NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The first volume of a series under that title was published just after I had completed the original draft of this paper. Ranajit Guha, (ed.), Subaltern Studies I: Writings on South Asian History and Society (Delhi, 1982).

2. "I am seeking to rescue the poor stockinger, the Luddite cropper, the 'obsolete' hand-loom weaver, the 'utopian' artisan...from the enormous condescension of posterity". E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (London, 1963), p. 12.

3. The data made available through books, research articles, and unpublished dissertations or work-in-progress is already surprisingly massive, as I have had the occasion to discover for myself while preparing a general study of the 1885-1947 period. These include the work of David Hardiman and Ghanshyam Shah on Gujarat; Ravinder Kumar, Neil Charlesworth and Gail Omvedt on Maharashtra; Gyan Pandey, Majid Siddiqi, and Kapil Kumar on United Provinces; Walter Hauser, K. Suresh Singh, Jacques Pouchepadass, Stephen Henningham, Saradindu Mukherji, and Alok Sheel on Bihar (unfortunately I havenot seen Arvind Das's Ph.D. thesis on the same region), Benoy Chowdhuri, Kalyan Sengupta, Hitesh Sanyal, Partha Chatterji, Sunil Sen, Tanika Sarkar and Rafiuddin Ahmed on Bengal; Amalendu Guha on Assam; Biswamoy Pati on Orissa; David Arnold on South India; Robin Jeffrey on Travancore; and D.H. Dhanagare, Stephen Dale and Conrad Wood on Malabar.


5. For a particularly bold statement of this viewpoint, see Bipan Chandra, "Peasantry and National Integration in Contemporary India". "Nationalism helped arouse the peasant and awaken him to his own needs... Nationalism helped the peasant movement to 'stand on its feet'...overcoming the utterly disjointed and local character of the peasant movements of the nineteenth century...". This essay is included in Bipan Chandra, Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India (New Delhi, 1979), p. 345.


8. Margiandart, *French Peasants*, pp. 48-50, 79, formulates this three-fold typology of economic explanations of revolt, tracing the second back to Tocqueville and the first (much more dubiously) to Marx.

9. After a period of almost total concentration on the *longue duree* inspired by Braudel, some of the *Annales* historians are now emphasizing more the need to study such interrelations. See, for example, E. Le Roy Ladurie, "The 'Event' and the 'Long Term' in Social History: The Case of the Chouan Uprising" (1972) reprinted in his *The Territory of the Historian* (Harvester Press, 1979), as well as his fascinating *Carnival: A People's Rising in Romans* (London, 1980).


12. Kathleen Gough has used the category 'restorative' to describe this type of resistance. "Indian Peasant Uprisings", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Special Number, August 1974


17. The standard account of peasant-cum-zamindar resistance in Mughal India remains Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India* (Bombay; 1963), Chapter IX, but see also Gautam Bhadra, "Mughal Yuge Krishak-Bidroha—Ekti Prathamik Ruparekha," *Ekshan*, Volume XIII, n. 5-6, 1385/1978, as well as Irfan Habib's recent paper, "Forms of Class Struggle in Mughal India", Indian History Congress, Bombay, 1980.

18. See for example the account of the rising of the Croquants of Perigord (1637) against tax-farmers, and that of the 'Nu-pieds' of Normandy


22. "At the bottom there was the landless proletariat created in Mughal India, not by capitalism but by an age-old operation of the caste-system for the benefit of peasant-agriculture. There are, perhaps, few parallels in the world when the oppressors and the oppressed majority in society have joined together to keep a minority in such utter degradation for their own advantage". Habib, "Forms of Class Struggle in Mughal India", pp. 5-6.


27. See p. 51.
28. Alauddin Khalji's price-fixation is always presented as something more-or-less unique. See for example W.H. Moreland, *Agrarian System of Moslem India* 1929, Chapter II. The absence of price controls (or of a just price religious ethic) need not imply, however, the prevalence of a free market situation of the modern type; quite possibly it might indicate rather the relative unimportance of the market for rural consumers as compared to conditions in early modern Europe, given the existence of traditionally-fixed non-market exchange of products between peasants and artisans in the jajmani system and the absence of rural demand for urban goods due to the massive pumping-away of peasant surplus through land revenue. See Irfan Habib's comments on the coexistence of commodity production with rural self-sufficiency in Mughal India. *Agrarian System*, pp. 118-119.

31. Arnold mentions in this context the Lambadi itinerant traders ousted by railways, the Mārvārs and Kallars who lost their traditional livelihood as village watchmen under British rule, and tribals of the Gudem region in Andhra among whom dacoity spread as shifting cultivation was banned in the forest. For forest 'crimes', see pp. 10-16.
37. See for example, an official analysis of the causes of the major tribal rebellion under Alluri Sitarama Raju in 1922-1924: in the Godavari forest "Some [of the rebels] had been fined what appeared to be unnecessarily large sums for forest offences and resented not being able to go into the forest and cut what they wanted for their ordinary purposes or to graze even young calves without fee. Others who had no lands nor cattle said they had been able to eke out their living by podu before it was restricted. Podu does seem to have been the resource...also to some extent of the men with lands because they have not enough cattle to properly manure and cultivate the valley land..." Special Commissioner, Agency Operations, to Madras Chief Secretary, 22 August 1924.
Popular Movements and Middle Class Leadership in Late Colonial India


38. For comparable situations in medieval Europe and 18th century England, see R. Hilton, Bondmen Made Free: Medieval Peasant Movements and the English Rising of 1381 (London, 1977), pp. 40, 70-71; and Thompson, Whigs and Hunters, passim. The fourth and fifth articles of the famous Twelve Articles of the German peasant rebels of 1525 also denounced restrictions on hunting, fishing, and appropriation of timber in the forests. See appendix to F. Engels, Peasant War in Germany (1874) in K. Marx, Historical Writings, Volume II (Bombay, 1945), p. 739. The theme of alienation of forests seem really world-wide. See the reminiscences of Karari Njama, Mau Mau leader, about a childhood conversation with his grandfather: "Today we are forbidden to collect firewood from that forest which was ours; we are not allowed to cut even strings for tying together wood when building a hut". D.L. Barrett and Karari Njama, Mau Mau from Within (New York, 1970), p. 86.


40. W.G. Archer, The Hill of Flutes (Pittsburgh, 1974) pp. 23-4 has a deeply moving passage on the continuing manifold significance of forests to Santals in the Dumka region, settled agriculturists for whom the hunt had become no more than an annual ritual: "[The forests] supply the villagers with twigs and branches for fuel, timber for rafters and tools, and leaves for plates and cups... If the year is bad, the forest is scoured for roots, leaves and berries. But above all, the forest is a place for secret recreation.... The beat may nowadays yield only a hare or a peacock... but an aura of faint romantic danger persists... At the greatest occasion of all... the annual hunt they assemble from far and near, spend the day scouring the hillsides and uplands and then at night debate tribal matters and regale themselves with 'music-hall entertainments'... Finally, the forest is a trysting-place for lovers...."

41. An alternation noted as characteristic of millenarian movements by Hobbsawm in his Primitive Rebels (3rd edition) p. XI, and analysed in much greater detail in Worsley's The Trumpet Shall Sound, a fascinating study of Melanesian cargo-cults.


43. This seems to be a recurrent belief in folk rebellions. See p. 15.


45. Stephen Fuchs, Rebellious Prophets, pp. 36-44.

46. Ibid., pp. 218-222.


49a. A detailed study of the tribal movements in this area was published just after the completion of this paper. See D. Arnold, "Rebellious Hillmen: The Gudem-Rampa Risings, 1839-1924" in R. Guha, (ed.), *Subaltern Studies I*.


51. *Ibid*: see W. Francis (ed.), *Vizagapatam District Gazetteer* (Madras, 1907), which states that the rebel leader Tamma Dora was hailed as Raja of south Malkangiri; and also Government of Madras to Secretary of State, 25 August 1879, which reports efforts by insurgents "to obtain support from the Bastar territory". GOI Home Police B September 1879 n 23.


55. "They have been carrying on this 'podu' cultivation for ages, and what is the result? There still remains an unbroken tract of almost impenetrable forest covering an area of 5000 square miles " The Godavari Collector, however, felt that restrictions were necessary to develop prospects of teak cultivation in the future Other forest grievances in Rekapalle were the new tax per acre of cleared forest in place of the previous tax per axe (which immediately tripled the burden, according to Sullivan's calculations), and the need to obtain licenses from *tahsil* headquarters 30-40 miles away in Bhadrachalam. *Ibid*; also report of J.L. Loch, 26 November 1879 in Home Police A January 1880 n 77-80.

56. Low-country traders bought up tamarind fruits from the tribals, and frequently swindled them of their land through connections with the Rajahmundry court. As elsewhere, the totally unfamiliar British legal system proved a major source of oppression for tribals. Sullivan, *op. cit*. See also the statements of Pusem Chinnaya Dora, who lost all his cattle (worth Rs. 160/-) for failing to repay a debt of Rs. 5/- (the trader "brought a suit; that is, he brought a gumastah and said he had brought a suit"), and of the *muttadar* of Berampalli, brought under the control of a Komati trader through indebtedness: Home Judicial B February 1880 n 208-209, Appendix III.
57. **Depositions of Karam Potti Dora and Karam Gangadu: Home Judicial B October 1879 n 123–125.**

58. **Hemingway, *Godavari Dist. Gazetteer*.**


60. **The concessions were approved by the Secretary of State in his despatch to the Madras Governor-in-Council, 6 May 1880—Home Police B June 1880 n 12. See also Hemingway, *op. cit.*, pp. 93–96, 276.**

61. Quoted in David Arnold, “‘Dacoity and Rural Crime’, p. 162.


64. **Thurston and Rangachari, *Castes and Tribes*, Volume II, p. 32.**

65. **E. Clement Smith, “The Baster Rebellion (1910)”. This is an account by a British soldier fighting the revolt, published in *Man in India*, Rebellion Number, December 1945.**

66. **Home Police B, March 1915, n 153.**


69. **See *ibid.*, pp. 228–32, for a very interesting table listing the date, location, and social composition of the victims and their Mappila assailants in the 32 incidents between 1836 and 1919.**

70. **Wood, *op. cit.***

71. **Tilly, *The Vendee*, Chapter V. Margadant also relates the ‘red’ and ‘white’ belts of mid-19th century rural France partly to differences in settlement patterns: *French Peasants in Revolt*, Chapter I.**

72. **Thus D.H. Dhanagare refers to an increase in the number of Hindu gang-robers between 1865–80: “Agrarian Conflict, Religion and Politics: The Moplah Rebellions in Malabar in the 19th and early 20th centuries”, *Past and Present*, February 1977.**

73. **For example a confrontation at Malappuram mosque with Nayars in 1728, and an attack on the British factory at Tellicherry in 1742. Dale, *Mappilas of Malabar*, Chapters I–III.**

74. **D.H. Dhanagare, *op. cit.*, Dale, *op. cit.*, p. 201 gives a map showing a decisive concentration of mosques in Ernad and Walavanad.**

75. **W. Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Volume I (1887; reprinted Madras, 1951), p. 197, notes a 34.63% fall in the number of Cherumars in the decade 1871–81.**

76. **The Tirurangadi Mappila incident of 1843 sprang out of a Nayar *jenmi* objecting to a newly-converted Ezhava maid-servant covering her breast and addressing him by the familiar ‘you’ : Dale, *op. cit.*, pp. 130–132.**

77. “Our most venerable prophet has said that those who die in battle can see the houris who will come to witness the battle...Their lips are like coral...their breasts like cups of gold...they kiss and embrace the martyrs,
give them to drink of the sweet water of heaven and gratify their every
wish”. Quoted in Dale, *Mappilas of Malabar*, p. 133.


passim*.


for Freedom* (Madras, 1915).

82. This happened at Nagpur in 1896. See J.R. McLane, *Indian Nationalism
and the Early Congress* (Princeton, 1977), p 71. It is significant that Bipin
Chandra’s voluminous account of early Congress attitudes to agrarian
questions contain no reference to tribal or agricultural labourer griev-
ances. See *Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India* (New
Delhi, 1966), pp. 394–496.


84. K.K. Sengupta, *Pabna Disturbances and the Politics of Rent, 1873–1885*
(New Delhi, 1974), pp. 12–16, 42–45.

85. See. f.n. 56.


88. An obvious parallel would be the faith in the Tsar as Little Father,
shown repeatedly by Russian peasants, and even by Petersburg workers
in the demonstration which the Tsar’s police shot down on Bloody
Sunday, January 1905.


90. Thus even Bankimchandra, who had written the strongly pro-peasant
*Bangadesher Krishak* the year before, was moved by stray instances of
violence in Pabna to declare that he had been “pained and disgusted by
the conduct of the Pabna ryots”. *Bangadarshan*, Bhadra B.S. 1280 (1873),

91. The best discussion of this whole question is in Ashok Sen, *Is

92. For a detailed account of the 1906–07 riots, see Sumit Sarkar, *Swadeshi
Movement in Bengal, 1903–08* (New Delhi, 1973), Chapter VIII.

93. By 1875, “an amount of grain could be brought for 4 annas which a
rupee would hardly have purchased 5 years before.” Chief Secretary,
Government of Bombay, to Government of India, 6 April 1877: Home
Judicial A April 1879 n 3–33.


95. B.B. Chaudhuri, “Agrarian Economy and Agrarian Relations in Ben-
gal,1859–1919”, in N.K. Sinha, (ed.), *The History of Bengal 1757–1905*

96. A parallel may perhaps be suggested with the *kulaks* of Russia, often
looked up to by their poorer neighbours as “natural leaders” in ways


98. As Dadabhai Naoroji argued through his concept of ‘internal drain’, excessive British land taxes, invariably collected in cash, forced peasants to sell more of their produce. This ultimately went out of the country through the British export firms and enhanced the export surplus which was the outward form of the drain of wealth. What this theory largely ignored, of course, was the subordinate but still quite vital role of Indian exploiting groups—zamindars, traders, mahajans—in aggravating the burden on the peasant. See B.N. Ganguli, *Dadabhai Naoroji and the Drain Theory* (Asia, 1965), pp. 103–109.


100. Tilak, we are told by one of his early biographers, “deplored and condemned food-riots... ‘Why loot the Bazars’, he used to say, ‘go to Collector and tell him to give you work and food’.” D.V. Athalye, *Life of Lokamanya Tilak* (Poona, 1921), p. 85.


104. “The Sikh and Muslim zamindars were excited to an intense pitch... Zamindars began to approach me also...I kept putting off [sic]...” Lajpat Rai, *Autobiographical Writings*, (ed.), V.C. Joshi (Delhi, 1965), pp. 119–121.


106. Ram Pande, *Agrarian Movement in Rajasthan* (Delhi, n.d.), Chapter I, provides an unsatisfactory account of a fascinating subject. Hari Sen of Delhi University is now working on a full-length study of Mewar agrarian movements.


109. Thus agricultural labourers were paid poor wages or made to do *begar* for indigo planted directly by whites in the *zirat* system which continued
as a subsidiary to the more common *assamiwar* (where tenants were obliged to grow indigo under the *tinkathia* arrangement): Girish Mishra, *Agrarian Problems*, pp. 56–60, 286–92.


111. *Ibid.*, p. 73. Poucheopadass also notes the role of some Marwari traders and *mahajans*, who would benefit if peasants grew more foodgrains and sugar-cane in place of indigo, and a few local pleaders and school teachers, in organizing the 1917 movement.


114. But in 1844 and 1878 there were also some signs of more unrestrained crowd action. Windows of *sowcar* houses were stoned in 1844 to compel them to join the protest, while “people of anything like a good position were scarce amongst the crowd” in the 1878 demonstrations. Government of Bombay, *Source-Materials for A History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Volume I; 1818–85 (Bombay, 1957), pp. 4–43.

115. E.g., ‘union’, ‘Party’, or even ‘class’ (for which *sreni* or *varna* are at best approximate renderings).


118. Chakrabarty’s argument that communal riots among jute labour were perhaps more common than joint anti-employer class actions has been questioned by Ranajit Dasgupta on the basis of additional data, but the more general point regarding persistence of pre-industrial patterns of consciousness remains a valuable contribution. See Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Communal Riots and Labour: Bengal Jute Millhands in the 1890s* (Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta, Occasional Paper No. 11, 1976), and Ranajit Dasgupta, *Material Conditions and Behavioral Aspects of Calcutta Working Class, 1875–99* (CSSSC, Occasional Paper No. 22, 1979).

118a. Sarkar, *Swadeshi Movement*, Chapter V.

118b. Tilak’s speeches at labour meetings in the Chinchpoholy industrial area of Bombay concentrated only on boycott of foreign goods and liquor and use of Swadeshi, the latter being advocated on the argument that through it “the work in the mills would increase and the employees would be benefited”—Government of Bombay, *Source-Materials for a History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Volume II; 1885–1920, (Bombay, 1958), pp. 252–53, 258.


120. Habib, *Agrarian System*, Chapter IX.


124. I am using the term ‘caste’ throughout in the sense of jatis, not of the somewhat abstract and theoretical varnas.


132. C.J. Baker, "Leading up to Periyar: the early career of E.V. Ramaswami Naicker", in Pandey, *Leadership in South Asia*.


muted into a call for Islamic solidarity: see my *Swadeshi Movement in Bengal, 1903-1908* (New Delhi, 1973), pp. 462-64.


142. Reay to Lansdowne, 20 February 1890—quoted in B.L. Grover (ed.), *A Documentary Study of British Policy towards Indian Nationalism* (Delhi, 1967), pp 141-142. The Mussalman of Calcutta made a rather similar comment on 4 October 1907: “The great interest of the six castes [i.e. Brahmans, Kayasths, Vaidyas, Syeds, Mughals, and Pathans] is to get into Government service; the great interest of the cultivators is to have salt free and chaukidari tax off and to secure their tenancies”. Cited in Rafiuddin Ahmed, *Bengali Muslims*, p 162.

143. China, Vietnam, Angola and Mozambique would be the obvious examples. For an interesting counter-example of failure of a movement which failed to transcend purely indigenous tribal-peasant forms, see Barrett and Njama, *Mau Mau from Within*.

144. *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* of 9 December 1869 vividly expressed this dualism: ‘Middle-class (madhyabitta) people are always considered the most useful group in any society. Our country’s welfare depends to a large extent on this class. If there is ever to be a social or any other revolution in this country, it will be by the middle class.... The livelihood of middle class people comes from landed property and the services.... Middle-class people are often gantidars’. [a form of intermediate tenure common in Jessore, from where the Amrita Bazar Patrika was being published at that time].

145. For more details, see my “Rammohun Roy and the Break with the Past”, in V.C. Joshi (ed.), *Rammohun Roy and the Process of Modernization in India* (Delhi, 1975), and “Complexities of Young Bengal”, *Nineteenth Century Studies*, October, 1973.

146. Like inter-caste marriages among the three upper castes in Bengal, or the insistence that Brahmo acharyas give up the sacred thread.

147. The assumption sometimes made that communalists were more ‘feudal’ than the ‘bourgeois’ nationalists is hardly tenable in terms of social composition. Examples of zamindari and business patronage may be found in both, and the main bearers of communalist ideology were ‘modern’ English-educated intellectuals—a Syed Ahmed, a Savarkar, or a Jinnah—rather than traditional pundits or ulema.
148. Thus concentration on specific ‘un-British’ official policies (Home Charges, unfair tariffs, excessive revenue burdens, etc.), presumably reversible through the methods of Moderate agitation, led to a relative neglect of the role of private British capital. There was little understanding also of India’s vital role in the total imperial economy, and contradictions within Indian society were largely ignored.


151. No doubt the loyalist Justice and Non-Brahman parties in Madras and Maharashtra were greatly stimulated by the possibility of special reservations, and even Jawaharlal’s wanderings among the kisans were welcomed by his father, as late as June 1920, for improving the former’s electoral chances. Siddiqi, *Agrarian Unrest*, p. 129


157. While even Tilak, Lajpat Rai or Bipin Pal had had essentially regional bases, the peculiar circumstances of South Africa had brought together Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Christians, Gujaratis, South Indians, prosperous merchants and lawyers, and Newcastle mine-workers in a common fight against gross racial discrimination under Gandhi’s leadership. It is a remarkable fact that 13 out of the first 25 inmates of Sabarmati Ashrama (1915) came from Tamilnadu: G.D. Tendulkar, *Mahatma*, Volume I (Bombay, 1960).


161. Perhaps elsewhere, too, for we must remember that the Gandhian social ideal was derived in part from the Romantic critique of industrialism developed by mid-19th century English writers. The value of such a critique has been emphasized by E.P. Thompson in *William Morris*. 
Notes and References

Romantic to Revolutionary (2nd edition, London, 1977). But it is significant that Gandhi's ideal was Ruskin, and not Morris who crossed the "river of fire" to "practical socialism".

162. For the nature and political significance of Gandhian rural constructive work, see Hitesh Sanyal, "Arambager Jatiyatabadi Andolan", Anya Artha, 1974-75, and "Dakshin-Pashchim Banglay Jatiyatabadi Andolan", Chaturanga, 1977; Gyan Pandey, Ascendancy of the Congress, Chapter III; and Hardiman, Peasant Nationalists, Chapter 8.

163. The impact on Indian developments of the post-war world-wide upsurge, anti-capitalist in the developed countries and anti-imperialist in the colonies and semi-colonies, is difficult to document specifically but unrealistic to ignore. Indian soldiers coming home from distant lands must have carried with them something of the new revolutionary mood, and it is interesting that in an agrarian riot in March 1921 on the Rae Bareli-Pratapgarh border, the local leader, Brijpal Singh, was an ex-sepoy who, according to a police report, "obviously had great control over the crowd which was not lacking in a certain degree of military discipline". Siddiqi, Agrarian Unrest, p. 163.

164. Reading to the Secretary of State, 13 October 1921: Reading Collection (India Office Library).

165. Report by a CID Officer on the Kisan Sabha agitation, 7 January 1921, Home Political Deposit, February 1921, n 13.

166. Siddiqi, op. cit. Chapters III-IV.

167. That at least was G.D. Birla's impression after a talk with Gandhi, conveyed in a note to Purshottamdas Thakurdas which the latter sent to the Bombay Governor on 16 January 1941. Gandhi told Birla that he was worried about "the mentality of our young men... Communism appeals to youth, unfortunately". Birla's own comment is also interesting: "Was Satyagraha not a blessing in disguise? Was Gandhiji, by starting restricted Satyagraha, saving Government from greater embarrassment and at the same time registering his own protest? Who knows?" Thakurdas Papers, File No. 177.

168. Factory employment, in contrast, had increased from 13,61,000 to 17,51,000 only between 1922 and 1939: Wadia and Merchant, Our Economic Problem (6th Ed., Bombay, 1959), p. 355.

169. David Hardiman, Peasant Nationalists, Chapter 5.


172. The Hyderabad movement for responsible government, for instance, was called off at Gandhi's insistence in December 1938, and the State Congress leader, Swami Ramanand Tirtha, later confessed: "We could not understand the propriety of this decision". Ramanand Tirtha, Memoirs of Hyderabad Freedom Struggle (Bombay, 1967), p 107.

174. Pouchepadass, “Champaran Satyagraha”.
176. Viceroy to Secretary of State, 20 June 1921: Reading Collection.
177. Dhanagare, “Agrarian Conflict, Religion and Politics”.
178. History of the Non-Cooperation and Khilafat Movements in Bengal—
   Government of Bengal, Political (Confidential), F.N. 395 S.N. 1–3
180. For a detailed account, see Tanika Sarkar, National Movement and
   University, 1981), Chapter III.
181. Fortnightly Report from Bombay, second half of October 1930—Home
   Political 18/XI/1930. For more details about forest satyagraha, see my
   “Primitive Rebellion and Modern Nationalism: A Note on Forest
   Satyagraha in the Non-Cooperation and Civil Disobedience Movements”,
   in K.N. Panikkar (ed.), National and Left Movements in India (Delhi,
   1980).
182. See S. Sarkar, “Logic of Gandhian Nationalism: Civil Disobedience
   and the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, 1930-31”, Indian Historical Review, July
   1976.
183. See Jawaharlal Nehru’s reported comment at the crucial Working Com-
   mittee session at Allahabad in April 1942 after the collapse of the Cri-
  pps Mission: “It is Gandhiji’s feeling that Japan and Germany will win.
   This feeling unconsciously governs his decision”. Congress Respon-
   sibility for the Disturbances (Government of India, 1943), Appendix I.
184. Ibid., Appendix IV.
185. Telegram to Churchill, 31 August 1942: N. Mansergh, (ed.), Transfer
187. Text in Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances, Appendix VIII.
189. Henningham, Protest and Control in North Bihar, Chapter V.
192. Government of Bengal, Political (Confidential) F.N. 395 S.N. 1–3 of
193. R.P. Dutt’s well-known comments on the Bardoli resolution of February
   1922, emphasizing the condemnations of no-rent and assurances to
   landlords, remain difficult to refute, and it is interesting that Sitaramayya’s
   History of the Indian National Congress does not give the text of this
   resolution while reprinting many less-important decisions. I have tried to
   explore the background and significance of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact in my “Logic
   of Gandhian Nationalism”.
194. “In India we want no political strikes . . . We must gain control over all
   the unruly and disturbing elements . . . We seek not to destroy capital or
   capitalists, but to regulate the relations between capital and labour. We
want to harness capital to our side. It would be folly to encourage sympathetic strikes". Gandhi, "The Lessons of Assam", Young India, 15 June 1921: Collected Works, Vol. 20, p. 228


Government of Bengal, Political (Confidential) F.N. 395, S.N. 1–3 of 1924, p 13

Harmatha, Peasant Nationalists, p 234; Pandey, Ascendancy of the Congress, Chapter V, Brian Stoddart, "The Structure of Congress Politics in Coastal Andhra", in D A. Low, (ed.), Congress and the Raj (London 1977), pp. 121–122. The adverse consequences followed from the failure to regain confiscated peasant lands, and from the brake imposed in the interests of the truce on no-revenue and no-rent movements, at a time when the Depression was having its first major impact


Henningham, Protest and Control in North Bihar, Chapter V.

Ibid, Chapter II

Ibid.; Agrarian Unrest, p 157


D O from F W Stewart, Agency Commissioner, Narsapatam to Madras Chief Secretary, 26 September 1922: Ibid., p 373.

Madras Government Press Communiqué, 12 April 1924: Ibid., p 390

Venkataramiya, op cit., p. 90. For some more details about Sitarama Raju’s movement, see my "Primitive Rebellion and Modern Nationalism", and Arnold, "Rebellious Hillmen".

Home Political F N. 104/1924—Note by 'E.H F', dated 19 March 1924.

K Suresh Singh, Colonial Transformation of Tribal Society in Middle India.

Verrier Elwin, Swara Fituris, and Christoph Von Furer-Haimendorf, Aboriginal Rebellions in the Deccan, in Man in India, Rebellion Number, December 1945.


Thus Vidyanand’s movement inspired sharecroppers in south-east Darbhanga to demand a change to cash rents (Stephen Henningham, "Agrarian Relations") In the Awadh agrarian riots of January-March 1921, a Shah Naim Ata briefly proclaimed himself ‘king of Salon’ in Rae Bareli, crowds at Munshiganj in the same district were led by a Muslim fakir and a low-caste Pasi sadhu, and a pretender ‘Baba Ram-
chandra' appeared in Fyzabad who tried to forcibly return bedakhli land to those evicted. Malcolm Hailey complained on 1 February 1921 that numerous sadhus "claim to be followers of Gandhi and speak in his name but their preaching is certainly not on the lines of Gandhi's... as they advocate non-payment of rent and doctrines such as the land for the cultivator. There can be no doubt of course that they make the strongest appeal to the low castes and landless castes who... are told that a millenium in the shape of swaraj is coming through the intervention of Mahatma Gandhi". The relatively little-known Eka movement of 1921–22 was led by Madari Pasi. But despite such evidence of occasional low caste participation, it needs to be noted that of the 20 brought to trial after the Karhaiya bazaar clash with the police, 6 were Thakurs, 5 Brahmins, 5 Kurmis and only one Chamar Siddiqi, Agrarian Unrest, pp. 150–170, 197–202.

211. Siddiqi, ibid., p. 195. The Indian Annual Register (1929) records that "Baba Ramchandra (member of the UP Kisan Sabha)" opposed at the Calcutta session of the All Parties Conference an amendment to the draft Nehru Report, brought by Malaviya, guaranteeing "all titles to private and personal property"

212. Henningham, "Agrarian Relations".

213 Gandhi bluntly declared in his "Instructions to UP Peasants" in March 1921: "We may not withhold taxes from the Government or rent from the landlord... It should be borne in mind that we want to turn zamindars into friends". Young India, 9 March 1921, reprinted in Gandhi, Collected Works, Volume XIX pp. 419–420 See also Gyan Pandey, "Peasant Revolt and Indian Nationalism: The Peasant Movement in Awadh, 1919–1922", in Subaltern Studies I


215. Tanika Sarkar, National Movement and Popular Protest, Chapters II, IV, V.

216 Kumar, "Bombay Textile Strike, 1919".


218. Thakurdas Papers, F.N. 42.


220. Sykes Papers and Halifax (Irwin) Collection at the India Office Library.

221. Tanika Sarkar, National Movement and Popular Protest, p. 142, citing an interview with Ranen Sen

221a. In the first week of January 1922, for instance, there were 123 millhands among the 349 who had courted arrest, as against only 39 students. See Report of Calcutta Police Commissioner to Chief Secretary, Govt. of Bengal, 5 January, 1922: Govt. of Bengal, Political Department (Political Branch) F.N. 14 (21–30)/1922.

222. As D.D. Kosambi pointed out in a brilliant piece of contemporary history-writing, “the glamour of jail and concentration camp served to wipe out the so-so record of the Congress ministries in office, thereby restoring the full popularity of the organisation among the masses”. See “The Bourgeoisie Comes of Age in India”, *Science and Society*, 1946, (Reprinted in *Exasperating Essays*, Poona, n.d.).


224. For some details about the 1945–47 popular movements and Congress attitudes towards them, see my “Popular Movements, National Leadership, and the Coming of Freedom with Partition, 1945–47” (Paper presented at a Nehru Museum seminar, December 1980, and due for publication shortly in the *Economic and Political Weekly*).

225. Omvedt, *Cultural Revolt in a Colonial Society*.


228. Thus Gandhi rightly rebuked Narendra Dev on 2 August 1934 for forgetting to mention untouchability in the draft programme of the Congress Socialist Party (Tendulkar, *Mahatma*, Volume III, p. 344), and R.P. Dutt’s *India Today* expressed an even viable confidence that caste would be “overcome, not by preaching and denunciation, but by the advance of modern industry and political democracy”. (2nd edition, Bombay, 1947, p. 244).


231. Telegrams of 15, 17 and 18 December 1921: Reading Collection.


233. In a letter to Churchill dated 24 October 1944, Wavell argued that it would be impossible to hold India by force after the War. “We have had to negotiate with similar rebels before, e.g., De Valera and Zaghlul”, and it would be wise to start negotiations before the inevitable post-war problems, which would create “a fertile field for agitation, unless we
have previously diverted their [Congress] energies into some more profitable channel, i.e., into dealing with the administrative problems of India and into trying to solve the constitutional problem”. Wavell, The Viceroy's Journal (Oxford, 1973), pp. 97–98.


235. Governor General (War Department) to Secretary of State, 30 November 1945: Transfer of Power, Volume VI, p. 572.

236. Wavell to George VI, 31 December 1945: Transfer of Power, Volume VI, p. 713.


240. Note by N P A. Smith, Director, Intelligence Bureau, Home Department, 9 August 1946; Home Political (Internal), 12/7/46. Wavell had already informed Pethick-Lawrence on 31 July, with a countrywide postal strike still on and two days after a massive Calcutta bundh, that the Congress would have to be asked to form the Interim Government on their own. “If Congress will take responsibility they will realise that firm control of unruly elements is necessary and they may put down the Communists and try to curb their own left wing. Also I should hope to keep them so busy with administration that they had much less time for politics”. Mansergh, Transfer of Power, Volume VIII, pp. 154–155.

241. Thus khadi, salt, Harijan welfare, and other aspects of Gandhian rural constructive work provided no solutions to basic problems of agrarian relations, but they could bring some limited but real benefits, instilling both self-confidence and faith in a leadership which was seen to be achieving something concrete See articles by Hitesh Sanyal cited in f.n. 162; David Hardiman, Peasant Nationalists, Chapter 8.


243. Subhas Bose in a letter to Nehru on 28 March 1939 offered the following unkind but probably not too unjust characterization of Jawaharlal’s role in Working Committee meetings: “You would generally hold forth for hours together and then succumb at the end. Sardar Patel and others had a clever technique for dealing with you. They would let you talk and talk and they would ultimately finish up by asking you to draft their resolution Once you were allowed to draft the resolution, you would feel happy, no matter whose resolution it was. Rarely have I found you sticking to your point till the last”. A Bunch of Old Letters (Asia, 1958), p 340. Bose did not have Nehru's personal loyalty to Gandhi, but it has to be added that his own performance was really no better. He chose to break on the issue of his own re election as President, not on matters of principle like the Bombay Trade Disputes Bill or the increasingly anti-Kisan Sabha stance of Congress ministries.

244. Benthall’s diaries for 1928–33 records fascinating details about the
way in which an initially sharp conflict with G.D. Birla over jute trading interests gradually gave way to increasing cooperation. In a note written after 1947, Benthall recalled with some pride that though he had been known at one time as "Bengali Sahib" among certain of the die-hard elements, looking back I have no doubt that the policy followed by the leaders of British business throughout this anxious time was right, for the responsible line we took over the 20 years leading up to Independence, capped of course by the willingness of HMG's Government to grant that independence, prepared the way for the fair manner in which the Congress Government dealt with us when they came into power". Benthall Papers, Cambridge South Asia Study Centre, Box No. XI and XII.

245. During a visit to Calcutta in May 1947, for instance, Gandhi advised workers of a Birla-owned mill to end their strike, warning “the millhands against being used as tools for the accentuation of the class war or in furtherance of certain ideologies”. Pyarelal, Mahatma Gandhi; The Last Phase, Volume II (Allahabad, 1958), p. 177.


246a. Bipan Chandra, “The Indian Capitalist Class and Imperialism before 1947” in his Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India (New Delhi, 1979), p. 145. For an alternative view emphasizing the complexities and internal divisions within Indian business groups, see articles by Chatterji and Markovits cited in the previous footnote.

247. Shanin, The Awkward Class; for some of the political consequences, see also Moshe Lewin, Russian Peasants and Soviet Power (London, 1968).

248. Utsa Patnaik, “Class Differentiation within the Peasantry: An Approach to Analysis of Indian Agriculture” Economic and Political Weekly, 25 September 1976. The existence from pre-colonial times of a large class of low-caste landless labour also makes Jains Banaji’s attempt to apply Marx’s distinction between ‘formal’ and ‘real’ subsumption of labour to capital rather difficult, for in a sense ‘formal subsumption’ abstracted from technical transformation may go back very far in time. J. Banaji, “Capitalist Domination and the Small Peasantry: Deccan Districts in the late 19th century”, Economic and Political Weekly, Special Number, August 1977.


250. D.A. Low, Introduction to Congress and the Raj.
251. Hitesh Sanyal pointed out in his “Arambager Jatiyatabadi Andolan”, that only 9% of the 371 jailed for political activities in Arambagh during 1930–42, about whom data is available, had more than 15 bighas (5 acres) of land.


258. David Hardiman, “Roots of Rural Agitation in India”.

259. “The government wants to divide you and the shahukar, but for you, your shahukar is everything ... It is just like saying to a pativrata that she should change her husband”. Satyagraha Patrika, 18 March and 8 April 1928, cited in Ghanshyam Shah, “Traditional Society and Political Mobilization: The Experience of Bardoli Satyagraha”, Contributions to Indian Sociology, New Series, No.8, 1974.


262. David Hardiman, Peasant Nationalists, pp. 111–112.


264. Ibid., pp. 645–659.

265. Ibid., Appendix I

266. Ibid., p. 119. Pyarelal puts this passage in italics.

267. Indian Annual Register, 1936.


269. P. Sundarayya, Telengana People’s Struggle and its Lessons (Calcutta, 1972), p. 124. The initial ceiling decided on had been even higher—500 acres.

270. The Shertalai-Alleppey-Ambalapuzha area was marked by a close proximity of small-town industries (like coir factories) with agricultural occupations and Alleppey workers, fishermen and Kuttanad farm labourers fought side by side at Punnapra-Vayalar. K.C. George, Immortal Punnapra-Vayalar (New Delhi, 1975); R. Jeffrey, “A Sanctified Label: Congress in Travancore Politics, 1938–48”, in Congress and the Raj.
271. Ranajit Guha’s forthcoming book on elementary forms of peasant struggle promises to be a pathbreaker in this direction. I take this opportunity to acknowledge my debt to him, particularly for a stimulating all-night discussion I was privileged to have with him in Brighton in 1977.

272. G. Rude, “The Pre-Industrial ‘Crowd’”, in Paris and London in the 18th Century: Studies in Popular Protest (Fontana, 1970), referring to popular actions taken in the name of a distant superior or king, as well as to followers out running leaders while still claiming to be their adherents.

273. Thus there is the story of the Jat Tejaji in Rajasthan, honoured for having offered himself to be bitten by a snake to stop it from drinking up the milk of a cow belonging to a Brahman, Crooke and Enthoven, Religion and Folklore of Northern India, p. 165.


275. “The Farmer and the Moneylender”, in Flora Steel, Folktales of Punjab (a Vikas reprint, 1974, of a nineteenth century collection). I am grateful to Dr. Gyan Pandey for drawing my attention to this story.


278. Ranajit Guha, “On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India”, Subaltern Studies I, p.7 (Guha’s italics)