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I was assisted in locating material and copying it by the staff and officials of the Record Room(s) at National Archives of India, New Delhi, U.P. State Archives, Lucknow and U.P. C.I.D. Office, Lucknow; Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Jama Millia Islamia University, University of Delhi and Maharshi Dayanand University. It was my regret that despite two trips to Kanpur and the support of such scholar-activists as Prof. A.P. Shukla there, I was unable to locate archival or other material of much importance relevant to this thesis. In my third trip, recently, thanks to the
we know, has remained topical. In the present times also, scholars have a tendency to concentrate, to the exclusion of organisations and ideologues, only on the issues used by communalists for the mobilization of both public opinion and organizational activists.\textsuperscript{16}

The city of Kanpur has been the subject of research by fairly able historians before. Prior to Independence, colonial administrators published Settlement Reports and a Gazettéer on Kanpur, like they did on other districts.\textsuperscript{17} After Independence, nationalist leaders of Kanpur, under the aegis of Kanpur Itihaas Samiti, chronicled the local political history of Kanpur.\textsuperscript{18} The politics of Kanpur, with special mention of the national movement in the 1920s, was the subject of Renuka Khosla’s work.\textsuperscript{19} Zoe Yalland studied British entrepreneurs but

\textsuperscript{16} Ram Puniyani, Communal Politics Facts versus Myths (New Delhi/ Thousand Oaks/ London, Sage Publications, 2003). A Professor of Bio-medical Engineering at IIT, Mumbai, Puniyani has done a brilliant analysis of fourteen historical and contemporary contentious issues (i.e. “Was Ancient India a Golden period?”, “Was Medieval India a Dark Era or were the Foundations of Syncretism laid then?”, “Gandhi and Godse: Nationalism, Hindutva and the Freedom Struggle”, “Who was responsible for India’s Partition?”, “The Kashmir Imbroglio: How Green is the Valley?”, “The Babri Masjid – Ram Janambhoomi Dispute: Abode of Ram or House of Allah?”, “Minorities in ‘Secular’ India: Appeasement or Maltreatment?”, “Crime and (No) Punishment: Communal Violence, Inquiry Commissions and Deliverance of Justice”, “Spreading the Word: Conversions and Anti-Christian Violence”, “Ram Rajya: Religious Nationalism and Secular Democracy”, “Hindutva: Fanatical Faith or Political Tool”, “Unmaking the State: Rewriting the Constitution”, “God Willing: Genesis of Terrorism, Motives of War and Islam” and “The Gujarat Experiment: Programmed for Pogrom”) used by the Hindu right-wing groups in present-day communal politics. This commendable work remains a partial study of communal politics for two reasons. Firstly, it excludes Muslim communalism and communalists from its purview and this is a major shortcoming because what cannot be forgotten is that one kind of communalism feeds and fattens on another type. Secondly, Puniyani’s book speaks of issues used by Hindu communalists but does not systematically deal with the ideologues or organizations which ‘invented’/propagated them.

\textsuperscript{17} See, for example, H.R.Nevill, District Gazeteer of U.P., Vol. XIX, Cawnpore (Allahabad, 1909)

\textsuperscript{18} Lakshmikant Tripathi and Narayanprasad Arora, Kanpur ka Itihaas (Kanpur, Kanpur Itihaas Samiti, 1950) According to this Committee, Lala Dargahali Lal wrote the first history of Kanpur. His book “Tarikh-e-Zila Kanpur” was published in 1875, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{19} Renuka Khosla, Urban Politics (New Delhi, S. Chand & Co., 1992).
this study could not be completed due to her untimely death. Chitra Joshi has recently published a social history of Kanpur, with a special focus on its popular culture and labour mobilization. We used these to enrich our narrative but our focus has been different from them.

In this thesis, we have made a small attempt to look at communal politics more holistically. We have tried to explore the role of various ideologues, describe the diverse organizations and recount the different issues raised by them in fanning communal politics in a single narrative. We have tried to use the insights provided by social history in this narrative about Kanpur between 1919 and 1947, within the constraints of our own limited capabilities and the paucity of historical evidence consulted for this thesis.


21 Chitra Joshi, Lost Worlds Indian Labour and its Forgotten Histories (Delhi, Permanent Black, 2003). Chitra Joshi had earlier researched on the same theme for her Doctorate. See Chitra Joshi, "Kanpur Textile Labour: Some Structural Characteristics of the Labour Force and Aspects of the Labour Movement (1919-1939)," Ph. D. Thesis (Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 1981). The author has consulted this thesis as well and found that it is different from the book in some respects.
hospitality of Dr. Amman Madan of the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, I.I.T., Kanpur, I was more successful than before in consulting some published records and interviewing some eminent people.

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alias Bablu) or through with my Ph.D. Yet, out of everlasting affection and eternal gratefulness, this work is dedicated to the fond memory of my mother.

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Every effort was made to weed out faulty expressions, facile arguments and unconvincing evidence from this work but even then, I apprehend, a lot of them may still have stubbornly persisted to pockmark this thesis. I alone am responsible for them and hope to correct them promptly after some well-wisher points them out to me. Research, after all, is an ongoing learning experience.

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Bhupender Yadav