CONCLUDING REMARKS

It is a truism that the functioning of human societies is influenced by "structures" and "human agency," by physical circumstances and emotional conditioning, and by material conditions and ideologies. This study is about communal politics, which like communal riots and communal stereotypes was one manifestation of communal ideology.

Kanpur was not founded in the year when this study begins nor was communal politics limited to this city. Though located on the banks of the river Ganga, Kanpur was not a typical pilgrimage centre such as Benaras or even Allahabad. Instead, Kanpur was a typically colonial urban agglomeration. Kanpur's fame came first when the East India Company made it a trading factory and later converted it into a Cantonment in 1778. Rail connections came to Kanpur in 1859 and by 1911, with five 'first rank' trunk lines, this city became the

---

1 The concept of ideology dates back to Destutt de Tracy who in Elements d'idéologie (1801) used this term in the sense of 'the science of ideas.' Karl Marx (1818-1883) distinguished between ideology and truth and ideology was then conceived negatively as 'false consciousness' meant to distort the painful reality of capitalism. Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) conceptualised ideology in more neutral terms when he defined it as a system of ideas which manifested itself in art, law, economic activity etc. Ideology was not just pervasive in the mental realm, according to Gramsci, but it had the capacity to inspire concrete attitudes and provide orientations for action. For Gramsci ideology was reflected at four levels of intellectual articulation, viz. philosophy, religion, common sense and folklore. Louis Althusser (1918-1990) later said that science was the absolute opposite to ideology. He also referred to the plurality of ideologies. Althusser said that ideology in general was meant to secure cohesion in society whereas particular ideologies sought the domination of one class over others. See Jorge Larraín, The Concept of Ideology (London, Hutchinson, 1979) and Reinhard Bendix, "Ideology", in William Outhwaitwe (ed.), The Blackwell Dictionary of Modern Social Thought (Second Edition), (Oxford, Blackwell Publishers, 2003), pp. 282-3.

biggest railway junction of U.P. The railways converted Kanpur into a big trade centre of grains and textiles. Railways linked this city with Bengal in the East and Punjab in the West and also made it the gateway to trade with Oudh, Bundelkhand, Doab and the sub-montane tracts of U.P. In Kanpur existed the fifth largest number of big mechanised industrial units in colonial India and industrialists of European origin controlled most of these mills. The existence of large industries made Kanpur a big place to make a living and this was reflected in the fact that its population trebled due to enormous migration to it from adjoining districts during the period of this study. Wages in Kanpur were low because tight-fisted European entrepreneurs controlled the textile industry and the leather industry was tied to the colonial army. Though a big place to make a living, Kanpur was a bad place to live. Besides inadequate housing and abundant congestion, Kanpur had enormous problems caused by insanitation and illness.

The pathetic living conditions in Kanpur gave its residents abundant reasons for feeling miserable and distressed but these conditions did not mechanically produce any ideology. Ideologies are spawned by a set of ideologues and leaders and organisations propagate them to serve their chosen ends. This happened in Kanpur also. Kanpur was among those few places in colonial North India where all the three main ideologies and organizations of the

colonial period, viz. nationalist, socialist and communalist, had a sizable impact and, occasionally, they were in contention with each other. We have tried to see the interaction between these three ideologies and their proponents in Kanpur. In this concluding chapter we propose to examine the impact communal politics had on the city of Kanpur and, wherever possible, compare it with the other forms of political mobilization there. Before doing so we would cursorily summarize the main conclusions of this study.

Communalism is an ideology based on the ideas and beliefs that primordial religious groups are in perpetual antagonism to each other. In the backdrop of the Partition of India in 1947, two things are clear. Firstly, it is clear that though an ideology, communalism was not an epiphenomenon produced from nowhere by the thoughts, feelings and ideas of its believers and proponents. The colonial state and communalist ideologues, communal leaders and organisations all played an important role in the formulation and propagation of communalism. Secondly, it is unnecessary to reiterate that communal ideology had a dangerous capacity to convert ordinary miseries of people into political disasters. Communal ideologues and organisations had considerable mass support in some periods.

Colonial rulers stoked communalism and paved the way for communal politics not just by their policy of divide and rule. They also changed the ‘social imaginary’ or the way people in India perceived themselves. In pre-colonial times,
due to 'fuzzy' self-perceptions, no one was sure of how many of her/ his kind existed and as to where they lived. In contrast with this, colonial ethnographers and Census Superintendents told her/ him about their numbers. The social precedence of the 'enumerated' communities was also recorded precisely, their geographical concentrations were indicated exactly and their social distance from others was stated clearly by colonial ethnographers. This helped colonial rulers to invoke what Cohn called 'the cultural technologies of rule' by which 'the vast social world of India could be classified, categorized and bounded before it could be ordered'.

The enumeration and classification exercise in pre-Independence India bore a distinct colonial stamp. Censuses were taken all over the world since the 19th century and in some countries such as the United States of America, they began to taken in 1790 itself. In Great Britain, the first Census was taken in 1801 and the first all-India Census in colonial times was started seven decades later. The colonial bias in this enumeration exercise was reflected from the start of this exercise. While the Census was meant to mainly identify the poor in Great Britain, religious enumeration was the hallmark of all Censuses in Colonial India, right from the first one in 1872. Incidentally, the Census of Britain took up religious enumeration for the first time only in 2001 and the American Census specifically bars collection of data on religion even today.

---

The Census information on religious groups, growth rates and geographical concentrations was a novelty but its impact clearly divisive. This information in Censuses incited intellectuals to devise motifs such as that of the 'dying Hindu race' by Colonel U.N. Mukherji in 1909, which in turn provoked Shudhi campaigns, and Tablighi counter-campaigns. On the other hand, communal (or even other) politicians used the Census to formulate their demands and claim weightages or concessions on the basis of the information about the numbers, geographical concentrations and social precedence of sections they claimed to represent. This was not the cause of communalism but the Census information abetted communal ideology by giving it the semblance of credibility and a pseudo-scientific basis; just as it made other assertions (like regionalism, casteism and linguistic chauvinism) also look logical and plausible.

Some colonial administrators may have been very brutal but on the whole, colonial rule was semi-authoritarian and semi-democratic. In keeping with its semi-democratic character, the colonial system provided some scope for the exercise of civil liberties such as the right to belief, expression and association, though with controls. There developed a small political space for the growth of public debate and popular associations were formed to give vent to different grievances and aspirations of the people. For the success of their politics, different kinds of ideologues and organisations raised various issues to mobilise the masses. The issues, the place where they were raised (viz. the press and the
public platform) and the organizations and the ideologues who raised them came into existence in the colonial period. All this did not, of course, come about by the grace of colonialism, as many scholars of the Cambridge School believed but often in opposition to it.

Communal politics did not reflect primordial cleavages but it created modern communal constituencies. After the colonial rulers changed the 'social imaginary' of people and after they established, since the 1880s, reserved seats on religious basis in Local Self-government institutions certain changes were noticed in the political sphere. Religious, caste, sect, linguistic and other identities were spawned in this period. Opposition to colonial rule created some other identities like anti-colonial nationalists and anti-imperialist socialists or communists. Therefore, like other forms of mass politics, communal politics was also not a replay of 'ancient hatreds'.

This study is a small attempt to explore the role played by Hindu and Muslim communalists in the political life of people in Kanpur, though within the

---


context of U.P. and India, between 1919-1947. We have tried to examine the strength of the communal organisations and the range of issues raised by the communalists during the period of our study in Kanpur. Muslim communalists were more successful than their Hindu counterparts in mobilizing the masses behind them and success came to them due to an eclectic approach to people, issues and ideology. On the other hand, we have noted that Hindu communalists in Kanpur did not have a generous attitude to even Jains and Buddhists and did not practice what they professed was necessary for 'Dalitodhar' (or for the amelioration of the Dalits among Hindus) in the 1920s and the 1930s. We have in this study also seen that non-League Muslim organisations survived far longer than is commonly assumed by scholars and this shows that the 'separatist' sentiment had not seized a sizable section of lower class Muslims till the early 1940s. We have also tried to show that even in its heydays of the 1940s Muslim League had recalcitrant socialists, like Hasrat Mohani, in their leadership and this only proves that even Muslim communalists solicited support from different quarters to expand their mass base.

The mainly constitutional and legally sanitised activities of communal organisations were no match to those of nationalist or socialist organisations in terms of their scope and popular involvement. Sometimes the number of people who participated in nationalist or socialist activities outweighed several fold the total membership of communal organisations. There were those who earned jail sentences for participation in the struggle for Independence and their number
was over 3,500 in Kanpur for just three movements, viz. the Civil Disobedience movement,\textsuperscript{10} the Individual Satyagraha movement and the Quit India movement.\textsuperscript{11} Some socialists have, however, held that 5,000 persons from Kanpur had been to jail from the beginning of the national movement up to 1935.\textsuperscript{12} As we know, conviction for political activities in the colonial period did not just mean incarceration. It also meant losing one’s property and also prospects for secure employment in Government offices and local self-government bodies.\textsuperscript{13} These were major sources of employment in the colonial period, far outweighing employment in modern industries. Neither did any communal leader of Kanpur willingly court arrest nor did anyone of them lose any property or prospects of secure employment as a consequence of the very rare mock fights vis-à-vis the colonial state they staged to raise some contentious issue. On the contrary, ‘knighted toadies’ or colonial loyalists such as Sir(s) J.P. Srivastava and Padampat Singhania and Rai Bahadur(s) Vikramajit Singh and Rameshwar Prasad Bagla proliferated among the Hindu communalist leaders since the late 1930s in Kanpur. Muslim communalists had their share of ‘toadies’ with honorific titles gifted by the colonial rulers but their number was almost negligible in

\textsuperscript{10} During the Civil Disobedience movement, 1,149 persons were arrested and imprisoned for different periods in Kanpur alone. Kailash Narain Pande (ed.), \textit{U.P. State Gazetteers : Kanpur} (Lucknow, Department of District Gazetteers, 1989), p. 48. In the whole of U.P., up to March 1934, the total number of arrests during the Civil Disobedience movement was 15,230. \textit{Home Political}, NAI, File No. 3/7/1934. Kanpur was just one out of the 48 districts in U.P. then and the number of those jailed from it formed 7.54% of the freedom fighters in U.P. during the Civil Disobedience Movement.

\textsuperscript{11} In 1940-41, during individual satyagraha, 1,799 persons courted arrested and were sentenced for various terms whereas during the Quit India movement in 1942 the police jailed 526 persons from Kanpur. Kailash Narain Pande, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 49.

\textsuperscript{12} \textit{PAl}, 11-1-1936, pa. 2, pp. 4-5.

\textsuperscript{13} Irfan Habib, “Gandhi and the National Movement,” \textit{Social Scientist}, 23 (No.(s) 4-6), April-June, 1995, p. 11.
Kanpur. Among these negligible ones was Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Husain who died in 1935.

The flesh of communal politics was weak but its spirit was quite strong in Kanpur. The main reason for this was that many socialist and nationalist leaders imbibed communal notions and propagated communal issues. To begin with, in the 1920s, not only nationalist leaders but even socialist leaders raised communal issues and joined communal organisations. We have referred to the example of the young Arjun Arora and the case of an adult socialist leader, Radha Mohan Gokulji, who were active in communal politics. Hasrat Mohani (1880-1951) had a lifelong commitment to both Muslim communalism and socialism, as we have seen in chapter IV above. But we have also noted that formidable nationalists such as Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi mobilised opinion around communal issues such as music before mosque and also held positions in the Hindu Sabha in the 1920s. Some other nationalists such as Pandit Raghubar Dayal Bhatt, the founder of Kanpur's National School, and Lala Ram Ratan Gupta, an industrialist with pronounced swadeshi sympathies, participated in Hindu communal organisations in the 1930s and covertly, even in the 1940s.

14 Hindu Sangh was formed in February 1939. By then Congress had declared that its office-bearers could not simultaneously hold organisational responsibility in communal organisations. Yet Pandit Raghubar Dayal Bhatt and Lala Ram Ratan Gupta accepted the position of Vice-President and Joint-Secretary in the Hindu Sangh. When they were explicitly told to quit the Hindu Sangh, they did so. But even after resigning from the Vice-President-ship of Hindu Sangh, Pandit Raghubar Dayal Bhatt continued to address Hindu Sabha meetings (see The Pioneer, 9-11-1939, p. 4) and to participate in Committees of Hindu Sangh that protested against the imposition of Punitive Police Tax. (See The Pioneer, 14-1-1940, p. 5.)
Most of the communal organisations, which we have studied, remained small, ineffective and faction-ridden during most of the period of our study. Membership of even the more successful communal organisations in their heydays at Kanpur was much less than that of the nationalist Congress but just about equal to the membership of the Kanpur Mazdur Sabha. Muslim League grew in both size and influence during the late 1930s. Its membership reached a peak of around sixteen thousand in 1940-41 but dropped thereafter. Hindu communal organisations were not able to see as much success in terms of branches and membership in Kanpur city throughout the period of our study. Yet, we find that communal ideology had a widespread appeal among political leaders and an extensive impact on politics in Kanpur.

In the context of communal identity formation and ethnic violence, Ashutosh Varshney has argued, though on the basis of post-1947 research, that civic engagement between Hindus and Muslims was necessary to regulate and

---

15 Congress membership was 3,345 in May 1922. See PAI, 3-6-1922, pa. 650, p. 928. Although Allahabad, the unofficial headquarters of the nationalist movement in Uttar Pradesh, could recruit, in 1935, a measely 2,625 members as compared to the quota of 5,500, Kanpur did much better. Its Congress Committee enrolled 10,256 members out of whom 6,000 were from the city alone. See Fortnightly Report (FR), UP, 18/6/1935 for the II half of June 1935. By 1937, Kanpur city could boast of 15,000 members. See Vartman, 3-10-1937, p. 4. Seeing the enthusiasm for Congress, the President(s) of Kanpur District Congress Committee (i.e. Brij Behari Mehrotra) and City Congress Committee (i.e. Bal Krishna Sharma "Naveen") were emboldened, next year, to declare that they would enroll one lakh members and form 1,300 Congress Committees in Kanpur district alone. See Vartman, 26-7-1938, p. 3.

16 Formed in 1919, the Kanpur Mazdur Sabha had around 3,000 members in the late 1920s, these decreased to barely 682 in 1930-1 but increased to 12,000 in 1938. See Chitra Joshi, Lost Worlds Indian Labour and its Forgotten Histories (New Delhi, Permanent Black, 2003), pp. 190-1.

17 Between 1940-1 and 1943-4, in Kanpur the membership of the Muslim League dropped from 16,000 to 11,264, in Allahabad it dropped very sharply from 11,000 to 2,000, in Agra it remained almost the same but in Lucknow it spiralled from 4,000 to 31,000. Comparison between this time period for Benaras was not possible because we only know that the Muslim League had 4,000 members in 1940-41 but do not know the position in 1943-4. Muslim League Papers, Karachi as quoted in Mushirul Hasan, Legacy of a Divided Nation (Delhi, OUP, 1997), pp. 110-1 & p. 90.
manage communal tensions. He has noted two forms of civic engagement between members of different religious groups, viz. the everyday form and the associational form of involvement in local associations like trade unions, political parties, and associations of traders and small businessmen. One of the main findings of Varshney has been that the involvement of Hindus and Muslims in local associations was more effective in checking communal tensions than the everyday form of their engagement in cultural festivals, entertainment halls or community centres. Among the associational forms of engagement, he has found the mass-based trade unions and political parties to be 'sturdier civic agents of peace' as compared to elite organizations like Lions/ Rotary Clubs, Literary Societies and Philately Clubs.¹⁸

Everyday civic engagement between Hindus and Muslims in cultural festivals or community centres was only on a limited scale in Kanpur due to segregation of work and residential settlement patterns. Work was obtained in factories through relatives and ‘mistris’ (or semi-skilled workers) or ‘jamadars’ (or head of the group) of one’s village, caste, community, etc. This alone ensured that ties of family, caste and religion were reproduced in everyday civic engagement. It also explains the fact that the workforce in both the leather and

¹⁸ See, for example, Ashutosh Varshney, Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life Hindus and Muslims in India (New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 8-9, 49, 121 and passim. This study was conducted for a period of 46 years, viz. 1950 to 1995. It selected for comparison three pairs of cities, which had a population of 5 lakhs or more, and out of which one had a history of communal violence and the other had not. The pairs of these cities included Aligarh and Calicut where the number of Hindus and Muslims was similar, viz. around 35% in 1995; Hyderabad and Lucknow which had cultural similarities and were once ruled by Nawabs who happened to be Muslims; and Ahemdabad and Surat which were both located in Gujarat and they shared history, language and culture but not endemic communal violence.
textile industry of Kanpur was highly segregated in terms of caste and religion.\textsuperscript{19} Housing was also fairly segregated on caste and community lines. In most of the housing clusters caste/community associations were formed by residents as noted in chapter II above on the locale of the study. To add to this, labour organisers initially brought workers together through Havans (a fire sacrifice ritual popular among Arya Samajis) and Kathas (or religious discourse). Theoretical condemnation of religion did not prevent radical labour organizers from getting Hindu saints to address gate meetings in mills on their behalf. In 1922, one Swami Vijaianand reportedly addressed several Mazdur Sabha meetings before working class audiences on mill gates. The audience at these meetings ranged from 200 to 1,000 workers.\textsuperscript{20} Participation in Hindu religious processions by Mazdur Sabha, or its breakaway group called Azad Mazdur Sabha, continued till 1930s.\textsuperscript{21} Some scholars have condoned this phenomenon through a very sympathetic argument. These scholars assert the need for leaders and organisers to recognise the religio-cultural mores of people because to mobilize

\textsuperscript{19} Almost two-thirds of the workers in the leather industry in Kanpur were from the Chamar background whereas one-third were Muslims right up to the 1940s. Koris among Hindu lower castes and Julahas among Muslims had a preponderance among the workers in the textile industry except in the 1940s when the composition of the workforce diversified a lot with upper caste workers (like Brahmans and Rajputs) joining it in large numbers. See Chitra Joshi (2003), Lost Worlds Indian Labour and Its Forgotten Histories, (New Delhi, Permanent Black, 2003), pp. 78-84 and Chapter 7.

\textsuperscript{20} PAI, 25-11-1922, pa. 1323, p. 1634. The Mazdur Sabha in this year, and through out 1920s, was under Congress leadership but this Swami was apparently giving a communist touch to his meetings. Not only did Swami Vijaianand accuse the Government of favouring the rich but he also wanted mill owners to pay half their profit to workers. See PAI, 2-12-1922, pa. 1336, p. 1649.

\textsuperscript{21} In 1923, it was reported that Mazdur Sabha made the best arrangements during the Ramlila procession. Hence, whereas nearly all welcome arches fell down in the jostling of the crowds, the ones put up and managed by Mazdur Sabha in Sadar Bazar stood majestically. See Pratap, 5-11-1923, p. 16. This enthusiastic participation of Mazdur Sabha continued in religious celebrations in 1930s also. This is proved by the fact that ten years later Madan Gopal, Advocate, the Secretary of Azad Mazdur Sabha had called a meeting to recruit volunteers for Ramlila arrangements at Gandhi Park in Deputy ka Padao. See Vartman, 11-9-1933, p. 3.
masses not cultural neutrality but the use of cultural internality or cultural ambience is necessary.  

The residential settlement pattern of Kanpur was conducive for communal politics by not being very diversified to begin with, and by getting more segregated during the period of our study. The geographical proximity of co-religionists living in the same neighbourhoods encouraged an identity in which religion acquired a dominant place. This geographical proximity of co-religionists, however, could not produce communal politics or rioting by itself. But the segregation of Hindus and Muslims in the residential areas abetted communal politics in Kanpur. This segregation became more acute during the period of our study and we note a process of ghetto formation in the city between 1931 and 1951.  

This process of ghetto formation had three distinct trends.

---

22 It has been suggested by these scholars that culture has always followed politics and is like the tail which no elephant can dispose off at will. In order to mobilize masses cultural ambience or cultural internality, not cultural neutrality, is necessary. By this argument, the so-called 'Hindu tinge' of the Congress, and the 'Hindu aura' in the national movement it led, is not a weakness warranting apologetic explanations. Instead, these scholars consider this Hindu tinge and aura as a necessary manifestation of cultural internality, which assumed the existence of a population that broadly shared the cultural codes of a religio-cultural history. These scholars contend that not only nationalists, like Gandhi, but even communists bent their practice to the logic of cultural internality when they sent only Muslim cadre to organize Muslim masses etc. Shashi Joshi and Bhagwan Josh, Struggle for Hegemony in India 1920-47 Culture, Community and Power Volume III: 1941-47 (New Delhi, Sage Publications, 1994), p. 300 and passim.

23 The word 'ghetto' has sinister connotations because it symbolises segregated residence in isolated blocks by a group of people with a similar social or ethnic origin. The word originated from the Italian word 'geto' (or foundry) which was the place where a special block was established for Jews in Venice in 1516. L.W. Spitz, The Protestant Reformation 1517-1559 (New York, 1985), p. 356 as quoted in Eugenia Vanina, "Communal Relations in Pre-Modern India: Some Observations", in S. Settar and P.K.V. Kaimal (eds.), We Lived Together ICHR Monograph Series 3 (New Delhi, Pragati Publications, 2000), p. 176.
Firstly, some Mohallas with a slender Muslim presence were transformed into mohallas where only Hindus lived. In some Mohallas the Muslim population fell drastically, it was either halved or sometimes the drop was even more glaring. Consequently, instead of being distributed all over the city, a majority of Kanpur's Muslim population got clustered in areas where co-religionists lived. So, the number of Mohallas in Kanpur with more than 50% Muslims increased from fourteen in 1931 to twenty-two in 1951 and six of the eight mohallas with a preponderance of Muslims which increased in this period were in Anwarganj Ward. This converted Anwarganj into the 'Muslim ward' of Kanpur.

24 Between 1931 and 1951, the Mohallas which were transformed from ones with a slender Muslim presence into mohallas where only Hindus lived fell into three categories. Firstly, there were two Mohallas being Chak no. 104 of Sisamau and Chak no. 28 or Filkhana Bazar where the number of Muslims came down to almost a naught from over 23% in the case of the latter and from over 20% in the case of the former. Secondly, there were three mohallas, Chak no(s) 32 or Sabzi Mandi, Chak no. 35 or Bengali Mohalla and Chak no. 59 of Old Nachghar where the number of Muslims came to a naught from around 10%. Thirdly, there were many Mohallas being Chak no. 31 or Lathi Mahal, Chak no. 34 or Dafali Mahal Rakabganj (Hata Sawai Singh), Chak no. 36 or Khas Bazar and Chak no(s) 48 and 55 of Generalganj where the number of Muslims came to a naught from around 5%. The only Mohalla in contrast to this trend was Etawah Bazar on Chak no. 21 where there were no Muslims in 1931 but by 1951, almost 16% of this Mohalla consisted of Muslims. See Table Mohalla-wise Demographic Change in Kanpur, 1931-1951 in Appendix II.

25 Between 1931 and 1951, some of the Mohallas where the Muslim population almost halved or fell even more drastically were Chak no. 1 of Nawabganj (from 21 to 12%), Chak no. 7 being Gotaia in Civil Lines (from 13 to 6%), Chak no. 15 of Civil Lines (from 21 to 12%), Chak no. 22 or Filkhana (from 13 to 6%), Chak no. 27 or Roti Godam (from 33 to 14%), Chak no. 52 or Collectorganj Kotwali (from 36 to 6%), Chak no. 65 being Moti Mahal (from 30 to 13%), Chak no. 72 of Shutarkhana in Filkhana (from 28 to 15%), Chak no. 96 of Colonelganj (from 30 to 8%), and Chak no. 106 of Sisamau (from 34 to 6%). See Table Mohalla-wise Demographic Change in Kanpur, 1931-1951 in Appendix II.

26 Out of the fourteen Mohallas in 1931 which had more than 50% Muslims in 1931, two were in Patkapore Ward and these were Chak no. 17 of Kursawan (increased from 51% in 1931 to 58% in 1951) and Chak no. 20 of Patkapore (decreased from 76% in 1931 to 63% in 1951); three were in Mulganj Ward and these were Chak no. 39 of Maida Bazar (increased from 64% in 1931 to 69% in 1951), Chak no. 42 of Misri Bazar (remained at 67% between 1931 and 1951) and Chak no. 44 of Butcherkhana Khurd (increased from 86% in 1931 to 91% in 1951); in Collectorganj Ward there was just Chak no. 79 of Bans Mandi (increased from 55% in 1931 to 61% in 1951); in Anwarganj Ward there were 7 Mohallas in this category, viz. Chak no. 91 Dalel Purwa (increased from 58% in 1931 to 92% in 1951), Chak no. 92 of Hiramn Purwa (increased from 60% in 1931 to 99% in 1951), Chak no. 93 Anwarganj (decreased from 81% in 1931 to 76% in 1951), Chak no. 94 Bhusa Toli (94% in 1931 but NCR missing for 1951), Chak no. 95 in Talaq Mahal (increased from 64% in 1931 to 66% in 1951), Chak no. 98 of Baconganj (increased from 52% in 1931 to
Kanpur. This was the most common trend and it could be explained as the fallout of the anxiety about their existence and welfare felt by people who perceived themselves as a minority. However, this transformation also reflected the huge impact Muslim communalists had in instilling fear and arousing a feeling of alienation among their co-religionists.

Secondly, there was also a process whereby Mohallas with a considerable Hindu presence were transformed into Mohallas where only Muslims lived. 27

Thirdly, there were Mohallas where the population of Hindus and Muslims was evenly poised but between 1931 and 1951 their population structure changed and from mixed mohallas they became ones where the population of either one or the other religious group became preponderant. 28

Communalism was also manifested, during the colonial period, in the form of communal tension and communal violence. Communal violence was, 83% in 1951) and Chak no. 101 of Colonelganj (increased from 65% in 1931 to 98% in 1951). As compared to 1931, eight Mohallas with a population of more than 50% Muslims were added in 1951 to the aforementioned fourteen in Kanpur. Out of these two were in Mulganj ward, viz. Chak no. 40 of Naya Chowk (where Muslim population increased from 44% in 1931 to 51% in 1951) and Chak no. 41 of Chaube Gola (where Muslim population increased from 42% in 1931 to 58% in 1951); and six were in Anwarganj Ward, viz. Chak no. 88 of Sisamau (where Muslim population increased from 49% in 1931 to 81% in 1951), Chak no. 89 of Jugraj Purwa (where Muslim population increased from 36% in 1931 to 57% in 1951), Chak no. 90 of Anwarganj (where Muslim population doubled from 45% in 1931 to 90% in 1951), Chak no. 99 of Sisamau (where Muslim population almost doubled from 47% in 1931 to 87% in 1951), Chak no. 100 of Colonelganj (where Muslim population increased from 41% in 1931 to 56% in 1951) and Chak no. 102 also of Colonelganj (where Muslim population almost doubled from 43% in 1931 to 80% in 1951). See Table Mohalla-wise Demographic Change in Kanpur, 1931-1951 in Appendix II.

27 Between 1931 and 1951, Hindu presence reduced drastically in Hiraman Purwa being Chak no. 92 (from 40 to 1%) and in Chak no. 101 of Colonelganj (from 35 to 2%). See Table Mohalla-wise Demographic Change in Kanpur, 1931-1951 in Appendix II.

28 Muslim population rose sharply in Chak no. 88 (from 49 to 81%), in Chak no. 89 (from 36 to 57%), in Chak no. 90 (from 49 to 78%), Chak no. 91 (from 58 to 82%), Chak no. 97 (from 45 to 91%), Chak no. 98 (from 51 to 83%), Chak no. 99 (from 47 to 87%) and in Chak no. 102 (from 43 to 80%). See Table Mohalla-wise Demographic Change in Kanpur, 1931-1951 in Appendix II.
however, an explosive conjuncture and not an everyday phenomenon. With nine major incidents during the period of this study, Kanpur had its share of communal violence in which the riots of 1931 stand out as the most gruesome. Almost half of the major communal riots in Kanpur took place in the 1940s only and these riots had a predominantly political character. They usually erupted due to mobilization by communal organisations around burning political issues. The first riots of the 1940s in Kanpur broke out on March 23, 1940, i.e. on the day the demand for Pakistan was made at Lahore; another broke out a day after 'Anti-Pakistan Day' was observed by Hindu communalists on April 27, 1941; yet another on 'Noahkhali Day' on October 30, 1946; and the last one on 'Punjab Day' on March 30, 1947. So, in a way, communal politics held the key to communal violence in Kanpur. Hence, in this study, more than communal rioting, we have concentrated on the organizations, ideologues and issues relevant to the rise and growth of communal politics in Kanpur.

Certain events in Kanpur, during the period of our study, did provide some opportunities for associational civic engagement between members of different religions in mass-based trade unions and political parties. We may specifically mention the strike of Textile workers in 1938 wherein we note how workers cutting across religious lines fought shoulder to shoulder and the Muslim textile workers radicalised the local Muslim League so much that it became a virtual appendage of the communist-led Kanpur Mazdur Sabha for some time. Similarly, we noted (above in chapter V) how several lower class and ajla (or non-elite)
Muslims continued to support the Congress-led nationalist movement until the early 1940s. These examples of civic engagement between Hindus and Muslims could not be sustained, as they were either a conjuncture as the strike in 1938 was or they were tenuous bonds between ideological strangers such as the support of non-League Muslim organisations to Congress. Hence, the few and feeble examples of Hindu-Muslim associational civic engagement in Kanpur remained a flash in the pan. In fact, we have seen that Hindu-Muslim relations worsened during the period of this study – they moved from cooperation in work and politics to physical segregation in ghettos. Communal politics played a major role in this change for the worse.