95. Ibid., pp. 109, 101-02.
96. Ibid., pp. 65-66, 83-86. The Executive Committee elected in 1876, in sharp contrast, had excluded all titled names. while the sessional presidents at the 1883 National Conference had been the Derozian schoolteacher Ramtanu Lahiri, the vakil Kalimohan Das (uncle of C. R. Das), and Annada Chandra Khastagir (maternal grandfather of J. M. Sen-gupta), Ibid., pp. 14, 65-65.
97 Ibid., p. 57.
98. See *Swadeshi Movement in Bengal* 1903-1908. p. 338 for the relative unimportance of the Indian Association in the Swadeshi days.
99. Thus Backergunj had only branch in 1895, ibid., Appendix F.
100. There is less than a page about the Indian Association in Sibnath Shastri’s otherwise detailed and fascinating *Atmarcharit* (1952 Edition, Calcutta), pp. 133-34.
101. Vidyasagar was certainly an agnostic and possibly an atheist; some of his off-the-cuff remarks about religion have been recorded in Bipinbihari Gupta, pp. 131-32, 179-80, 293. He was not attracted either by the then—fashionable surrogate of positivism; indeed, his refusal to generalize or to accept in toto any ideological system is perhaps the best index to his unique greatness (I owe this point to Professor Asok Sen of the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta) Dwarakanath Vidyabhusan’s *Somprakash* developed a somewhat similar attitude; see for example its very interesting critiques of the Keshab Sen group for excessive religiosity—10 Jyaistha 1277/1870, 9 Falgun 1277/1871, in Benoy Ghosh, *Samayikpatre Banglar Samajchitra*, Volume IV (Calcutta, 1966), pp. 218, 222.
103. For a good discussion by a contemporary, see Bipinchandra Pal, *op. cit.*, Chapter XXII.
104. Thus the National Paper of 2 January 1867 violently attacked the “Spurious Brahivism” of Keshabchandra’s “young band” for its denationalized semi-Christian ways. The most detailed account of this split is in Ajitkumar Chakrabarti, *Maharshi Debendranath Tagore* (Allahabad, 1916; Calcutta, 1971) pp. 269-345.
106. The Extremist and revolutionary leader who became the seer of Pondicherry.
107 *National Paper*, 4 December 1872—quoted in J. C. Bagal, *Hindu Melar Itibritta*, p. 64. Jogendranath Vidyabhushan, who later became Assistant Secretary of the Indian Association, did suggest changing the name to
'Bharat Mela', but his plea was ignored. Brajendranath Bandyopadhyay, Sahitya-Sadhan-Charitmalal Volume III, No. 31 (Calcutta, 1943) p. 24.

108. Thus Krishnakamal Bhattacharya in later life recalled with evident pride a comment made about himself by Dwijendranath Tagore: "He knows how to write and how to fight and how to slight all things divine". Bipinbihari Gupta, op. cit., pp. 17-18.

109. Krishnakamal supported widow remarriage, but his sympathies were with Comte in the Comte-Mill controversy over representative government and votes for women, and he expressed his horror at the idea of divorce among Hindus. Ibid., pp. 6-7, 17-18, 72. Another convert, Girish Chunder Ghosh argued in an article on the conditions of Indian women that the "evils are considerably exaggerated". and talked about the "lofty sense of female honour" maintained by the celibacy of widows. Hindoo Patriot, 10 August 1854—reprinted in Manmathanath Ghosh ed., Selections from the writings of Girish Chunder Ghosh (Calcutta, 1912) pp. 182-84. The basically conservative stance of Positivism has been emphasized both by Sabyasachi Bhattacharyya and by Pradip Sinha. Nineteenth Century Bengal : Aspects of Social History (Calcutta, 1965), Chapter 6.


111. For a slightly biased but valuable study, see Md. Maniruzzaman, Adhunik Bangla Kavye Hindu-Musalmn Samparka 1857-1920, (Dacca, 1970).

112. For a general discussion of this theme, along with illustrative quotations from Ram Mohun, the Derozians, Keshabchandra, and Bankimchandra, see Tanika Sarkar, The Concept of Muslim Tyranny : An Unbroken Tradition (Presidency College Magazine, 1972; Derozian views are discussed in my The Complexities of Young Bengal (Nineteenth Century Studies. Volume I No ; 4. Calcutta October 1973), included in the present book. The National Paper of 6 February 1867 eloquently described India as "suffering for centuries under the yoke of Mahomedan despotism, when nothing could be done without the permission of the Ruling Power, when private affairs, such as marriage ceremonies, etc., required the sanction of the authorities (sic.)...and) the very idea of freedom...was driven out..." Sibnath Shastri in his Ramtanu Lahiri O Tatkalin Bangasamaj (Calcutta, 1903, 1955) referred to the Krishnanagar Rajas as "bearing upon their shoulders the storms of Yavana (Muslim) rule"; he added in the very next sentence that "in the Yavana Period native rajas were quite independent in many matters", and seemed utterly unaware of the contradiction.

113. 20 March 1867.


115. Thus Krishnakumar Mitra and Monoranjan Guha Thakurta were among the deportees of 1908; Pratimotosh Bose and Prabhatkusum Roychaudhuri were pioneer labour organizers, Extremist leaders included Sundarimohan Das as well as of course Bipinchandra Pal (Though his
Brahmoism was by then highly revisionistic; and there were quite a number of Brahmos also among the early terrorists. The Nababidhan Samaj in sharp contrast retained its reputation for Anglicism and loyalty. Bipinchandra Pal, Memories of My Life and Times, Volume II (Calcutta, 1951, 1973), p. 444.

116. Sabyasachi Bhattacharyya's article is mainly based on the Congreve papers, and includes a brief discussion of Positivist political activity. Strangely enough, however there is no member of Grischandra Ghosh.

117. Lobb to Girish Chunder Ghosh, 19 February 1868 in Life of Girish Chunder Ghosh, p. 236.


120. Thus the Somprakash of 21 Baisakh 1288/1881, complained that 10,600 were applying for jobs with salaries of Rs. 10/- Rs. 15/- (Benoy Ghosh, Samayik-patere Banglar Samajchitra. Volume IV, Calcutta 1966, p. 143). The Tattvabodhini Patrika was referring to rising prices already by Sravana 1778/1856 (Ibid., Volume II, Calcutta 1963, p. 184).

121. Yet this racial factor is deliberately played down in much recent British writing on Indian nationalism. "The argument that the rule of strangers in India goaded their subjects into organizing against it is not our concern"—Anil Seal. Imperialism and Nationalism in India, in locality, Province and Nation, pp. 5-6.

122. For a detailed recent analysis, see Binay Bhushan Chaudhuri, 'Peasant Movements in Bengal, 1850-1900', Nineteenth Century Studies, Volume I, No 3, July 1973.


124. Somprakash, 7 June 1873; Bangadarshan. Bhadra 1280/1873 cited in Kalyankumar Sengupta, op. cit.


THE RADICALISM OF INTELLECTUALS IN A COLONIAL SITUATION

1. For a discussion of the ideological and social roots of the ‘renaissance’ model, see Barun De, ‘A Critique, of the Historiography, of the Trend Entitled ‘Renaissance’ in 19th Century India’ (Paper presented to the Indo-Soviet Symposium on Economic and Social Development of India and Russia from the 17th to the 19th century, Moscow, May 1973).

2. One might recall Gandhi’s description of Rammohun as a “pigmy”, which provoked an angry rejoinder from Tagore.

3. Thus the ultra-left ‘Ranadive period’ (1948-50) in the history of the Communist movement saw attacks on ‘renaissance’ heroes by Rabindra Gupta (Bhowani Sen), and more recently, the CPI (ML) has tended to be even more iconoclastic. Intellectuals affiliated to the present CPI have on the whole been much more attracted by the ‘renaissance’ model, Cf, for example, S. C. Sarkar, On the Bengal Renaissance (Calcutta, 1979), or Gautam Chattopadhyay, Awakening in Bengal in the Early 19th Century (Calcutta, 1965) Introduction.

4. R. P. Dutt, India Today (2nd Edition, Bombay, 1947), p. 82, referred to an “objectively progressive or regenerating role, corresponding to the period of free trade capitalism”, of British rule in India.


7. Barun De, op. cit.


11. Conservatives like Radhakanta Deb were equally enthusiastic, and had far more to do with the foundation and early management of the Hindu College.

12. The aims of the journal were defined editorially as “improvement in customs and manners,” “encouragement of education, agriculture and commerce,” and “reform of rules of government” (Translation mine). Benoy Ghosh, Samayikpatre Banglar Samajchitra, Volume III (Calcutta, 1964), p. 75.


15. Udaychandra Addhya pleaded for the vernacular medium at a session of the Derozian Society for Acquisition of General Knowledge (Gautam Chattopadhyay, Appendix I, p. i-ii) Pearychand Mitra made a notable contribution towards the development of a colloquial Bengali, prose style.

16. By far the best account is in Asok Sen, *op. cit.*

17. One might cite, for instance, Rammohun's comment: "What! lament is that, seeing the women thus dependent and exposed to every misery, you feel for them no compassion, that might exempt them from being tied down and burnt to death." (*A Second Conference between An Advocate for, and An Opponent of the Practice of Burning Widows Alive*, Calcutta 1820, *E W III*, p. 127). Vidyasagar ended his second tract in favour of widow remarriage with the question: "For what sins of theirs are women born in India?" (Translation mine. *Vidyasagar Rachana Samgraha*, Volume II, Calcutta 1972, p. 165).


19. "We cannot govern India financially without this change of system", wrote Ellenborough to Bentinck on 23 September 1830, advising him "to educate the natives for office and to encourage them by the possession of it" (A. F. Salahuddin Ahmed, *Social Ideas and Social Change in Bengal*, 1818-1835. Leiden 1965, pp. 151-52). For the constraints on education in Vidyasagar's period, see Asok Sen, pp. 18-28.

20. Pradyumna Bhattacharja, *op. cit.*


23. After being largely instrumental in persuading the government to pass a modernistic marriage act for those willing to abjure loyalty to the principal religions, Keshabchandra married his own under-age daughter into the Coochbehar royal family breaking its provisions.

24. Keshabchandra's group broke away in the mid-1860s from Debendranath mainly on the demand for exclusion of those still wearing the sacred Brahminical thread from Brahmo pulpits. In the 1870s, women's liberation took the form of ladies being permitted to sit tage her with their menfolk at prayer-meetings of the Samaj. Sinbnath Shastri, *Ramanu Lalirono Taktalin Bangasamaj* (Calcutta, 1903, 1955), Chapters 10-13; Ajitkumar Chakrabarti, *Maharshi Debendranath Tagore* (Allahabad, 1916; Calcutta, 1971), Volume II, Chapters 1, 3-4; 8.

29. Acknowledgements are due here to Dipesh Chakrabarti's paper on Sasipada Banerji which he has kindly permitted me to use. *See*: *Indian Historical Review, January*, 1976.
31. Complexities of Young Bengal, article included in this book.
32. Work plus prayer equals harvest, Akshoykumar is said to have argued: but work = harvest, therefore prayer = 0. Ajit Chakrabarti, *op. cit.*, p. 193.
33. Krishnakamal supported widow-remarriage, but sympathized with Comte in the Comte-Mill debate on representative government and votes for women, and was horrified by the idea of divorce. Bepinbehari Gupta, *Pratatan Prasanga* (Calcutta, 1966), pp. 6-7, 17-18, 72. Another Positivist, Grish Chandra Ghosh, felt that as regards the conditions of Indian women, "the evils are considerably exaggerated". *Hindoo Patriot*, 10 August 1854.
37. In Muhammad Habib's brilliant critique of Elliot in Politics and Society during the Early Medieval Period (New Delhi, 1974), pp. 3-32.
38. Bankimchandra would be the obvious example.
41. *Somprakash*, 20 Sravana 1269/1862, 1 Asar, 1271/1864, 14 Bhadra and 4 Aswin 1271/1864, 9 Magh 1278/1872, 6 Aswin 1271/1874, Benoy Ghosh, *ibid.*, IV.
43. The *Somprakash* of 20 Sravana 1269/1862 called for an alliance between the middle and lower orders to fight zamindari oppression—Benoy Ghosh, *ibid.*, IV, pp. 66-67. Sibnath Shastri related the Indian
Association to the political needs of a "madhyabitta sreni" (middle class), *Atnacharit* (Calcutta, 1952), p. 133.

44. The 1886-87 Report of the Indian Association argued that "the old enmity between zamindars and raryats is fast disappearing," and emphasized the need for "that harmony between the two communities upon which the welfare of the country so largely depends." I. C. Bagal, *History of the Indian Association*, (Calcutta, 1953). pp. 101-102, 109.


46. The turning point probably came with Bholanath Chandra's 'A Voice for the Commerce and Manufactures of India' (*Mukherjis Magazine*, Calcutta, March 1873-June 1876).


50. Such surely is the explanation for the Anglo-philism of even a man like Vidyasagar.

51. "We have been subject to no distress under the government of the Company; it is only the abolition of Suttees which has given distress—*Samachar Chandrika*, quoted in *John Bull*, 9 March 1830. J. K. Majumdar. p. 330.


53. *New India*, 19 March 1903.

54. One might cite the example of the Anti Circular Society, Extremist in politics but bitterly opposed to revivalism. A dissident, secular, even anti-religious trend was present even among the early terrorists. Sumit Sarkar, *Swadeshi Movement in Bengal* 1903-1908 (New Delhi, 1973), pp. 58-61, 365-66, 486-87.

55. *Ibid.*, Chapters II, IX and XI


58. The *India Gazette* of 5 July 1831 (Derozio was then on its staff) published a remarkable letter attacking the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in English for its "Whig perfidy" in praising the results of machinery, and even quoted from More's Utopia. The *Bengal*
Hurkaru occasionally published news about the Chartists (e.g. issue of 18 February 1843).

60. Such facts become obvious from Nilmoni Mukherji’s somewhat eulogistic but extremely detailed and valuable A Bengal Zamindar: The Life and Times of Joy Krishna Mukherji (Calcutta, 1975).
62. Sumit Sukar, Swadeshi Movement in Bengal, Chapter VIII/3.

THE WOMEN’S QUESTION IN NINETEENTH CENTURY BENGAL


2. The split between Debendranath Tagore and Kashabchandra Sen began developing from the mid 1860s over women’s education and right of women to attend Brahmo religious services and became complete over the issue of Act III of 1872 which provided civil marriage and marriage across caste barriers for those willing to declare themselves as non-Hindus. The ‘Young Brahmo’ attacks on Kashab started with the pressures mounted by the group around the journals Samadarshi and Abalabandha from 1872 on the issue of women sitting without parda in services, and culminated in the split over the Cooch-Bihar marriage. The best near-contemporary account is in Sibnath Shastri. Ramtanu Lahiri o Tatkalim Bangasamaj (Calcutta, 1903) Chapters 10-13; see also Ajit Chakrabarti. Maharshi Debendranath Tagore (Allahabad 1916, Calcutta 1971), pp. 217-345.

3. Such concerns seem to have been absent prior to the nineteenth century, while they certainly decline in relative importance with the rise of the organised national movement.

5. “The abolition of caste is not our principal aim...it is the existence of idolatry within the caste system which is causing all the harm”, (my translation). Ajitkumar Chakrabarti, op. cit., p. 244.


13. Gurucharan Mahalanobis, *Atma-katha*, p. 100, relates with engaging naivete how the expenses of sending his wife by carriage led him to understand the benefit of allowing women to appear publicly on streets.


15. Tanika Sarkar.


17. Thus Rammohan attacked sati by hunting up texts hailing ascetic widowhood, thus possibly adding to Vidyasagar’s problems. Vidyasagar left untouched the problem of the inhuman austerities imposed on the widow who did not remarry.

18. For details, see Sibnath Shastri, *Ramtanu Lahiri o Tatkalin Bangasamaj* and Ajit Chakrabarti, *op. cit*.


23. The Sadharan Brahma creed asserted that men and women had equal rights; everyone with faith (hakti) would be saved irrespective of caste.


26. Sitanath Tattvabhusan, *Social Reform in Bengal—A Side Sketch*
PRIMITIVE REBELLION AND MODERN NATIONALISM:
A NOTE ON FOREST SATYAGRAHA IN THE NON-
COOPERATION AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENTS

1. D. A. Washbrook clearly states this basic assumption: “The leaders of
the movement, that is to say the people who created it, require a care-
ful analysis, for in their ambitions must lie its causes.” The Emergence
p. 279.

2. A partial exception is C J. Baker’s account of violation of forest laws
in Rayachoti talk of Cuddapah and Palnod taluk of Guntur in 1921-22
(Non-Cooperation in South India, in C. J. Baker and D. A. Washbrook,
South India: Political Institutions and Political Change 1880-1940,
Macmillan, 1975, pp. 99-103). Baker however does his best to relate
this movement to the vested interests of prosperous Reddi cattle brea-
ders, and leaves it out altogether in his later detailed study The Politics
of South India, 1920-1937 (Cambridge, 1976). Even more striking in
his total silence about the “Rampa” rebellion of 1922-24, far more
militant and obviously lower-class.

3. The Home Political records of the Government of India, M. Venkatran-
gaiya’s invaluable selection of Madras Government Records (Freedom
Struggle in Andhra Pradesh, Vol. III, Hyderabad, 1965), the AICC
files district gazetteers, and some anthropological literature.

4. Dr Gyan Pandey has recently emphasized the autonomous role of
“peasant nationalism” in his study of Civil Disobedience in the United
Provinces (in press). I am grateful to Dr Pandey for permitting me to
read his book in manuscript. I have also benefited greatly from my
discussions on this point with Shri Ranajit Guha (Sussex University).

5. E. J. Hobsbawm, Primitive Rebels (Manchester, 1959, 1974) and Bandits
London, 1969). See also Norman Cohn’s The Pursuit of the Milennium
(New York, 1961) and P. Worsley’s fascinating study of Melanesian
Cargo Cults : The Trumpet Shall Sound (Paladin, 1970). Virtually the
only Indian contribution so far to the literature on millenarianism is
Stephen Fuch’s Rebellious Prophets : A Study of Messianic Movements
in Indian Religions, Asia, 1965.

6. “Debates on the Law on Thefts of Wood,” Rheinische Zeitung, October-
November 1842.
9. D. D. Kosambi was probably the first to draw attention to this peculiar feature. "People could and did survive in the food-gathering stage when their immediate neighbours had become food-producers centuries earlier." He attributed this to the "ease and survival of food-gathering in monsoon forests." See *The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India in Historical Outline*, London, 1965, p. 34.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 92-101. The "Rampa" area was not "reserved" for some time "for political reasons" (*ibid.*, p. 93), but restrictions on podu were being enforced there, too, by the second decade of the 20th century (T. G. Rutherford's report, 22 August 1924, in Venkataramayya, Document No 101).
18. Thurston and Rangachari, Vol. III, p. 353. The Koyas and Konda Doras, it may be added, have a legend that they are offspring of Bhima and a forest woman. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 56.
23. Telegraphic Correspondence of Viceroy with Secretary of State, April-December 1921—MSS Eur E. 238/10, Reading Collection, India Office Library.
24. Viceroy to Secretary of State, p/1196 (Weekly Telegram). 6 December 1921, *ibid*.
26. Shri Gautam Bhadra (Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta) first drew my attention to the Rampa revolt. Baker preserves a remarkable silence about this movement, though elsewhere he makes considerable use of Venkataramayyas Volume (which contains forty pages of documents on the rebellion of 1922-24).
27. The Andhra Government has published a Telegu edition of the life of Sitarama Raju which I have not been able to use. A collection of Bengali poems by Soumyendranath Tagore (*Biplab-Baisakhi*, August 1930), then a Communist, included one about “Shri Ramraju Alluri” (*Government of India, Home Poll F. N. 29/X/1930*). I owe this reference to Sm Tanika Sarkar. I am told by Andhra Communists that Raju is still a folk hero. See also the picture of Raju in the frontispiece of V. Raghaviah’s *Tribes of India*, Vol I, New Delhi, 1969.

28. T. G. Rutherford (Special Commissioner, Agency Operations) to Madras Chief Secretary, 22 August 1924. Venkataramaiya, pp. 366-69.


30. Rutherford, *op. cit.*


41. Note by C. W. Guyenee in the Home Department, 20 March 1924, *ibid*.

42. Report of Major A. J. Hamilton on the Military Operations in the Agency Tracts of Madras, 21 March 1924, *Home Poll B107/1924*. In October 1922, Madras pleaded for a blanket indemnity in advance for policemen fighting the rebellion; it asked for a special Ordinance to “ensure rapid and effective punishment” for rebel sympathizers in April 1924 and again in June 1924. New Delhi, however, turned down these requests, at least partly in view of possible embarrassments vis-a-vis the legislative Council, *Home Poll F. N.* 898/1922 F. N. 104/1924.

43. Telegram from Madras Government to Government of India (Home), 13 May 1924, *Home Poll F. N.* 104/1924.

44. The history of crime has been almost entirely neglected in our country, though social historians elsewhere have long become aware of its possibilities as a guide to primitive and inchoate forms of social protest. Cf. E. Hobsbawm and G. Rude, *Captain Swing*, London. 1969, 1973, pp. 54-57.

45. Instances of Congress violence in connection with the conduct of the civil disobedience campaign, Statement I, *Home Poll F. N.* 14/19/1931.


48. This point has been first suggested by Dr Gyan Pandey on the basis of his U. P. research.


50. Secret report of Simla Governor's Conference, 23 July 1930, included in the private papers of F. H. Sykes (Governor or Bombay)—Correspondence with Viceroy, etc., 1 July-31 December 1930 (Mss Eur F. 150 264, I. O. L.)


52. Text of circular in Home Poll F. N. 14/18/1931.

53. P. V. Mahajan (Secretary, Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee) to Vallabhbhai Patel, 28 July 1930, Maharashtra Satyagraha File, 1930-31, AICC F. N. G-1 48/1930.


55. In Bagalan taluk of Nasik district, for instance, on 5 August 1930 "more than 70 thousand persons took part in it (forest satyagraha). Grass was cut in prohibited jungle, brought into the town and taken in grand procession..." Weekly report from Poona, 14 August 1930, AICC F. N. G-148/1930.

56. Minutes of Karnataka Satyagraha Mandal, Hubli. 10 August 1930, AICC F. N. 2/1930.


58. Home Poll F. N. 14/14/1981, Statements I and II.

59. Forest incidents represented two out of the 47 clashes listed for the Northern Division of Bombay Presidency (i.e. Sind and Gujarat), nine out of 21 for Central, and nine out of 13 for South—a significant distribution. Home Poll 14/19/1931.

60. Central Provinces Chief Secretary to Government of India (Home, 1434/II, 25 August 1930), Civil Disobedience in Central Provinces. Home Poll F. N. 253/1930


62. Home Poll 14/19/1931.

63. The Bilashi Case, printed leaflet included in AICC F. N. G.-148/1930. Congress newspapers in Andhra, it may be added, had showed little sympathy for Raju in 1922-24—Venkatarangaiya, p. 92

64. Peter Worsley's The Trumpet Shall Sound gives numerous instances of similar "reformist" sects developing in the later stages of Cargo cults in Melanesia.


67. Statesman (Delhi), 22 October 1977.
THE LOGIC OF GANDHIAN NATIONALISM

This is the revised version of a paper presented to the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi, in April 1976. I am grateful to Professor Asok Sen and Professor Barun De of the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta, for criticism of the earlier draft.


2. Thus in January 1906 Gandhi withdrew his first satyagraha against the Transvaal registration ordinance on the basis of a verbal promise from Smuts, and an angry Pathan follower tried to beat him up as a traitor, Tendulkar, Mahatma. i, 2nd edn (Delhi, 1960), p. 90-02.


4. One might cite, for example, the official concern over the increased militancy of lower-level Congress cadres in Rae Bareli, Bara Banki, and Allahabad districts of the United Provinces after March 1931, Government of India, Home Political File Number 33/24/1931, National Archives of India (henceforward Home Poll F. N.).

5. Gandhi, Collected Works (henceforward CW), xlv (New Delhi, 1971), preface, vi.


9. Telegram to Perin Captain, 17 February 1931. Also speech at Delhi (20 February), interview to News Chronicle (21 February), letters to K. M. Munshi and Shivabhai Patel (24 25 February), Picketing (Young India, 26 February). What Should One Not Do? (Navajivan, 1 March), CW. pp. xlv 192. 210-11, 213, 225-26, 229-30, 236.

10. Interview with Viceroy, February 1931 (Irwin's version), Ibid. p. 188.


13. Subjective benevolence or change of heart played little or no part in the making of the Delhi Pact, as its aftermath was to reveal soon enough. Gandhi declared himself impressed by Irwin's "inexhaustible patience and... unfailing couteys" (Ibid. pp. 176, 250). In his private correspondence with Secretary of State, Wedgewood Benn, during the Dandi March, however, Irwin had expressed his chag in that Gandhi "continues regrettably hale and hearty" (Irwin to Wedgewood Benn, 26-27 March 1930, Halifax Papers, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, microfilm copy, Reel No. 3). As for the Labour Secretary of State, Malcolm Hailey once congratulated Irwin on having such a congenial partner, so pleasantly different from Lord Morley or Mr Montagu (Hailey to Irwin, 13 May 1930, Halifax Papers).

18. Cf. particularly the work now in progress at the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta, under Hitesranjan Sanyal, Partha Chatterji, and Barun De, as well as Gyanendra Pandey's research on the United Provinces.
30. The most obvious example would be the support given to the Pakistan movement by Muslim business groups, see Bagchi, *op. cit.*, pp 428-37. The links between late nineteenth century Hindu revivalism and United Provinces commercial groups have been emphasized by C. A. Bayly (*Local Roots of Indian Politics: Allahabad 1880-1920*, Oxford, 1975) and F. Robinson (*Separatism Among Indian Muslims: The Politics of the U. P. Muslims*, 1860-1923, Cambridge, 1974).


38. Confidential Note by A. H. Ghuznavi, MLA. giving his views on the Civil Disobedience movement, 15 September 1930, Home Poll F. N. 190/1930 (I owe this reference to Tanika Sarkar).
40. F. H. Sykes (Bombay Governor, 1928-33) to Irwin, 27 December 1928, 26 January 1929, F. H. Sykes Collection, India Office Library MSS Eur F 150 (1).
42. Ibid. 1929 (Bombay, 1930), pp. ii-iv.
43. Home Poll F. N. 95/1930.
44. G. D. Birla, The Path to Prosperity, pp. 133-34, 141.
48. Circular to PCCs, 22 February 1930, SW, iv, 272-37.
51. Note by Sir David Petrie showing what funds are at the disposal of Congress, 26 May 1930, Home Poll F. N. 5/40/1931.
52. "You know Marwaris are mainly responsible for the establishment of the Manchester market in Calcutta. If they once decide to wash their hands clean of foreign piecegoods business and devote themselves to the Swadeshi cloth business, they can perform miracles. There are people in this town who could purchase the whole production of your mills for 12 months ahead... I wish you and Bombay millowners
could take advantage of the situation... I am writing this letter at the suggestion of some of the big importers who are ready to help the mills... I ask you to discuss this problem with your Ahmedabad and Bombay friends", G. D. Birla to Ambalal Sarabhai (with copies to Thakurdas and Kasturbhai Lalbhai), 30 April 1930, Purshttamaadas Thakurdaas Papers, F. N. 100/1930 (Nehru Memorial Museum and Library).


54. Reduction of government expenditure, end of gold exports and unbacked paper currency, concession regarding banking, insurance and shipping, a ban on cloth imports, while "other demands (were) to be discussed with commercial bodies".


57. Thakurdas to J. W. Bhore, 14 May 1930, Ibid.

58. Thakurdas to Birla, 16 September 1930; Birla to Thakurdas, 20 September 1930. Birla by this time was evidently trying to widen his options, and described himself as "A man... who would not himself accept the invitation but would not mind your accepting same... I do not represent the Congress nor have I got the Congress mentality. But I wish to be loyal to my party", Thakurdaas Papers, F. N. 104/1930.


60. Halifax Papers.

61. Tagore to P. C. Mahalanobis, 26 January 1930, written from Totnes, on his way to Russia, Desh (Calcutta), 23 August 1975. (I owe this reference to Tanika Sarkar).

62. Tegart claimed that his policy of hitting "hard and keep on hitting" was paying off in Bengal, but he "was becoming extremely anxious with regard to the situation in Bombay", T. M. Ainscough, H. M. Senior Trade Commissioner, to J. A. Woodhead, Commerce Secretary, Government of India, 7 July 1930, reporting a conversation with Tegart in Calcutta, Home Poll F. N. 201/40/1930.


65. Note by H. G. Haig, 13 June 1930, Ibid.


67. Note by Haig, 13 June 1930, op. cit.

68. Ibid.

69. Sabyasachi Bhattacharya, op. cit.

70. Home Poll F. N. 201/40/1930.

71. Exchange of telegrams regarding proposed meeting of millowners with
Motilal Nehru, June 1930; FICCI pamphlet, entitled Rules of Swadeshi Sabha (1930), Thakurdas Papers, F. N. 100/1930.


74. Cf., for example, the resolution of Bombay Piecegoods Native Merchants Association, 21 May 1930, and the letter of the Northern Indian Chamber of Commerce, Lahore, to the Chief Secretary of the Punjab Government, 16 August 1930, reporting the "very grave situation facing shippers and importers as a result of the general repudiation of contracts by dealers in India in consequence of the boycott movement, and the resultant total stoppage of trade", Home Poll F. N. 201/40/1930.

75. J. Nehru, speech at Allahabad, 12 October 1930, SW, iv, 395; Working Committee resolution, Allahabad, 1 February 1931, CW, xlv, 135.

76. “The wholesale dealers realize that owing to the greatly reduced purchasing power of the masses, they could not now or in the near future dispose of the enormous stocks they normally hold, and so they are content to wait before ordering from abroad”, Fortnightly Report (henceforth FR) from Punjab, second half of October 1930, Home Poll F. N. 18/xi/1930. Skyes made the same point in his letter to Irwin, 25 September 1930, F. H. Sykes Collection, MSS Eur F 150/2 (b).


78. Sykes to Irwin, 20 June 1930, F. H. Sykes Collection, MSS Eur F 150/2(a).


82. “Let Sir George Schuster, Sir George Rainy and other Ministers and Heads of Departments know that we are feeling it very badly”, H. Abbot of Imperial Tobacco, Calcutta, to Ainscough, 11 June 1930. “It cannot be denied that the campaign against British piecegoods, cigarettes and other commodities in lesser degrees has met with considerable success”, Bengal Chamber of Commerce President R. S. Laird’s letter No. 1850-1930, 3 July 1930. “These gentry have now succeeded in bringing our business in Bombay Presidency practically to a close”, Dunlop Manager E. L. Jones to Rainy, 11 August 1930, Home Poll F. N. 201/40/1930.

83. SW, iv, 196.

ENDNOTES


86. Gyanendra Pandey, "The Ascendancy of the Congress in the United Provinces: 1926-1934" (To appear from Oxford). I am grateful to Dr Pandey for allowing me to consult his forthcoming publication in manuscript.

87. C. J. Baker, *op. cit.*, As in other works of the "Cambridge school", the emphasis here is on administrative pressures and factional manoeuvres.

88. Dr Pandey's thesis on Civil Disobedience in UP has emphasized this dual aspect of rural nationalism.


90. Here from the early 1920s Gandhian Congressmen like Birendranath Sasmal or Prafullachandra Sen had combined constructive village work with anti-Union Board and occasionally even anti-zamindar campaigns. Hitesranjan Sanyal, *op. cit.*


92. *Halifax Papers*.


94. Webb Miller's classic description of Dharasana, quoted in R. C. Majumdar, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, iii (Calcutta, 1963), 362; *Bengal Satyagraha Reports, AICC Files G*/86/1930. (Here, as with the bulk of the Bengal material, I have borrowed heavily from the current research of Tanika Sarkar on Bengal Politics and Society, 1927-1937).


96. *Halifax Papers*.


103. Weekly Progress Reports of Satyagraha Movement from Bihar PCC. 8, August 1930, *AICC Files, G*/80/1930.


105. Satya Manna of Gokulnagar village, P. S. Moyna, Midnapur, Birendranath Guha, Secretary, Bengal Council of Civil Disobedience, to AICC
President, 6 November 1930, AICC Files, G/1930. (I owe this reference to Tanika Sarkar).

106. One further illustration, taken from a slightly later period: in February 1932 peasants in Kaira district were being stripped and made to stand on all fours for the crime of non-payment of revenue, Typewritten Weekly Civil Disobedience Review, 31 January-6 February 1932, preserved in the papers of M. R. Jayakar, F. N. 482.

107. "In one district they (the British) are fermenting a class war between the labourers, who belong to a criminal tribe, and the farmers who are refusing land tax", H. N. Brailsford to Wedgewood Benn, 2 November 1930, enclosed in Benn to Irwin, 17 November 1930, Halifax Papers. Transfer of Patidar lands to Dharaulas was the issue which almost blocked the Delhi Pact at the last moment, Gandhi to Irwin, 4 March 1931 CW, xlv 245.


110. Cf, for example, FR, UP, second half of September 1930 (Home Poll F. N. 18/x/1930); FR, UP and Punjab, second half of October 1930 (Home Poll F. N. 18/xi/1930); FR, UP, first and second half of November, and FR, Bihar and Orissa and Punjab, second half of November 1930 (Home Poll F. N. 18/xii/1930); FR, CP and Berar, first half of December 1930 (Home Poll F. N. 18/xiii/1930).


112. Report of Congress activities in Berar Province, 9 November 1930, AICC Files, G/84/1930.

113. Civil Disobedience in Central Provinces, Home Poll F. N. 253/1930; FR, Bombay, CP and Berar, first and second half of September, Punjab, first half of September 1930 (Home Poll F. N. 18/x/1930); FR, Bombay, first and second half of October, CP and Berar, first half of October 1930 (Home Poll F. N. 18/xi/1930); FR, Assam, second half of December 1930 (Home Poll F. N. 18/xiii/1930).


115. Indian Annual Register (1930), Chronicle of Events, 10 November 1930, FR, Bihar and Orissa, September-October 1930 (Home Poll F. N. 18/x-18/xi/1930).

116. A Bengali novel, Satinath Bhaduri’s Dhoral-Charit Manas, gives a fascinating picture of the way in which a lowly north Bihar village group responded to Gandhi.

117. H. G. Haig’s, 13 June 1930, op. cit.

118. Petrie to Emerson, 20 August 1930, op. cit.

119. Halifax Papers.

120. Eighteen thousand mill-workers had gone on strike from 7 May, burnt police stations and court buildings, and sacked liquor shops; they
remained sufficiently disciplined, however, to avoid drunkenness, *Home Poll F. N.* 512/1930.

121. Petrie to Emerson, *op. cit*; *FR, Bombay*, first half of September 1930 (*Home Poll F. N.* 18/x/1930).

122. *SW*, iv, 197.


129. *AICC Files*, G/84/1930.


135. Irwin to Wedgewood Benn, 1 May 1930, *Halifax Papers*.

136. Writers Bullding itself had been raided by three armed young men on 8 December, while several Armoury Rail leaders were still working underground in Chittagong villages, where it was almost impossible to get any information about them from the people, *FR, Bengal*, December 1930, *Home Poll F. N.* 18/xiii/1930


138. Memorandum No. 537C of 13 June 1930 from Midnapur District Magistrate, J. Peddie, enclosed in Government of Bengal Poll No. 430 PSD 4302 of 25 June 1930. *Ibid.* It is not entirely unpleasant to recall that Peddie was called by revolutionaries not long afterwards. (I owe these Midnapur references to Tanika Sarkar.)


143. Intercepted letter, mentioned in D. O. No. 90P, 21 April 1930, from
UP Civil Secretariat to the Commissioner, Northern Indian Salt Revenue, *Home Poll F. N.* 249/1930.


150. "...each town and village of the Punjab and to a lesser extent in the rest of northern India resounded with his name. Innumerable songs grew up about him, and the popularity that the man achieved was something amazing", *An Autobiography*, pp. 176-77.

151. Ajoy Ghosh. For the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association, see Bipan Chandra, "The Ideological Development of the Revolutionary Terrorists in Northern India in the 1920s", in B. R. Nanda, ed., *Socialism in India* (Delhi, 1972).


158. Typed draft, undated, but probably sometime in August, as Thakurdas commented on it in a letter to Mody on 22 August 1930, *Ibid. F. N.* 100/1930.


160. "I do not think that I can altogether blame Gandhiji. At first sight people may think Gandhiji to be very unreasonable, but stripped of all verbiage, his demand amounts to nothing else but Dominion Status. The Government by giving assurances to him could have easily won him over", Birla to Thakurdas, 6 September 1930, *Ibid. F. N.* 104/1930.


166. Wedgewood Benn informed Irwin on 19 January 1931 that Reading had "got a form of words agreed between Mody and Sir Hubert Carr safeguarding the European trade interests. Mody told me that, on the whole, he was satisfied with this and thought he could persuade the
Indian merchants to the same effect... Hubert Carr rather warmly repudiated a suggestion that he had anything to do with Inchcape or his interests”. *Halifax Papers.*


169. Sykes to Irwin, telegram, 7 February 1931, *F. H. Sykes Collection, MSS Eur F. 150/3 (a).*


173. 26 January 1931 *CW*, xiv, 125.


176. “Whatever settlement is reached—I have little hope that any will be reached...”, Gandhi to Chhaganlal Joshi, 11 February 1931. A similar mood is expressed in his letters to Narandas Gandhi (2 and 10 February), V. S. Srinivassa Sastri (7 February), T. Rangachari (8 February), and Gangadharrao Deshpande (10 February), *Ibid.*, pp. 147, 160, 163, 169-70, 173.


181. “It cannot be contended that proposed safeguards are solely in interests of India”, Wedgewood Benn to Irwin, No. 801, 4 March 1931, *Home Poll F. N. 5/45/1931*.

182. “Emerson had got Mr Gandhi hitched to the abandonment of the boycott as a political weapon and an assurance of complete freedom for cloth merchants to do what they liked. These seem pretty substantial gains... I have very little doubt that, if you can get rid of the political-weapon drive of it, and have it purely as an economic and social thing, it will be dead in three weeks”. Irwin memorandum after interview of 1 March 1931, *CW*, xlv, 241.


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46. Gandhi to Irwin, 14 February 1931, CW, xlv, 175-6.
187. S. Gopal's very apt phrase, op. cit., p. 144.
188. 'I do not believe that Macdonald's statement grants us anything', 31 January 1931, CW, xlv, 134.
189. H. N. Brailsford to Wedgewood Benn, Delhi, 2 November 1930, enclosed in Wedgewood Benn to Irwin, 17 November 1930, Halifax Papers.
190. CW, xlv, 165.
191. Irwin to Wedgewood Benn, 9 February 1931, Halifax Papers.
192. Irwin's memorandum, CW, xlv, 247.
194. "Being temperamentally so built, I cannot give a decisive opinion on matters happening outside the prison walls", Gandhi to Motilal Nehru, 23 July 1930, CW, xlv, 44.
195. A not entirely unfair sample: "I cannot think of one simple remedy which will help Madhu and all others who suffer from constipation", Gandhi to Gangabehn Vaidya, 22 December 1930, CW, xlv, 16.
196. Young India, 18 May 1921, quoted in S. Gopal, op. cit., pp. 56-57.
198. Quoted in Jagdish Prasad, UP Chief Secretary, to Emerson, 16 July 1931, Home Poll. F. N. 33/24/1931.
200. CW, xlv, 280.
204. Meerut Conspiracy Files, Sl 459, p 52. (I owe this reference to Tanika Sarkar).
205. For the best contemporary analysis of the responsibility of the Comintern for the victory of Hitler, see Trotsky's articles, recently reprinted as The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany (Pelican, 1975).
206. See, for example, Ranen Sen, "Communist Movement in Bengal in the Early Thirties", Marxist Miscellany, no. 6 (New Delhi, January 1975).
207. Nehru wrote to V. Chattopadhyay and Willi Munzenberg, more in sorrow than in anger, on 30 January 1930: "It is curious that you should have chosen a moment to attack us when the Congress is more advanced in its views, both political and social, than it has ever been before", SW, IV, 237.
208. Meerut Conspiracy Files, op. cit.
209. Interview with Irwin, Gandhi's version (Mahadev Desai's manuscript diary), 18 February 1931, CW, xlv, 200.
210. I owe this point to Tanika Sarkar.
211. Nehru to Subhas Bose, 24 January 1929, SW, iv, 29.
212. Civil Disobedience at Tamluk, AICC Files, G/86/1930.
ENDNOTES

214. He was also praised by the Governor of Bengal. "Jackson told me that Bose had always been personally well-disposed towards him". Wedgewood Benn to Irwin, 26 September 1930, Halifax Papers.
217. He mentioned in the connection the "hopeless failure" of the Independence for India League, Nehru to Gandhi, 13 July 1929, Ibid., p. 156.
221. Gyanendra Pandey’s forthcoming work on Civil Disobedience in the United Provinces.

POPULAR MOVEMENTS AND NATIONAL LEADERSHIP, 1945-47.

[Paper presented at a seminar on Aspects of the Economy, Society and Politics in Modern India, 1900-1950, at the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi, December 1980.]


2. Sunil Sen, Agrarian Struggle in Bengal 1946-47, New Delhi 1972; P Sundarayya, Telengana People’s Struggle and Its Lessons, Calcutta, 1972. The RIN Strike by a group of victimised ratings, New Delhi,
1954, and K' C George, Immortal Punnapra-Vayalar, (New Delhi, 1975) represent valuable accounts by leaders or participants; none of the authors, however, had the opportunity of consulting official archival sources. See also Gautam Chattopadhyay, "The Almost Revolution" in Essays in Honour of S C Sarkar, New Delhi, 1976, Ravi Narayan Reddi, "Heroic Telengana-Reminiscences and Experiences, New Delhi, 1973 and D H Dhanagare, "Social Origins of Peasant Insurrection in Telengana", Contributions to Indian Sociology, 1974.

3. Thus R P Dutt's assumption (India Today, Bombay, 1947, p. 474) that the Cabinet Mission decision was a direct result of the RIN strike of February 18, 1946 is clearly false, for the Mansergh documents show that the former has been taken on January 2. Changes of betrayal by leaders usually tend to ignore also deeper internal weaknesses of movements.

4. As the Communists were to learn to their cost in 1949-51 the slogan of Yeh Azadi Jhuta Hai, which seemed to follow logically from a 'betrayal' thesis cut remarkably little ice.

5. Linlithgow's telegram to Churchill, August 31, 1942; Government of India (Home) to Secretary of State, September 12, 1942, Mansergh, II, pp. 843, 952-53.


10. Nehru commented during the Working Committee session at Allahabad (April 27-May 1, 1942) that "It is Gandhiji's feeling that Japan and Germany will win. This feeling unconsciously governs his decision." Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances. February 1943, Appendix I.


24. Hallet to Wavell, August 14, 1945 *Mansergh, VI*, p. 68.


26. GOI (War Department) to Secretary of State, August 11, 1945 *Mansergh, VI* pp. 49-51.

27. Wavell to Secretary of State, October 1, October 17. *ibid.*, pp. 305-06, 360.


32. Jenkins to Turnbull, reporting a talk of a returned POW. Captain Badhwar (whose name was "not to be disclosed") with Asaf Ali, October 23, 1945, *Ibid.*, p. 387.

33. Golwalkar's RSS had kept strictly aloof from the August Rebellion; Savarkar on September 4, 1942 had urged Mahasabha members of local bodies, legislatures and services to "stick to their posts and continue to perform their regular duties", *(Indian Annual Register, Chronicle of Events, 1942)* while Shyamaprasad Mukherji was actually a minister in Bengal while Midnapur was being ruthlessly suppressed.

34. Fortnightly Report, UP 2nd half of November, 1945; Government of India. *Home Political (Internal), 11/11/45.* (Henceforward *Home Poll (I)*).


39. The ratings contacted Aruna Asaf Ali at her house in Dadar, who expressed sympathy and issued an appeal for "moral support" on February 20. "She consulted Vallabhbhai Patel who snubbed her saying — that it was no business of his or hers to interfere when the ratings did not abide by discipline. Mrs Aruna Asaf Ali left Bombay for Poona on the morning of February 20, 1946." Bombay Police Commissioner's Office (Special Branch) to Government of Bombay Home (Special), February, 20 1946, *Home Poll (I)* 5/21/46.

40. Bombay Governor Colville to Wavell, February 27, 1946, *Mansergh, VI*, pp. 1081-84.

41. *The RIN Strike* (by a group of victimised ratings), New Delhi, 1954 p. 75.

42. Governor-General (War Department) to Secretary of State, November 30, 1945, *Mansergh, VI*, p. 572.


44. Wavell to George VI, December 31, 1945, *Mansergh, VI*, p. 713.


46. Rowlands, as reported in *Viceroy’s Journal*, p. 185. H Dow (Governor of Sind) wrote to Wavell on November 3 that "Birla…is getting a little frightened of the Frankenstein’s monster he has helped so much to create", (*Mansergh, VI*, p. 438). The Secretary of State commented on November 30: "I am glad to hear that Birla has told Hindustan Times to lower its tone. It rather looks as if the richer supporters of Congress may be beginning to wonder where the caravan is going." *Ibid.*, p. 572.


50. *Indian Annual Register*, July-December 1945.

51. *Ibid*.

52. The Commissioner added that Suhrawardy's foreknowledge (as a member of the League ministry) that the February 12 procession would not be stopped by the police "enabled him to pose with safety as a hero of liberty…", Calcutta Police Commissioner's Report, April 3, 1946, *Home Poll (I)* 5/22/46.


55. *Home Poll (I)* 5/21/46.

61. Statistics in *AICC FN G26/1946*.
68. Wavell to Secretary of State, March 5, 1946 enclosing extract from *Hindustan Times*, March 3, *Mansergh, VI*, p. 1116.
70. J. B. Kripalani's note, *AICC FN G26/1946*.
72. Note by N P A Smith, Director, Intelligence Bureau, Home Department, August 9, 1946, *Home Pol* (1) 12/7/46.
76 “...parts of the city on Saturday morning were as bad as anything I saw when I was with the Guards on the Somme.” Governor Burrows to Wavell, August 22. 1946, *Ibid.*, p. 298.
81. “We would be committing a grave mistake if we expose the people of Bihar and their ministry to the violent and vulgar attacks of the League leaders”. Patel to Rajendra Prasad, November 11, 1946, Durga Das, *op. cit.*, III, p. 171.
87. K C George, *Immortal Punnapra-Vayalar*, New Delhi, 1976; Robin
90. V. P. Menon, Story of the Integration of Indian States, Bombay, 1956, p. 96.
92. G. D. Birla, Bapu — Correspondence 1940-47, p. 434.
95. This is most blatant in Collins and Lapierre, Freedom At Midnight, Delhi, 1976.
97. V. P. Menon, Transfer of Power, pp. 363-64.
98. For details, see A K Gupta 'North-West Frontier Province Legislature and Freedom Struggle 1932-47, New Delhi, 1976.
100. P C Joshi, For the Final Bid for Power, Bombay, 1945, p. 118. The document is thus very far from being an anticipation of Ranadive sectarianism as has been curiously misconstrued recently by Bhagwan Singh Josh in his Communist Movement in the Punjab, New Delhi, 1979.
101. 15,000 members at the First Party Congress in May 1943, more than 100,000 at the Second in February 1948.
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