

Gandhi in the Subaltern Discourse



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Abstract

The tremendous breath of Gandhian movements cannot be explained purely by what Gandhi as a personality thought, stood for, or actually did. This could only be understood by the analysis of the relationship between Gandhi and the popular section especially the peasants and the workers and how the attributes of his personality was registered in their consciousness. This paper is not concerned with analyzing the attributes of his *charishma* but how this was registered in the popular perception. The paper would also explore how the ideas and beliefs about mahatma percolated among the masses in the region of *Champaran, Gorakhpur, Assam and Bengal* during his visit and how it psychologically impacted on the subaltern section. The paper would also try to capture the astonishing currency which Gandhi's name had acquired even in the remotest villages.

Keywords: Role of Rumour, Standard Interpretation, Popular Perception.

Introduction

By understanding the role of rumour in the pattern of popular beliefs, predominantly in the illiterate society, going through a period of acute strain and tensions could also give insight into the perception of Gandhi.

Objectives of the Study

1. To evaluate the role of rumour in shaping the political action
2. To study the subaltern consciousness and how it shapes their political culture.
3. To analyze how the attributes of Gandhi's personality was registered in the subaltern consciousness.

Review of Literature

To substantiate the arguments of the paper, a brief survey of literature here reflects the works of historians on the Gandhi's popular perception, his relations with the peasantry and how his concept of nationalism provided space and opportunity for the mobilization of the masses for the nation's cause.

Girish Mishra, *Agrarian Problemns of Permanent Settlement – A Case Study of Champaran*, PPH, 1978, gives detail understanding of the economic aspects of agricultural situation, agrarian structure, socio-economic problems due to the permanent settlement and the condition of peasants especially in *champaran* where European indigo planters intensely oppressed them for their own economic benefit.

Papaya Ghosh, *Peasants, Planters and Gandhi : Champaran in 1917 in Peasant Struggles in Bihar, 1831-1992, (ed.), by K.K. Sharma* attempts to reconstruct the lesser known dimension of the *Champaran Satyagraha* which was the initiation of Gandhian rural contact. Gandhi was deified, imagined in the peasant consciousness as supernatural but even after intensely reiterating caution and non- violence, the *champaran* movement against the atrocities of the European indigo planters did not remain within the Gandhian framework. The article has also captured the role of rumour in shaping the political action of the peasants and gives insight to understand how the peasants consciousness was shaped by their magico religious ideology.

Ranjit Guha's article *On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India* in Ranjit Guha and Partha Chatterjee (ed.), *The Small Voice of History*, Permanent Black, 2010, acknowledged the politics of the people and interpreted the contributions made by the people on their own independently of the elite leadership. He has given the detail features of the domain of subaltern politics which is rooted in their ideology, community's primordial values and their religiosity.

K. Shivaramakrishnan, article *Situating the Subaltern History and Anthropology in the Subaltern Studies Project* in Devid Ludden ed., *Reading Subaltern Studies*, Permanent Black, 2005, constructed an oppositional discourses of the subaltern where modes of thought drawing

on religion, myth and magic tries to link peasants politics to Gandhian nationalism. This was rooted in their primordial values, beliefs and material culture.

Shahid Amin famous work *Gandhi as Mahatma: Gorakhpur District, Eastern UP, 1921-2* in *Subaltern Studies* vol.111, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1994, is intensely concerned with the understanding of the idea as to how the attributes of Gandhi's personality was registered in the peasants consciousness. He has also made a careful analysis of the reception of Gandhi's message by the peasant masses of Gorakhpur during non cooperation days and transformation and assimilation of it in the light of their own beliefs, experiences and practices.

Bhojnandan P. Singh, *Ideological Foundations of the Gandhian Movement Reflections on the Champaran Satyagraha*, Presidential Address, Modern Section of the Indian History Congress, 2017, analyzed how Gandhi's idea of nationalism touched the inner chord of the masses which strongly mobilized the peasants capacity to resist but could not able to open radical revolution in the countryside. The similar theme was discussed by Irfan Habib in his article *Celebrating Champaran*, 1917, at National Seminar in Bihar University Muzafferpur, 2017.

G. Lefebvre, *The Great Fear of 1789, London, 1973*; is the classic study of the role of rumour in peasant upheavals in France. He has talked about how the circulating rumours during the French revolution led to the mobilization of peasants against the feudal order.

Main Text of the Paper

Varied section of Indian people seemed to have fashioned their own image of Gandhi particularly when heard of the tale of a holy man with miraculous working powers.¹ Hence the paper, by focusing on the narratives that marked his presence in the districts has tried to throw light on the way it influenced the direct political action of the subaltern which was often not in tune with the standard interpretation of the Congress creed.²

This could be evidenced through number of instances when peasants could imagine that Gandhi could end *zamindari* exploitation, agricultural labourers of U.P believed that he would provide holdings for them and Assam tea coolies left the plantation work en mass in may 1921 saying that they were obeying the mahatma.³

Partha Chatterjee in his essay "*Gandhi and the Critique of Civil Society*" had analyzed the theoretical conditions which provided the basis for Gandhi's popularity among the subaltern classes particularly the peasantry. He has also examined how the Gandhi's system of thought was related to them. His political philosophy and its implications provided opportunity for the popular classes within the evolving form of new Indian state.

His emphasis on communitarian ideas, particularly peasant communal morality essentially derived from the indigenous social context formed and shaped by the experiences of the national Movement, was the source of his strength. His formulations of political programmes touched the responsive chord in popular mind that made possible to broaden the range

and sweep of Indian nationalism especially its mass peasant followings.⁴

Champaran in Bihar had a long history of anti-planter discontent against the European planters. They forced them to produce indigo under the oppressive *Tinkathia* system in which *raiyyats* were bound to cultivate indigo for their European landlords on the 3/20 of their holdings. Raj kumar shukla, a indigo cultivator of *champaran* apprised Gandhi about the grievances of the indigo peasants. Gandhi at once understood that the problem required a personal probe. His visit to *champaran* which turned in to the *champaran satyagraha* has been written of variously, as Gandhi's hagiography, as the first and important power base he built for himself.⁵

Gandhi's intervention publicized the grievances of the *Champaran* indigo cultivators at an all India scale. At the first sight, it was confined to instituting an open inquiry in July 1917 in to the grievances against the atrocities committed by the planters. Gandhi was made one of the members of the enquiry committee. However, the enquiry and publicity led to the abolition of oppressive *tinkathia* system yet the psychological impact it inscribed on the minds of the popular masses far surpassed the concrete activities.⁶

Jacques Pouchepadass, Papiya Gosh and Bhojnandan P. Singh's study on Gandhi in *Champaran* can be interpreted as an elaboration of the theme of the presence of Gandhi in this district in 1917 and the electrifying effects of his presence on the masses which jolted them out of their political passivity.⁷

The huge crowd of peasants welcomed him at railway station and elsewhere when he tried to inquire in to the ill treatment of the cultivators by the indigo planters. For this he was served with notice by the DM of *Champaran* to leave the district and further he had to face trial for non-compliance of the order. In the courtroom of *Motihari*, a crowd of 2000 peasants hustled into it to have a look at the man who accepted going to jail in order to relieve their distress.⁸

His polite but bold statement in the court worked wonders. The affair was freely discussed locally as well as in the press. Peasants took Gandhi to be super-human, being messiah and liberator. They began to follow him. The fear of high and mighty planters began to melt from their minds. Those present at the court returned to their villages with tales of Gandhi's fearlessness and his overriding power against the authorities. This had a very positive impact on the peasants. They took it as their victory under his leadership and lost all fear of punishment.

This resulted in intense excitement and led to the influx of peasants from large number of villages to the districts of *Bettiah and Motihari* to give evidence against the planters' oppression before the *Champaran* enquiry committee even in the presence of police. His presence generated extreme faith and led to the crucial break in the normal ties of deference in *Champaran* countryside. *Raiyyats* compared Gandhi to *Ramchandra* and declared before the enquiry committee that tenants would not fear the *rakhasa* – planters now that Gandhi was there.⁹

Further, peasants' faith in Gandhi's power was indexed by fantastic rumours. The name of god was used for Gandhi by the peasants seeking for his *darshan*, gives evidence for deification of mahatma in the district. Soon after his arrival in *Champaran*, Gandhi was visualized as the *naia malik*. Raj kumar Shukul, the man who invited Gandhi to *Champaran*, called Gandhi as *iswar ka avtar*, sent to free *Bharat Mata* from the whites. It was widely believed that he must have been a *bhagwan* to have challenged the administration and planters and got the support of local big advocates who till then listened to peasants' grievances only in return for high fees.¹⁰ That Gandhi had been sent in to *Chamaran* by the Viceroy or even the king, to redress all the grievances of the *raiya*s and will abolish all unpopular obligation which the planters imposed on the *raiya*s. Hence there was no need to obey the word of any planter any more. And that the planters would be cleared out of the district within a few months.¹¹

With the deification of Gandhi in popular perception, the stage seemed to set for the logical next step, the dismantling of oppressive planters' strong hold. On the contrary, Gandhi was careful to issue detailed instructions to his workers and reportedly told the peasants that the relief was to come not from him but from planters and the government. It was being impressed upon them that in no case were they to use violence. They were simply to refuse to plant indigo. And if consequently imprisoned, they were advised to suffer imprisonment.¹²

Notwithstanding Gandhi's moderating approach; it was widely believed by the popular section that he had undertaken to break every factory of indigo planters. Rumors were current that Gandhi had been sent by the viceroy or the king to overrule all local officials and planters and even that the British would leave *Champaran* in a few months. There were also some signs of militancy – leading to few attacks on indigo factories.

However, the *satyagraha* did not remain confine within the parameters so strenuously advocated by Gandhi. He warned them that they would not get any assistance from him if they adopted violent means. Despite Gandhi's repeated instructions, uprooting of indigo and payment of rent was refused almost all over the district. This was attributed to as misunderstanding of Gandhi's instructions.¹³

However, not all of these rumours were the product of popular imagination. J. Pouchapadass is of the opinion that many of these rumours were very consciously spread by the local leaders who took advantage of Gandhi's charismatic appeal to give additional impetus to the agitation against the planters. He also says that when Gandhi is present only his words count but once he is gone, the local leaders become authorized interpreters of his will. From 1918 onwards after Gandhi had left, the planters influence had begun to fade away and the hold of the rural oligarchy grew more powerful than ever.¹⁴

More significantly, there were reports of the unusual number of rioting cases directed not just

against planters but against big cultivators on the question of labor that was subject to double wage demand. It was rumored that against the usual rate of 10 pieces a day, the laborers tend to believe that Gandhi was said to have fixed the labour rate of four *annas* a day. That Gandhi was supposed to have sanctioned the driving of carts of on the reserved parts of the road and has also ordered free grazing. That now the day was near when the planters would be sent to jail. These fresh wide spread rumours indexed reflection of imagined and expected solutions of all that irked in the peasant- planters' equation.¹⁵

Further, if we go by the official and planters' discourse, the shape of the *Champaran satyagraha* is to be put down to misinterpretation of Gandhi's opinion by ignorant peasants or to their instigation and intimidation by the self- interested local leaders who were keen to keep the heat on the planters they were ranged against them.¹⁶

Surely, Gandhi's strenuous efforts at controlling the *satyagraha* is proof enough that there was more to the *satyagraha* than instigation and intimidation. These phenomena have been explained by the subaltern historians as autonomous domain of the subaltern politics, which is independent of the elite.¹⁷

However, there is crucial limitation of this insight of Subaltern scholars of romanticizing the autonomous domain of subaltern politics by reacting against elite historiography. It would be difficult to explain number of other such instances where Peasants still needed to be represented by a savior from above, like their attribution of (in Pratapgarh) own achievements (under local leadership of Baba Ram chandra)of restriction of *bedekhli* by the *zamindars* to Gandhi. (Peasants vague rumour about Gandhi anti- zamindar image,) when Gandhi and the Congress had nothing to do with it directly.¹⁸

Further, the persistence of faith with the cult of Gandhi and the significance of rumour has also been expounded by the subaltern historians by focusing on fundamentally religious ideology or essentially magico – religious character of the peasant society which shapes, articulate and define millenarian discourse of the popular mentality.¹⁹

For one thing, in the context of the long standing grievances against planters, Gandhi's presence as we have seen, generated visions of hope and courage, could be evidenced through the unsanctioned manifestation of anti- planter protest during that year. However, Gandhi had not championed any radical changes in 1917, and *Champaran* had become his success story of compromise.

Unlike *champaran and kheda*, he did not stay in *Gorekhpur* during the non- cooperation days to lead or influence a political movement of the peasants. But mahatma as an idea was thought out and reworked in popular imagination during those subsequent months. This deification – unofficial canonization assumed dangerous unintended proportion before and during his visit in April- May 1921. Rumours about the Mahatma's power and glory were reported in the local press.²⁰

In the number of contemporary nationalist writings, especially in Mahadev desai, 'Day to-day with Gandhi', (secretary's Diary) recorded about the boundless love, devotion and popular regard which got out of hand in Gorakhpur. At the early hours the sight of peasants seeking *darshan* out of reverence for Gandhi while he was on train with cries of jai was unnerving. Even women, who never stepped out of their home, did not fail to represent themselves so that they could see and hear him.²¹

The condensed version of the same idea was presented by D.G Tendulker in Mahatma ; The life of Mohan Das karamchand Gandhi.²²

Shahid Amin through the inter-textual analysis of English and Hindi language newspapers, like weekly *Swadesh* and monthly *kavi* had attempted to examine the circulation of rumour in the villages about Gandhi's extraordinary powers as something supernatural and providential.

He has explored the strange relationship between Gandhi and the peasant and how his message was transformed, assimilated in the light of their own beliefs, experiences and practices. What they perceived was not necessarily the same what Gandhi actually said in his speech while addressing the massive gathering of 15 lakh who came all the way from villages for his *darshan*.²³ The main thrust of his message was need for Hindu- Muslim unity, self purification, anti drinking and gambling, observance and condemned recent violence and rioting by the peasants in south Awadh. He exhorted, 'we cannot get *swaraj* like this, it is a peaceful struggle'.²⁴

In the popular perception, the *swaraj* became polysemic word. Peasants with a beat of drum announced as *swaraj ka danka* and associated it with Gandhi's supernatural power. The rumour circulated that the British had taken a bet with Gandhi and they would grant *swaraj* if Gandhi would pass through fire. The rumour spread that he had come out of fire unhurt. They tend to believe that the *swaraj* had been established and that now they will not have to pay the excess rent. These rumours were the sign of impending clash between peasants and the landlords. This has been explained as peasants' own level of consciousness and their utopian hope of world free of rent, which helped to give birth to the vision of discourse of millenarian world which was directly political in intent and not in tune with the Congress creed, not sanctioned by Mahatma.²⁵

Further, the theme of personal ailment, suffering and pollution occurred in several stories seen as supernatural punishment meted out to those who opposed Gandhi in words and deeds, or refused to accept *panchayat* decision. These rumours generated social impact about ill effects of breaking dietary habits and other taboos and were indicative of local elaboration of what was believed to be Gandhian ethics.²⁶ Amin says this was the charged moment of enthusiasm and expectation from any one like Gandhi.

Besides these explanations, in some of the other existing literatures, the peasants of eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar are often portrayed as more superstitious than those of Western U.P and Punjab.

The Editor of Pioneer, while analyzing these phenomena, attributed it to the very simplicity of the people of the region which afforded a fertile soil in which beliefs in the powers of mahatma might have grown.²⁷

P.C. Joshi, while documenting his field experiences of the agrarian society of united provinces opined that the very fertility of the soil has minimized the role of human effort, as a result of which religion and magic permeated every sphere and occasion of life. Rice growing areas dependent more on monsoon are more superstitious than canal fed wheat growing tracts.²⁸

Further, in addition to this, the political history of Gorakhpur in the late 19th and early 20th century would also throw some light on the specific response of the popular classes of the area to Gandhi's visit in Feb. 1921.²⁹

In 1890s, the spread of *Gaurakshini sabha*, strict caste rules and rituals adhered through powerful *panchayats* were some of the landmarks. Further, the relative backwardness of the entire region was due to the absence of effective leadership, as the region neither witnessed the *Rowlatt Act* agitation as was seen in Punjab, nor developed independent *kisan sabha* of the Awadh type, despite existing agrarian tensions. Hence, the masses looked up to Gandhi with expectations and hope.³⁰

This popular expectation led to the increase in the number of rumours which assigned various imaginary dates to Gandhi's visit. By the first week of January, the news of his arrival had spread like wild fire. The visit of Gandhi was well organized and phenomenal number of illiterate peasants of Fayzabad and Gorakhpur villages had come all over the way on this occasion. Gandhi's *darshan* motif in nationalist discourse reveals a specific attitude of the subaltern. The only role assigned to them was to behold the mahatma in person and become his devotee.

Similarly, D.G. Tendulker in his work '*Mahatma; life of Mohan Das Karamchand Gandhi*', writes about remarkable scenes witnessed during the Mahatma's tour in 1921 when simple faith moved India's millions who greeted him everywhere with the cry, *mahatma Gandhi ki jai*.³¹

Stories about Gandhi's occult power which appeared in the local press suggest the two obvious processes at work. First the rumours are indicative of a considerable discussion about Gandhi in the villages of Gorakhpur in 1921. Secondly, what people thought of mahatma were projections of the existing pattern of popular beliefs about the worship of the worthies in rural north India. *William Crook* in his study of the popular religion and folklore of north India, has observed that the deification of such saintly personalities was based on the purity of life they have led and on approved thaumatergic power.

However, the report of rumours in the local press also suggests that these were actively spread by the interested parties. Their generalized circulation in the villages suggests how the printed texts often reverted to oral version in the very process of communication. It was made intelligible to the illiterate

population of the countryside by reading aloud. Lefevre in his study of 'Rural panic in Revolutionary France', observes how journalists imbued rumours with a new strength by putting them in to print.³²

Mahadev Desai recounted peasants' *hathgraha* for mahatma's *darshan* even at the dark hour at each and every station on the return journey reflected militant touch and at last even exhausted Gandhi's tolerance. He was answered only by sky rending shouts of victory to him. That was the height of people's love –mad insolence. This was the way peasant reacted to Gandhi.

However, evidence from north Bihar and eastern up suggests that no authorized version of the mahatma's message could have been handed down to the peasants either by local leaders or the members of the District Congress Committee.

This was evidenced after his return from Gorakhpur, where in the spate of *haat* looting by peasants in Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur Raibereli and Fyzabad in early 1921 in the name of Gandhi and the substitution of *jaikara* of Gandhi by the orthodox war cry of *jai mahavir* for direct action. This showed a distinct militant tone, thus went directly against Gandhi's message of nationalism and also was clear proof of distinctly independent interpretation of his message.³³

Subaltern studies historians have tried to trace these materials to locate the association of Gandhi with the supernatural bases of power in primordial believes and values rooted in the subaltern community. Thus developed a discourse that linked the peasant politics to Gandhian nationalism not in terms of Congress platform but through peasant perception of a cosmology of redemptive change.

Further, Shahid Amin indicated how ideas about Gandhi's glory and power derived from popular Hindu believes and practices from the material culture of the peasantry. Thus commenting on the rise of cow protection societies and the greater interest in case of Hindu ritual observance.³⁴

Similarly, in support of this argument Sumit Sarkar has harnessed the subaltern militancy during the non- cooperation days in Bengal, manifested in hat looting, jail breaks and such violent forms not sanctioned by Gandhi.

He has traced the readings of Gandhian political culture in Bengal where rumours about Gandhi fell into three categories from Hindu cosmology. Gandhi as *avatar* who breaks with impunity the laws of nature. The myth of Gandhi magically breaking the jail, parallels the legend of lord Krishna.

Others promoting the belief that emulating his practice, like donning the Gandhi cap, would provide immunity from bullets and turn bombs in to water and engendering the millenarian faith in miraculous total transformation or reversal of the social condition.³⁵

Conclusion

Thus the magico-religious character of peasant society provides ontology, an epistemology as well as practical code of ethics, including political ethics of their action which had defined and

articulated their millenarian inversionary discourse. The polysemic nature of myths and rumours about Gandhi sparked many sided popular response to the political culture Gandhi was articulating.

End Notes

1. Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India*, pearson, reprint 2018, p 157;
2. Ranjit Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India*, Delhi, 1983, chapter 6 has characterized rumour as oral and unauthored speech.
3. Sumit sarkar, *Modern India*, pearson, reprint 2018, p 157; viceroy Reading to the secretary of state, 13 October 1921, *Reading Collections*.
4. Partha Chatterjee, *Gandhi and the Critique of Civil Society*, in Ranjit Guha ed., *Subaltern Studies vol-111: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, oxford university press, Delhi 1984,. Also see in David Ludden ed., *Reading Subaltern Studies*, permanent Black,2005, Pp117-19.
5. Girish Mishra, *Agrarian Problems of Permanent Settlement – A Case Study of Champaran*, new Delhi, 1978 P49; B.B.Mishra, ed., *Select Documents on Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, 1917-18*, Patna 1973, pp 60-72, document 90,
6. Papiya Ghosh, *Peasants Planters and Gandhi : Champaran in 1917*, in K.K.Shama(ed.), *Peasant Struggles in Bihar, 1831-1992*, centre of peasant Studies, patna 1994, pp100-2.
7. D.G.Tendulker, *Gandhi in Champaran*, Calcutta, 1957, p 48., papaya ghosh, op.cit, p103; Bhojnamdan.P.Singh, *ideological Foundations of the Gandhian Movement,Reflections on the Champaran Satyagraha*, Presidential Address, *Indian History Congress*, 2017..
8. Papiya Ghosh, op. cit.,p 103
9. *Ibid*,102-3
10. *ibid*
11. *ibid*
12. *Ibid*.
13. Jacques Pouchpadass, *Local Leaders and the Intelligential in Champaran Satyagraha : A Study of Peasants Mobilization*, *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, New Series, no 8, nov. 1974, Pp 83-4.
14. Jacquous Pouchpadass,op.cit Pp84-5
15. Papiya Ghosh, op. cit., P 104 ; B.B.Mishra, op.cit. doc. 49
16. Papiya Ghosh, op.cit P
17. David Ludden, *Reading Subaltern Dudies*, op.cit. Pp
18. Ranjit guha, *On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India in Ranjit Guha and Partha Chaterjee ed., The Small Voice of History*, permanent Black, 2010 Pp187-8
19. K. Shivaramakrishnan, *Situating the Subaltern: History and Anthropology in Subaltern Studies Project*, in David Ludden ed., *Reading Subaltern Studies*, op.cit.Pp231-3
20. Shahid Amin, *Gandhi as Mahatma:Gorakhpur District, Eastern UP,1921-2*, in Ranjit Guha ed., *Subaltern Studies vol111:Writings on South Asian History Delhi*, Oxford University Press Pp290-4

21. Mahadev Desai, *Day to Day with Gandhi (Secretary's Diary)* 111, Varanasi, 1965, Pp143; D.G.Tendulkar, *Mahatma :Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*, 11, Bombay, 1952, p78. Seeking darshan was obviously a fairly visible sign of popular reverence and it occupies a prominent place in descriptions of Gandhi's tour in the tour diary of his secretary Mahadev Desai writing a passage titled " Boundless love by the peasant".
22. D.G.Tendulkar, *op. cit.*, P p78-9.
23. Shahid Amin, *Gandhi as Mahatma*, *op.cit* Pp294
24. *Ibid.*
25. David Ludden ed., *Reading Subaltern Studies*, *op.cit.*Pp 111-2.
26. Shahid Amin *op.cit.*, P307
27. Shahid Amin, *op.cit.*p294
28. P.C.Joshi, *Field Work Experiences Relived and Reconsidered, The Agrarian Society of Utter Pradesh, Journal of Peasant Studies*, 8:4 (4july), 198., p 470.
29. Gyan Pandey, *Rallying Round the Coww:Sectarian Strife In the Bhojpur Region 1888-1917 in Ranjit Guha(ed.),Subaltern Studies*, vol11, Delhi, oxford 1983.
30. Gyan Pandey in his essay, "Ralling Round the Cow" described how in early 1920s the Gandhi panchayats in Gorakhpur villages organized by local volunteers, meted out severe punishment for non compliance of the decisions of panchayats. like - those were not contributing in the protection of gau mata. Gyan pandey 20 f
31. D.G.Tendulkar, *op.cit.*, p 78; Prostitutes of Barisal, the Marwari merchants of Calcutta, Oriya coolies. Railway strikers, santhals were eager to present khadi chaddere. All claimed his attention.
32. W. Crook, *The Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, London, 1886, Pp183-96; George Lefebvre, *The Great Fear of 1979 : Rural Panic in Revolutionary France*. London, 1973, p74. Quoted in Shahid Amin *op.cit.* p336.
33. Shahid Amin *op.cit.* p341
34. The bhadiks criminal tribe while looting the bazaar in Gorakhpur used Mahama Gandhi ki jai. Thus a jaikar of adoration and adulation had become the cry for direct action.
35. David Ludden (ed.), *Reading Subaltern Studies op.cit.*, Pp 235 ; in *Bhagavatam –Krishna is born in prison, using his supernatural powers as Vishnu avatar to escape with his parents. This mythic traditions can be traced in a sense within the dominant anthropological discourse about tribal mythology as something that originated separately and yet at times paralleled neighboring Hindu cosmology.*