

Social History of Medicine in Colonial India

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Week 06

Lecture 05

TUTORIAL 6 - Bibliographical Survey

Hello and welcome to yet another lecture - Lecture number 30. This is a tutorial and a very special kind of a tutorial - only one of its kind - and it is a bibliographical survey. You have already been given a reading list with reasonably good bibliography. But the problem there is that they will all be in the alphabetical order of the surname of the authors. Here, what we will do is, we will go a bit thematically according to particular topics though not very exhaustively. Another important reason we are doing this, is that this is also a way to acknowledge the various authors from whom we have drawn for this course. As you would have already noted, this work, this entire course has been possible due to hundreds of researches having been done in this field. And throughout the lectures - since they are lecture and we have been using only slides - it would be very cumbersome to acknowledge in the slides - unlike in a book or article where you can acknowledge through neat footnotes and endnotes - here it will become very clumsy in each slide - sometimes one particular sentence will have material from two or three different authors and then the entire slide will look very clumsy. But there is no denying the fact that, all of this has been possible due to work, research work done by several people. Whatever I have said in this course, or will be saying, is not what I have myself personally worked on. So, this is also an opportunity to acknowledge all the authors from whom this set of lectures has been drawn - may be some 20 to 30 authors - they will all figure here, their names will be here and there will be more as well.

Moving on, we will start from the most general kind. Suppose you want to get to know what happened in the colonial period in just say 50, 60 pages, I think one of the best ways of doing it is to take this book by David Arnold - *Science, Technology and Medicine in Colonial India* which is specifically not about medicine but it is about science, technology and medicine in the colonial period and there is a particular chapter on medicine in the colonial period that is chapter 3 - and there are other sections in other chapters which deal with medicine. And incidentally there is a very useful bibliographic essay at the end of the book and section 3 of that actually does almost a similar kind of a

thing. In fact, this is also borrowed from that. The only thing is that this is even more updated and that is the difference. This is one of the easiest - if you want to do a quick survey - in just about an hour or, you can go through those sections.

And then there are those other very broad-based books covering several aspects like public health, medical education, professionalization and all that. Starting from one of the earliest ones – 1991 - Poonam Bala had written this work *Imperialism and Medicine in Bengal: A Socio-Historical Perspective* - that is only about one Presidency but it gives a fairly good idea a broad idea. David Arnold came with his magnum opus specifically on medicine that is *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-Century India*. Similarly Mark Harrison's *Public Health in British India: Anglo-Indian Preventive Medicine 1859 – 1914*. And then Anil Kumar's *Medicine and the Raj: British Medical Policy in India, 1835-1911* - that also, by and large, deals with Bengal but it gives an overall sense of the kind of things that happened in the colonial period. Radhika Ramasubhan's chapter 'Imperial Health in British India, 1857–1900', in a broader book Roy MacLeod and Milton Lewis (eds.), *Disease, Medicine, and Empire: Perspectives on Western Medicine and the Experience of European Expansion* pp. 38–60, that covers other colonial empires as well - but this particular one is on India. Roger Jeffery's *The Politics of Health in India* (Berkeley, CA, 1988) covers a larger period but the first part deals with the colonial period. And this last book among the general books is by Prithik Chakraborty - *Medicine and Empire: 1600 – 1960* - but it covers the different colonial empires - Spanish, French and different issues and basically tries to see how that empire building was very much related to medicine or the medicine in those various empires and their own lives (the trajectories of medicine in even the home countries), was very much influenced by their imperial adventures. It covers almost all major colonial powers and almost three centuries and more.

Apart from this broad books there are some very useful, I will mention about two or three - edited volumes. Edited volumes are always very useful because they have a variety of chapters. For instance, the first one we will see here is edited by Biswamoy Pati and Mark Harrison and the title of the book is same as the name of the course almost - *The Social History of Health and Medicine in Colonial India*. We will see a range of chapters there. There is a broad Introduction and then we have work on topography, we have work on Haj pilgrimage, then we have an article on the role of indigenous subordinate staff - we have not talked much about them in the course but that will give you an idea including police staff - not necessarily just the health staff. Then next one is about plague, and then next one is about kala-azar, leprosy and lunatic asylum - some of those things which we have not covered in the course - these particular things like leprosy and mental illness - they are also covered in this. And there is a particular article on the health of the army people, then about anatomy, about pharmacology and medical advertisements, about opium. So, you can see - that is an advantage of edited volumes

like this. The next edited volume we are looking at is *Medical Encounters in British India*. This is by Deepak Kumar and Raj Sekhar Basu. There again you see different kinds - first is a kind of an introduction probing history of medicine and public health in India. Then second one is a piece on anatomical knowledge, then the third one is about bazaar medicine to state medicine - the kinds of movements between the two worlds, then next one is about food that is again one thing which we have not talked about much, then health and sovereignty, the decline and rise of the tropics. Then we have a work on cholera - but then focusing on homeopathic approaches to it. One of things you will find is that in the course normally we are doing with the broad strokes but here you will find specific case-studies about specific places like you see here one on Benares, and we will see for instance, the ninth chapter there is about malaria control in Bombay Presidency. Then we have a chapter on missionaries; then we have particular focus here - the tenth one is about women and particularly their vulnerability to the to basillus; then about subalternity - which we have not discussed much; about abortion - we have discussed about contraception a little bit but then this will give more details.

Then moving on to the next book of this kind again by Biswamoy Pati and Mark Harrison - this one titled as *Society, Medicine and Politics in Colonial India*. First there is the introduction, then we have given topics like assisted suicide, then cholera, then about unani medicine, then about cholera in pilgrimage sites. We have a piece on indigenous medicine, missionaries. This one - seventh one particularly focusing on Madras Presidency and epidemics there. Then there is one about insanity again, next one - ninth one - is also on mental illness. Then further articles on women, gender, sexuality; then the twelfth one again focusing on Bombay Presidency and on medical personnel - in that case physicians; then the next one is on East India and focusing on a particular disease. That is the advantage with these kinds of edited volumes hopefully you will have access to some of them.

Then, moving on to particular areas for instance, if you want to look more about the Indian Medical Service or military health, the military problems in the army - these are some of the books:

D. G. Crawford, *Roll of the Indian Medical Service, 1615–1930* (Calcutta: W. Thacker & Company, 1930)

D. G. Crawford, *History of the Indian Medical Service* (London : Thacker, 1914)

Philip D. Curtin, *Death by Migration: Europe's Encounter with the Tropical World in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1989)

Erica Wald , *Vice in the Barracks: Medicine, the Military, and the Making of Colonial India, 1780–1868* (London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014)

If you go to epidemic diseases, for instance, the first four or five entries are on cholera
Ira Klein, David Arnold again, Mark Harrison again..:

Ira Klein 'Cholera: Theory and Treatment in Nineteenth Century India', *Journal of Indian History*, 58, (1980): 35–51

David Arnold, 'Cholera and Colonialism in British India', *Past & Present*, 113 (1986): 118-151

Mark Harrison, 'A Question of Locality: The Identity of Cholera in British India, 1860–1890', in David Arnold (ed.), *Warm Climates and Western Medicine: The Emergence of Tropical Medicine, 1500–1900* (Amsterdam, 1996), pp.133–59

Mark Harrison. 'A Dreadful Scourge- Cholera in early nineteenth-century India', *Modern Asian Studies*, 54 (2), (2020): 502–553

Then influenza is one thing which we had not discussed much - one of the articles is as late as 2019:

David Hardiman, 'The Influenza Epidemic of 1918 and the Adivasis of Western India', *Social History of Medicine* 25, no. 3 (2012): 644-664

David Arnold, 'Death and the Modern Empire: The 1918–19 Influenza Epidemic in India', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 29 (2019): 181–200

Then the next three are on malaria: Sheldon Watts, again, Ira Klein and Rohan Debroy - especially on the use of quinine.

Sheldon Watts, 'British Development Policies and Malaria in India 1897-c. 1929', *Past & Present*, 165 (1999): 141-181

Ira Klein, 'Malaria and Mortality in Bengal', *The Indian Economic & Social History Review*, 9, no. 2 (1972):132–60

Rohan Deb Roy, 'Quinine, Mosquitoes and Empire: Reassembling Malaria in British India, 1890–1910', *South Asian History and Culture*, 4 (2013): 65–86

The next one is about kala-azar which we already came across as a chapter in one of those edited volumes.

Achintya Kumar Dutta, 'Pursuit of Medical Knowledge: Charles Donovan (1863–1951) on Kala-Azar in India' *Journal of Medical Biography* 16 (2018) no. 2 : 72–76

Then the next few pieces are about tackling these various epidemics vaccination and the kinds of reactions these three and some more as well.

Sanjoy Bhattacharya , M. Harrison , and M. Worboys , *Fractured States: Smallpox, Public Health and Vaccination Policy in British India 1800–1947* (Hyderabad: Orient BlackSwan, 2005)

Sanjoy Bhattacharya , *Expunging Variola: The Control and Eradication of Smallpox in India, 1947–1977* (Hyderabad: Orient BlackSwan, 2006)

Aparna Nair, 'Vaccinating against Vasoore: Eradicating smallpox in the 'model' princely state of Travancore, 1804–1946' *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 56, no. 4 (2019): 1–26

There is one on TB vaccination - we have not talked about TB also much:

C.W. McMillen and N. Brimnes , 'Medical Modernization and Medical Nationalism: Resistance to Mass Tuberculosis Vaccination in Postcolonial India, 1948–1955,' *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 52, no. 1 (2010): 180–209

There are two on leprosy that is again something we have not talked about.

Michael Worboys , 'The Colonial World as Mission and Mandate: Leprosy and Empire, 1900–1940', *Osiris* 15 (2000): 207–18

Jane Buckingham , *Leprosy in Colonial South India: Medicine and Confinement* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002)

Then we have Saurabh Mishra's book exclusively on the pilgrimage, Hajj-pilgrimage related health issues which we had been discussing in a couple of lectures: Saurabh Mishra, *Pilgrimage, Politics and Pestilence: The Haj from the Indian Subcontinent, 1860–1920* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011)

The next one by Nandini Bhattacharya is about diseases in tea plantations - this particularly centered around Darjeeling : Nandini Bhattacharya, *Contagion and Enclaves: Tropical Medicine in Colonial India* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012)

The next one by Sandhya Polu and the following one by Sunil Amrit are about the international dimensions.

Sandhya L Polu, *Infectious Disease in India, 1892-1940 Policy-Making and the Perception of Risk*, Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies Series (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2012).

Sunil Amrith, *Decolonizing International Health: India and Southeast Asia, 1930-1965* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2006)

Then as if to bring it closer to our times, we have David Arnold again:

David Arnold, 'Pandemic India: Coronavirus and the Uses of History, *Journal of Asian Studies* 79 no.3 (2020): 569–577.

This was written in the heat of the Covid.

And then, just in 2002 - this is a panoramic coverage of pandemic India starting from cholera right up to the 21st century Covid:

David Arnold, *Pandemic India: From Cholera to Covid-19* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2022)

Then the next broad topic is interaction between Western medicine and indigenous systems - or not necessarily interaction – just the way they survived. The first one is actually a very broad one it's beyond India and also it gives an idea of the ways that this entire topic has been dealt with in history - it's more of a historiographical survey, with examples from different cases having only one or two or from actually from India. but it's good to read that, to have a broader historiographical understanding of this entire area.

Ann Digby , W. Ernst , and P.B. Mukharji (Eds.), *Crossing Colonial Historiographies: Histories of Colonial and Indigenous Medicines in Transnational Perspectives* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010)

Then we have this piece about Bengal in a volume which is actually very useful to read. The volume is actually Charles Leslie (ed.), *Asian Medical Systems: A Comparative Study*, which has got several articles on different indigenous systems across Asia: Brahmananda Gupta, 'Indigenous Medicine in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Bengal', pp. 368–78

The next one is about responses particularly in Bombay Presidency:

Mridula Ramanna, 'Systems of Medicine: Issues and Responses in Bombay Presidency' *Economic and Political Weekly* 2006, 41 (29): 3221

The next one is on Punjab:

Kavita Sivaramakrishnan, *Old Potions, New Bottles: Recasting Indigenous Medicine in Colonial Punjab, 1850–1945* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2006)

The next one is broadly on Northern India:

Rachel Berger, *Ayurveda Made Modern: Political Histories of Indigenous Medicine in North India, 1900–1995* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013)

The next couple of works are specifically on pharmaceuticals and production and Madhuri Shamma's particularly has a lot to say about the way things were marketed, the plays of advertisements and similar things:

Madhulika Banerjee, *Power, Knowledge, Medicine: Ayurvedic Pharmaceuticals at Home and in the World* (New Delhi: Orient BlackSwan, 2009)

Madhuri Sharma, *Indigenous and Western Medicine in Colonial India* (New Delhi: Foundation Books, 2012)

Then of course this one gives an idea of the situation in more contemporary times: V. Sujatha and Leena Abraham (Eds.), *Medical Pluralism in Contemporary India* (Delhi: Orient BlackSwan, 2012)

Then we have *Nationalizing the Body: The Medical Market, Print, and Daktari Medicine* Projit B. Mukharji - sometimes people include it in the list of works on indigenous systems - but actually it is not actually on indigenous medical systems - it's basically about Indians taking up western medicine; how much they are also located within the surrounding happenings of nationalism and how western medicine in Indian hands is no longer entirely western and how they are straddling between different worlds - and the kinds of hybridizations happening at a different level and how they effectively use the benefits of print and the emerging market and those kinds of things.

The next three are about Unani and dealt with in different ways.

John C. Hume, 'Rival Traditions: Western Medicine and Yunan-i Tibb in the Punjab, 1849–1889', *Bulletin of History of Medicine*, 61 (1977): 214–31

Seema Alavi, *Islam and Healing: Loss and Recovery of an Indo-Muslim Medical Tradition, 1600–1900* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2007)

Guy N. Attewell, *Refiguring Unani Tibb: Plural Healing in Late Colonial India* (Hyderabad: Orient BlackSwan, 2007)

The next set of works is about women. One of the earliest - as early as 1929 - is by Margaret Balfour and Ruth Young - *The Work of Medical Women in India* (London, 1929)

Then we have over the years other scholars working on different aspects:

Maneesha Lal, 'The Politics of Gender and Medicine in Colonial India: The Countess of Dufferin's Fund', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 68, (1994): 29–66

Samiksha Sehrawat, *Colonial Medical Care in North India: Gender, State, and Society, C. 1840–1920* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013)

Sujata Mukherjee, *Gender, Medicine, and Society in Colonial India: Women's Health Care in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century Bengal* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2017)

The above four are broad.

The next two by Rudra Ramana and Amalika Guha are particularly about doctors, physicians - women physicians.

Mridula Ramanna, 'Women Physicians as Vital Intermediaries in Colonial Bombay.' *Economic and Political Weekly*, 43 no.12 (2008): 71-78

Ambalika Guha, 'The "Masculine" Female: The Rise of Women Doctors in Colonial India, c. 1870–1940; *Social Scientist*, 44, No. 5/6 (2016): 49-64

The next two are about midwifery in particular :

Geraldine Forbes, 'Managing Midwifery in India', in Dagmar Engels and Shula Marks (eds.), *Contesting Colonial Hegemony: State and Society in Africa and India* (London, 1994), pp. 152–72

Ambalika Guha, *Colonial Modernities - Midwifery in Bengal, c.1860–1947* (London: Routledge, 2017)

This one by Mridula Ramana is on maternal health:

Mridula Ramanna, 'Maternal health in early twentieth century Bombay' *Economic and Political Weekly*, 42 no.2 (2007): 138-144

The next couple of them are about child birth and also about avoiding having children - that is contraception and birth control:

P. Jeffery, R. Jeffery, and A. Lyon, *Labour Pains and Labour Power: Women and Childbearing in India* (London: Zed Books, 1989)

S. Hodges, *Contraception, Colonialism and Commerce: Birth Control in South India, 1920–1940* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2008)

The next few entries are about prostitution and following entries are about sexually transmitted diseases, issues of sexuality in general.

First one is by Philippa Levine - her article of 1994 on venereal disease. She then came out with a fully-fledged book in 2003 covering larger ground:

Philippa Levine, 'Venereal Disease, Prostitution, and the Politics of Empire: The Case of British India', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 4, (1994): 579–602

Philippa Levine, *Prostitution, Race, and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire* (London: Routledge, 2003)

The following by Judy Whitehead, Douglas Pears and Anne Stoller are about prostitution, issues of sexuality and sexually transmitted disease, carnal pleasures. The last one by Anna Stoller is not specifically about India - it considers at a broader level the same kind of issues of imperialism and colonialism at large:

Judy Whitehead, 'Bodies Clean and Unclean: Prostitution, Sanitary Legislation, and Respectable Femininity in Colonial North India', *Gender History*, 7 (1995): 41–63

Douglas M. Peers, 'Soldiers, Surgeons and the Campaigns to Combat Sexually Transmitted Diseases in Colonial India, 1805–1860', *Medical History*, 42 (1998):137–60

Ann L Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002)

The next set of books is about sanitary policy, over the years starting from 1980s, we have these different works on sanitation and hygiene as part of preventive health:

J. B. Harrison, 'Allahabad: A Sanitary History', in K. Ballhatchet and J. B. Harrison (Eds.), *The City in South Asia* (London, 1980), pp. 167–96

John C. Hume, 'Colonialism and Sanitary Medicine: The Development of Preventive Health Policy in the Punjab, 1860–1900', *Modern Asian Studies*, 20 (1986): 703–24

Mark Harrison, 'Towards a Sanitary Utopia? Professional Visions and Public Health in India, 1880–1914', *South Asia Research*, 10, (1990): 9–40

Srirupa Prasad, *Cultural Politics of Hygiene in India, 1890-1940: Contagions of Feeling* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015)

Then, we have range of collections on the role of Christian missionaries starting specifically from the Zenana to more broadly. The second one is not specifically on medicine - it's about missionaries and princely state of Travancore but then there are portions of it, which deal with medicine. But others are more particularly about what you can call missionary medicine. They with particular people or particular areas. You can see different kinds of things and also even a particular disease like for instance, the last one, Christian sisters in bubonic plague and also in a particular area.

Antoinette Burton, 'Contesting the Zenana: The Mission to Make 'Lady Doctors for India', 1874–1885', *Journal of British Studies*, 35 (1996): 368–97

Kōji Kawashima, *Missionaries and a Hindu State: Travancore, 1858-1936* (New York, 1998)

Rosemary Fitzgerald, "Clinical Christianity": The Emergence of Medical Work as a Missionary Strategy in Colonial India, 1800–1914. In B. Pati and M. Harrison (eds.), *Health, Medicine and Empire: Perspectives on Colonial India*. (New Delhi, 2001)

Maina Chawla Singh and Mrs. J. T. Gracey. 'Women, Mission, and Medicine: Clara Swain, Anna Kugler, and Early Medical Endeavors in Colonial India' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 29 no.3 (2005): 128–33

David Hardiman (ed.), *Healing Bodies, Saving Souls: Medical Missions in Asia and Africa* (Amsterdam & New York, 2006)

David Hardiman, *Missionaries and Their Medicines: A Christian Modernity for Tribal India*. (Manchester, 2008)

Tripti Chaudhuri, 'Evangelical or Imperial? Re-examining the Missionary Agenda among the Santhals, 1855-1885' in Sanjukta Das Gupta and Raj Sekhar Basu (ed.), *Narratives from the margins: Aspects of Adivasi History in India* (Kolkata, 2012), pp. 83-126

David Hardiman, 'A subaltern Christianity: Faith healing in southern Gujarat,' In David Hardiman and Projit Bihari Mukharji (eds.), *Medical Marginality in South Asia: Situating Subaltern Therapeutics* (London, 2012), pp. 126-151

Raj Sekhar Basu, 'Healing the Sick and the Destitute: Protestant Missionaries and Medical Missions in 19th and 20th Century Travancore' in Deepak Kumar & Raj Sekhar Basu (ed.), *Medical Encounters in British India* (Delhi, 2013), pp. 187-207

William Firth-Smith, 'A time of missionary transition: Medical women missionaries in India in the half-century – 1875-1925', *Australian Journal of Mission Studies*, 7 no.2 (2013): 53-63

N. Benjamin, 'Christian sisters and Bubonic Plague in Bombay in 1896-7', *Indian Church History Review*, 45 no.2 (2011):125-30

By the way, this listing is not an exhaustive thing - but just to put under different topics as varied a set of examples/ samples as possible.

Then we come to nursing which I think is the last category, we have something starting from 1906, the history of nursing but that's broadly in the British Empire. Then closer home, we have these works - but the problem with most of them is that they are - especially the books - are mostly about post-independence period and even those which have a longer span, devote only a small portion to the pre-independence period. That issue is being addressed specifically by scholars like Sneha Sanyal, and even rather Radha Gayathri, which means there is lot more work to be done in this area. This is one area where there is considerable poverty of material with regard to the colonial period.

Sarah A. Tooley, *The History of Nursing in the British Empire*, (London, 1906)

Meera Abraham, *Religion, Caste, and Gender: Missionaries and Nursing History in South India*, (Bangalore, 1996)

Madelaine Healey, *Indian Sisters: A History of Nursing and the State, 1907-2007* (New Delhi, 2013)

Sujani Reddy, *Nursing & Empire: Gendered Labour and Migration from India to the United States* (Chapel Hill, 2015)

Sneha Sanyal, Emergence of Nursing as a Profession in Nineteenth-Century Bengal, *Social Scientist*, 45, No. 3/4 (2017): 69-86

Sneha Sanyal, Institutionalization of Nursing as Profession in the Early Twentieth Century Bengal, *Indian Journal of History of Science*, 52 no.3 (2017): 297-315

Radha Gayathri, 'Saviour Sister: Services of the Delhi Female Medical Missionaries in Late Colonial India', in Suvabrata Sarkar (Ed.), *History of Science, Technology, Environment and Medicine in India*, (New Delhi:Routledge 2021), pp. 288-306

This is a survey of some of the broad areas. I hope you will not only go through these but also as a kind of your - what you can call - 'homework', you can, on your own build or expand this with even more specific areas and especially as part of your general reading. When you take a book there will be other kinds of things for instance, on nutrition or leprosy and other things, which we have not covered. So, you can create even new headings and then even at least from the footnotes there you can build up a more thematic bibliographical survey. What you can do also as part of your continued engagement is that - rather just listing them out (which itself is a good effort - a bibliography arranged by alphabetical order, this is at least the first good effort - putting them according to themes), one more thing you can do is actually, as and when you read, you can put a few lines - as and when you read something, you put them there, at least a summary of it, so that it becomes a bibliographical essay. And then you can go one step further at your more advanced level - you can be more critical and look at the way the job has been done over the years and over the entire domain. Then it will become a historiographical survey/essay. These are interesting things you can do. Also make use of the bibliography that you have been given and from there again you can choose particular works - in fact from there itself you can choose and add as I said the under each heading. It is not very exhaustive, so you can from there itself can add under these headings and create new headings. One of the most important things is that these lectures are not the beginning and the end, these are just like teasers - kind of appetisers to get you to read more of these books - at least first to know the kinds of works that are being done. And, as and when you get time, to read as many of them as possible. I hope you will enjoy that extra reading. On that note we close this bibliographic survey - short bibliographic survey. Take care.