife Margaret who came to the capital soon after their marriage in 1930.



Percival Spear , he preferred this shorter version of his name, recalls in his memoir coauthored with his wife Margaret, his special debt to one of his Muslim students who was his mentor on Indian nationalism and initiator into the 'Mughul Age'. Through sessions of re-cataloguing the history section of the college library and in evening walks with this intellectual from Punjab the historian got his first lessons in seeing India through Indian spectacles. He says, "It was perhaps an advantage that I had at that time little background of formal knowledge. At the very beginning I was about to grasp the modernity of the young Indian mind and the degree to which it had been influenced by the west. It was an incalculable advantage for future understanding".[2] This early contact made such an influence on Spear that he invariably started his essays and books on modern India with the impact of western education on the Indian mind. Another student, just as the name of the first is not mentioned in the

memoir, had an equally important influence on the young college lecturer. The student had joined St. Stephen's College for political propaganda and in the collapse of the movement he and his friends were stranded, unable to go back to Hindu College. This Stephenian and nationalist regarded all Englishmen with deep suspicion as enemies of freedom. Within a year he had changed his stand, perhaps after the influence of Spear on the young man, to become an exponent of communal and national understanding without in the least ceasing to be a nationalist. Spear taught history to these two and two others in his first Honours class "but", writes Spear, "it was they who graduated me to Indian knowledge."[3]

Spear saw history being made around him. When he first came to Delhi, Gandhi had just emerged from his first imprisonment and was about to embark on his first fast. When Margaret joined him, the Civil Disobedience Movement had collapsed and India was undergoing a lull in the national movement. When the Spears left India in 1945 the British were about to appear victorious in World War II and Indian independence was not in the too distant future. He mentions and often came face to face with some of the makers of modern India. He recalls hearing Motilal Nehru and Muhammad Ali Jinnah speak in the Indian Assembly; he saw Gandhi just after he had completed his first twenty-one day fast in 1924 with C. F. Andrews hovering "like an anxious hen with a sick chicken." Maulana Muhammad Ali visited St. Stephen's College as did Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

For reasons not stated in his memoir, Spear did not stay long at St. Stephen's College. He then joined Delhi University where he was Reader in History and Dean of the Faculty of Arts. In 1937 he held a Leverhulme Research Fellowship. When the Second World War broke out the Spears were returning to India. From 1940 he worked with the Information Department of the Government of India as a journalist, she as a librarian. Various assignments in the Ministry took him to monitoring news, producing weekly summaries of world affairs and attending meetings. He particularly recalls attending the crowded press conference at which the proposal of the Cripps Mission was announced and "the air of excitement and hope" it generated. He witnessed the Quit India days and commented that its sequel of apathy, suspicion and resentment

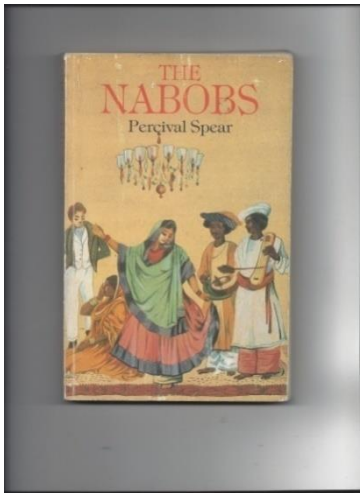
"helped to make negotiations so difficult after the war."[4] His experience of the working of the Legislative Assembly came with his assignment as government whip in 1943.

So familiar was Spear with India and things Indian that even in retirement in England he longed for India. He gave no rational explanation of his interest in the Mughuls - especially the later Mughuls whose "buildings, their dress, their habits, their fortunes, even their genealogies would come into my head whether I wanted them or not," he writes .This intuitive sympathy "unsought and undeserved", he says, was of great value to his understanding of Indian history.[5]

Percival Spear returned to England to become Fellow and Bursar of Selwyn College, Cambridge. He held a university lectureship in South Asian History, using the position to make occasional visits to India and Pakistan. He spent a year in the University of California at Berkeley on a visiting professorship. Percival Spear was awarded the OBE in 1946. He passed away after a three-week stay in hospital on 17th December 1982.[6]

Publications:

It was while he was settling down to college life in Delhi that Spear published a small book titled *Europe after the War* (1927) copy of which is in St. Stephen's library. This was his first publication and one that had gone unnoticed by his own research scholar who edited a book in honour of the historian. Spear had by then not gone down sufficiently grappling with India's past. Having only just left Europe he was drawn by circumstances of his profession in writing this history. This was to be his one and the only writing on Europe.

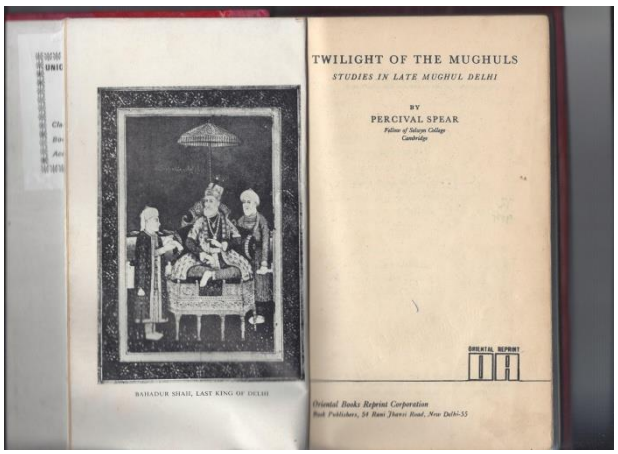


His interest in Indian history began with the publication in 1932 of *The Nababs: English Social Life in India in the 18th Century* (London, OUP, 1932 and 1963), (Gloucester, Mass. P. Smith, 1971), (Calcutta, Rupa and Co., 1991). The object of the book was to treat the social life of the English in eighteenth century India as a connected whole to trace and account for the various phases of its development. Taking a broad survey Spear tried to lay comparatively less stress on the picturesque if eccentric sides of Anglo-Indian life. He wanted to capture in words "everyday life as lived by everyday man". The book's special interest is that it records the transition from isolated commercial life to a vigorous settlement life of the East India Company and its officials in India, before 19th century imperial and social distance. The last but one chapter titled "Racial Relations" makes very interesting reading of the social transition and the problems of racial relations in India that had their rise at that time. Spear was in a sense a trendsetter. This chapter was a seminal write-up - the subject of race relations was later to be developed by many other historians.[7]

Five years later Spear published *Delhi: A Historical Sketch* (Bombay, OUP, 1937). Another small work of one hundred pages, it takes a history of the city of Delhi from its chequered and ancient past to one of the youngest and most recent of imperial capitals. He traces its transformation and frequent changes of name and yet he noticed that the city had preserved through it a continuous thread of existence. Illustrated with photographs, the book has chapters on Hindu Delhi, Delhi Sultanate, Fifteenth Century, Mughul Empire, the Eighteenth Century, a chapter on the *Twilight of the Mughuls* and one on the mutiny in Delhi. Spear's fascination with the capital was a lifelong affair. So conversant was he with Delhi, its people, its buildings and its history that all this became a recurring theme for his study.[8] This charming little book was followed by *Delhi: Its Monuments and History* (Bombay, OUP, 1943 and 1945).

Keeping pace with the constitutional and administrative developments in India Spear gave his assessment and critical analysis in *Memorandum on the Basic Structure*

of Indian Government (Delhi, Cambridge Printing Press, 1939). This was followed by *Communal Harmony* (Bombay, OUP, 1940) and its sequel *National Harmony* (Bombay, New York, OUP, 1946). A prolific writer Spear then published a very important work in *India Pakistan and the West* (London, OUP, 1948, Second Edition, 1952, Third Edition 1958, Reprinted and Revised Edition 1961, 1969 and 1965, and Fourth Edition, New York, OUP, 1967). The book makes a history of the Indian people from the perspective of religion and its response to politics. Beginning with a survey of the country, its problems and people, and of the Hindu and Muslim cultures, the book proceeds through an historical perspective of India's long history to an examination of western influences in modern India and the part played by these influences in transforming India. Two useful chapters are on "The Organisation of Power" and "The Organisation of Economic Life". The chapter titled "The Organisation of Welfare" is a development of the theme of India's benefits of British rule. This was one of the first histories that came out soon after the independence of India and Pakistan wherein the author tries to examine and answer why the end of colonial rule brought with it the partition. Soon a revised study was due with the developments that had taken place in each country. Two chapters were incorporated, one each on India and Pakistan. The first of the two covered India's affairs during Jawaharlal Nehru's premiership until his death. The other chapter on Pakistan covered its history from independence to the re-election of Ayub Khan.



Spear's connection with the later Mughuls was so passionate, writing its history of places, people and personalities was a recurring theme. Following a Leverhulme fellowship in Cambridge and *Delhi: A Historical Sketch (1937)* as an earlier version he elaborated to become what is considered by many as Spear's most important work - *The Twilight of the Mughuls* (London, OUP, 1951), Karachi, OUP, 1973, New Delhi, Orient Books Reprint Corporation, 1967). It is an elaborate study of the period between 1761 after the battle

of Panipat and the uprising of 1857. He believed that it was a period of power and politics, of the efforts of the British in taking advantage of the situation to establish their rule. He discusses the corrosion of power of the house of Timur ultimately confining their nominal authority to the areas in and around Delhi. The second part of the book consists of a series of studies of Delhi city and its surrounding areas between 1803 and 1857. The study is completed by the history of the uprising in and around Delhi in 1857-1858. In his analysis of the character of Bahadur Shah, the "Last Mughul," about whom he has written with sympathy and kindness, he is not, however, swayed by over-enthusiasm in either defending him or the other leaders connected with the events of that significant year. I note that a book titled *A History of Delhi under the Later Mughuls* (first published 1951) reprinted, New Delhi, 1990, has the same text as *The Twilight of the Mughuls.* Was this published with the consent of the author under a different title is not indicated either by the author or the publisher?

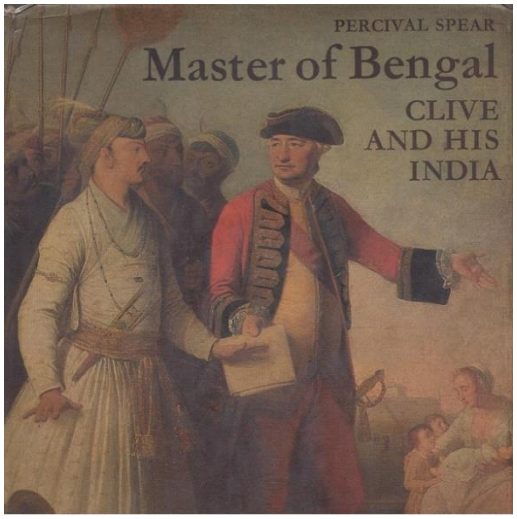
Spear edited Vincent Smith's original *Oxford History of India* (Third Edition, Oxford, OUP, 1958), (Fourth Edition, Delhi, OUP, 1981), (Ninth Impression, Delhi, OUP, 1990) without changing much what was written by Smith. He added his touch to the work which can be seen in the chapters on "Nehru's India" and "Post Nehru's India". The history is therefore brought right up to contemporary times. Spear also touched upon and completed P. E. Robert's *History of British India.* First published in 1921 by Oxford University Press, London, its second and third editions were printed in 1938 and 1952 respectively. It was reprinted with corrections in 1958 and more recently reprinted in 1978. The chapters written by Spear are the last few chapters for they bear his distinctive touch without at all eroding the scholarship and flair of Robert's style. The book is so popular with Indian students that Oxford University Press published the first Indian impression in 1976, a fourth impression in 1980 and a reprint in 1990.

Percival Spear wrote more on post independent India than Pakistan. However, the one opportunity he had to collaborate with a historian from the subcontinent resulted in the edited study with Sheikh Mohammad Ikram titled *The Cultural History of Pakistan* (Karachi, New York, OUP, 1955).

Next he published *India: A Modern History* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1961 and 1972). In 1965, his publisher Oxford University Press brought out for him *The Oxford History of Modern India.* It was a reprint of Part III of the third edition of *The Oxford History of India* (1958) referred to above. Part III was detached from the original work for the convenience of those who are concerned with the modern history of India, and done in such a manner as to be complete in itself. The aim of the book was to treat the subject, not as the story of the rise and decline of the British in India but as the history of India during the period 1740-1947. The theme, he writes in the preface, "is the transformation of India under the impact of western influences of which the British were the agents and the forces of Indian thought and action which that impact provoked." The author also informs that chapters 6 to 9 of this book were a revised version of the chapters contributed to P. E. Robert's *History of British India.* The popularity of this work may be gauged by its second edition recently going into its eleventh impression.

Finally, a small digest of Spear's histories, *A History of India,* Volume 2 originally published by Pelican in 1965 is a history of India from 1526 to the middle of the twentieth century. A companion to Romila Thapar's A *History of India,* Volume I, it was written because changes in the Indian scene required a reinterpretation of the facts as also to changes in the attitude of the historians about the essential elements of Indian history. He deals with the late medieval (Mughul) and modern (British) periods together in one volume on the principle of continuity. He views the Mughul rule as a preparation and precondition, for the modern age ushered in by the British. He viewed the colonial rulers as harbingers to India of western civilization, which precipitated the transformation of India into the modern age.

The only biography Spear wrote was on Robert Clive. His intent in writing *Master of Bengal: Clive And His India* (London, Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1975) was to make a re-assessment and a new interpretation of Robert Clive's character and work. Spear does not mention but another writer has, that 1974 was the 200th death anniversary of Clive and 1975 the 250th anniversary of Clive's birth. It was presumably those considerations that got Spear to work on the life and times of Robert Clive. The last major study on Clive had appeared in 1939 (A. M. Davies, *Clive of Plassey*, London). Since that date much is known about eighteenth century India. Spear himself was one among a host of historians to have made that contribution. Spear therefore has presented to readers a detailed biography of this "poacher turned gamekeeper" while making it lucid and very readable. He sets Clive in his own times, in the England where he was born and the socio-economic and political milieu in which he grew. The story concentrates on the East India Company, its trade, its traders and the way in which Clive was allowed to become the "Master of Bengal". Spear laid great stress on the environment of Clive's life both in England where he would return and in India, for these moulded his mind and character. Despite the great detail that went into writing the book it has a disappointing conclusion. No details are available on how and why Clive committed suicide except the lines "The end came on 22 November 1774. The family was preparing to leave London for Bath. A thud was heard in an adjoining room and people rushed in to find Clive dead." The only explanation is that the "maker of British India", now "Nabab" agonized by pain, had taken a double dose of laudanum, which is questionable for a more reliable source puts the end by throat cutting. It was left to the Anglophile Nirad C. Choudhuri to answer this query.[9]



While much of what has been written above comes from a review of his books, reference must be made to his articles and research papers published in various journals

and edited collections. The published papers are “The Grounds of Political Obedience in the Indian State”, *The Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society,* Vol. IV, Pt. 1, April 1935; “Bentinck and the Raj”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* October 1949; “Britain’s Transfer of Power in India: Review Article”, *Pacific Affairs,* Vol. XXXI, No. 2, June 1958; “From Colonial to Sovereign Status: Some Problems of Transition with Special Reference to India”, *Journal of Asian Studies,* Vol. XVII, No. 4, August 1958; “India, 1840-1905”, *New Cambridge Modern History,* Vol. XI, Ed. F. Hinsley (Cambridge, OUP, 1962); “The Political Evolution of Pakistan: A Study in Analysis”, *Politics in Southern Asia, Ed.* Saul Rose (London, Macmillan, New York, St. Martin’s Press, 1963); “Nehru”, *Modern Asian Studies,* Vol. 1,Pt. 1, January 1967; “Mahatma Gandhi”, *Modern Asian Studies,* Vol. III, Pt. IV, 1969; “Holt Mackenzie: Forgotten Man of Bengal”, *Bengal: Past and Present,* Diamond Jubilee Number, 1967, Vol. LXXXVI, Pt. II, No. 162; “The Position of the Muslims, Before and After Partition”, *India and Ceylon: Unity and Diversity,* Ed. Philip Mason (London, OUP, 1967); “India and Southeast Asia, 1898-1945”, New *Cambridge Modern History, Vol.* XII, Ed. C. L. Mowat (Cambridge, OUP, 1967); “British Historical Writing in the Era of the Nationalism Movements”, *Historians of India: Policies and Perspectives,*1935-1947, Eds. C. H. Philips and M. O. Wainwright (OUP, 1961); “The British and the Indian State in 1830”, *Tradition and Politics in South Asia,* Ed. R. J. Moore (New Delhi, Vikas, 1979); “A Third Force in India: A Study in Political Analysis, 1920-1947”, Eds. C. H. Philips and M. D. Wainwright (London, OUP, 1970); “The Early Days of Bishop’s College, Calcutta”, *Bengal:.Past and Present, July-December* 1970, Vol. LXXXX, Pt. II, No. 168; ‘‘Ghalib’s Delhi”, *Ghalib': the Poet and His Age,. Ed.* Ralph Russell (London, Allen and Unwin. 1972);. “The Mughuls and the British”, *A Cultural History of India,* Ed. A. L. Basham (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1975); “Stern Daughter of the Voice of God: Ideas of Duty among the British in India”, *The Concept of Duty in South Asia,* Eds. W. D. O’Flaherty and J.D.M. Derrett (London, SOAS, 1978); “Lord William Bentinck: The Man and His Work”, *Indian Society and the Beginning of Modernisation c. 1830-1850,* Eds. C. H. Philips and M. D. Wainwright (London, SOAS, 1976); “Delhi, the Stop-go Capital” (referred to in footnote 8 of his paper); and “Patterns of British Leadership in British India: Theme with Variations”, *Leadership in South Asia,* Ed. B. N. Pandey (New Delhi, Vikas, 1977).[10]

Sources:

Percival Spear was a methodical and untiring researcher. Most of his books and research papers, apart from the general histories, were written with an impressive data base. His association with the India Office Library and Records (IOLR), presently relocated to St. Pancras, London, covered half a century from the research material collected for *The Nababs* (1932) to the biography of Clive (1975). For the first of his books on Indian history he checked through a whole array of letters and private papers. From the Imperial Records Office at Calcutta he took notes from the Original Law Consultations and the Home Miscellaneous Series. The British Museum provided him the manuscripts of Warren Hastings, the journal of Col. Lipton and a "Journal of a Voyage to the East Indies". These were backed up with printed records, compilations of and selections from records; books on travels, voyages and descriptions, letters, diaries, journals, narrations and memoirs, biographies and other secondary printed material. Schooled in the best traditions of British historiography, Spear documents each statement in a footnote explaining the sources and often going into long descriptions of the material used. The same tradition continues in *Twilight of the Mughuls,* where he searched out material as widely dispersed as the Bentinck papers at the Nottingham University Library; Bengal Judicial, Political, Public and Secret Consultations and Records available at the IOLR, London; the Foreign Department Misc. Political Files at the National Archives of India, he saw through relevant papers at the Punjab Records Office; the Chief Commissioner's Office, Delhi and the Diocese of Calcutta. He made much use of journals and memoirs and other printed primary sources.

Master of Bengal: Clive and His India being "a re-assessment and new interpretation," its sources were largely the previous biographies of Robert Clive. Spear drew heavily from Robert Clive's manuscripts at the IOLR; also the large documentation preserved there covering Clive's official acts and life. The material for a more intimate account of his character came from the private papers at the IOLR (Powis Papers) and with others of Clive's papers in the National Library of Wales at Aberystwyth. The papers of Edward Strachey, the political and private secretary of Clive and those of his friend, General Carnac, are also made use of extensively. Spear considered the source

"sufficient both to provide the material for a finished portrait of Clive, and to furnish those with conscious prejudices or unconscious biases with the means of justifying their preconceived opinions." He realized that he like others interpreting Clive was no easy task: "he or she may know too much or too little, may feel too much or too little and may be the sport or victim of a current trend of feeling."[11] Spear took the middle course in this problem of historical writing.

Many of his books have illustrations in drawings, portraits and photographs. Both the books on Delhi have photograph plates. *The Nababs* has several reproductions of drawings; *The Twilight of the Mughuls* has six plates, while *The Oxford History of Modern India* provides twenty-four illustrations. Profusely illustrated is his last book on Clive with 127 illustrations and 6 maps. Maps feature in almost all the histories for Spear largely concentrated on political history and changing boundaries. Writing largely for non-Indian readers Spear was compelled in his prefaces to explain the transliteration of Indian names and words. In general he followed the Hunterian system without the use of diacritical marks. A glossary usually incorporated at the closing pages of his books gives an explanation of the terms and names used in the text.

Spear made careful use of metaphors to enrich his style of writing. For instance, while discussing the failure of the Marathas, which led to a political vacuum, it drew the British, as the one stable power in India, "as a magnet draws iron."[12] Similarly, he sought to make his books pieces of literature in themselves by often using metaphoric descriptions. One of the best pieces is: "If Ram Mohan Roy was the mind, Dayananda the physical arm, Ram Krishna was the soul of new India."[13] While such a presentation can be understood by his Indian readers one may find it difficult to appreciate what Spear means when he writes: "Politics is the King Charles' head of Indian social intercourse."[14]

Critique:

While appreciating much of what Spear wrote, some agreements must be placed against his approach and conclusions. He was so drawn to the later Mughuls and the

early days of the British in India that his general histories do not do adequate justice and treatment to the national movement for India's independence. Nor does he critically examine the economic impact of British rule on India, so eloquently taken up by nationalist historians and two years ago by Dr. Shashi Tharoor in a debate conducted by the Oxford Union and his recent publications *An Era of Darkness* (2016) and *Inglorious Empire* (2017). While Spear gives sufficient coverage to the economic benefits of British rule,[15] he appeared to be oblivious of the adverse effect British rule brought on the Indian people. In this we notice Spear's support of the Cambridge School not to take up these issues. Spear must have had with him the material to have at least mentioned the "Drain Theory" if not other references to British exploitation of India's resources. A reviewer of *India A Modern History* (D. P. Singhal, in *Journal of Southasian History*, vol. 5 March 1964, p. 215) commented on "Spear's overriding aim appears to be one of making an implicit academic defence of the British record in India against the much-apprehended attacks of Indian historians. He tries to show that the roots of Indian backwardness, and indeed all their political, economic and social problems must be traced to India's past and not to British policies". The impression gathered from reading Spear's book on modern India is that he chose to be insensible to criticisms leveled against the British economic policy. Spear tries to convince his readers in another of his publications that: "the same liberty which had proved the secret of Britain's industrial prosperity had converted India into a colonial economy and it was only in response to the demands of the colonists themselves that industry in India developed." He goes on to write, "what has been condemned as deliberate British policy was in fact the normal working of current economic ideas and inevitable British economic pressures." If this is understandable, what is quoted next is not: "But its effects on the Indian mind were the same as if the motive had been calculated egoism. It fostered a sense of dependence and of frustration and provided the key argument for a belief in the British exploitation of India.[16] Similarly, we find it somewhat difficult to agree with the opening words of the next quotation that followed the one referred to above, that: "what was a plan to have no plan appeared in Indian eyes to be a regular design to retard the country's progress."[17]

Spear like many Britons who had come to India before the partition must have

been rudely shocked at the courses of history after he left in 1945. Without going into the details of this history he traces it back, just as others have done, to the first stirrings of Muslim politics in India. But for Spear to say that Syed Ahmad Khan "was clear that there was a Muslim national consciousness quite distinct from the Hindu" is to encourage the notion that India could not accommodate the two religious communities. He goes on to write an anachronism in history that, "In his (Syed Ahmad Khan's) whole attitude was implicit the concept of Pakistan."[18]

In his methodology Spear did not consider it important to go beyond archival and official sources and the other source materials mentioned above. Though he had the skill of writing very readable history he did not use vernacular literature in the *Twilight of the Mughuls* where the rich Persian materials would have made a good book much better. We get the impression that Spear did not know Persian but he did acknowledge the importance of literature in this language in the closing lines of *Master of Bengal* (p. 203).

Spear's histories were broad and influential, fitting into a distinctive school of historiography and were fine works in literature. One of his students wrote on him: "Over-arching all of Spear's writings linking the detailed studies and the general histories is a concern for the meeting of cultures, the ways in which alien civilizations confront each other and the adjustments, the compromises, and the changes that result."[19] The concept of unity first raised by Vincent Smith years before Spear started out as a professional historian was developed by him. Spear wrote in the introduction to his masterpiece: "The unity of the country, however frequently broken, is as natural an Indian conception as the balance of power, however often threatened, is a constant European conception of politics."[20] The other theme he drives home is the rise and fall of imperial powers, whether it was the Mughuls, the Marathas, the Sikhs and that of his own country in India. However, little is mentioned of 'smaller' players in the making of Indian history, with no reference for instance to the North East- a regional neglect by this and several historians of India.

Conclusion:

Every age has its historians. Such are the histories Percival Spear worked on, that they require attention, appreciation and recall for this great admirer of India, its people and its past. Today Spear's works are considered by younger historians as "out of date old textbooks and surveys,"[21] and belonging to that liberal imperialist approach.[22] There is nothing wrong in either the criticism or the man for each historian writes history to suit their own time. Spear had a particular focus and a mission. His legacy, apart from his books, is the training he has given to many historians who hold Spear in high regard. To their friend and teacher was dedicated a collection of essays with these befitting words:[23]

THOMAS GEORGE PERCIVAL SPEAR
HISTORIAN OF INDIA
WHOSE LOVE OF FINE SCHOLARSHIP
WAS MATCHED BY
HIS GREAT LOVE FOR THE PEOPLE **OF INDIA**

Notes and References

This paper was written with the financial assistance of NEHU (when I was a young lecturer), which allowed me a week's stay in Delhi to read the writings of Percival Spear. Gratefully acknowledged is the issue and reference to books of NEHU, ICHR, and UPSC libraries and the secretarial assistance of my staff at the UPSC. An earlier version of the published article has been revisited for this presentation. Unless otherwise indicated, Percival Spear is the author of all the books and articles cited herein**.**

1. Percival and Margaret Spear, *India Remembered*, Orient Longman Ltd.
2. Ibid., p. 10.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., pp. 79-80.
5. Ibid.,p.89.
6. Ainslee T. Embree, 'Percival Spear's Vision : A Bibliography,'*R. E. Frykenberg (*ed.*), Delhi Through the Ages: Essays in Urban Histo*ry, Culture *and Society,* OUP, Delhi,

1986, pp. 497-98.

7. For example, Kenneth Ballhatchet, *Race, Sex and Class under the Raj,* New Delhi, 1979; Edwin Hirschmann, *White Mutiny,* New Delhi, 1980, and N. S. Bose, *Racism*; *Struggle for Equality and Indian Nationalism,* Calcutta, 1981.
8. Spear was the inspiration behind the academic discussions and eventual publication of R. E. Frykenberg (ed.), *Delhi Through the Ages,* wherein a number of his research scholars and friends contributed articles. Spear's paper "Delhi - The 'Stop-Go' Capital: A Summation" is incorporated in the Epilogue, pp. 464-79.
9. See, N. C. Choudhuri, *Clive of India,* London, Basil and Jenkins, 1975, Appendix 8.
10. This bibliography has been taken from R. E. Frykenberg, op. cit, pp. 497-98.
11. *Master of Bengal :Clive And His India,* p. 208.
12. India, Pakistan and the West, *p. 75.*
13. *Oxford History of Modern India,* p. 287
14. *India, Pakistan and the West,* p. 18.
15. See, "Economic-and Cultural Development"; in *History of British India,* pp. 650-57, and *The Oxford History of Modern India,* pp. 390-94, also "Economic Policy and Development 1858- 1939" in *The Oxford History of Modern India,* pp. 261-71; and "The Organisation of Economic Life" in *India, Pakistan and the West,* pp. 140-156.
16. *India, Pakistan and the West,* pp. 140-156.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid., p. 190.
19. Frykenberg, op. cit., p. 482.
20. *Twilight of the Mughuls,* p. 3.
21. Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India: 1885-1947,* Delhi, Macmillan India Ltd., 1984, p.455.
22. Bipan Chandra, *India's Struggle for Independence,* Delhi, Penguin Books, 1989, p.17. Two of Spear's books are listed in R. J. Moore (1975) 'Recent historical writing on the modern British Empire and Commonwealth: Later imperial India,' *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 4:1, 55-76, DOI: 10.1080/0308653750858244
23. Frykenberg, op. cit., dedication.