

SIR WILLIAM JONES AND THE BRITISH ATTITUDES TOWARDS INDIA

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JAMES MILL in his efforts to belittle the achievements of the Hindus took Jones as his chief antagonist; he tried to show how the Orientalist suffered from illusions about the Hindus and tended to magnify their importance without having any idea of what the term civilization meant.¹ He said that Jones's description of the life of the Arabs and Hindus far surpassed the "rhapsodies of Rousseau on the happiness and virtue of savage life".² To Mill, Jones was a misguided man who failed to grasp the problems of India; his reason gave way to the romantic fascination of the East and so in his judgment on India he was uncritical. Ever since the first publication of Mill's work in 1817 the history of the British policy in India had been presented as if it were a struggle between Jones and Mill, the romantic versus the rationalist. This theme was developed in a recent conference on Indian historiography.³ Elsewhere Jones is described as a medievalist.⁴ In fact most of these writers presented Jones as James Mill had depicted him, even though their sympathies may have been with him.

These writers have assumed that the Orientalism of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was closely allied with medievalism and was an off-shoot of the Romantic movement. There is no doubt that by the last decades of the eighteenth century the cult of "rational" China came to an end and it was rapidly replaced by a cult of Brahmanic mysticism.⁵ The people who harked back to the Middle Ages also looked to "spiritual" India. The rationalists like Bentham and Mill had turned their backs on the East. They indeed had an interest in India but that was confined to the improvement of British administration in that country, and they had no inclination to learn anything from India. It is also true that most men, who rebelled against the eighteenth-century faith in progress and human Reason, looked to the East for its simple life, its mysticism and the harmony between man and nature which was

¹ Mill, James. *The history of British India*, Vol. 2, p. 138 (London, 1826).

² Op. cit., pp. 139-140.

³ Philips, C. H. (ed.) *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, pp. 217-229 (London, 1961).

⁴ Bearce, G. D. *British attitudes towards India*, pp. 20-24. (O.U.P. London, 1961.)

⁵ Reichwein, A. *China and Europe: Intellectual and artistic contacts in the eighteenth century*, pp. 151-52 (trans. Powell, J. P.) (London, 1926).

supposed to be found there. But Jones could not be fitted into either of these categories. His attitudes towards India and Asia were much too complex to be pigeonholed.

Jones was firmly grounded in the eighteenth century, with its cult of Reason, classical learning, and Whig philosophy. Politically he belonged to the extreme group of the Whig radicals, yet in him there was a tendency to dislike the "civilization", to love the "primitive" and the "natural". This led him to admire the Arabs of Yemen; to him Arabia was the only country left in the world that was simple, free and happy, since Kashmir was conquered by the Mughals.¹ He was much charmed by the seven Arab poets with their nomadic life, violent love and thrilling adventures.² The singular tension between the decorous and stylish tradition of the eighteenth century and the romantic fascination of uncommon subjects, which has been noticed in his poetry³ may also be traced in his other works, notably in his treatment of history, where the conflict between the historiography of the Enlightenment⁴ and that of the Romantic movement is much in evidence. He was interested more in the "truth" or "essence" in history than in the facts. The only facts that mattered in history were the instructive ones like the story of Shiekh Safi, who, by the use of his charm, freed the Carmanian slaves from Timur.⁵ But in India he turned to what the men of Enlightenment would call the "darker" periods, to the distant past. Then his efforts were solely devoted to the explanation of the origin of Creation and humanity.⁶ This conflict between what

¹ Jones, Sir William. *Poems consisting chiefly of translations of Asiatick languages*, p. 174 (Oxford, 1772).

² Jones, Sir William. *Moallakat or seven Arabian poets in The Works of Sir William Jones*, Vol. 10, p. 8 (London, 1807).

³ Preface. *Sir William Jones's poems*. Selected by Benthall, J. (Cambridge, 1961).

⁴ I use the phrase in the same way as Collingwood has used it. See Collingwood, R. G. *The idea of history*, pp. 76–78 (Oxford, 1961).

⁵ Jones, Sir William. *The history of the life of Nader Shah*. Works. Vol. 12, p. 434.

The history of Nader Shah was published in London in 1773; it was based on Mirza Mahdi's *Tārikh-i-Nādirī*, of which Jones published a verbal French translation in 1770.

⁶ A first indication of a new trend in Jones's historical ideas is to be found in the memorandum which he wrote during his journey to India. Here for the first time he showed his interest in such problems as the confirmation of the tradition of the Deluge and the early history of India. Perhaps the study of Halhed's *Gentoo Laws*, which starts with the Hindu idea of creation, stimulated his interest in comparing the Hindu mythology with the Biblical tradition. See Shore, J., *Memoirs of the life, writings and correspondence of Sir W. Jones*, p. 228 (London, 1804). Cf. "On the origin and families of nations." *Asiatick Researches* (As.R.) Vol. III, pp. 479–480.

we may call the man of reason and the man of instinct is also manifested in his attitude towards India. Mill and others have only mentioned one trend in Jones's thoughts and neglected the other.

In India he developed a passion for botany. He observed numerous Indian plants and tried to classify them according to the Linnaean system. But this study of botany was not merely to satisfy his curiosity but was stimulated by his deep religious feelings, "as to botany, it is my greatest delight in our vacations, partly because it is the most agreeable and interesting branch of natural history but, principally, because it is the favourite amusement of my darling Anna, who will have the pleasure of showing your ladyship her botanical drawings of Indian plants which we have examined together. Though we have read the works of the learned and eloquent Barrow, with many other excellent theological discourses, yet we find a more exquisite lecture on the Being and Attributes of God in every flower, every leaf and every berry than can be produced by the real wisdom and eloquence of man. The sublime doctrine of final causes is nowhere so beautifully proved and illustrated as in the plants of the lakes and forests when their different parts and the uses of them are minutely and attentively observed".¹

So nature is to be studied carefully and preserved; the animals brought to Jones for preservation had to be set free on the rocks and in the woods unless they could be tamed and protected.² He preferred to live away from the city and the crowd: "our way of life however is quite pastoral in this retired spot; as my prime favourites among all our pets are two large English sheep which came with us from Spithead and having narrowly escaped the knife are to live, as long and as happily, with us as they can; they follow us for bread and are perfectly domestic. We are literally lulled to sleep by Persian nightingales and cease to wonder that the bulbul with a thousand tales makes such a figure in Oriental poetry."³ This was how he lived in Alipur, five miles from the city centre. Here he used to spend his evenings reading Italian poetry with Anna Maria and the weekends in the enjoyment of life in natural surroundings.⁴

¹ Letter to Lady Georgiana 24.10.1791. Spencer papers, Althorp. Lady Georgiana was the mother of George John, the second Earl Spencer, who was William Jones's pupil and life-long friend.

² Jones, Sir William "On Asiatick History civil and natural". As.R. Vol. IV, p. 13.

³ Letter to Charles Chapman 26.4.1784 as published in Shore, J., *Memoirs* p. 247.

⁴ Letter to George John. 22.7.1787. Spencer papers, Althorp.

In autumn he lived in Krishnagar at the heart of nature: "How preferable is this pastoral mansion (though built entirely of vegetable substances without glass, mortar, metal or any mineral except iron nails, from its roof to its foundation) to the marble palaces you have seen in Italy. It is a thatched cottage with an upper storey and a covered verome or veranda as they call it here, all round, well boarded and ten or twelve feet broad. It stands on a dry plain where many a garden flower grows wild."¹ There he spent most of his time with the Brahmins discussing literature, philosophy and mythology and telling them about the latest scientific discoveries in Europe.² His pleasure was the company of these men from Navadvip who called him "a Hindu of the military tribe".³ He composed Sanskrit verses for the children of Krishnagar.⁴ The life in this cottage was in fact idyllic and must have seemed to Jones like that of the golden age of fable: "I wish your ladyship could see us in our charming cottage; it would bring to your mind what the poets tell us about the golden age; for not to mention our flocks and herds that eat bread out of our hands, you might see a kid and a tiger playing together at Anna's feet. The tiger is not so large as a full grown cat though he will be (as he is of the royal breed) as large as an ox, he is suckled by a she-goat and had all the gentleness (except when he is hungry) of his foster mother."⁵ This pastoral life reminds one of the hermitage of Kaṇva, the foster father of Śakuntalā, the heroine of Kālidāsa's famous drama. No doubt Jones was charmed by the simplicity of life in Kaṇva's *āśrama* (hermitage) where all living creatures, animals, plants and human beings lived in peace and harmony.

He first came to know about *Śakuntalā* in the late summer of 1787. While in Europe he had heard about Indian *Nāṭakas*. Père Pons had described it as Brahminical history mixed with fables.⁶ After his enquiries in Calcutta among the Brahmins, Jones found out that *Nāṭakas* were not histories mixed with fables but were

¹ Letter to George John. 5.8.1789.

² Letters to Joseph Banks. 25.2.1788 and 24.9.1788. In the collection of copies of the correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks made for Dawson Turner (D.T.C.) Vol. 6, 19–20 ff. and 78. f.

³ Letter to George John. 12.8.1787. Spencer papers.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Letter to Lady Georgiana. 8.10.1787. Spencer papers.

⁶ Jones, Sir William. *Sacountala or the fatal ring, an Indian drama by Calidas, translated from the original Sanscrit and Pracrit*, p.1 (Calcutta, 1789). Cf. Père Pons to Père Halde. 23.11.1740 as published in *Lettres édifiantes*. Vol. XIV, p. 72 (Paris, 1781).

popular works which “consisted of conversations in prose and verse held before ancient Rajas in their publick assemblies”.¹ So he concluded that *Nāṭakas* were discourses on music and poetry. However Pandit Radhakanta² (a scholar who helped him to reconstruct the Hindu chronology) told him that the *Nāṭakas* were like English plays performed in Calcutta during the cool seasons. When Jones asked for the best specimen of such a play he was given *Śakuntalā*. This must have been sometime in August, 1787 for we find him sending the story of the drama to George John on 4 September of that year, “I must tell you the subject of a drama in Sanskrit by Calidas (pronounce always as in Italian) the Indian Shakespeare or Matastasio who was the chief poet at the court of Vicramaditya near two thousand years ago. The dramatic piece which is neither tragedy nor comedy but like many of Shakespeare’s fairy pieces is called Sacontala”.³ In a year’s time he read the Bengali recension of the drama with the help of Ramlochan, his teacher of the Vaidya caste and on 17 August, 1788 he completed his translation of the drama first into Latin and then into English.⁴ In 1789 the first English translation was published in Calcutta.

This was not the first Sanskrit work to be translated into a European language. In the seventeenth century Abraham Roger had translated Bhatṛihari’s proverbs, and Wilkins had already published *Bhagvat Geeta* in 1785 and *Heetopades* in 1787.⁵ But these works were chiefly intended to convey the Indian religious and secular ideas to Europe, and they were not translated for their literary merit. Neither Hastings nor Wilkins claimed that; in fact Hastings had to make a special plea for the *Geeta*, “I should exclude in estimating the merit of such a production all rules drawn from the ancient and modern literature of Europe”.⁶ Jones, unlike Hastings, did not make any such plea for Indian literature. To him Kālidāsa could be judged by European standards and he was equal to Shakespeare

¹ *Sacontala*, p. II.

² Op. cit., pp. II–III.

³ Letter to George John. 4.9.1787. Spencer papers.

The story that Jones sent to George John was a garbled version of the drama. According to Jones’s version, Śakuntalā was living with the king in his palace when Durvāsā visited Dusyanta, the King, and caused the long separation of the couple.

⁴ *The catalogue of the library of the late Sir William Jones*. No. 477 (London, 1831).

⁵ Wilkins, Sir Charles. *The Bhagvat Geeta or dialogues of Krishna and Arjoun in eighteen lectures* (London, 1785) and *The Heetopades of Veeshnoo Sharma* (London, 1789).

⁶ *Geeta*, p. 7.

both as a dramatist and as a poet. He agreed that taste varied but it was from individual to individual and not from one nation to another; “on the characters of the play I shall offer no criticism; because I am convinced that the tastes of men differ as much as their sentiments and passions and that in feeling the beauties of art as in smelling flowers, tasting fruits, viewing prospects and hearing melody every individual must be guided by his own sensations and the incommunicable associations of his own ideas”.¹

So Jones gave only his individual judgment which might or might not be accepted by others. No doubt the simplicity of Śakuntalā, and the love of nature in the play charmed Jones, but he ascribed greatness to it more for its style and decorum. Such style was the result of a highly complex and cultivated civilization, “Whatever the age when drama was first introduced in India, it was carried to great perfection in its kind, when Vicramaditya who reigned in the first century before Christ gave encouragement to poets, philosophers and mathematicians at a time when Britons were as unlettered and unpolished as the army of Hanumat: nine men of genius commonly called the nine gems attended his court and were splendidly supported by his bounty, and Calidas is unanimously allowed to have been the brightest of them”.² The drama with its complex use of mythology in allegorical form³ was produced at a time when the “Indian empire” was in its full vigour and the “national vanity must have been highly flattered by the magnificent introduction of those kings and heroes in whom the Hindus gloried”.⁴ If Jones had been merely fascinated by primitiveness, he would have preferred the “unlettered Britons” to Kālidāsa of Vikramāditya’s court. He was charmed by the simplicity of Śakuntalā, the peacefulness of Kaṇva’s *āśrama*, yet he used the drama to prove that the Hindus had a civilization in its own way equal to that of the Greeks. This is the reason why he purposely avoided passages like the one describing the swelling breasts of Śakuntalā. The sense of decency which earlier made him change the sex of the subject in his *Persian Song* manifested itself here.⁵ He admitted that he had excluded from his translation of *Gīta Govinda* passages which he considered to be “too bold” or

¹ *Sacountala*, pp. IX–X.

² Op. cit., pp. III–IV.

³ Op. cit., p. IX.

⁴ Op. cit., p. VII.

⁵ Pinto, V. de Sola, “Sir William Jones and English literature”. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*. Vol. XI (1946), p. 687.

“too luxuriant”.¹ All this was to prove that the achievements of the Hindus were not much different from those of ancient Europe; “To what shall I compare my literary pursuits in India? Suppose Greek literature to be known in modern Greece only and there to be in the hands of priests and philosophers; and suppose them to be still worshippers of Jupiter and Apollo; suppose Greece to have been conquered successively by Goths, Huns, Vanduls, Tartars and lastly by the English; then suppose a court of judicature to be established by the British parliament in Athens and an inquisitive Englishman to be one of the judges; suppose him to learn Greek there which none of the countrymen knew and to read Homer, Pindar, Plato which no other Europeans had ever heard of. Such am I in this country; substituting Sanscrit for Greek and the Brahmins for the priests of Jupiter and Valimic, Vyasa and Calidasa for Homer, Plato and Pindar”.²

This complex personality, the product of romanticism on the one hand and a classical training on the other, found in India an echo of his own being — on the one hand simplicity, natural beauty and fascinating strangeness and on the other a highly complex and well-cultivated civilization.

He had shown that Indians and most Europeans sprang from the same origin; their languages were derived from an original extinct language; and the Hindus, Greeks and all pagans worshipped the same Gods under different names. The similarities between early Indian and Greek astronomy was explained in the same vein, “the Indian division of the Zodiack was not borrowed from the Greeks or Arabs, but having been known in this country from time immemorial and being the same in part with that used by other nations of the old Hindu race before their dispersion”.³ But the Indians also contributed to human civilization after their settlement in India. He supplied new evidence to prove that the game of chess was discovered in India.⁴ He supported the traditional story that Pythagoras and Plato borrowed their doctrine from India with fresh authority. The fountain source of all mystical philosophy was the Vedāntic system from which the Persians and Greeks had borrowed. He always felt proud that he could converse with the Brahmins in

¹ Jones, Sir William. “On the mystical poetry” *As.R.* Vol. III, p. 183.

² Letter to George John. 23.8.1787. Spencer papers.

³ Jones, Sir William. “On the antiquity of the Indian Zodiack.” *As.R.* Vol. II, p. 289. The term Hindu is used here for what came to be called Indo-European.

⁴ Jones, Sir William. “On the Indian game of chess.” *Op. cit.*, p. 159.

their own language whereas the ancient Greeks could not communicate with them directly.¹

The two aspects of Hinduism which attracted Jones most were the conception of the non-duality of God, and the human soul as explained by Śaṅkara in his commentary on the Vedānta and the transmigration of the human soul. Jones had faith in God and Christ as depicted in the Bible but his views were very similar to those of the Dissenters such as Richard Price and Joseph Priestley. Of Richard Price's sermon, he said, that "after this publication by good old Price, the Church of England as it is called would inevitably fall and the Religion of the Gospel be substituted in its place".² This sermon if translated into Persian and Sanskrit might convince the Muslims and the Hindus of the superiority of Christianity. In fact the Hindus would have less difficulty "in admitting the thirty-nine articles; because if those articles were written in Sanskrit they might well pass for the composition of a Brahmin".³ The Brahmins would not find it difficult to follow the Christian conception of one God. Of the Vedāntic system he said, "I have not sufficient evidence on the subject to profess a belief in the doctrine of the Vedanta, which human reason alone could perhaps, neither fully demonstrate nor fully disprove; but it is manifest, that nothing can be farther removed from impiety than a system wholly built on purest devotion".⁴

The multitude of the Hindus were superstitious and practised false religion but Hinduism like other Asiatic religions contains germs of the true religion; "Our divine religion, the truth of which (if any history is true) is abundantly proved by historical evidence, has no need of such aids, as many are willing to give it by asserting that the wisest men of this world were ignorant of the two great maxims, that we must act in respect of others, as we should wish them to act in respect of ourselves, and that instead of returning evil for evil we should confer benefits even on those who wish to injure us".⁵ These maxims were known to the Hindus three centuries before Christ, also to the Chinese and to Sadi and Hafiz.

In one respect Jones thought Hinduism superior to Christianity. He could not believe in the Christian doctrine of punishment and

¹ Letter to George John. 26.8.1787.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Jones, Sir William. "On the philosophy of the Asiatics." *As.R.* Vol. IV, pp. 76-78.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 174.

eternity of pain.¹ He found that the Hindu idea of transmigration of soul was “more rational” than the Christian idea of the future state. “I am no Hindu but I hold the doctrine of the Hindus concerning a future state to be incomparably more rational, more pious and more likely to deter men from vice than the horrid opinions inculcated by Christians on punishment without end.”²

But when all this was said about the greatness of the Hindu civilization, its beautiful literature, sublime religion and highly complex metaphysics, Jones did not go so far as to say, as his opponents thought he did, that India was better than Europe. No doubt, he maintained that the Indians and the Arabs were more original in literature than the Romans had been, yet they were no better than the Greeks.³ In fact to Jones, Asia flourished in the sphere of imagination only, whereas “reason and taste are the grand prerogatives of European minds”.⁴ This made Europeans superior to Indians and other Asiatics; “though we cannot agree with the sage preceptor of that ambitious Prince (Alexander) that the Asiatics are born to be slaves, yet the Athenian poet seems perfectly in the right when he represents Europe as a sovereign princess and Asia as her handmaid”.⁵ Asia had no conception of freedom. If every reader of history “would open his eyes to some very important conclusions which flow from the whole extent of it, he could not but remark the constant effect of despotism in benumbing and destroying all those faculties which distinguish men from the herd that grazes; and to that cause he would impute the decided inferiority of most Asiatick nations, ancient and modern to those in Europe who are blest with happier governments”.⁶ This was the reason why Hindu sciences like medicine and chemistry were inferior to those of Europe. To Jones the greatest achievements of

¹ Letter to George John. 2.9.1787. Spencer papers.

² Letter to George John. 4.9.1787. Spencer papers.

³ “As to the works of the Greeks I perfectly agree with you and think every line of them to be a gem of exquisite beauty but I consider the Romans as bright only with borrowed rays, . . . The Hindus and Arabs are perfectly original and to my taste (which can be no more a rule for others than my smell) their compositions are sublime and beautiful in a high degree.” Letter to Robert Orme 12.10.1786 N. L. W., c 14005 (National Library of Wales MS.). This was written in reply to Robert Orme’s claim that the Greek literature was superior to that of the Indians, “I am convinced that the Indian mythology can never furnish ideas of such fine taste as the genius of the Greeks have improved and invented for theirs”. R.O. to W.J. 11.3.1786, Orme Collections 214.5. 46 f.

⁴ Jones, Sir William. “The second discourse.” *As.R.* Vol. I, p. 407.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 405.

⁶ Jones, Sir William “On Asiatick History.” *As.R.* Vol. IV, pp. 7–8.

human wisdom were embodied in the British constitution. Significantly in the second plan of his proposed epic poem, *Britain discovered*, which was to be written in praise of the British constitution, gods and heroes from India came to pay homage at the nuptials of Britan (Royalty) and Albione (liberty).¹ The union of Royalty and liberty could be found only in the British constitution which made Britain far superior to any other nation in the world. This love for the British constitution and a sense of the superiority of Europe in the field of science and law were dominant emotions in Jones's mind as was the romantic fascination which the exotic had for him. Jones had no faith in the concept of Oriental despotism as developed by Bernier, Montesquieu, Dow and others. Though he believed that Asia should be ruled by absolute power he could not agree that India, which had created such a great civilization, had no private property and had never experienced feudalism; "Unless I am greatly deceived, the work now presented to the public, decides the question which has started whether, by the Mugul constitution, the sovereign be not the sole proprietor of all the land in his empire, which he or his predecessors have not granted to a subject and his heirs; for nothing can be more certain, than that land, rents and goods are, in the language of the Mohammedan lawyers, property alike alienable and inheritable. . . . No Muselman prince in any age or country would have harboured a thought of controverting these authorities".² As to the Hindus they "most assuredly were absolute proprietors of their land though they called their sovereigns lords of the Earth".³ So the purpose of the British Government in India would be best served by "promoting the security of the right of property to the natives", who by their "cheerful industry will enrich their benefactors and whose firm attachment will secure the permanence of our dominion".⁴ This induced him to compile a Digest of Indian law which he thought would protect the person and property of the individual and enable a British government to rule India according to Indian laws. He thought this Digest would be his legacy to India: "Our nation in the name of the King

¹ *Britain Discovered* as published in Shore, J., *Memoirs* pp. 416-489.

² Jones, Sir William. *Al Sirajiyah: or the Mohamedan Law of inheritance; with a commentary.* pp. IX-XI (Calcutta, 1792).

³ *Op. cit.*, p. XII. His theory of the Indian system of law and government could be traced in his translation of Manu, Books VII, VIII, and IX. See his *Institutes of Hindu law or ordinances of Manu*, p. 194, cf. Mill, J., *The history of British India*, Vol. I, p. 260.

⁴ *Al Sirajiyah*, p. XIII.

has twenty-three million black subjects in these two provinces, but nine-tenths of their property are taken from them and it has even been publickly insisted that they have no landed property at all; if my Digest of Indian law should give stability to their property, real and personal, and security to their persons it will be the greatest benefit they ever received from us."¹

The Digest was unfinished when he died, and when at last completed it was of very little practical value. The new middle classes of India, no doubt, benefitted from British rule, but Jones's Digest helped very little in protecting their persons and property.²

The greatest contribution of Jones to India was the foundation of the Asiatic Society. Through this society enthusiasm for Indian studies spread throughout Europe and India. From 1829 onwards Indians played a full part in the activities of the Society. No doubt modern Indian nationalism is a by-product of British rule and Western influence.³ But India could hardly have withstood the cultural challenge of the West without drawing heavily on her past glory. It was Jones and the Society he founded that discovered India had produced a civilization equal to any other in the ancient world. The dignity and pride this discovery gave to the Indians is an undeniable factor in the growth of the national movement. His publication of *Sacontala* and *Gita-Govinda* put Indian literature on the world map. After this no one could deny its merits. Walpole⁴ might have disliked it but even Mill⁵ had to admit that parts of the drama were beautiful.

¹ Letter to Lady Georgiana. 24.10.1791. Spencer papers.

² Derrett, J. D. M. "Sanskrit legal treatises compiled at the instances of the British", *Z. F. vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, pp. 109–112 (Stuttgart, 1961).

³ Hobsbawm, E. J., *Age of Revolution*, p. 139, cf. Misra, B. B. *Indian Middle Classes*, pp. 10–17.

⁴ Horace Walpole to William Robertson. 26.6.1791. *Correspondence* (ed. Lewis, W. S.), Vol. 15, pp. 211–212.

⁵ Mill, James. *History of British India*, pp. 56–57.

This study is based on Jones's private correspondence. I have drawn mainly on his unpublished letters now retained at Althorp Park, Northampton. I am most grateful to the present Earl Spencer for kindly allowing me to study them. The Central Research Fund of the University of London have been most generous in assisting me towards the cost of the research incurred in Aberystwyth and Althorp Park.