Advance Praise

To think about the geographies of the Round Table Conference is to appreciate that what occurred 'behind the scenes' was absolutely consequential to 20th century global imperial history. Legg shows how critical a variety of infrastructures – from palaces, flats and tearooms to gavels, coat racks and washstands – were to both official and subaltern diplomacy during this watershed interwar event. If London was the great unacknowledged delegate to the conference, its most public and most intimate spaces are key to understanding the role of cultural relations in the history of India's pathway to full political sovereignty. Thanks to Legg's amazing footwork, we have a whole new understanding of all the rooms where it happened.

Antoinette Burton, University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign

Legg radically reimagines the Round Table Conference (RTC), often relegated to a stodgier sideshow of state-making and nationalism on the ground, by focusing on the politics of representation, labour, infrastructure and space that went into making the RTC. In doing so, he shows how Indian delegates at the RTC innovated new spaces of internationalist politics and challenged Western stereotypes of backwardness. Elegantly crafted, and engagingly written, Legg offers us rich theoretical tools and incisive methods to understand the production of internationalism in the 20th century. **Rohit De, Yale University**

This compelling, beautifully written and detailed account of the Round Table Conference brings together geographies of colonialism and diplomacy to exemplify how colonial democracy was practised. Stephen Legg brings to attention a largely overlooked conference and the deliberations that occurred and extended beyond the meeting venue itself, providing captivating insights into how representation, communication and decision-making unfolded. The book includes evocative details of how the Indian delegates negotiated the simultaneously racist and hospitable landscape of 1930s London and draws on archival material to illuminate their experiences of being lavishly entertained at tea parties, receptions and soirees. Legg offers a distinctly geographical exploration of a unique historical event that highlights how liberalism and imperialism were being played out in the interwar period. In bringing together geo-political debates with the intricacies of practices and encounters, this book both delights and challenges the reader.

Uma Kothari, University of Manchester

Legg helps us understand the contentious relationship between empire and democratisation through an underappreciated forum – the conference. With forensic and careful argumentation, Legg provides an intimate political geography of power and representation.

Robbie Shilliam, Johns Hopkins University

ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE GEOGRAPHIES

Round Table Conference Geographies explores a major international conference in 1930s London which determined India's constitutional future in the British Empire. Pre-dating the decolonising conferences of the 1950s–1960s, the Round Table Conference laid the blueprint for India's future federal constitution. Despite this the conference is unanimously read as a failure, for not having comprehensively reconciled the competing demands of liberal and Indian National Congress politicians, of Hindus and Muslims, and of British versus Princely India. This book argues that the conference's three sessions were vital sites of Indian and imperial politics that demand serious attention. It explores the spatial politics of the conference in terms of its imaginary geographies, infrastructures, host city and how the conference was contested and represented. The book concludes by asking who gained through representing the conference as a failure and explores it, instead, as a teeming political, social and material space.

Stephen Legg is Professor of Historical Geography at the University of Nottingham, United Kingdom. He is a specialist on interwar colonial India with a particular interest in the politics of urban space within imperial and international frames. He has analysed these spaces and frames by drawing upon theoretical approaches from memory scholarship, postcolonialism, political theory and governmentality studies. He co-edited, with Deana Heath, *South Asian Governmentalities: Michel Foucault and the Question of Postcolonial Orderings*, which was published by Cambridge University Press in 2018. He is also the author of *Spaces of Colonialism: Delhi's Urban Governmentalities* (2007), *Prostitution and the Ends of Empire: Scale, Governmentalities, and Interwar India* (2014) and editor of *Spatiality, Sovereignty and Carl Schmitt: Geographies of the Nomos* (2011).

ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE GEOGRAPHIES

CONSTITUTING COLONIAL INDIA IN INTERWAR LONDON

 $\left(\right)$

STEPHEN LEGG



© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment

www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, vic 3207, Australia 314 to 321, 3rd Floor, Plot No.3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi 110025, India 103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467 Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge. It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence. www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009215312 © Stephen Legg 2023

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2023

Printed in India

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-1-009-21531-2 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

CONTENTS

Li	st of Figures and Tables	ix
Ac	knowledgements	xi
No	ote on Conversions, Spellings and Abbreviations	XV
1	Introduction: Squaring Round Tables	1
	Part I Geographical Imaginations	
2	Dominion and Dyarchy: The Absent Presences	37
3	Community: A Nation and a Table Divided	65
	Part II Conference Infrastructures	
4	The Conference Method: Between Intention and Desire	101
5	Staffing the Conference: Experts and Subaltern Diplomats	130
6	The Speech Factory: Palace Materials and Communication Technologies	159
	Part III The Conference City	
7	A Hospitable State? Official Socialising	193
8	Social London: Residing and Dining	221
9	At Homes: Political Hostessing and Homemaking	255

viii contents	\bigcirc
Part IV Representations	
10 Petitions and Protests: The Page and the Street	291
11 Failure: Ending and Failing	314
12 Conclusion: Squaring Round Tables	334
Notes	344
References	369
Index	386

FIGURES AND TABLES

FIGURES

1.1	Notable personalities at the Round Table	2
1.2	Indian states delegates	24
1.3	British Indian delegates	25
1.4	Kelen's depiction of 'Indian Round Table Conference 1930–31'	opposite page 64
3.1	The Minorities Committee table	84
3.2	The Federal Structure Committee	85
3.3	Corbett's proposed 'New Punjab'	95
4.1	Ramsay, the Sphinx	124
5.1	Preparations at St James's Palace	143
5.2	Preparing the Round Table	144
5.3	Indian delegates and the police	145
5.4	Portrait of members of the secretariat	156
6.1	St James's Palace	160
6.2	Ground floor of St James's Palace	163
6.3	First floor of St James's Palace	164
6.4	Attendees around the Round Table	167
6.5	'King's Microphone' and chair at House of Lords	184

X	FIGURES AND TABLES	\bigcirc
7.1	Putting delegates at their ease	196
7.2	When East met West	201
7.3	The hall and stairway at 8 Chesterfield Gardens	207
7.4	The lounge at Chesterfield Gardens	208
7.5	Indian chefs at Chesterfield Gardens	212
7.6	Signatures to the joint letter of appreciation	219
8.1	Map of non-London-based delegate residences at the first conference session	t 225
8.2	Map of social engagements across conference sessions	236
8.3	Delegates at the Park Lane Hotel conference banquet	238
8.4	The Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga's birthday party	242
8.5	The Maharaja of Alwar's anniversary banquet	245
8.6	At Shafis!	250
8.7	Veerasawmy's India Restaurant	252
9.1	Map of at-homes	266
9.2	No. 4 St James's Square, staircase	270
9.3	Kingsley Hall	276
9.4	Jo Davidson and Mahatma Gandhi	285
9.5	Mahatmaji by Emery Kelen	opposite page 65

TABLES

5.1	Approximate cost of the Round Table Conference	131
5.2	Hours worked per week by staff	149
5.3	Total and average hours by role and gender	151
5.4	Total and average hours by gender	152
6.1	Stationery usage at the third session	170
7.1	Expenditure and receipts	214
7.2	Materials purchased	215

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This volume is the product of an Arts and Humanities Research Council grant (AH/M008142/1) entitled 'Conferencing the International: A Cultural and Historical Geography of the Origins of Internationalism (1919-1939)'. I was principal investigator on the project from 2015 to 2020, having put together the proposal with my colleague Mike Heffernan and our then doctoral student Jake Hodder. We had all been exploring different forms of internationalism (liberal, imperial and racial) and realised that much of this work was coordinated at international conferences. We set out to explore how such conference spaces allow us to explore emerging forms of internationalism, how the conferences were influenced by the cities in which they took part, how conference environments were created and how they were experienced. Ben Thorpe joined us in 2018 when Jake was appointed as a lecturer at Nottingham and joined our Advisory Board alongside Ruth Craggs, Jason Dittmer, Daniel Laqua, James Mansell, Fiona McConnell, Robbie Shilliam, Naoko Shimazu, Mrinalini Sinha and Glenda Sluga. This book would not have come about without the support, cajoling and provocations from this exceptional team - thank you to them all for making it impossible for me to distinguish where their ideas stopped and mine began.

We organised a number of events which proved pivotal in the formation of the concepts that structure this book. Three workshops held at the University Staff Club, a Nottingham gallery and London's Methodist Central Hall gave us insights from contemporary practitioners into conferencing in universities, the cultural sector and international organisations. Co-organised conference sessions helped us think thematically and theoretically about our work, notably regarding anti-colonialism and political negotiation at the Royal Geographical

xii ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Society with the Institute of British Geographers (RGS-IBG) in London (2017), sensory politics at the Association of American Geographers (AAG) meeting in New Orleans (2018), sea travel and internationalism at the RGS-IBG in Cardiff (2018), the historical geography of international conferences at the International Conference of Historical Geographers in Warsaw (2018), geographies of the interwar at the AAG in Washington (2019), and non-representational historical geographies at the RGS-IBG in London (2019).

Perhaps most generative was the exhibition *Spaces of Internationalism*, which we assembled in collaboration with Christine James and Catherine Souch at the RGS-IBG. Coinciding with the launch of the exhibition in December 2018 was our international conference 'Conferencing the International: Spaces of Modern Internationalism', which brought together an exceptional international cast to help us think more expansively about the method and experience of international conferencing (Legg et al. 2021). Especial thanks to Ben Thorpe for his intellectual and logistic input into both of these endeavours, and for somehow tethering together the international for two days. He also put together websites based on the exhibition and on my Round Table Conference materials, conducting supplementary research himself.¹ Thanks to Elaine Watts for adapting two of the website maps into those which feature in Chapters 8 and 9.

The archival collection phase of the project took place when pre-COVID-19 international travel was still relatively easy and safe, and I am indebted to an international cast of archival assistants, from the National Archives in Washington to the National Archives of India and the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library in New Delhi; the Ganga Singhji Memorial Trust archive in Bikaner; the British Library, National Archives, Friend's House archive and Parliamentary Archives in London; the Royal Archives at Windsor; and the Rylands University Library in Manchester. I am especially indebted to William Rhind of the Gandhi Foundation for showing me around Kingsley Hall and Bow.

I have called upon many colleagues for support and advice over the years. I cannot do justice to them all here, but I would like to thank Rohit De, Arvind Elangovan, William Gould, Eleanor Newbigin and Ornit Shani for early and ongoing discussions regarding Indian constitutionalism; Katharine Adeney at Nottingham's Asia Research Institute for hosting a discussion of the book proposal; Valeska Huber at the Freie Universität Berlin and Phil Howell at the University of Cambridge for organising an online discussion of Chapter 4; and Bérénice Guyot-Réchard and Elizabeth Leake for allowing me to present Chapter 2 for discussion with the 'South Asian Unbound' forum. I

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-009-21531-2 — Round Table Conference Geographies Stephen Legg Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS XIII

have benefitted from ongoing conversations and collaborations with Sandipto Dasgupta, Amar Farooqui, Deana Heath, Tariq Jazeel, Prashant Kidambi, Janaki Nair, Srila Roy, Jonathan Saha and Vineet Thakur. The following were very generous in commenting on chapter drafts, thanks to David Beckingham, Andy Davies, Jesús Cháirez-Garza, Ruth Craggs, William Gould, Jake Hodder, Rik Jazeel, Mikko Joronen, Martin Mahony, James Mansell, Eleanor Newbigin, Srila Roy, Minnie Sinha, Vineet Thakur, Ben Thorpe and Charles Watkins. Mark Bradley, Justin Jones and Faisal Khalil also offered generous assistance with translation. It has been a pleasure to work with Qudsiya Ahmed, Sohini Ghosh and Priya Das at Cambridge University Press, and I thank them for their enthusiasm for this project.

The majority of this book was written in 2020 in various states of lockdown, when the sort of international travel that this book is focused on became impossible. Thank you to my colleagues at Nottingham for their support in helping me survive the transition to online teaching, to my students for being models of resilience and inspiration, and to my friends near and far for their spirit-lifting zoom calls and for our joyous reunions. Special thanks to Charlotte, Giles, Pat and Richard for sanity-saving vacations in the southwest. My (now extended) family is, as ever, my bedrock, thank you for holding it together!

A large part of this book focuses on the backstage labour and unacknowledged support which makes things happen. Every word that follows is testament to the love and support that Martin Pope has surrounded us with over the last eight years. Alongside this grant project we got married, bought a house, made a home and hunkered down through a vicious pandemic. Thank you for shielding me, ribbing me and making things better and betterer.

> Stephen Legg Nottingham, August 2021

NOTE ON CONVERSIONS, SPELLINGS AND ABBREVIATIONS



So as to give a handle on many of the costings in the chapters that follow, I have used the UK National Archive's currency convertor to give 2017 purchasing power equivalents for 1930 costs.¹ These are marked in $[\pounds]$ next to the historical values. Names are given as included in official conference directories unless in quotation.

ARCHIVAL REFERENCES

BIK	Ganga Singhji Memorial Trust archive in Bikaner
BL/IOR	British Library, London, India Office Records
BL/IOR/Eur.Mss.	British Library, London, India Office Records European Manuscripts
CSAS/Benthall	Centre of South Asian Studies, University of Cambridge, Papers of E. C. Benthall
NAI	National Archives of India, New Delhi
NLA/Sapru	National Library of Australia, Papers of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru collected by D. A. Low, National Library of Australia, MS 9823
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi
NMML/Moonje	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi papers of Dr B. S. Moonje
UKNA	The National Archives, London

xvi note on conv	YERSIONS, SPELLINGS AND ABBREVIATIONS
UM/RMD	University of Manchester, John Rylands Library, Ramsay MacDonald papers
UO/Sankey	University of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Eng. Hist., Sankey Papers

ABBREVIATIONS

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
FSC	Federal Structure Committee
INC	Indian National Congress
IPI	Indian Political Intelligence
LAI	League against Imperialism
MP	member of parliament
NWFP	Northwest Frontier Province
RTC	Round Table Conference
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association