History of the
INDIAN
REVOLUTIONARY
MOVEMENT
CHAPTER I

The Genesis

THE FIRST PHASE

India did not go under the British yoke in a single day. It took them nearly a century of conspiracies and swift political manoeuvres sandwiched between perfidious breaches of promise to hoist their flag on Indian soil. Their belief that the freedom of India was snatchèd away on the battle-field of Plassey in 1757 is an oversimplification. Plassey was the fag end of a long drawn out process, which resulted in India’s subjugation. The British did not conquer India the way the Normans conquered England or the Goths founded their kingdoms in Europe.

Within a few years of Plassey, there was a mutiny\(^1\) in Bengal, sparked off by some new military regulations. When Major Monroe came to know of the revolt, his British soldiers attacked the Indian soldiers, and a gun battle followed. The rebels were captured and each one of them was blown up by cannon fire. Captain Krum, a British officer, has chronicled this massacre in his book Bengal Army.

Another mutiny in 1795 has been described in the Calcutta Gazette. Napolean, who had then come to power, was at war with England, and, the enemies of the French Republic combined against him. A battalion of the Bengal Army (the 15th battalion) was ordered to leave for Tamluk where ships were waiting to carry them, and were under orders to fight the Dutch who were siding Napolean. The battalion marched up to Tamluk, but refused to board the ships. The Commander, a British officer, ordered the battalion to be dismissed, its flag burnt, and the soldiers court-martialled. The trial led to Raghu Nath Singh,

\(^1\) The history of all these revolts has been culled from a Bengali article by Nibaran Chakravarti. Vide Krantikari Andolan Ka Itihas (Hindi) p. 3.
Umrao Singh, Yusuf Khan and other leaders being tied to the mouths of cannons and blown up. The other soldiers were dismissed and the 15th battalion was disbanded.

The Madras Army revolt, in Vellore, in 1806, was so widespread that it nearly cost Lord Bentinck his job. He later explained that the revolt was not against his inefficient administration, but the result of Muslim discontent over the years. Lord Bentinck himself contradicted this in his minutes of January 8, 1806, where he says, the revolt spread to Nandi Durg, Sankari Durg and other places where no communal feelings were involved. Two years before the 1857 rebellion, the 3rd regiment of the Nizam’s Atiny had revolted on December 21, 1855. The Commander, Brigadier Macenzie, was wounded and had to flee for his life.

Nor was the discontent confined to the barracks. Popular forces were also active. The Wahabi movement, imported into India by Syed Ahmed of Bareilly, was directed against the foreign oppressors of Islam. Originating from the Arab revolt led by Muhammad Abdul Wahab against the tyranny perpetrated in the name of religion, it became the symbol of revolt and spread outside the Arabian peninsula.

In Faridpur too there was an uprising under the guidance of the Wahabi leader, Shariyat-Ullah and his son, Dadu Mian. This group was known as “Farz” (Duty). They clashed with the military forces in many places. It is stated that for quite some time they wielded complete authority in the 24-Parganas, Nadia, and Faridpur.²

The various groups which combined to trigger the 1857 outburst were not agreed about the ultimate objective, though all of them wanted to overthrow the authority of the foreigners.¹ Some doubt that if the revolt had succeeded, it might not have been in the interest of the progress of the country. I am afraid this is ill-conceived. It is possible that if the mutiny had succeeded, it might have led to the return of that very feudal order which was being liquidated by the revolutions in the West. Behind the revolt were certain forces of reaction that would have taken India

² Ibul, p. 4. Also see Muktrir Saudhane Bharat (Bengali) by Jogesh Bagal.
³ Šardar Paníkka, in his book Survey of Indian History (p. 206), says: “All were united to the object that they had in view, the expulsion of the British and the recovery of national independence. In that sense the mutiny was no mutiny at all, but a great national uprising”. (Quoted from Balbasantri Haridas in Armed Struggle for Freedom, p. 30).
back to feudalism. But in actual practice feudalism in its old form could not be revived. Had the leaders been more united, more efficient, the imperialists could have been dislodged. The seeds of powerful revolutionary movement were imbedded in this effort. Lenin mentioned the rebellion of 1857 in the first number of *Iskra* (December 1900) as "the rebellion of the native Indian population against Britain" in an article on "The war in China".

The ruthlessness with which this revolt was suppressed is unparalleled in history. The British destroyed cottage and small-scale industries in the most inhuman manner to clear the road for capitalist exploitation. And the British, who intended to remain as a company of traders, found out that they could do this better if they also became the ruling power.

Other forces too were at work between 1857 and the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885. Keshab Chandra Sen was active around 1860 though he confined his activities to social and religious awakening, but his powerful speeches and articles created a stir and led to real national awakening.

Dayananda Saraswati established the Arya Samaj in Bombay in 1875, nearly half a century after the death of Raja Rammohan Roy. His was a pure form of revivalism, though many new-fangled ideas were cleverly smuggled in through the backdoor.

Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, and later Swami Vivekananda, contributed to this resurgence of the spirit. When discrimination, exploitation, famines, internal strifes and other social evils had weakened the people, when everything seemed lost, these reformers rejuvenated them and asserted that Indian religion and culture were as great as any other. European orientalists like Goethe, who admired Kalidas, also played a part in this renaissance. Vivekananda and Keshab Chandra Sen convinced audiences in foreign countries that the contribution of Indian culture was not insignificant and that the world could well learn some useful lessons from her.

As most of these reformers were Hindus and as they used Hindu concepts, the national awakening had a definite Hindu flavour. It was unfortunate for it called for a nationalism with a Muslim content. The formation of the National Mohamedan Association and the establishment of the Aligarh College (May 24, 1874) were the first steps in this direction. The Hindu nationalists, however, could very conveniently conceal their communalism
under the garb of nationalism.

The fact that in the matter of jobs and education the Muslims lagged behind the Hindus was already causing heart-burning. Economic causes fanned the rift between the two major communities. The Hindu ideologues fed the people's nationalist aspirations on the history of the Rajputs, the Sikhs and the gallant warriors like Rana Pratap and Shivaji. The Muslims could hardly stomach these symbols of nationalism and started looking back to the earlier periods of Muslim history and their eyes were set on Islamic communities outside India. Due to these causes and the presence of a third party in their midst, Hindu and Muslim nationalism marched often in diametrically opposite directions.

To come back to the movement, the Wahabis were in favour of driving the British out of India. Even after the revolt of 1857, they pursued their activities in a sporadic manner. Patna was the centre of their activities then. Their leader, Amir Khan, was detained in 1871 under Regulation III of 1818. The Wahabis engaged an eminent English Barrister, Mr. Anesty of Bombay and took him to Calcutta to file an appeal against the detention. He contended that if Amir Khan was guilty, the matter should be openly adjudged in a court of law. He also referred to the reign of terror in the days of Lord Mayo. His arguments were purely of a political nature. The Wahabis published his arguments in book form and distributed it. The appeal was heard by Justice Norman and despite the efficient handling by Mr. Anesty, the appeal was dismissed. The Wahabis did not take the judgment lying down, and a Wahabi named Abdullah stabbed Justice Norman, who succumbed to the injuries. Abdullah was sentenced to death and the furious English officers cremated him after execution instead of burying him according to Muslim rites. This sacrilege enraged the Wahabis further. Subsequently when Lord Mayo was on a visit to the Andamans on February 8, 1872, a Wahabi called Sher Ali assassinated him there. But in the text

4 Bankinchandra Chatterjee, Rameshchandra Dutt, D. L. Roy in Bengali and much later Maithilisharan Gupta, Vrindabanlal Varma in Hindi and hundreds of others took this line.

5 “The revivalist movements, which spread in the nineteenth century exacerbated mutual suspicions and fears” (History of the Freedom Movement in India. Vol. II. edited by Dr. Tarachand p. 368).
books of history Sher Ali is described as an ordinary convict. Abdullah and Sher Ali were the harbingers of the terrorist movement in India.\(^6\)

Bengal too was in ferment then and inspired by the exploits of Italian patriots Mazzini and Garibaldi, even sons of landlords formed secret societies on the pattern of the Carbonari.\(^7\) Rabindranath Tagore mentions about such a society which had as its president Rajanarayan Basu and secretary the writer Jyotirindranath. Another secret society, formed in 1876, was led by Shivanath Shastri, a great literary figure. Shastri formed the society while still in government service, and he used to hold meetings in his house. The members suddenly decided that government service was incompatible with their vow. In his autobiography Shastri says that as he was going round the fire, chanting holy verses, he felt an iron determination surging within him. A few days later he resigned from the service. Bipin Chandra Pal, another great writer and extremist leader, started as a member of this secret society.

The Indian National Congress, established in 1885, did not have either a revolutionary set-up or a revolutionary programme. The revolutionaries of those days, whose aim was to overthrow the British power, took scarce notice of the Congress. It emerged as a meeting ground of extreme moderates and job-seekers. It was thus futile to expect direct opposition to imperialism from such a party. Moreover, the Congress also alienated the Muslim intelligentsia led by Syed Ahmed, Ameer Ali, and other important ideologues. The Chapekar and Savarkar brothers, Aurobindo Ghosh, Barindra Kumar Ghosh and others who sponsored the revolutionary movement were not members of the Congress.

Tilak joined the Congress, but his Kesari did not preach the Congress ideology, nor was he convicted as a Congressman. At that time the Congress had no contact with the masses, and therefore, neither the rulers nor the ruled bothered about it. The glorification of the Congress became a cult much later when Gandhi made it a mass organization. But he could not keep pace with the revolutionary masses.


\(^7\) Bipin Chandra Pal in his autobiography mentions this, vide Muktir Saudhane Bharat, p. 133.
The Chapekar brothers established the *Hindu Dharma Samrakshini Sabha* in 1894. They used to sing verses reoriented by Tilak on the occasion of Shivaji and Ganesha festivals.

In 1897, there was a devastating plague epidemic in Poona and the British sent Mr. Rand, a haughty Englishman, for tackling the epidemic. But instead of carrying on his work with a missionary spirit, he wielded the big stick and became very unpopular in Poona and surrounding areas. Newspapers ran him down. Tilak wrote in *Kesari* on May 4, 1897 that under the pretext of fighting the epidemic, the Government was actually trying to crush the soul of the people.

The Sedition Committee of 1918, presided over by Justice S. A. T. Rowlatt, gave great importance to Tilak's writings.

The report of the Sedition Committee said: “On the 4th of May Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a Chitpavan Brahmin, published an article in *Kesari* (the most influential paper in Western India), imputing not merely to subordinate officials but to the government itself the deliberate direction to oppress the people. He described Mr. Rand, Plague Commissioner, as tyrannical and stated that the government was practising oppression. It was useless to petition the Supreme Government, as the orders for oppression had emanated from it.”

On June 12, 1897, the anniversary of Shivaji's coronation day was celebrated. While commenting on the celebration, *Kesari* published on June 15 some verses. The police was of the opinion that in the guise of these verses an attempt had been made to inculcate hatred of the British.

According to the police report, one speaker at the Shivaji anniversary meeting had said: “All occasions like the present festival, which tend to unite the whole country must be welcome.” Another speaker is reported to have observed: “Those who took part in the French revolution denied that they had committed murder and asserted that they were only removing thorns from their path.” Tilak presided over the function and, according to the police report, he had observed: “Did Shivaji commit a sin in killing Afzal Khan or not? Lord Krishna's advice in the Bhagavad Gita is to kill even our own teachers and kinsmen. No blame attaches to any person if he is doing deeds without being actuated to reap the fruits of his deeds. If thieves get into our house and we have not sufficient strength to drive them out, we should
without hesitation shut them up and burn them alive. God has not conferred upon the foreigners the grant inscribed on a copper plate of the kingdom of Hindustan. Whatever Shivaji did, he did with a view to wiping out the authority of the foreigners. Do not circumscribe your vision like a frog in a well. Get out of the Penal Code and soar high into the realms of the Gita and think over the deeds of the great men."

The 60th anniversary of the coronation of Queen Victoria was celebrated all over the British Empire on June 22 that year. Forty years had elapsed since the British had captured India and not much had happened to challenge their authority. Suddenly shots were fired in Poona and Mr. Rand and Lt. Ayerst were killed. The assailant, Damodar Chapekhar, was caught after great difficulty. Damodar and his brother pleaded guilty to the charge and admitted that they had intentionally murdered Mr. Rand. They also admitted that they had earlier disfigured the marble statue of Queen Victoria in Bombay. They declared that they did all this "in order to make the Aryan brethren rejoice, fill the British with sorrow, and invite upon themselves the stamp of treason". The Chapekhar brothers were hanged.

Tilak was sentenced for publishing an article in the Kesari of June 15 in which, according to the Rowlatt report, he had theoretically supported this assassination. Evidence now available shows that his support was much more than theoretical. The assassination was committed with his full knowledge and Balshastri Haridas goes to the extent of saying that within a few minutes of the killing, he was told in Marathi 'Kam Jhale'—action is accomplished. Meanwhile two others belonging to the Chapekhar group made an unsuccessful attempt to kill a chief constable in Poona. Later, they killed the men who were rewarded for spying and getting Damodar Chapekhar arrested.

**Exiles in UK**

Britain had remained the refuge of a large number of revolutionaries. Marx and Lenin lived in London. But the British were not prepared to give asylum to Indian revolutionaries. Yet many leading Indian revolutionaries lived there. The most important was Shyamji Krishna Verma who had a remarkable career. Born in a poor family in Cutch-Mandvi in 1857, he excelled in his
studies, particularly Sanskrit. By the time he was 18, his reputation as a scholar had spread to Bombay and Prof. Monier Williams, who was at that time teaching Sanskrit at Oxford, heard about him while on a visit to India. Shyamji went to England in March, 1879 as his assistant, passed the requisite examinations and joined the Walpole College, simultaneously studying for his bar-at-law. Prof. Williams started the Royal Institute for India and the India Library the same year, and Shyamji was the chief assistant in these ventures.

His fame as a Sanskrit scholar spread in England and he started coaching students. He also learnt Greek and Latin, graduated from Oxford in 1883, and was appointed as regular professor of Sanskrit, Marathi and Gujarati at the same university. The Secretary of State for India meanwhile sent Shyamji to represent India at the Oriental Congress in Berlin in 1881. In 1883 he represented India at the Lauden Oriental Congress. He was one of the first Indians to graduate from Oxford and be appointed professor there.

Shyamji returned to India in 1883, and after staying here for some months went back to England to qualify for the Bar. He set up practice in Bombay and the Raja of Ratlam appointed him his Dewan. This job lasted till 1888. After this he practised for some time in Ajmer. He was then taken as a member of the Council of State of Udaipur in 1893. He became the Dewan of Junagarh on February 6, 1895 but soon found that he could not serve here for long.

While doing all this he was internally connected with the revolutionary activities in Maharashtra. In an article in the *Indian Sociologist* he said later: “When the Natu brothers were arrested and Lokmanya Tilak was prosecuted, I came to the conclusion that individual freedom did not exist in India nor was the press free. The so-called British justice was also a myth. That is why I left my motherland and immigrated to England and now when I realised that it was not possible to live in safety in England, I migrated to Paris and this city became my headquarters.”

Shyamji did not reveal how intimately he was connected with the revolutionary movement. But we have it on good authority that Tilak wanted to smuggle Damodar Chapekar into the army of some native State with the help of Shyamji.

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8 *Armed Struggle for Freedom* by Balsastri Haridas, p. 139.
It is very often claimed that Jawaharlal Nehru was the first to connect our national struggle with similar struggles going on in the world and that it was he who imparted an international dimension to our struggle. This is far from truth. Dr. Abinashchandra Bhattacharya, who wrote a biography of Shyamji on authentic material collected in Europe, says: “During those days (of the Boer War 1899-1902) Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, who was practising law in Natal and had become a respectable citizen, built up a volunteer corps and came to the war front. This pained General Botha and other Boer generals. As soon as Shyamji heard about it, he was very much upset. He could not understand how Gandhi could take up the cudgels for a nation that was holding down India under its heels by sheer brute force and in this particular case was trying to trample to death a small nation. Gandhi’s action appeared to him unjust as well as illogical. Shyamji came out with a stinker on Gandhi in his paper. From then on, his nationalism became more and more international and aggressive. It is in connection with this event that the *Gaelic American*, the organ of the Irish Republican Party, wrote: “No language can adequately describe the meanness of Natal Indians. It is a shame that Indians are helping their British oppressors. This has definitely lowered the status of Indians.” Gandhi’s action was disliked by all revolutionaries, especially by the Irish freedom fighters who had sent a volunteer brigade to fight on behalf of the Boers in their war with the British.

In 1905, under Shyamji’s leadership, 20 Indians formed a society called the Indian Home Rule Society. Shyamji became its president and Rana, J. M. Parikh, Godrej and Abdulla Suhrawardy became its vice-presidents. The object of the society was to establish a government of Indians, by Indians, for Indians. A meeting, held on May 1906, was attended by Vithalbhai Patel, Bhai Paramanand, and others. It passed resolutions condemning the Bengal Government for breaking up the Barisal conference and arresting Surendranath Banerjee.

In 1907 Shyamji announced a prize of Rs. 1,000/- for the writer of the best essay on the constitution of a free India. Ten essays were received, including one by Aga Khan who said that India was unfit for self-rule because there was communal hatred. As

*Europay Bharatiya Biplober Sadhana* (Bengali) by Dr. Abinashchandra Bhattacharya.
the response was rather poor, no prize was awarded.

Shyamji very soon gathered round him many young men and one frequent visitor was V. D. Savarkar. After a distinguished educational career in India, Savarkar had gone to London to qualify as a barrister. Even as a student in India he had tried to build a revolutionary group. He went to England as a sort of emissary of this group. He met a kindred spirit in Shyamji, and the revolutionary work among Indian students went on with great gusto. Indian Sociologist now became more vocal, and incurred the wrath of a Tory Member of the British Parliament who asked the Home Secretary in July 1907 if the Government proposed to take any action against Shyamji’s subversive activities. This was a signal for the police to act, and Shyamji shifted his headquarters to Paris. But the Indian Sociologist continued to be published from Britain. By July 1909, however, the British Government could no longer allow it to continue. Its first printer was punished, and the next one was convicted to one year’s rigorous imprisonment in September 1909.

The Rowlatt report quoted the following passages from the Indian Sociologist of December 1907: “It appears that any agitation in India must be carried on secretly and that the only methods that can bring the British Government to its senses are the Russian methods vigorously and incessantly applied until the English relax their tyranny and are driven out of the country. No one can foresee what rule will be laid down or line of action defined for any particular course. That will probably depend on local conditions and circumstances, but it is likely that as a general principle the Russian method will begin with Indian officials rather than European.”

The passage from the Indian Sociologist also shows that Shyamji was the kingpin and the chief ideologue of the conspiracy against the British. Some admirers of Savarkar have tried to minimise the contribution of Shyamji. Shyamji did not plunge in the movement headlong. He did not throw a bomb at the British nor for that matter did Savarkar. But he did not relent nor did he recant in old age. Till the very end of his life he was persecuted by the police and he died in a foreign land, unsung and unwpt. When the first world war started, even Paris became too hot for him and he quietly left for Geneva. It was then when he was nearly 70 that Nehru met him in his Geneva flat. Nehru writes:
“There was Shyamji Krishna Verma living with his ailing wife high on the top floor of a house in Geneva. The aged couple lived by themselves with no whole-time servants and their rooms were musty and suffocating and everything had a thick layer of dust. Shyamji had plenty of money, but he did not believe in spending it. He would even save a few centimes by walking instead of taking a tram. He was suspicious of all comers presuming them, until the contrary was proved, to be either British agents or after his money. His pockets bulged with ancient copies of his old paper, the Indian Sociologist and he would pull them out and point with some excitement to some article he had written a dozen years previously. His talk was of the old days, of India House at Hampstead, of the various persons that the British Government had sent to spy on him and how he had spotted and outwitted them. The walls were covered with shelves full of old books, dust-laden and neglected, looking down sorrowfully on the intruder. Books and papers also littered the floor, they seemed to have remained so for days and weeks and even months past. Over the whole place there hung an atmosphere of gloom, an air of decay; life seemed to be an unwelcome stranger there and as one walked through the dark and silent corridors, one almost expected to come across, round the corner, the shadow of death: with relief one came out of that flat and breathed the air outside.”

Shyamji died on March 30, 1930. According to Dr. Abinash Bhattacharya, he was cremated on the third day and his ashes were preserved in an urn where it would be kept till 2038 A.D. Let us hope that by that time there will be a socialist government in India and it will claim the ashes of this great revolutionary. We have it on the authority of Nehru that Shyamji’s wife left their property for women’s causes. Shyamji and his wife were not misers, but just cautious with the little money they had.

Miloslan Karasa, Czechoslovak research scholar writing in Looking towards India (A study in East-West contacts) says: “Undoubtedly, great attention was also aroused by the terrorist movement, by attempts on the life of representative of colonial rule and by the courageous, patriotic attitude of those who, endeavouring in this individualistic manner to fight for their country’s freedom, were condemned to death. Prague was aware of the existence of the journal Indian Sociologist, later banned, whose publication is bound up with the name of an outstanding
figure in the Indian National resistance, Shyamji Krishna Verma, described by Maxim Gorky as the ‘Mazzini of India’. The Czech press took notice of another revolutionary, likewise active in his European exile, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, and of his exciting escape and arrest while being deported from Britain to India."

Another pioneer who was drawn into the circle of Shyamji was Madame Vikaji Cama of Bombay who took an active part in editing the Indian Sociologist. A forceful speaker, ‘she represented India at the Stuttgart Conference of Socialists in 1907. Ramsay Macdonald, who later became Prime Minister of Britain, questioned the accreditation and the bona fide of Madame Cama, but the French socialist leader Jaures, the German socialists, Beekel, Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg as well as the British socialist Hyndman came to her rescue and she was accepted as a representative. Madame Cama unfurled the first national flag of India and after saluting it, proposed a resolution that in the opinion of the assembled socialists the continuance of British rule in India would be disastrous in every way. She said that world opinion should be roused to free India from the tyranny of British rule. All the British representatives except Mr. Hyndman opposed the resolution. Van Col, a socialist from Holland attempted to prove that the colonialists had a civilising influence and tried to justify imperialist plunder. But Madame Cama’s resolution secured the support of the delegates of all other countries. The chairman did not put the resolution to vote as it was the tradition of the gathering only to pass unanimous resolutions. All the same, the case for an independent India was for the first time put before an international conference. Madame Cama was later on forced to shift her residence from London. During the first world war she was interned as an alien in Vichy, and emerged from detention with her health completely shattered. She was advised to give a bond not to take part in politics and return to India to which she reacted with anger and said she could still deliver lectures and talk. After 30 years of patriotic service in London, Paris and other cities of Europe, her friends succeeded in repatriating her in November 1936. She died on August 12, 1937.

Virendra Chattopadhyay, known as Chatto among Indians in Europe, was another revolutionary. His father, Aghor Chatto-
padhyay, was perhaps the first Indian doctor from Zurich. He had to write his thesis in German. His talented children included Sarojini Naidu, Virendra, Mrinalini and Harindranath.

Virendra was sent to England in 1903 to sit for the I.C.S. examination. He soon came in contact with revolutionary ideas and could not get through the I.C.S. He joined the Middle Temple to qualify as a barrister, but was turned out for his revolutionary activities. After that he led a turbulent life travelling extensively in Europe to plead the Indian cause.

Nehru, who seldom praised revolutionaries unless he wanted to play to the gallery, had a kind word for Virendra. He said: "This sudden importance thrust on a small group consisting mainly of inexperienced young men, went to the head of some of them. They felt that they were playing a historical role, that they were involved in great and epoch-making undertakings. Many of them had exciting adventures, hair-breadth escapes." Just after independence when Nehru was asked to lay the foundation stone of a monument to Khudiram at Muzaffarnagar, he refused to do so. But after a decade when he was asked to unveil a statue of Shivaji, he did it with great eclat. In addition to what Shivaji represents as a symbol, Khudiram represented the principle of secularism. If Khudiram had killed a Britisher, Shivaji had murdered Afzal Khan. Nehru, however, said of Virendra Chattopadhyay: "An entirely different type of person was Virendranath Chattopadhyay, member of a famous family in India (Nehru does not disclose the name of the family or Virendra's relationship with Sarojini Naidu). Popularly known as Chatto he was a very able and a very delightful person. He was always hard up, his clothes were very much the worse for wear and often he found it difficult to raise the wherewithal for a meal. But his humour and light-heartedness never left him. He had been some years senior to me during my educational days in England. He was at Oxford when I was at Harrow. Since those days he had not returned to India and sometimes a fit of homesickness came to him when he longed to be back. All his home-ties had long been severed and it is quite certain that if he came to India he would feel unhappy and out of joint. But in spite of the passage of time the home pull remains. No exile can escape the malady of his tribe, that consumption of the soul".

as Mazzini called it.” Then again: “Of the few (revolutionaries in exile) I met, the only persons who impressed me intellectually were Virendra Chattopadhyay and M. N. Roy. Chatto was not, I believe, a regular communist, but he was communistically inclined.”

After Shyamji’s exit from London, the mantle of leadership fell on V. D. Savarkar. India House became the venue of all revolutionary activities. The day commemorating the mutiny of 1857 was celebrated here with great gusto. V. D. Savarkar was not a man to let the grass grow under his feet. He knew the importance of revolutionary literature. He pored over books and documents in the British Museum and wrote a book on the history of the 1857 rebellion. It was originally written in Marathi, but he and his friends translated it chapter by chapter and read it to the members of the Free India Society. Very soon the Scotland Yard was on his trail, and its agents managed to get hold of a chapter. The original book was smuggled into India, but the owners of the Marathi press in Maharashtra refused to print it. Finally a press was prevailed upon to undertake the job, but before it started the work, the police got scent of it. A friendly police officer tipped off the printers and the manuscript was smuggled back to Europe. An effort was made to print it in a Sanskrit press in Germany, but no suitable type was found and German compositors and proof readers could not do justice to Marathi book. The project was dropped but it was decided to complete the English translation and print it. Some Maharashtrian students who had gone to England to qualify for the I.C.S. completed the translation and the manuscript was sent to France for being printed. In the meantime the British police alerted the French police and the French printers refused to take up the work. In the end, the revolutionaries were able to get the book printed in Holland. In order to put the police off the track, they declared that the book was being printed in France. The British Government banned the book even before it was published. Savarkar wrote a letter to the *Times*, London, questioning the propriety and legality of the ban even before the Government had seen the book. The *Times* published the letter with the remark that there must be something wrong with a government that had to take recourse to such a step.

Copies of the book were printed in Holland and smuggled to
India disguised as Pickwick Papers. Savarkar had postulated that the 1857 revolt was not just a mutiny, but was part of a bigger national upsurge. He had earlier written a biography of Joseph Mazzini which was published by his brother, Ganesh Savarkar in India.\textsuperscript{11} Savarkar’s book was more secular in nature than the nationalism of the old Ganpati and Shivaji festival days. He said the anniversary of 1857 could be celebrated as a national festival.

On July 1, 1909 Madanlal Dhingra, a Punjabi youth, shot dead Sir Curzon Wylie at a meeting of the Imperial School in London. Dhingra also shot an Indian, Lal Kaka, who rushed to him. He was overpowered and arrested. Sir Curzon, an officer under the Secretary of State for India, was spying on Indian students. After his arrest some papers were found on his person, one of which contained a prepared statement declaring that the murder was committed as a revenge for the hanging and transportation for life of Indian revolutionaries. The transportation referred to Ganesh Savarkar who was punished for publishing a poem on June 9, 1909. The hanging referred to Khudiram (hanged on August 11, 1908) and Kanailal (hanged on November 20, 1908).

Dhingra hailed from a loyalist family in the Punjab. When the news was conveyed to his father, the latter disowned him. Two brothers of Madanlal, who were also in England also dissociated themselves from the acts of their brother. Later when the brothers wanted to see him, Madanlal refused the request.

Madanlal had the following statement which he was not allowed to give in court: “I admit, the other day, I attempted to shed English blood as an humble revenge for the inhuman hanging and transportation of patriotic Indian youths. And in this I have consulted none but my own conscience. I have conspired with none but with my own duty. I believe that a nation held in bondage with the help of bayonets is in a state of perpetual war and since guns are denied to me, I drew forth my pistol and attacked by surprise. Being a Hindu I believe that an insult to my country is an insult to God. For the worship of my country is the worship of Shri Ram and the service of my country is the service of Shri Krishna. What could a son poor in wealth and intellect offer to the Mother except his own blood? My only prayer to God is that I may again return to the same Mother

\textsuperscript{11} The Indian War of Independence by V. D. Savarkar; see the introduction entitled “The story of this history”.
and die in the same cause till the Mother is freed for the service of humanity and glory of God. Vande Mataram.”

Everyone knew that Dhingra would be sentenced to death and this was what he very much wanted. He had told the court “I do not plead for mercy nor do I recognise your authority over me. All I wish is that you should at once give me capital punishment. I want to be hanged, for then the vengeance of my countrymen will be all the more keen.”

Dhingra did not engage any lawyer. He maintained throughout the trial that he was innocent and pleaded that he should be sentenced to death. During the trial no Indian was allowed inside the courtroom, but those who managed to get a glimpse of the hero while he was being taken to the court found that he was cheerful and unruffled. When the judge pronounced the sentence, Madanlal thanked him. He ascended the gallows, calm, as usual, and dressed like a beau, as if he were going to a wedding party. This was testified by the few Indians who were given charge of his body.

Although Madanlal was not allowed to read in court the prepared statement, it found its way to the British and continental press and reached India. It became an important revolutionary document. The words “I believe that a nation, held in bondage with the help of bayonets, is in a state of perpetual war” echoed and re-echoed in the heart of every Indian youth. Madanlal’s action found an echo here too. Anant Kanhere, a student of an art school at Aurangabad shot dead Mr. Jackson who had committed Ganesh Savarkar to the sessions court. Kanhere pumped seven bullets into Jackson and attempted to kill himself but failed. He later told the court: “I have preformed my part. Ganesh Savarkar is sentenced to transportation for life, whereas your executive engineer, Mr. Williams, who caused the death of an Indian cartman is being rewarded. It is for all this that I have killed Jackson.” Seven persons were tried in the case and Krishnajipant Karve, Vinayakrao Deshpande and Kanhere were sentenced to death.

Savarkar had taken shelter in Paris, but after some time he found that the life of a fugitive was unbearable and decided to take the plunge. He said that he could not look on passively while others were being sent to the gallows. Though he was advised not to leave Paris where many other revolutionaries including
Shyamji, Madame Cama and Hardyal were living, he refused to listen. As soon as he set his foot in England, he was arrested and sent back to India by steamer. When the steamer touched Marseilles, he escaped. The escape was soon detected and the British police went after him. They had no authority to arrest him on French soil, but the ignorance of a French police officer about international law helped the British to apprehend Savarkar. This action was challenged in the Hague International Court, but the British imperialists managed to have the judgment rigged in their favour. Savarkar was sentenced to transportation for life and was sent to the Andamans to waste his youth in that swampy island.

**BENGAL IN FERMENT**

After 1857 the Wahabis had set the pace for the revolutionary movement in India. But neither the Muslim intelligentsia nor the Muslim masses were involved in it. The Aligarh group of intellectuals, who were misguided by Prof. Beck, had greater hold on the Muslim masses. Aligarh became the hotbed of Muslim communalism and it was here that the idea of a separate Muslim nation was nurtured.

Lord Curzon, who came to the not very wrong conclusion that English education was nourishing the spirit of rebellion, promulgated the University Act, which sought to restrict the number of English-knowing people. This type of education had given birth to a new middle class which had avidly accepted the imperial flag and was complacent. But when they saw that the Act threatened their job prospects and economic interests, they started an agitation against it.

The middle class in Bengal were the most perturbed. Lord Curzon dealt a fresh blow when he observed in his Convocation Address at the Calcutta University that the people of India were temperamentally liars.\(^1\) Half a century earlier when Lord Macaulay had made a similar remark, it evoked little protest. But now nationalism was vibrant and in March a campaign challenging the Viceroy’s statement was started at a mammoth meeting in Calcutta.

His Lordship, however, continued his assault and dealt another

\(^1\) *Muktir Saudhane Bharat* (Bengali), by J. C. Bagae, p. 249.
blow. Bengal, Bihar and Orissa formed one Presidency with a population of over 7 crores and Bankim Chandra’s national anthem *Vande Mataram* originally had the words *saptakoti* (seven crores) referring to the population of the area. Lord Curzon came to the conclusion that Bengal should be partitioned. He wanted to drive a wedge between the Hindus and Muslims and announced the partition. Bengal which was the first to accept British rule, now spearheaded the revolt against it. The Bengalis did not wish to see their “Golden Bengal” partitioned. Although this agitation began with a limited objective, it ultimately became a movement for the independence of the country.

Bengal was partitioned in spite of the agitation, but the struggle continued. Poets and novelists stirred up the people. It was during the agitation that the first call for swadeshi, picketing, rational education, and even the call for civil disobedience was given. Shri Aurobindo’s speeches stirred the people. In the course of one speech in East Bengal in April 1908, he said: “There was a time when it was possible to believe that awakening could come only to some sections of the people, those sections that had received the education provided by the rulers. But this is the age of popular awakening. In the present struggle for existence, if any nation has to survive, if any nation wishes to attain its freedom and maintain it, the masses must be roused from apathy and slumber. Every individual must be made to feel that his own freedom is inextricably bound with the attainment of national freedom.”

The same year, explaining the swadeshi and national movement in Bombay Aurobindo said: “When the real call came, Bengal was ready to respond to it. That call permeated our whole being. The community instantly responded. The masses came out of their stupor. Bengal at once woke up from slumber, it immediately recognised the path of freedom and showed it to the entire country. A call was given forth to all to follow.” He pointed out that a divine life lay in store for the community and that the prevailing poverty and downfall were not realities. The community had in store “a life without death, the life eternal. It was destined to attain that life”.

Although the agitation acquired Hindu overtones to some extent, Bipin Chandra Pal explained that “the new India of our dreams was neither Hindu nor Muslim and certainly not British.
The new India would be born as a result of the fusion of three cultures—Hindu, Muslim and European”. Nevertheless, reference to religion in the course of this agitation narrowed its scope. There was another factor also. As Bengal alone was affected by the partition, people in other parts of the country could not feel strongly about it.

This was the period of industrial boom and factories were being set up in Calcutta and Indian capitalists were advancing with cautious steps. Indian capitalists discovered that they stood to gain by the call for boycott of foreign goods. The call for swadeshi goods came in handy for them. It gave an impetus to Indian factories.

When Japan inflicted a defeat on Russia in 1905, there was great excitement all over the East and this proved a tonic for the jaded spirits of Indian patriots.

In 1906 a conference was held at Barishal, and despite its proceedings being open, it was dispersed by force. The editor of Jugantar, Bhupendra Nath Dutt (a brother of Swami Vivekananda) was imprisoned on a political charge and he did not defend himself in court. Even the policy of not defending oneself, adopted by Congressmen later, originated during this swadeshi period.

Aurobindo spearheaded this movement. An Anglophile, who was educated in England and had to learn Bengali later, and who narrowly missed the I.C.S. as he could not pass the riding test (his spiritualist disciples claim that he did not pass it because of some inner compulsion), Aurobindo left his job at Baroda and returned to Bengal to take part in the agitation and his genius as a writer and orator proved a great asset to the movement. Some years before this, his brother, Barindra Kumar Ghosh, had gone to Bengal for the same purpose. As he himself stated in court, later on, he had gone there to build a revolutionary organisation to overthrow the British.

When he was later arrested, Barindra gave the following statement in court: “I returned to Bengal after staying one year at Baroda. My object was to spread the cult of freedom as a nationalist missionary. I travelled from district to district and established physical culture centres, where youths were initiated into the freedom movement. I got tired of the poor results and returned to Baroda. I came to the conclusion that mere political propaganda would not be able to capture the minds of the people
in India. People should be approached spiritually, so that they could stand suffering when the need arose. I had in mind the plan of a religious organization. By this time the swadeshi and boycott agitation had started. With the help of Bhupendra Nath Dutt I started the Jugantar. After some time I handed over the paper to a group and started revolutionary work. I collected a few youths and I lectured to them on religion and politics. Collection of arms also was taken up. A friend, Hem Das, was sent to Europe to learn how to prepare explosives. When, he returned we started a bomb factory. I never thought that terrorism alone would bring freedom. We took to terrorism, because we thought that the people needed this to boost up their courage."

Upendra Nath Bannerjee, another revolutionary and an eminent writer, also stated in court: "I came to the conclusion that until the people are asked to do something as a part of their religious duty, they won't move. I approached the sadhus, but I found that they were a worthless lot. Hence I began to work among students. I began to spread moral, religious and political teachings among them. I told them that the only method to attain freedom was to fight. Thus a secret society was established and arms began to be collected. Also we wanted to kill the government officers, such as Kingsford and the Governor, who were a nuisance."

Barindra was the leader of the Alipur Conspiracy and all those connected with it were well educated and some of them, like the Ghosh brothers, were educated in foreign countries.

Sir Lawrence Jenkins quoted the following words of a Sessions Judge on the Jugantar and endorsed them. The Judge had said: "They (the copies) exhibit a burning hatred of the British race, they breathe revolution in every line, they point out how revolution is to be effected. No calumny or no artifice is left out which is likely to instil the people of the country with the same idea or catch the impressionable mind of the youth." The Rowlatt Committee also quoted a few passages published in the Jugantar to prove that the revolutionaries understood the importance of political work in the Indian army. "The revolutionaries have additional advantages, where the ruling power is a foreign power, because the latter has to recruit most of its troops from among the subject people. Much work can be done by the revolutionists very cautiously spreading the gospel of independence among these
native troops. When the time comes for practical collision with the ruling power, the revolutionists not only get these troops among their ranks, but also the arms with which the ruling power supplied them.”

The Sandhya, another revolutionary paper wrote: “We want complete independence. The country cannot prosper so long as the least shred of the Feringhi’s supremacy over it is left. Swadeshi, boycott—all are meaningless to us, if they are not the means of retrieving our whole and complete independence...” The revolutionaries looked down upon the Congress and the book Mukti kon Pathe (What is the path of salvation?), a reprint of articles from the Jugantar, denounced the “smallness and lowness” of the ideals of the National Congress and went on to point out the bold line of action to be followed by revolutionaries.

In October, 1908, it was planned to blow up the train carrying the Governor of Bengal and on December 6, it was blown up, but the Governor had a narrow escape. On December 23, 1908, shots were fired at the ex-District Magistrate, Mr. Allen, but he escaped. In April, 1908, a bomb was thrown at a French Major in Chandernagore, because it was rumoured that he had stopped the smuggling of arms into British India through French India. These portended more trouble.

Mr. Kingsford was notorious as a vindictive judge during the swadeshi movement, who had sentenced many political prisoners to heavy terms. Aurobindo was arrested and produced before Mr. Kingsford, but it was found that he could not be punished until Bipin Chandra Pal deposed against him. Pal refused to give evidence on the plea that he did not want to be witness in a British court. This enraged Mr. Kingsford who sentenced Pal to six months rigorous imprisonment for contempt of court.

All these and many other events had made Kingsford extremely unpopular and the revolutionaries decided to assassinate him. A bomb concealed in a book was sent to Kingsford, but it missed the mark. Perhaps sensing his unpopularity Kingsford was transferred to Muzaffarpur, but the revolutionaries did not leave him. Two youths, Khudiram Bose and Prafulla Chaki, were entrusted with the task of going there to kill Kingsford. They threw a bomb on April 30, 1908, at the carriage, but unfortunately Kingsford was not in it but one Mrs. Kennedy and her daughter who were offered the carriage, were killed by the bomb. Khudiram
was arrested when he asked a shopkeeper for a glass of water and Prafulla Chaki was betrayed by one Nandlal, a Bengali spy. Prafulla tried to escape, but he was shot dead and cremated in an unknown place. Khudiram was hanged on August 11, 1908 and cremated on the banks of the Gandak. The bravery of these youths echoed through the length and breadth of India.

Tilak wrote the article on Khudiram in the Kesari of June 22, 1908, for which he was sentenced to six years’ rigorous imprisonment. According to the Sedition Committee, he wrote: “Neither the Chapekars nor the Bengali bomb-throwers committed murders for retaliating the oppression practised upon themselves. Hatred between individuals or private quarrels or disputes were not the cause of these murders. These murders assumed a different aspect from ordinary murders owing to supposition on the part of the perpetrators that they were doing a beneficent act. The causes of the Bengali bomb are particularly subtle. The very system of administration is bad and unless the authorities are singled out and individually terrorised, they would not consent to change the system.” Another Marathi editor, Paranjape, wrote in his paper Kal on July 8, 1908, “Many of the Russians side with their government against these bomb-throwers, but it is doubtful whether such sympathy will be found in India.” Paranjape was also convicted for this praise of Khudiram.

The police discovered a bomb factory at 34 Mraripakur Road and live bombs and sticks of dynamite were unearthed. This led to the arrest of 34 people, and their trial developed into the famous Alipur Conspiracy case. One Naren Gosain became a confessor and was granted pardon on June 30, 1908, but before he could give his evidence in court he was shot dead inside the jail by Kanailal and Satyendra Chaki who had smuggled revolvers inside concealed in jackfruits.

The news electrified the whole of Bengal. It was hailed as a national victory and Surendranath Banerjee, a senior leader and the editor of the English daily Bengali, went out of his way to distribute sweets in his office.

Kanai and Satyen were given the death sentence and hanged on November 10, 1908. Motilal Roy, a revolutionary writer, was allowed to have a last glimpse of the body of Kanailal and talk to the European Jailer, who told him: “I used to have long

chats with Kanailal. He has been very cheerful since the day he was sentenced to death. I shall never forget the enchanting smile that lit up his face yesterday. I told him 'Kanai, you are all smiles today, but tomorrow your lips will be coal-black'. I was present when Kanai was actually hanged. He had been blindfolded and the loop was on the point of being fastened to his neck. Suddenly he turned towards me and said, 'Well, how do I look now?' Really this type of heroism is impossible in a mortal frame.' The jailer also told Motilal, 'Why are you weeping, Sir? The country that produces such heroes is blessed. Everybody will die, but how many are called upon to die like this?'
Thousands attended Kanai's cremation and his ashes were worn round the neck in closed urns as talisman.14

The Alipur Conspiracy ended in the conviction of Barindra Kumar Ghosh, Ullaskar Dutt, Upen Banerjee and others to various terms of imprisonment.

After Banindra and his other disciples were sent to the Andamans, Aurobindo left British India in disgust. He could have guided the destinies of the movement from exile as was done by Lenin. But he decided to become a whole-time spiritualist. Thus the movement was deprived of a great leader. Trailokya Chakrabarti and Shachin Sanyal later condemned him for this desertion.

But this did not stop the movement in which he had played a very important part. His writings were there. It must be said to the credit of Sri Aurobindo that even after he ceased to be a revolutionary, his writings retained a partially revolutionary character.

The revolutionary movement in Bengal started with the very limited objective of getting the partition annulled. This was done with great fanfare in a Durbar at Delhi in 1911, but it did not stop the movement. In reality it is this aspect that frightened the rulers in London.

One of the early revolutionaries was M. N. Roy who fathered the Communist Party in India. In the beginning the movement maintained underground groups only on subscriptions. But when Naren, the approver, spilled information and revealed all the secrets of the group, the rich sympathisers were frightened and severed their ties with them. The revolutionaries were forced to

14 Kanailal (Bengali) by Motilal Roy.
find other avenues for financing their organization. To begin with, members gave as much subscription as they could, but this proved insufficient. Like their counterparts in Ireland and Russia, Bengal revolutionaries had to adopt the method known as forced contribution. There was an instance of a revolutionary group which, after robbing a capitalist, left a receipt for the amount taken. In 1916, a robbery was committed in Calcutta and the owner of the house received a letter from the Bengal branch of the 'Independent Kingdom of United India' saying: "We have received in our treasury Rs. 6,861-0-5 towards your debt to us. As and when freedom is won, the sum will be returned to you with interest!" This sounds melodramatic and funny, but it reveals the sincerity of the revolutionaries.

One dacoity, planned by Pulin Bihari Das of Dacca became as famous as the Kakori train hold-up later. The story reads like a thriller — hair breadth escapes, gun battles and encounters with an ignorant mob and the police. Thirty-one armed young men set out at dawn in two boats and reached Burha at 8 o'clock in the night. The house where the dacoity was to take place was hardly a quarter of a mile from the bank of the river. They surrounded the house from all sides and went on firing to frighten the people. The firing attracted a large crowd and as the revolutionaries were retreating through the bush and the marsh, one of the villagers threw a dragnet used for catching fish which struck the arm of a young revolutionary called Rajendra Dutt. In the meantime the police arrived on the spot and started shooting at the boats. The revolutionaries left the mainstream and entered one of the tributaries with the police party and the villagers hot on their pursuit. The gun battle raged through the whole night. One of the bullets had pierced the boat and when two revolutionaries were bailing out water from the boat, one of them, Gopal Sen, was fatally wounded by a police bullet. The revolutionaries remained undaunted even after a colleague's death. They reached a village called Dhamrahi. A section of the crowd had realised that the robbers were in fact revolutionaries and did not try to follow them any more. The police were on their trail again when a violent storm struck as it often happens in the month of Baishakh. Taking advantage of the storm, the revolutionaries took the boat in the direction of the wind putting the police off the track. The boat glided into the stream in the Bhawal forest.
They abandoned the boat and entered the forest. They divided the money and put it in small bags. Arms were taken in another direction and they dispersed in small groups. They had eaten nothing for two days. The following afternoon they realised that they were still being pursued. But there was no danger of falling into the clutches of the police.

Nalini Kishore Guha, one of the revolutionaries involved in the Burha robbery said later: "It was on that boat that we first heard of socialism. But we had not yet heard of Marxist socialism. At that time socialism had a very crude connotation for us. It was collecting wealth in the Robinhood manner and distributing it among the needy and the poor."

We have already mentioned about political murders. When the organization began to spread, it was realised that besides killing traitors like Naren Gosain, it was necessary to punish other people as well. Nanda Lal who had posed as a sympathiser and effected Khudiram's arrest was one such person singled out for assassination. The revolutionary revenge became so famous that police officials used to say that once a person got into the blacklist, there was no escape for him. No matter how many years passed, such a person would finally meet his doom. A person who had helped the police in 1908-09 was assassinated in 1914. This person had felt very safe under police protection as all the persons whom he had harmed were lodged in prison. Some had even died and there were few who could now recognise him. The revolutionaries ultimately located him at Chittagong and killed him.

In 1915, the house of the police Inspector, Satish Chandra Banerjee, was attacked. There were three other officers in the house at that time. Inspector Banerjee escaped, but one of the visiting officials died. Deputy Superintendent Basant Chatterjee, who had been unsuccessfully assaulted a number of times, was killed in broad daylight in 1916 and Madhusudan Bhattacharya, a C.I.D. official, was killed in front of the Medical College with a large crowd looking on.

According to the Sedition Committee Report, the work of the revolutionaries was progressing fast in 1913. Two police officials were killed. Head Constable Haripad Dev was killed by three Bengali youths in the Lake area with a big crowd looking on. Nobody was arrested, nor was anything known about it later.
Within twenty-four hours of this incident an acid bomb was thrown into the house of Inspector Bankim Chandra Chowdhury at Mymensingh killing him. And an absconder's bullet killed Inspector Suresh Chandra Mukherjee on duty.

Ram Das, a former revolutionary, who was collaborating with Basant Chatterjee, was killed in a Dacca park. Basant himself was spared as the assailant failed to recognise him. Subsequently his house was raided in Calcutta.

The assassination of Basant Chatterjee became a legend, in those days. According to the report of the Sedition Committee, five revolutionaries had come armed with pistols which were part of the fifty pistols that had been stolen from the Rodda Company and distributed.

Heavy punishment was awarded in the Alipur Conspiracy case, but the movement, instead of dying down, acquired new vigour. Attempts were made to manufacture arms and revolutionaries were trained in the use of them.

The Report of the Sedition Committee describes how such organisations spread. It states that the groups were not necessarily small. The Dacca group and the groups known as the West Bengal and North Bengal parties had many branches. The Dacca party was the most powerful and became a threat to the existence of the British Government in that area. This group had started having its impact from 1910 onwards and its strongholds were Mymensingh and Dacca, and its influence spread far and wide, in Assam, Bihar, the Punjab, U.P., Madhya Pradesh, and Poona.

Rumblings in North India

The Punjab (comprising Haryana and a part of Himachal) responded to the revolutionary enthusiasm of Maharashtra and Bengal. Sir Ibbotson, the Governor of the Punjab, referred to the unrest in the province in his report already in 1907 and he deplored that in at least two cases Englishmen were insulted just because they were white men and on one occasion there was a riot because an editor was sentenced.

The Governor contended that revolutionaries from Lahore had started the mischief. But it was the ruthless exploitation by the Imperial power, all-round starvation, poverty and unemployment of the area that gave rise to the agitation. Dissatisfaction in the
villages was primarily due to economic factors.

If the voice of these people could be silenced, the Governor said, the people would once again be peaceful and loyal. After a lot of research, the Regulation 3 of the Act of 1818 was invoked to imprison without trial anybody suspected of revolutionary activities.15

Lala Lajpat Rai and Sardar Ajit Singh (the uncle of Sardar Bhagat Singh) were arrested and exiled to Burma. The treatment meted out to these two popular leaders made the people ever more restless and Mr. Morley, reporting to the British Parliament in June 1907, complained that between March 1 and May 1, 1908, 28 meetings of the agitators were held in the Punjab, of which only 5 were concerned with agricultural problems, the rest were purely political in character.

On November 1, a Bill to ban anti-government meetings was introduced and regarding this the Viceroy said: "We cannot forget that in Lahore Englishmen were harassed without any provocation and there were riots in Rawalpindi. We cannot close our eyes to the fact that the Governor had taken a serious view of the matter. It was in view of this that Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh were arrested and an Ordinance issued. Apart from this, everyday news of boycot, insults, looting and many other illegal acts pour in. At the root of all these happenings were a few agitators who by their anti-government speeches and by declarations through the press were arousing racial hatred of the worst type among the people."16

After the arrest of Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh, the tempo of the agitation slowed down for a few days. But, in the meantime, there was a large output of revolutionary literature. Within six months of his detention, Ajit Singh escaped to Iran. Lal Chand ‘Phalak’ came out as a national poet and he was sentenced for writing patriotic poems. Bhai Paramanand was arrested and he had to give a surety. A copy of the Bomb Manual was found in his house — the same manual that was recovered from the revolutionaries involved in the Alipur Conspiracy. Two letters by Lala Lajpat Rai written in the stormy period of 1907, were also found on him. In one of the letters he wanted Shyamji to suggest the latest books on politics for the students of India. He had also said that Shyamji should be asked to donate Rs. 1,00,000 to political

missionaries. In the second letter he had hinted at the restlessness of the masses and the prevalent feeling of dissatisfaction, among the peasants. This letter was not meant for publication, and it clearly showed that the prevalent unrest among the masses was due to exploitation. When questioned, Lajpat Rai stated that it was only after coming back from detention that he had come to know that Shyamji was a believer in political violence, and he had since then severed all connections with him. He had to say this to his inquisitors. He also wrote the biographies of two great revolutionaries, Mazzini and Garibaldi in Urdu.

Master Ameer Chand, a teacher in Delhi, was one of the earliest revolutionaries. He started as a religious reformer, but when the Swadeshi agitation became strong in Bengal in 1905, he veered towards the revolutionaries. He was the son of Rai Hukam Chand, the Secretary of the Legislative Council, Hyderabad. We have it on the authority of Lala Bishenswarup that Rai Hukam Chand had been to England, where he was eulogised by Queen Victoria for his legal acumen. He was the principal of a law college and wrote a book *Res Judicata* which served as a text book for law students.

Master Ameer Chand was a dedicated teacher. He first came into prominence as a preacher against the tramway company which started functioning in 1907. He and Hyder Raza conducted meetings against the introduction of tramway. Their arguments were that the foreign company would reap all the benefit and that the people would become lazy. He was instrumental in opening a Swadeshi store where people could buy articles manufactured in India. He also founded the National Library at Kinari Bazar, where patriotic literature was available. He went from house to house and tried to inculcate the reading habit among people. He started the National Press to print patriotic literature and helped in the publication of a Hindustani paper named *Akash* under the editorship of Ganeshilal Khasta. The editors and printers of the paper were again and again prosecuted. *Akash* did not carry any advertisement as a matter of principle. Ameer Chand and his closest friends bore all the expenses. He was a great lover of Swami Ramtirtha and but for his devotion some of the works of the Swami would have been lost for ever.

He was one of the sponsors of the 1909 Swadeshi exhibition where Lala Lajpat Rai was prevailed upon to speak.
Har Dayal, another revolutionary leader of Delhi, after taking his M.A. degree from the Punjab University, went to England for further studies on a Government scholarship. In England, he discovered that the British system of education was basically unsuited for Indians and he refused to study at Oxford on government scholarship. When he came back to India, he devoted himself to political propaganda. His field of activity was confined to Lahore and Delhi. By 1908, he had collected a group of young men which included Dina Nath, J. N. Chatterjee and Ameer Chand. When Lala Har Dayal went abroad to work for revolution, the mantle of leadership fell on the shoulders of Ameer Chand automatically.

Hanumant Sahay was a dealer in foreign clothes. He took the vow of using only swadeshi materials and gave up his lucrative business. After coming in contact with Lala Har Dayal, he was convinced that the type of education being imparted to Indians made them slavish, and he started a national school in his own house at Chelpuri in 1909. He opened a reading room in which he kept many nationalist books. Ameer Chand and some others who subscribed to his view acted as teachers in the school. These teachers later became full-fledged revolutionaries. One of them was Master Avadh Bihari. These people had some sort of connection, though not close, with Bengal revolutionaries. The connections were broken in 1910 after the Alipur Conspiracy, but when Rash Bihari Bose came to North India, they were re-established. Before Rash Bihari Bose came to Dehra Dun as an employee in the Forest Department, the revolutionary group in Delhi was just a propaganda unit and more or less a study circle. It was Rash Bihari Bose who galvanised the youths into active revolutionaries. He gave political training to Avadh Bihari, Dina Nath, Bal Mukund and others, and arranged for publication of the Liberty, a revolutionary bulletin. He also taught these people how to make bombs.

When King George V succeeded King Edward VIII to the British throne, Bengal was in the throes of a great unrest, resulting from the partition of the Province. It was suggested by the imperial advisers that a visit by the Emperor to India would perhaps act as a damper to revolutionary activities. The impressive coronation ceremony took place in 1911 and the capital was shifted from Calcutta to Delhi. It was announced that the Govern-
ment had very graciously annulled the partition of Bengal. Bengal was brought under the administration of a Governor.

The Government reunited Bengal but it did not help matters. The revolutionary movement had gone far ahead. Lord Hardinge, who had been appointed Viceroy of India, was making his official entry into Delhi, the new capital of India on December 12, 1912. The Viceregal procession was proceeding in a leisurely manner with all the pomp and pageantry and it appeared as if British imperialism was firmly entrenched in India. When the procession reached Chandni Chowk, a bomb was thrown at the Viceroy. He had a hair-breadth escape, but became unconscious with an injury at the back of his head. His bodyguard was killed. Although the Viceroy could not be killed, it created the desired effect.

The explosion caused panic and Chandni Chowk was at once surrounded from all sides, but the police failed to catch the person or persons who had thrown the bomb. Subsequently two arrests were made. A bulletin was distributed by the organisers of this conspiracy which highly commended the attempt on the Viceroy’s life. It called upon the people to destroy the enemies of the Motherland and said that good times were round the corner and that God had taken the destiny of India in His own hands. It was later on proved that these very persons had thrown a bomb in the Lawrence Park of Lahore, where the Europeans used to gather.

During a search at Rajabazar of Calcutta, the police stumbled on Avadh Bihari's name. It was found out that he was staying in Master Ameer Chand's house. A search of Ameer Chand's house led to the discovery of some revolutionary papers, a bomb-cap and some letters. Ameer Chand, his nephew Sultan Chand, and Avadh Bihari were arrested. The police learnt that the mysterious 'M.S.' was actually Dina Nath. Many Dina Naths were arrested till in the end the real Dina Nath was found. This man and Sultan Chand, the adopted son of Master Ameer Chand, became crown witnesses the moment they were caught and gave out all the information they had. But even Sultan Chand had no inkling of the man who had actually thrown the bomb at Lord Hardinge. However, 13 persons were prosecuted in this connection. The trial lasted 7 months, at the end of which Avadh Bihari, Ameer Chand and Bal Mukund were sentenced to death. The appellate court was even more unkind. In addition to the three revolutionaries already sentenced to death, Basant Kumar Biswas
was also sentenced to death. In reality Basant Kumar was the man who had actually thrown the bomb on the Viceroy. From a personal servant of Rash Bihari, he had grown into a personal friend and trusted revolutionary. He kept his mouth shut till the very end.

In the course of his trial the police produced a pamphlet written by Ameer Chand which stated: "India can achieve nothing through constitutional means. The only way in which we can attain Independence is by revolution. History shows that exploiters have never given freedom out of their own sweet will. It is only the sword that can win freedom for the exploited masses."

Master Ameer Chand was admired for his character, so much so that even the British judge said: "It must be borne in mind that patriots of Ameer Chand's type are often, except the monomania possessing them, estimable men of unblemished character."

It is very strange that although none of the witnesses had thrown any light about the person who had thrown the bomb on the Viceroy, four persons were executed. Old warders of the Punjab prisons told political prisoners that during their sojourn in the condemned cells they used to teach the warders to read and write, and many other things.

On the day Avadh Bihari was to be executed, an English officer asked him: "What is your last wish?" and pat came the answer: "I only desire the end of British rule." The English officer turned his face and said: "At least die in peace now." Avadh Bihari laughed and said: "How can there be peace? I wish that in a revolutionary holocaust the British power be completely reduced to ashes."

For some time Bal Mukund had been serving as a tutor to the princess of Jodhpur. When Dina Nath mentioned his name, he was rounded up and found in possession of two bombs. The entire land on which his house stood was dug up two yards deep in search for more hidden bombs. Bhai Paramanand, his brother, appealed on behalf of his brother. But this was of no avail and in the end Bal Mukund was sentenced to death. Bal Mukund's story would be incomplete if we omit to mention his wife. Ever since her husband's arrest she started losing weight. During an interview in jail which she had managed to have with her husband with great difficulty, she came to know that he was getting bread mixed with grit, and that he was sleeping with only two blankets in a dark
cell. From that day on she also started mixing grit in her food and sleeping on blankets. The day Bal Mukund was executed, she dressed herself like a bride and sat on a high stone platform. There was no trace of sorrow on her face. But she never got up from there. She died in that posture. The bodies of the husband and wife were cremated together.

Ameer Chand, Avadh Bihari and Bal Mukund were hanged in the Delhi jail on May 8, 1915. This jail was situated on the site where the Azad Medical College stands now. After independence some revolutionaries tried their best to save the 5 yards of land where these four people had been hanged. At first the Home Minister, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, agreed, but on second thoughts he refused. Ultimately, the Delhi Administration laid a slab on the spot in May 1970. Basant Kumar was hanged in Ambala jail on May 10.

Sachindranath Sanyal of Benaras formed a revolutionary group round about 1908. It was not yet a full-fledged revolutionary party but only trained youths in the use of lathis, wrestling and gymnastics. He named it Anushilan samiti. Subsequently, when the Bengal Anushilan party was banned, Sanyal changed the name of his organisation to Young Men’s Association. In his first attempt Sanyal failed to give a revolutionary turn to his group, and so he went on a visit to Bengal. He met Makhan Sen of Dacca and had talks with him. The talks did not satisfy him, for Makhan Sen was harping on doing political work disguised as religious work. Sanyal, himself deeply religious, did not approve of this. He met the leaders at their headquarters in Raja Bazar, where he came in contact with many revolutionaries. One of them was Shrish Babu. He took him to Chandranagore where he came in contact with Rash Bihari. Nalini Kishore Guha writes: "Sachindranath Sanyal was like a pomegranate filled with gunpowder. He was all the time restless. Rash Bihari gave him the nickname of a top. He was always on the boiling point."

Pratul Ganguly was an absconder during those days. He was asked to tour the United Provinces (Uttar Pradesh) with Sachindranath Sanyal and report. After this Rash Bihari was to decide to what extent he could collaborate with Sanyal. Pratul Ganguly gave a good report with the result that Sanyal became the right-hand man of Rash Bihari. From then on the groups carried on their activities jointly.
The Sedition Committee attributes “a lot of mischief” to Swarajya and some other papers. It writes: “The first determined and persistent impulse towards a revolutionary movement in these now peaceful provinces came from the establishment of the Swarajya (self-Government) newspaper in Allahabd in November 1907 by a certain Shanti Narain, a native of the United Provinces, who had formerly been sub-editor of a Punjab newspaper and desired to commemorate the release of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh, the Punjab deportees. The tone of this paper was hostile to the Government from the first and gradually intensified in virulence. Finally Shanti Narain was condemned to a long term of imprisonment for objectionable articles on the Muzaffarpur murders. The Swarajya, however, proceeded on its way under eight successive editors, three of whom were prosecuted and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for objectionable publication. Seven of these editors came from the Punjab. The paper was only suppressed when the new Indian Press Act of 1910 came into force. Of its offending articles, one was a panegyric on Khudiram Bose, the Muzaffarpur murderer. Others related to subjects like ‘Bomb or Boycott’, and ‘Tyrant and Oppressor’. Notwithstanding the perseverance with which the paper waged war on the Government, it produced no visible effect in the Provinces. The Karmayogi, a paper of similar tendencies published late in 1909 also at Allahabad, and suppressed in 1910, was equally ineffective.”

Mr. Amir Chand Bombwal, the last editor of the Swarajya wrote about the prevailing situation: “By 1907, when the revolutionary movement for freedom starting from Bengal in the east had spread all over the country, U.P., the land of heroes, was totally lacking in it.” In the Punjab, Mr. K. K. Athavle, editor of Punjabi had been convicted. The first editor of Hindustan, Mr. Dina Nath, had been sentenced to undergo five years’ rigorous imprisonment; Lala Pindi Das, editor of Indiu had also been sent to jail for five years. In Delhi, Syed Haider Raza’s Aftab was proving irksome to the authorities and the police were conducting a futile search for its editor, Pandit Ram Chander Peshawari. The Aftab was succeeded by Master Amir Chand Shahid’s weekly Akash under the same editor from November, 1908. Even in the backward province of N.W.F.P. the Frontier Advocate kept the Political Department on tenterhooks. In the Deccan Kesari, Marhatta and Kaal were a source of great annoyance to the
Government. And in Bengal, the *Sandhya* and the *Jugantar* were shaking the very foundations of the British Government.

*Swarajya* toed the Tilak line and was similar to his papers *Kesari* and *Marhatta*. Shanti Narain participated in the historic Surat Congress in 1907 with many young patriots. Pandit Amir Chand Bombwal of Peshawar was one of those young men who attended the Surat Congress along with him and had the privilege of being introduced to Tilak. They visited Poona where it was decided to start *Kesari* in Urdu from Agra, like the *Kesari* in Hindi appearing from Nagpur. It was also decided to publish a Hindi edition of Mr. Paranjpe's paper *Kaal* from Banaras. Lokmanya took the responsibility of meeting the financial liabilities of all these papers.

After his return to Allahabad, Shanti Narain made necessary arrangements for running the *Swarajya* and then busied himself with giving practical shape to the scheme of publishing *Kesari* and *Kaal*. He had not yet emerged from the preliminary difficulties in this connection when the Government started proceedings against him under Section 124-A of I.P.C. on the basis of two articles appearing in the *Swarajya*. One of them was a translation of Lokmanya's article, on the basis of which a case was launched. In May 1908, Shanti Narain was sentenced to three-and-a-half years' rigorous imprisonment with a fine of Rs. 1000/- . After the expiry of his term of imprisonment, he had to serve another six months with hard labour in lieu of the fine. The *Swarajya* Press was also forfeited and auctioned to recover the fine.

Having awarded such severe sentences, the authorities thought they had dealt a death-blow to the freedom movement in U.P., but they were mistaken. Eight young patriots from the Punjab and North West Frontier Province came forward to keep the *Swarajya* going. The Government increased the sentences of jail term from four to five and then from seven to ten years, but this had quite the opposite effect. Four of them were sent to serve their terms of imprisonment in the Andamans. The enthusiasm of the *Swarajya* fans increased proportionately with the severity of the sentences imposed.

The following is the roll of honour of the *Swarajya* editors:
7. Ladha Ram Kapoor; and 8. Amir Chand Bombwal.

Patriots from U.P. had already made Lahore the centre of their political activities. Under the inspiring guidance of Lala Lajpat Rai and the mystic revolutionary, Sufi Amba Prasad, from Moradabad, they founded a society called ‘Bharat Mata Society’ or ‘Anjuman Muhibbane Vatan’. Sardar Ajit Singh, his two brothers Sardar Kishan Singh and Sardar Swaran Singh, Anand Kishore Mehta, Pindi Das, Kedar Nath Saigal, Iswari Prasad, Lal Chand ‘Falak’, Maulvi Ziaul Haq of Hapur, Lala Hardyal, Lala Shyam Das Varma, Pandit Ram Chandra Peshawari and Pandit Pyare Lal Sharma of Meerut (afterwards Education Minister of U.P. in 1937) and many other young men from U.P. had already joined the Society. Shanti Narain was the latest addition to the Society.

Sufi Amba Prasad was then serving as a special correspondent of the Anrita Bazar Patrika. His criticism of the highhanded policy of the Commissioner of the Ambala Division made his despatches biting and popular. The Commissioner became an object of ridicule as most of his confidential orders found their way into the columns of Anrita Bazar Patrika, and the poor Commissioner did not know that his deaf and dumb bearer was none other than Sufi Amba Prasad!

The Swarajya soon became the torch bearer of revolutionary awakening in the U.P. and its circulation increased by leaps and bounds. Tilak in his message to the editor said: “May Swarajya help in the birth of freedom movement in the United Provinces.” The message from Shri Motilal Ghosh contained these prophetic words: “May Swarajya prove an active champion in the cause of political advancement of the country. But in so doing be prepared to keep one foot in jail and your successor ready to take your place.” A panegyric on the martyrdom of Khudiram Bose provided the occasion. The mother of the martyr weeps over his son:

You gave your life on the gallows
With smiles on your lips:
Oh darling
Did I bring you up for this day?
Then addressing the youth:

Give up fear even if costs your life.
God helps those who love their Motherland

Shanti Narain was arrested for publishing this poem and was prosecuted under Section 124A of I.P.C. in the court of Mr. Macnair, the District Magistrate of Allahabad and Purushottam Das Tandon appeared as the defence counsel. The accused told the court: "I did what I think best for my country and you may do what you think best for your country." Shanti Narain was sentenced to three-and-a-half years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1000/- . Shanti Narain was succeeded by Ram Das Suralia from Amritsar (afterwards Swami Prakashanand Saraswati). He had hardly brought out a couple of issues of the Swarajya when in lieu of fine imposed on Shanti Narain, the Swarajya Press was attached and auctioned. The warrants of arrest against Suralia were issued but he went underground to arrange funds for a new printing press.

When the new press was installed, Hotilal Varma of Haryana, who had just returned from England and was staying at Aligarh, took over editing Swarajya. After he had brought out a few issues, Varma was also arrested under Section 124A and sentenced to a total of 10 years transportation on two counts.

Babu Ram Hari, a young patriot from Qadian, Gurdaspur, succeeded Varma. The first number of the journal under his editorship was dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the Indian War of Independence, and it carried the following poem by Shri Babu Ram Hari:

Oh! My dear Motherland why
are your crying?
The rule of the foreigners is
about to end!
They are packing up!
The national shame and misfortune
Will not last long!
The wind of freedom has
begun to blow,
Old and young all are yearning for freedom!
When India becomes free, 'Hari' will also enjoy his freedom!

Babu Ram Hari could edit only 11 issues of the journal before the cycle of repression took its turn and he was arrested. He was produced before the Sessions Judge, who sentenced him to transportation for life to an aggregate term of 21 years on three different counts.

Munshri Ram Sewak, editor of Sahaik of Lahore, rushed to fill the vacant post. He arrived by the first available train from Lahore, but did not know that a police officer was also travelling by the same train with an arrest warrant for him for publishing a seditious article in his Urdu weekly.

While Sewak was filing a declaration before the District Magistrate of Allahabad, he was arrested and the same evening taken to Lahore and Mr. Macnaire sarcastically remarked: "Who is the next man to occupy the Moghul throne?" Although he was thus deprived of a chance of a pilgrimage of 7 or 10 years in the Andamans through Swarajya, he was convicted by the Sessions Judge, Lahore, and sentenced to 7 years' rigorous imprisonment.

Nand Gopal Chopra, editor of the weekly Inquilab, Lahore, the son of Bulaki Ram, Bar-at-Law, the founder of the freedom movement in Dehra Dun, had already been sentenced to five years' hard labour at Lahore for his seditious writings. His appeal was pending and he was released on bail when he offered his services to Swarajya. Nand Gopal arrived at Allahabad and filed the declaration. The publication of the paper was again resumed. He could manage to edit nearly a dozen issues before he too was rearrested and sentenced to transportation for life on three counts, to an aggregate term of 30 years.

Sham Das Varma, editor of Bharat Mata, the official organ of the Bharat Mata Society of Lahore, assumed the additional responsibilities of Swarajya now. He had hardly brought out two issues when he received urgent summons to return to Lahore to meet the situation arising out of Sufi Amba Prasad and Sardar Ajit Singh having absconded to Persia. He was succeeded by a young patriot, Ladha Ram Kapur, who hailed from Varachanwala of Gujarat in Punjab. Kapur had just returned from South East Asia, after amassing a fortune. When his family was looking forward to a future of ease and comforts, destiny took a different course. While
all the others were bachelors, Kapur was married. “How can I refuse the call of freedom?”, he replied to one of his elders and to his wife he said: “I love you with all my heart, but my love for my country has no equal.” Kapur was sentenced to 30 years in the Andamans for publishing three “offending” articles. The Sessions Judge of Allahabad observed: “The article ‘Loyalty’ refers to a rape case in which an Englishman was prosecuted in a court at Rawalpindi on the charge of forcibly violating the chastity of an Indian woman. The offending article says that ‘Normally speaking, she was a sister to all of us. This Englishman, in a most cowardly manner, destroyed the chastity of a respectable woman.’ I do not see what stronger language could be used by the writer for bringing into hatred or contempt or for exciting disaffection towards the Government established by law in British India. In my opinion this article is clearly seditious and undoubtedly transgresses the law as laid down in Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code.”

His concluding remarks were: “The only question then left out for this court’s consideration is the amount of punishment it should impose on the accused. This is the fourth time that an editor of the Swarajya has been arraigned before this court in Allahabad for sedition under section 124A of the Indian Penal Code. The last case, that of the previous editor Nand Gopal, was decided by me only as late as March 29, 1910. The case of Babu Ram Hari was also tried by me. For reasons given in my judgment of 10th December 1908, I sentenced Babu Ram Hari to transportation for seven years on each one of the three counts under Section 124A of the I.P.C. Nand Gopal was then sentenced by this court to three terms of transportation for ten years for the three seditious articles written by him. These severe sentences on successive editors of Swarajya has not deterred this present accused Ladha Ram from coming from his district Gujrat in the Punjab and continuing the same vile stream of sedition by making foul aspersions against Government. On a consideration of all the circumstances of this case, this court finds the accused, Ladha Ram, guilty on all three counts of three offences punishable under section 124A of the I.P.C. and sentence him to transportation for ten years for each one of the three offences.”

The well-known revolutionary, Pandit Paramanand who was also in the cellular jail of Andamans, informed B. N. Pande that
Ladha Ram was subjected to inhuman torture. He was tried for breaking prison regulations and sentenced to six months further term of imprisonment. His rare bravery and courage soon earned him the title of ‘Field-Marshal’. ‘Field-Marshal’ Ladha Ram breathed his last on January 5, 1966 in a forlorn colony of New Delhi, in extreme poverty without proper medical attention, leaving behind his widow.

Many applied for the editorship of Swarajya which fell vacant again. Among them were Ramchandra Bharadwaj of Peshawar, Mahashe Khushal Chand ‘Khursand’ of Lahore and Pandit Amir Chand Bombwal. Amir Chand Bombwal took over.

On October 22, 1910 the Swarajya was killed by the Press Act of 1910. Bombwal was the last editor. Before his arrest Ladha Ram had inserted an advertisement in his paper: ‘Wanted an editor for Swarajya on a remuneration of two unbuttered chapatis, a glass of cold water and 10 years’ rigorous imprisonment for each editorial’. And Bombwal told Bande: “I was the last of the editors. A security of Rs. 2,000/- was demanded along with the filing of a fresh declaration for Swarajya. From Lahore, I came to Delhi to meet Master Amir Chand (afterwards martyr of the Delhi Bomb case). The Swarajya had by then become the symbol of national honour. Master Amir Chand collected Rs. 2000/- and gave them to me for the resumption of its publication. Thus armed, I arrived at Allahabad. I deposited the cash security and filed the declaration. The Swarajya reappeared in September, 1910. This enraged the Lieut.-Governor of U.P. He ordered that in future the security for good behaviour under Section 108 Cr. P.C. may also be demanded from the declarants simultaneously with security from the printing press and the newspaper under the Press Act.

“Hardly four issues had appeared under my editorship when orders were issued forfeiting the deposit. When I was busy arranging the amount for a fresh security, they sought sanction for my prosecution on the basis of two articles published during my editorship. But the District Magistrate was so eager that he did not wait for the Government sanction for my prosecution and issued orders to bound me down for keeping good behaviour for one year under Section 108 Cr.P.C.

“Forewarned by a well-wisher, I went underground and took shelter in the house of my friend and editor of Karmayogi. Pandit
Sundarlal. I thought that the police would never imagine that I could take refuge in a house which was haunted day and night by the C.I.D. To me it was the safest place. I remained with him till Chirstmas, 1910.

"I was arrested on the Christmas day under dramatic circumstances. I went to see a great exhibition where an aircraft was on display for the first time. Those who saw it came back with great praise for it. It was a temptation for me which I could hardly resist. Thus, on Christmas day I found myself in the exhibition grounds. In the words of Tandonji, 'we had never witnessed such an interesting exhibition before'.

"While watching the aircraft, I was suddenly surrounded by the police and arrested. When produced before the District Magistrate, Rajarishi Purushottam Das Tandon was my defence counsel. He took advantage of a technical flaw in the arrest warrant. The police officer mistook me for Master Amir Chand and naturally in the warrant of arrest, Masterji's parentage was given as mine. Tandonji argued, 'How can you prosecute my client on a fictitious parentage?'

"Another of his objections was that the charge-sheet mentioned that the copies of the newspaper containing the offending articles were seized at the printing stage, prior to their publication. Tandonji argued, 'Pre-publication stage does not come under the Act's purview.'

"The prosecution got confused and moved for a brief adjournment for necessary amendments in the arrest warrant as well as in the charge-sheet. My handcuffs were removed and I became a free man for some time.

"Tandonji put a pad of currency notes in my pocket and confidentially advised me to catch a Banaras-bound train from Prayag station which was due to arrive there within an hour. And by the time a fresh warrant was got ready, I was half way to Banaras."

**Ghadr Party**

This brings us to the new group of revolutionaries who organised themselves in a foreign land and how they tried to combine with their brothers at home. The Ghadr Party was formed in America. The slavery of India proved to be a handicap to Indians in the foreign countries. It devalued them in all respects and it hurt
them at every step. Indians were refused entry into certain countries and often they were refused jobs. Pandit Kashi Ram, Baba Keshar Singh, Baba Ishar Singh Maharaj, Bhaga Singh alias Gandhi Singh, Baba Sohan Singh, Udham Singh, Harnam Singh Tundi and others carried on an agitation to improve their lot in Oregon in the U.S. The Indian community in California also organised itself. This organisation came to be called the Hindi Association, which afterwards was transformed into the Ghadr Party and Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna was elected President, Baba Keshar Singh Vice-President, Lala Har Dayal Secretary and Pandit Kashi Ram Treasurer. The Association soon managed to have a large membership and funds for the party were collected. It sponsored a publication called the Ghadr. As the majority of Indians had settled down in California, the headquarter of the party was located in the city of San Francisco. The premises of the office of the party was named the Jugantar Ashram, after the organ of Alipur group of revolutionaries. Lala Har Dayal became the first editor and its first issue was brought out on the first of November 1913. The first few numbers appeared in Urdu and were cyclostyled. A Punjabi edition appeared in 1914, and when its demands grew, it was printed from No. 5 Wood Street. Begun by Har Dayal and Kartar Singh it was later on joined by Jagatram, Prithvi Singh, Mahbub Ali, Inayat Khan. Up to March 1914 when Har Dayal had to leave, he was the editor. After him Ramchandra Peshwari became the chief and Ghadr was printed in four languages. Three thousand dollars were deposited in the Ghadr fund. The paper was to be distributed free.

Indian residents in America met at Stockten in February 1914 and the meeting was presided over by the veteran Punjabi revolutionary Jawala Singh, and among those who attended were Babas Sohan Singh, Kesar Singh, Kartar Singh, Lala Har Dayal, Tarak Nath Das, Prithvi Singh, Baba Karan Singh, Baba Basakha Singh, Baba Santokh Singh, Pandit Jagat Ram Haryanvi, Dalip Singh Phal, Puran Singh, Niranjan Singh Pandori, Karan Singh Dhoot, Nidhan Singh Mahrori, Nidhan Singh Chaggha and Arud Singh. This was the first conference of the revolutionaries abroad and several resolutions were passed. Baba Sohan Singh and Kesar Singh, accompanied by Bhagat Singh and Kartar Singh, toured California for organising the Indians there. In the meantime funds were being collected for the party and the message of freedom was
conveyed to every Indian living in the U.S. Some were so excited that they donated their bank balance. The party soon had branches in Canada, Panama and China. The party was strictly secular in character and every member was to volunteer his services for freedom and equality.

The Ghadr party stood for some sort of Panchayati raj, i.e., republic. The form was not defined, but Mula Singh said, “If the opium-addicted Chinese can establish panchayati raj, why can’t the Indians do so? We have to follow in the footsteps of China and other countries that had a revolution.” (Panchee, p. 56).

The Ghadr party was able to forge complete unity among all Indians. The Sikh and Muslim members used to dine together and the Singapore army, which joined the revolt, was made up of Muslims.

Russian and Irish revolutionaries used to speak at Ghadr Party. Har Dayal incurred the wrath of the American police for speaking against the tyranny of the Tsar at a meeting. When the work increased, Sohan Singh Bhakna left his lucrative work and settled down in Jugantar Ashram and organised branches all over California immediately. Santokh Singh, the Secretary, was a student of Khalsa College, Amritsar, and had proceeded to America for higher education, and Kashiram, the Treasurer, was an indefatigable worker.

Another redoubtable figure, Maulana Barkatulla, of Bhopal, was a professor of Tokyo University. He had gone on a tour of Turkey, Egypt and had correspondence with Shyamji Krishna Verma. The Japanese Government had stopped his paper and as soon as the war started, he lost the University job. He came to the U.S.A. and immediately took over as the Vice-President.

For some time the Indians carried on their work without any hindrance. But soon British agents were all over the place and it was feared that some of them might even attempt to kill or kidnap Har Dayal. Harnam Singh Tundilat and Kartar Singh Saraba served as his bodyguards. Har Dayal was to speak at a meeting on March 16, 1914, but was arrested on the way. When the police was escorting him to a waiting car, the bodyguards took out their pistols, but Sohan Singh Bhakna asked them to keep their peace. The police had second thoughts and they left after getting the warrant signed by Har Dayal. Indians were very sore over the fact that the American Government allowed itself to be bullied by the
British Government. Some Americans also came out against this servile attitude of their Government. Har Dayal was released on a bail of $1,000 and was forced to leave the U.S.A. He faded away after this.

While this movement was going on, 'Koma gata Maru', a ship chartered by the Indians on April 4, 1914 with 341 Sikhs and 21 Muslims reached Vancouver on May 23, but the Canadian police refused to let it touch the harbour. This enraged the Indians in Canada. Bhag Singh and Watan Singh were killed while kneeling in prayer. In the course of the trial, the murderer, Bela Singh, an Indian, stated that he had been instructed by the U.S. Immigration Department to commit the murders.

The Ghadr Party contributed probably the youngest martyr to the revolution. Born in Ludhiana in 1866, Kartar Singh was a born leader. He went to the United States after studies and found that even though the Americans talked all the time of freedom and brotherhood, they did not welcome Indians. He came to the conclusion that Indians were hated because they belonged to a subject nation. With the arrival there of Bhagwan Singh, who had been exiled from the Punjab, a revolutionary group was formed and it started a journal called Ghadr of which Kartar Singh became one of the editors. Editing the journal included composing type, making up the pages, printing and selling.

When the first world war broke out, Kartar Singh felt the time was ripe for a revolution in India. He came over to India and met Rash Bihari Bose at Banaras. Bose told him, "Go and prepare the Punjab while we are getting ready here". The 18-year old youth started strengthening the organisation, arms were collected, a large number of sub-committees were set up, and even funds were collected by forced contributions. They also fixed February 21, 1915 for launching the revolution throughout the country. An army officer had promised to give him the keys of the arsenal. But when Kartar Singh and his companions reached the army camp it was learnt that the soldier had been transferred the previous day. Undeterred he, along with Pingle, went to Meerut, Agra, Kanpur, Allahabad, and other cantonments to convert the soldiers and set up revolutionary committees. But just before the fateful day the entire plan was revealed to the Government. A reign of terror was let loose, there were mass arrests and on the slightest suspicion entire battalions were disarmed. Kartar Singh went
underground, but the people were so terrified that they were not
to help him. Kartar Singh, finally, slipped out of India,
but returned soon and was arrested near a cantonment.

He could not keep quiet even in prison and hatched a plot to
escape from prison and attack the armoury of the Lahore Canton-
ment. But the Government got scent of it. Kartar Singh pleaded
guilty to all the charges and said, “I know the consequences —
either transportation for life or death sentence. I shall prefer to
be executed, for, that would give me an opportunity to be reborn
to serve my country. Should I be born as a woman in my next
birth, I would wish to give birth to rebel children.” And the judge
passed the death sentence. When Kartar Singh’s grandfather came
to see him, he showed not the least trace of fear. His grandfather
asked: “Kartar, for whom are you accepting this death sentence?
They are all disowning you.” For a while he looked crestfallen.
He mentioned a couple of names of his dead relatives and asked:
“Tell me, grandpa, where are they?” His grandfather said, “They
are dead!” Kartar Singh said, “And we are also going to die.
What is there to bother about?”

Balwant Singh was another revolutionary to ascend the gallows.
Born in Jullundur he was in the Army for ten years but went to
Canada to settle down. There were no gurudwaras in Canada and
Indians were not allowed to cremate their dead. He successfully
agitated for these facilities. He also fought against a campaign to
send Indian coolies to Honduras Islands. The first world war
drew him, along with hundreds of Indians, to his motherland.
Balwant Singh reached Shanghai but instead of proceeding to
India he went to Bangkok, where he was arrested and handed over
to the British. He was accused of being involved in the Lahore
Conspiracy and sentenced to death. He was also accused of try-
ing to commit suicide by taking opium which he was supposed to
have concealed in the folds of his turban. To this he said,
“That’s indeed wonderful! In a few days’ time I am going to die
a proud man. Is there any earthly reason why I should be such
a coward as to commit suicide.”

The Ghadr revolutionaries were not connected with the Bengal
revolutionaries. Kartar Singh tried to link the two, but his first
attempt failed. Later Sachindranath Sanyal went to see them and
an understanding was reached. Sanyal met Prithvi Singh in Lahore,
but before they could meet again the latter was arrested. Vishnu
Ganesh Pingle from Maharashtra who had gone to Seattle for higher education, joined the Ghadr revolutionaries and returned to India to organise the revolution. Pingle linked the Bengal party with the Ghadr party. Mula Singh was entrusted with the work of organisation. Mathura Singh was in charge of the bombs. Nidhan Singh was to collect funds. Kartar Singh was given liaison work with the Bengal party. Rash Bihari along with Pingle reached Amritsar and met Ghadr revolutionaries. The headquarters of the party was shifted to Lahore from Amritsar. Arms were collected and bombs prepared with the help of Bengal revolutionaries. Cantonments were visited regularly. But an informer, Kirpal Singh, foiled the whole plot. Kartar Singh returned from Ferozepur Cantonment a disappointed man. Bhai Paramanand and some others have decried this attempt to trigger the rising with a simultaneous mutiny in the cantonments as more or less childish, but Panchhi quotes Sir William Vincent as saying in the Legislative Council that the Singapore rising of 1915 and the conspiracies in Burma and India constituted a very serious threat to the Government. Twelve men of the 23rd cavalry were hanged and 6 were given transportation. Some revolutionaries ambushed a picket party on June 11, 1915 and escaped with their arms. Two of them, Bachan Singh and Ruhr Singh, escaped to Kapurthala, but were arrested with three others and they were hanged. Bachan Singh became a Crown witness. The No. 12 cavalry of Meerut was ready to join the rising on February 21. But Jamadar Nader Khan who went with Pingle to Banaras sabotaged the effort. Ten bombs “powerful enough to blow up half a regiment” were taken from a Bengali revolutionary, and when Pingle came to deliver them, Nader Khan got him arrested. Pingle was hanged.

On February 15 there was rebellion in the Singapore Army organised by Santokh Singh and others. German prisoners in Singapore were released, but they refused to join the rebels. Many Europeans were shot in the streets. The British requested a French and a Japanese ship as also the Sultan of Johore to help suppress the revolt. Martial law was declared. Over 420 rebels were arrested and 41 were sentenced to death.

The judgment of the Lahore Conspiracy case was pronounced on September 13, 1917 and those sentenced to death included: Baba Sohan Singh, Baba Keshar Singh, Prithvi Singh, Kartar
Singh, B. J. Pingle, Bhagat Singh, Jagat Singh, Bhai Paramanand, Jagat Ram, Baba Jauhar Singh, Har Nam Singh, Bakshi Singh, Sohan Singh Avval, Sohan Singh Doyam, Nidhan Singh, Bhai Paramanand Lahori, Hriday Ram, Har Nam Singh, Ram Saran Kapurthala, Ralin Singh, Khushal Singh, Basakha Singh, Kahila Singh, Balwant Singh, Sawan Singh and Nanda Singh. All were not executed though ultimately 28 persons were hanged. During the searches a declaration of war was found. The most prominent item in this programme was winning over the Army and in cantonments at Meerut, Kanpur, Allahabad, Faizabad, Banaras, Lucknow, the revolutionaries had infiltrated.

This gives only a faint idea of the Ghadr Party’s farflung activities. Sir Michael Odyer in his book India as I Knew It admits that the Government was rendered very weak during this phase of the war. It had only 13,000 British soldiers at its disposal, who were being marched up and down the country to boost up the prestige of the Government. The Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, was also of the opinion that the revolutionaries constituted a great danger to the Government.

A teacher, Damodar Swarup Seth, was the leader at Allahabad while Rash Bihari, Sanyal and Pingle were to go to Lahore. Two persons from Bengal were appointed to manufacture bombs and Vinayak Rao Kaple was to be sent to the Punjab with the bombs. Vibhuti and Priya Nath were to work in the Army in Banaras and one Nalini was to be in charge of the Army at Jabalpur. Soon after, Mani Lal (who became a confessor later on) and Kaple started carrying 18 bombs. Rash Bihari had informed the colleagues that the revolution would start on February 21, 1918. But when they suspected that one of their own men had betrayed them, they changed the date. The groups in Banaras were not aware of the change of date. On the eve of the 21st they were waiting for some signal. By this time there were large-scale arrests. Rash Bihari and Pingle came back to Banaras. On March 10, 1915, Pingle was arrested. According to the statement of Vibhuti, the Crown witness, these bombs had been brought to Banaras from Calcutta and had been there ever since. They were found in a tin trunk.

During these days a Sikh army was stationed at Dacca. Sikh soldiers sent letters of introduction to establish contact with the Sikhs of Dacca. Anukul Chakravarty, the revolutionary leader of
Dacca, contacted the Sikh soldiers of the city with these letters. Two Sikh soldiers became interested in the conspiracy, but the matter ended there. The revolutionaries used to learn shooting in the Surul forests of Mymensingh and Rajashahi.

Kaple who was involved in the Banaras conspiracy was killed in February 1918. Subsequently Sushil Lahiri was arrested in this connection and sentenced to death. Pandit Jagat Narayan, who was later on the chief prosecution lawyer in the Kakori conspiracy, was also appointed the lawyer in Lahiri's trial.

The murder of Kaple was most intriguing. Kaple, a very sincere revolutionary, had been made the chief organiser in U.P., but later on when he got a lot of money and fire-arms at his disposal, he became a different man. Lahiri was sent to take charge of the arms and money. At first Kaple avoided Lahiri, but later on they agreed to a rendezvous at Lucknow to talk matters over and he even promised to return the arms to the party. They all met in darkness in a secluded spot. Lahiri was accompanied by Nripendra, a tried revolutionary. Kaple also had a companion, and as soon as Sushil and Nripendra came within range, Kaple's companion fired at them but missed. Nripendra whipped out his revolver and before Lahiri could stop him fired at the direction killing Kaple.

MAINPUR CONSPIRACY

The Mainpuri conspiracy was unique as it was the only conspiracy in Northern India which was not at any stage directly influenced by Bengal. Pandit Gendalal Dixit was the leader of this. An Arya Samajist and a teacher by vocation, Dixit formed the Shivaji Samiti and resolved to free the country by Shivaji's methods. Gendalal started organising the dacoits who infested these parts. He did not think deeply on the subject. Even Sanyal originally believed that all criminals in jails should be released at the time of a mass revolution hoping that they would help the revolution. Subsequently when he spent long periods in jail with ordinary criminals he changed his views. Gendalal came across a dacoit leader, Brahmachari, and with his help, organised the dacoits operating between the Chambal and the Jumna rivers. Brahmachari and Gendalal decided to plunder the house of a moneylender, but a spy informed on the group. The spy mixed poison in the
food being prepared for the party and Brahmachari ate it. He at once understood that there was foul play and promptly shot the spy who tried to escape under the pretext of getting water. The police, alerted by the shots, closed in on them and a gun battle followed. Thirty-five men of the Brahmachari group were killed. Brahmachari, Gendalal and a few others were arrested and locked up in the Gwalior Fort.

Gendalal had also organised a group of young men, called "Matri Vedi". They also had to commit a few dacoities to fill the coffers of the party, but they were different from the Gwalior group. They tried to free Gendalal but were arrested.

The trial of all these youths became known as the Mainpuri conspiracy case. A young man, Somadev, became the King's witness. Gendalal became a consumptive. While being taken from Gwalior to the Mainpuri prison, he was made to walk the whole distance from the railway station to the prison. He was so weak that he had to sit down several times. He pondered over the facts and he told the police that he would like to become a Crown witness himself. The police chief was delighted and Gendalal was transferred to the barracks. Gendalal scaled the walls of the jail that night taking with him Ramnarayan, one of the approvers. They both reached Kota where Ramnarayan locked up Gendalal inside a room and ran away. For three days Gendalal remained in that room without any food or water. He somehow managed to come out, and walked all the way to Agra. He struggled his way to Delhi, the police on his trail. He had no money with him and his colleagues were either in prison or in hiding. His relatives were only eager to hand him over. Sick and tired, he felt frustrated. He took up the job of a water man and his disease went from bad to worse. At last, he wrote a letter to a friend who rushed to his rescue with Gendalal's wife.

Gendalal now started getting epileptic fits. His wife nursed him day and night, but now it was probably too late. When Gendalal was nearing death, his wife started crying. Gendalal looked up and said: "You are crying? Well, do cry. My heart also cries. I took a big plunge, but what have I achieved? I am dying, but I do not see any silver lining in the horizon. As I die I see that whatever I tried to build up has gone to pieces. Alas, I was not able to avenge the atrocities that have been heaped on my Motherland. My body will perish, but like a Hindu I do not aspire to
have Moksha. I wish that till the time our country is free, I may be born and reborn to die for the attainment of freedom."

He soon fell into coma. The friend persuaded Gendalal’s wife to leave her husband in this state and get him admitted in a hospital. Thus he died alone in a hospital in December 1920. He was not identified after his death and his body was probably classed as unclaimed.

Pandit Ramprasad Bismil who was later sentenced to death in connection with the Kakori conspiracy, also had a warrant against him in the Mainpuri conspiracy case. When the first world war ended in British victory, it was followed by an amnesty to political prisoners. All the Mainpuri convicts including absconders were pardoned. Only then did Ramprasad Bismil appear in public.

Shiv Krishna and Mukundi Lal, who was later sentenced to transportation for life for being associated with the Kakori conspiracy, were also involved in the Mainpuri case. The latter was sentenced to six years’ imprisonment.

In Bihar and Orissa the revolutionary movement had a late start probably because of the non-existence of an educated middle class. The very first revolutionary act in Bihar was the assassination of the Kennedys by Khudiram. It had nothing to do with the Biharis or even the Bengalis settled in Bihar. Khudiram had been sent from Bengal. He was arrested under tragic circumstances. When he heard that two English women were killed he was stunned and let out a shriek. When the police heard him and saw a young man with dishevelled hair, they at once knew that he was the culprit.

It is very interesting to know that the people, who chased and got Khudiram arrested later on, gave him the honour of a martyr after his execution. They had by then realised their mistake. After independence a memorial was erected at the place where he was cremated and Nehru, who was asked to act as chief guest, declined to participate. Many other Congress leaders took part in it.

Raj Narain Basu, a maternal grandfather of Aurobindo had settled down in Deoghar and had even tried to form an underground group. Barindra Ghosh had most of his education at Deoghar and belonged to a group called the Golden League, which preached the boycott of foreign goods and advocated the uses of Swadeshi. The printer of the Jugantar, the revolutionary
organ of Aurobindo's party belonged to Deoghar. During the searches in connection with the Alipur conspiracy it was discovered that a house called "Sheeler Badi" was used for making bombs.

After the Muzaffarpur incident, nothing much happened in Bihar, though it continued to be the centre of absconding revolutionaries of Bengal.

Sachindranath Sanyal had started a sub-committee of the Banaras Samiti in Bankipur, Patna. Bankim Chandra Mitra was a member of this group. He joined the Bihar National College and used to lecture to people on Vivekananda. People joining the group had to swear in the name of God and the Brahmins that they will keep their mouths sealed and will not reveal the activities of the group. Bankim Chandra enrolled a Bihari youth, Raghubir Singh, who distributed many copies of the Liberty. Later, he got an appointment as a clerk in the No. 113 Infantry at Allahabad and was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment for distributing the paper.

The Bengal Anushilan entrusted Revati Nag with the responsibility of carrying on revolutionary work in Bihar. Tej Narayan, a student of the Bhagalpur College, later on told the police how Revati Nag operated. "Revati used to tell us about the miserable plight of our country. He said that we Bihari students should be doing something to liberate the country. He wanted us to emulate the Bengali students in this field. He told us that Bihar lacked in strong public opinion as well as political leaders. He asked us to sacrifice everything, even our lives, on the altar of our motherland. He told us that Bengalis had taken to hold-ups not for personal gain, but to bring about a revolution. He asked me to read about hold-ups, searches and political cases and ponder over my duty in this matter. In short, he provoked us to emulate the Bengali anarchists. He said that it was not possible for the Bengalis to come and work in Bihar. Biharis should take up the responsibility of revolutionary work in Bihar. Revati used to tell me all these things in private and he forbade me to talk about these things to others."

A pupil of Barari English High School told the police: "Revati impressed upon me that the British had ruined us by obstructing the growth of nationalism in India and checking the progress of education and other nation building activities. He said that the British were monopolising all the higher posts. A
few thousand people were taking away all the wealth of the motherland. The British, he said, were trying to perpetuate our slavery. He said that Bihari students should be as active as Bengali students. He told me that a time would come when we 33 crores of Indians by proper unity would be able to free our motherland. Revati also talked of Ramraj and Janakraj.”

Revati Nag, according to the police report, was killed by his colleagues for breaking the discipline of the group. Nothing about this aspect is available.

Orissa has always been active and Balasore will be remembered in the history of the revolutionary movement. What Jatindra Mukherjee, Manoranjan Chitta Priya, and Narendra Bhattacharya attained by spilling their blood will be enshrined for ever in the hearts of the people.

Jatindra who became the most important revolutionary after Barindra Ghosh, hailed from Nadia district. He passed his F.A. and was a good sportsman. He was fond of hunting and was called “Bagha Jatin” because once he had an encounter with a tiger. Jatindra had to become a stenographer in a Government office. Once while travelling in a train, he picked up a fight with some British soldiers and gave them a sound beating. A case was filed but sensing that it would be a scandal that one Indian had singlehandedly floored several British soldiers, it was quietly withdrawn. But he got the sack.

Jatindra joined a revolutionary group and took part in many hold-ups of which Garden Reach hold-up became famous. The revolutionaries pounced on the cashier of the South India Jute Mills who was travelling with Rs. 18,000. The cashier was escorted by two peons. The revolutionaries hired a taxi with a Punjabi driver and reached Howrah station where the Garden Reach Circular Road and the Garden Reach Road met, blocked its passage and on instructions from Jatindra, Narendra Bhattacharya (who later became M. N. Roy), Atul Ghosh, Chitta Priya, Patitapawan Ghosh and others jumped in. They took hold of the cash bags and got into the taxi, but the Punjabi driver refused to drive. They pushed the driver out of the taxi and Patitapawan drove the vehicle to Banipur. They abandoned the taxi and reached Joyanagar by a victoria and from there they took a northern route by boat and reached Taki and finally reached 20, Fakir Chand Street, their camp. The police started following the clues
and at last caught hold of the driver of the victoria who had taken the revolutionaries to Fakir Chand Street. Patitapawan and Radha Raman were caught and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment, but the others managed to remain at large.

Ten days later the same group robbed a wealthy merchant of Balighat. They too used a taxi and when the taxidriver refused to drive, they shot him.

Jatindra's hide-out at Pathuriaghat was one of the nerve centres of the party, frequented by absconding and other revolutionaries. One stranger who strayed into this den was immediately shot. The entire police force was now in pursuit of Jatindra. They closed in on his hide-out in a jungle. There were only five revolutionaries: Jatindra Mukherjee, Chitta Priya, Niren, Manoranjan and Jyotish, against the might of British imperialism with its countless stooges and the misguided villagers. And they came face to face. Shots were fired and Chitta Priya was the first victim. Jatindra too was badly wounded and when he saw Chitta Priya fall, realised that all would meet the same fate. He instructed them to stop the fight. A profusely bleeding Jatindra collapsed on the ground and asked for water. Manoranjan, who was in a similar state, forgot his own wounds and went to fetch some water from the nearby river; but he could hardly walk. The police looked on and one of them broke into tears over this sight of bravery and patriotism. One policeman stopped Manoranjan and went to get water himself. He too was an Indian. Jatindra was removed to a Cuttack hospital, where he died. Manoranjan and Niren were sentenced to death. Jyotish lost his senses and was sent to a lunatic asylum where he died two years later.

It was Jatin Mukherjee who had sent M. N. Roy outside India to negotiate with the anti-British powers for arms. M. N. Roy later on became a world figure. He met Lenin and Stalin, played a part in China and fathered the Communist Party of India. He was the declared leader of the Kanpur and Meerut conspiracy cases but could not be arrested. Later on he was arrested in India and sentenced to a long term of imprisonment.

The Central Provinces woke up when Nagpur was fixed as the venue of the Congress Session in 1909. The conflict between the Moderates and the Radicals had developed to such an extent that at last the venue was shifted to Surat, because the Radicals
were in a stronger position in Nagpur. They never left any
opportunity of criticising the Government. They launched a paper
called the *Hind Kesari* from May 1, 1907 on the model of *Kesari*.
The *Desh Sevak* was another such paper. The student movement
developed here to such an extent that the Chief Commissioner
complained in an official letter that the manner in which the
police had been giving battle to the impudent Nagpur students
was very mild, and if things continued this way, all responsible
people would flee from Nagpur.

Aurobindo came to Nagpur on December 22, on his way to
Surat and he gave a lecture supporting Swadeshi and boycott.
He spoke on the same theme when he passed through Nagpur on
his way back.

Commenting on the trial of the editor of the *Jugantar* and
about the bombs that were discovered at Maniktola, the *Hind
Kesari* wrote: “Can it be said that one is committing a crime if
one goes against thieves and robbers? Since the British are not
the legitimate rulers of India, they easily fall in the category of
robbers.”

In 1915, at the time when Rash Bihari was planning a revolt
in the north, a young man called Nalini Mohan Mukherjee was
sent for organising the armed forces at Jabalpur. He did not
succeed and was subsequently sentenced in connection with the
Banaras conspiracy case.
CHAPTER II

Gathering Storm

OVERSEAS EFFORTS

According to Dr. H. Kruger of G. D. R. who had been doing research on Indian revolutionaries abroad on the basis of German foreign office records, the situation was like this: “In 1907 Madame Cama and S. R. Rana participated as official delegates in the conference in Stuttgart. Cama was a member of the French Socialist Party. In 1910 French newspapers reported that ‘la citoyenne Cama’ who was called a ‘Hindu socialist’ had participated in a congress of the Socialist Federation of the Department Seine”.

\(^1\) When Cama and S. R. Rana returned from Stuttgart they reported to the other Indian revolutionaries in Paris about Lenin, the Russian socialists and about their attitude towards the problems of war and of the right of self-determination of nations. In this way a group of Indian nationalists, among them Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, became acquainted with Lenin’s opinions on important political problems already at that time. But none of them, as Chattopadhyaya later pointed out, understood then the tremendous importance of the split in the international socialist movement and the historic role of Lenin. Chattopadhyaya became a member of the French Socialist Party in 1910. (Unpublished speech by Chatto, delivered on 18-3-1934 in Leningrad -- typed copy).

Again in Copenhagen where the next International Congress of Socialists was held in 1910 the Indian question, especially the case of Savarkar, figured in the discussion.

The contacts between the Indian revolutionaries in Europe and the socialist movement before world war I were confined mainly to the Independent Labour Party (Keir Hardie) and other social democrats like Hyndman in Great Britain. In France is to be

\(^1\) National Archives of India, Home Dept. Poli. Sept. 1910, 51-59 B.
mentioned especially the circle around the newspaper *L'Humanite* with Longuet (son-in-law of Marx) and Jaures. In U.S.A. there were contacts with the American Socialist Party and with the labour organisation, *Industrial Workers of the World* (I.W.W.).

Of great importance were the various contacts and relations with political emigrants from Russia, Japan, China, Italy, etc. The example of Hem Chandra Kanungo from Bengal who met a Russian socialist in Paris is well-known. Khankoje, a revolutionary, says that Chinese revolutionaries were the first who explained to him that it was necessary to take up the agrarian question in order to mobilise the peasant masses. Together with the progressive movements in the countries where the Indian revolutionaries were living, the political emigrants coming from elsewhere exercised a profound political and ideological influence on the Indian nationalists. According to the theoretical level and ideological trends prevailing in these conditions various kinds of ideas were passed over to the Indians. Among them were quite often also anarchistic conceptions which appealed to the revolutionaries by their emphasis on direct action, individual terror, opposition against every authority and neglect of an organised mass movement.

Very instructive in this connection is the case of Lala Har Dayal. He belongs to those Indian revolutionaries who became acquainted rather intimately with scientific socialism at an early stage. His article where he is referring to Karl Marx and other socialists published in the *Modern Review* in 1912 is well-known (Calcutta 1912). It is reported that Har Dayal was the Secretary of the Radical Club in San Francisco at that time where “Russians, Poles and Socialists came together frequently.” (NAI Home Dept. Pol. June 1913, 5-17).

On January 26, 1913 a meeting took place in San Francisco for commemorating the “Bloody Sunday”, an event during the Russian Revolution of 1905. This meeting was announced at a gathering a few days earlier by a member of the Russian Revolutionary Society in San Francisco. On this occasion, Har Dayal gave a lecture on the “Revolutionary Labour Movement in France, its lessons and dangers”. In this speech Har Dayal referred to the I.W.W. which was according to him the “closest resemblance to the Anarchist Society of which he was proud to be a member”. It should be mentioned here that the I.W.W. had its basis among
foreign workers in the U.S.A. who were generally not admitted to the American trade unions. Because of the extremely difficult situation of this group of labourers which was hard-pressed from all sides the idea of direct action was one of the main ideological principles of this organization. The same report says that one of these labour organizations comprised workers from Russia, France, Spain and Italy, "the majority of whom are reputed to be political refugees from these countries." We know also that the well-known Japanese socialist Sen Katayama lived in San Francisco at that time.

Bernhardi had expressed a hope in his book called "Germany and the next War" that if the Hindus of Bengal, who had a pronounced nationalist and revolutionary outlook were to come to terms with the Muslims, the very foundation of Britain's control and power would be shaken. In an article in a famous German newspaper *Berliner Tageblatt* (March 6, 1914) it was pointed out that conditions in India were grave and many underground groups were thriving and receiving foreign aid. It was particularly mentioned that there appeared to be an organised attempt at providing India with arms and ammunition. It appears that this referred to the great Ghadr Party. It was revealed during a trial at San Francisco on November 22, 1917 that as early as 1911, Lala Har Dayal had been planning a conspiracy with the help of German agents and Indian revolutionaries in Europe. California, Oregon and Washington were involved in this conspiracy. These revolutionaries realised that Germany alone would be able to destroy Britain's power.

In September 1914 Champakraman Pillay, a young South Indian, the Chairman of the International Pro-India Committee in Zurich, wrote to the German Consul in Zurich asking for permission to publish anti-British literature in Germany. He left Zurich for Berlin in October 1914 to work for the revolution under the German Foreign Office. He formed a group called the Indian National Party attached to the German General Staff. Lala Har Dayal, Tarak Nath Das, Barkatulla, Chandra K. Chakravarty and Herambal Gupta were members of the Party. Out of these Chanuraj K. Chakravarty and Herambal Gupta were implicated in the San Francisco conspiracy.

According to the Rowlatt report the Germans at first wanted to use the Indian revolutionaries only for the creation and dissemina-
tion of anti-British literature. Subsequently they began to be trusted with various other jobs as well. Barkatulla was assigned the job of converting all Indian soldiers captured by the Germans. Thus the foundation was laid for the first I.N.A. or the Azad Hind Fauj.

What was the basis of this agreement between the Indian revolutionaries and the German foreign office? Dr. Kruger, doing research on the subject from secret German foreign office papers writes:

"Virendranath Chattopadhyaya and Abinash Bhattacharya discussed the agreement which was to be the legal basis of co-operation between the Indian revolutionaries and imperial Germany. They demanded in one paragraph that the German and Austrian Governments were not to interfere, if after the successful completion of the revolution a socialist republic be established."\(^2\)

Not all of them reached this level, but realised first of all in the socialist working class movement a powerful ally against imperialism. We may quote here Har Dayal who wrote: "Only the socialists are really interested in freedom. All other parties don't care about Asia and the Asiatics.\(^3\)

World War I created a new and favourable situation for the Indian freedom struggle. The Indian revolutionaries endeavoured as it was done also by nationalists from other oppressed countries to utilise the contradictions among the imperialist powers. The struggle between Germany and Great Britain was looked upon, therefore, from the nationalist point of view; the enemy of our enemy is our friend.

German imperialism which had come too late in order to be able to participate in the distribution of the world among the more advanced imperialist powers was looking with jealousy and admiration at British colonialism. English colonial administration in India became the model for German colonial policy. Typical of this rather anglophile attitude during world war I was the battle-cry of the German colonialists: "Central Africa must become Germany's India!"\(^4\)

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“Imperial Germany was interested in India as a supplier of raw materials and as a market for industrial products, but was hindered in her endeavours of penetration by the superior British power. Before 1914 official Germany had no sympathies for the national freedom movement. But there were certain conceptions lingering about among leading circles in Germany how to oust the British from India at least partially.”

But when the war started the German Government tried to utilize national liberation movement of the people of Asia and Africa living under British, French and Russian domination to put pressure on the Entente. The Indian freedom movement began to interest the Germans. It became possible for Indian revolutionaries, Virendranath Chattopadhyaya and Abinash Bhattacharya to get an agreement with the German Foreign Office which assured the Indian nationalists of material and financial support by the German Government. On this basis the Indian Independence Committee framed various plans to assist a national revolution in India. Without going into details here, we may state that in spite of all heroic efforts these plans failed. But apart from these operations the propaganda carried out by the Indians all over the world became of great political importance. Chattopadhyaya says: “In the course of co-operation with German imperialism, some Indian revolutionaries developed a critical attitude and increasing disillusionment regarding the approach to the Indian question by the German side. Not only that, Indian revolutionaries felt offended by the arrogant behaviour of Prussian officials, but at the bottom of all this were the basic principles of German oriental policy.

“At the same time it became evident that the Indian propaganda which was carried out from Berlin, suffered more and more and became less effective, because it was burdened with the fact of close co-operation with German imperialism. The Berlin Committee established therefore with German financial assistance, a branch office in Stockholm in neutral Sweden.”

Many years later Chattopadhyaya said in a speech in 1914: “When I arrived at Stockholm in the beginning of May (i.e. 17th of May, 1917 — H. Kruger) I found there a strong international emigration and I asked whether Lenin was still in Stockholm. I

was deeply disappointed that I could not meet him." (Unpublished speech by Chattopadhyaya).

We should like to mention here that Lenin had passed Stockholm some time before, but he had stopped there only for one day and continued his journey.

Also the British Minister in Sweden reported to his Government in U.K. about the arrival of Chattopadhyaya and Acharya saying "that probably intention was to get Lenin or other anti-English Russian extremists to work for the Indian independence movement in Russia." 8

Champakraman Pillay was trusted so much that even the Berlin office code of the German Army was revealed to him. He confided the script to his agent in Amsterdam, who was going to Bangkok via America. He was to start a press in Bangkok to print war news to be secretly passed on to Siam and Burma. Herambalal Gupta worked with the Germans in America for some time. In collaboration with Herr Boehm he was to go to Siam and train men for the attack on Burma.

After Herambalal Gupta, Chandra K. Chakravarty began to collaborate with the Germans inside America. He was given the following letter from the Foreign Department at the time of his appointment:

Berlin, February 4, 1916

The German Embassy
Washington

In future all Indian affairs are to be exclusively handled by the committee to be formed by Dr. Chakravarti. Birendra Sircar and Herambalal Gupta, who have been in the meantime expelled from Japan thus cease to be representatives of the Indian Independence Committee.

(Sd.) Zimmerman

The German General Staff had definite plans regarding the independence of India. One plan had for its object the stirring up of the Muslims and was confined to the Frontier Province. Other plans sought the co-operation of the powerful Ghadr Party in San Francisco and the revolutionaries of Bengal. Both the plans were being supervised by the German Consulate-General

in Shanghai. But the German Consulate-General in Washington was the highest authority in this matter. The French police reported in August 1915 that there seemed to be a general belief in India that there would be a revolution in India in a few days' time and Germany would support it with all her might.

The report goes on to state that in November 1914 Pingle and Satyendra Sen came to Calcutta from America. Towards the end of 1914 the police got the information that the partners of a Swadeshi cloth shop called Shramajivi Samavay, Ram Chandra Mazumdar, Amarendra Chatterjee, Jatindra Mukherjee, Atul Ghosh and Naren Bhattacharya (M. N. Roy) were preparing to collect arms on a large scale. These revolutionaries in Bengal decided that a countrywide revolution should be organised with the help of Indian revolutionaries in Germany, Siam and other places. It was planned to resort to forced contributions for collecting funds. The revolutionaries could collect about Rs. 40,000 from two hold-ups at Garden Reach and Belia Ghat. Bholanath Chatterjee went to Bangkok to establish relations with the revolutionaries there. Jitendra Nath Lahiri returned to Bombay from Europe. They suggested to the revolutionaries in India that they should send an agent to Batavia in order to contact the Germans there. An urgent meeting was called and M. N. Roy was sent to Batavia. He changed his name to Martin. In the course of the same month Abani Mukherjee was sent to Japan.

When M. N. Roy or Martin reached Batavia, he was introduced by the German Consul to Theodore Helferich. He was told that a ship containing arms had already left for Karachi to help the Indians in their revolution. Martin suggested that the ship should be diverted to Bengal. The suggestion was accepted after referring the matter to the Shanghai Consul General. Martin returned to Bengal after this, for the ship had to be brought in a place called Rai Mangal in the Sunderbans. It is said that the ship S.S. Maverick contained 30,000 rifles with 400 cartridges for each rifle, and Rs. 2 lakhs in cash. In the meantime Martin sent a wire to a bogus company in Calcutta called the Harry & Sons that business was hopeful. In June, Harry and Sons wired Martin to send the money. Actually there were some transactions between Helferich and Harry and Sons. The sum of approximately Rs. 33,000 had already come into the hands of the revolutionaries.

Martin returned to India by mid-June and along with Jatin
GATHERING STORM

Mukherjee, Jadu Gopal Mukherjee, Bhanath Chatterjee and Atul Ghosh made arrangements to take down the arms from "S.S. Maverick". They also started drawing up plans whereby those arms could be put to the maximum use.

THE "MAVERICK"

In the meantime Jadu Gopal Mukherjee was arranging for the unloading of the "S.S. Maverick". He had arranged with a Zamindar at Rai Mangal that he would provide men and boats to take delivery of the arms. The "S.S. Maverick" was to reach the appointed spot at night. It had to be recognised by a particular manner of hanging lanterns. The arms were to be distributed by July 1. There is no doubt that following Atul Ghosh's instructions the men and the boats had reached Rai Mangal. But the ship did not arrive till the end of June. Nor was there any message from Batavia explaining the delay. While people were waiting at Rai Mangal, a Bengali coming from Bangkok brought the information that the German Consul in Siam was sending by sea 5,000 rifles and a suitable number of cartridges and Rs. 1 lakh in cash to reach Rai Mangal. The revolutionaries thought that this would make up for the gap created by the failure from Batavia. They persuaded the messenger to go to Bangkok with a message to the German Consul General that the original plans should not be abandoned, but other boats should be sent to Sandeep, Balasore and Gokarni.

But by July the British Government got the information about the plan of unloading the arms at Rai Mangal. On August 7, the police raided the premises of the Harry and sons and arrested some people. An August 13, the revolutionaries alerted the German Consul at Bangkok. On August 15, Martin and another colleague left for Bangkok to acquaint the Consul General with the situation. On September 4, the Universal Emporium, a branch of the Harry and Sons and the headquarters of the revolutionaries, was raided. A map of Sunderbans and a cutting from a Penang newspaper containing some information about the cruise of the "S.S. Maverick" were discovered. This resulted in the historical gun battle in which the leader Jatin Mukherjee and Chitta Priya were killed.

There was no news from Martin till the end of the year. At last,
two revolutionaries went to Goa to send him a wire. It was then known that two Bengalis were arrested. One of them was Bhola-nath Chatterjee who committed suicide in Poona jail on January 27, 1916.

The “S.S. Maverick” and the “S.S. Henry S.” had left America for Eastern countries. The former ship was used for carrying the oil of the Standard Oil Company at one time. She had been bought over by a German company and left San Francisco on April 22, 1915, without any cargo carrying a crew of 15 men. Five persons aboard were supposed to be Persian nationals, but were actually Indians. One of them, Hari Singh Punjabi, was carrying with him the “Ghadr” publications in trunks. The ship first went to Lower California from where she was granted permission to go to Java. The ship continued the journey via Sacorro Island, 600 miles west of Mexico, where she was to be joined by a schooner called “Annie Larsen”. One Tauscher, a German was on board the schooner carrying the stock of arms. The captain of the “S.S. Maverick” had been ordered to keep the rifles in an empty oil tank and cover them with oil on the top, keep the bullets and other things in another tank, and sink the ship if the situation so demanded. By an accident, the two ships could not contact and after a few days the “S.S. Maverick” left for Java via Honolulu. The Dutch Government in Java found the ship empty. The “S.S. Annie Larsen”, after a long journey up and down reached Hoquian in Washington where the entire cargo was confiscated by the American Government. The German Ambassador in Washington said that the cargo belonged to the German Government; but the American Government disallowed the claim.

Helferich warned the crew of the “S.S. Maverick” and sent them back to America so that they should be safe. Then they were sent back to America by the same ship. This time instead of Hari Singh Punjabi, Martin went by that ship. When the ship reached America Martin was arrested.

The “Henry S.” was another ship employed in the conspiracy to free India. She was to go to Shanghai; but customs authorities discovered the cargo and they had the ship unloaded before her departure. But now, the ship left for Pontianek instead of Shanghai. By some accident her motor went out of order on the way and she had to wait in a port off the Celebes islands. There were two German-Americans on board the ship. One of them Wehde
and the other was Boehm. They had planned to direct the ship to Bangkok, where some arms were to be unloaded and were to be hidden underground. And Boehm was to give military training to the Indians on the frontier, so that they should be ready to invade Burma. Boehm was arrested at Singapore while coming from Batavia. Following the instructions of Herambalal Gupta, who was in Chicago, he boarded the "S.S. Henry S." at Manila. Apart from this he had been instructed by the German Consul in Manila that our of 5,000 revolvers he should take down 500 at Bangkok and the remaining should be sent on to Chittagong.

The Rowlatt Committee came to the conclusion that when the Maverick plan failed the German Consul General at Shanghai arranged for two other ships to be sent to Rai Mangal and Balasore respectively. One ship was to carry 20,000 rifles, 80 lakh cartridges, 2,000 pistols, hand grenades, and Rs. 2 lakhs and the other one was to carry 10,000 rifles, 10 lakhs cartridges, hand grenades, etc. Martin suggested to the German Consul in Batavia that it would be safer to anchor the ship at Hatia instead of Rai Mangal, for obvious reasons.

It was decided that the ship should come to Hatia straight from Shanghai about the end of December. The ship for Balasore was a German steamer lying in a Dutch port, and was to pick up the cargo of arms on the high seas. Another ship was to go to the Andamans, all loaded with arms to attack Port Blair, free all the revolutionaries and Singapore mutineers confined in its notorious jail, and carry them all to Rangoon and attack the city. To assist the conspirator in Bengal, says the report, a Chinaman was sent to Helferich with 66,000 guilders, but this man was arrested at Singapore along with the money. About the same time, the Bengali youth who had gone to Batavia with Martin had been sent to Shanghai for some negotiations with the German Consul after which he was to come to India by the ship coming to Hatia. With great difficulty he reached Shanghai, where he was arrested. After this the Germans abandoned their plan to send arms to Bengal.

Wehde, Boehm and Herambalal Gupta were tried and sentenced in Chicago and some others were tried and sentenced in San Francisco.

In October 1915, the Shanghai Municipal police arrested two Chinese in the possession of 129 automatic pistols and 20,830
rounds of ammunition. They had obtained these arms from a German named Nielsen and they were to be delivered to one Amarendra Chatterjee in Calcutta.

On his return from Japan, Abani, one of the chief conspirators, was arrested at Singapore. The Rowlatt Committee believed that this or some other similar plan had been hatched under the advice of Rash Bihari Bose who had been then putting up in the house of Nielsen. The pistols which Rash Bihari had wanted to send to India were obtained by a Chinese in the Mai-tah dispensary on Chao-Tung road. This was one of the addresses of Nielsen.

Another revolutionary staying there was Abinash Ray. He was engaged in the Indo-German conspiracy in Shanghai. His object was to send arms to India by secret means. A message was sent to Moti Lal Roy in Chandranagore that all was set for the plan to be executed and arrangements should be made for Abani Mukherjee’s safe arrival in India. Apart from Moti Lal Roy’s address many other addresses were found in Abani Mukherjee’s omnibus notebook. One of these was the address of Amar Singh Engineer, Pakoh, Siam, who was to take charge of the arms carried in the “Henry S.” Amar Singh Engineer was subsequently sentenced to death at Mandalay. The Rowlatt Committee after reporting all this concluded that the Indian revolutionaries appeared to have high hopes in the Germans.

Dr. Pandurang Khankhoje, a well-known revolutionary, sent an account of the revolutionary activities in America to Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutt⁷ according to which it seems that in 1907, Khagendra Chandra Das, Taraknath Das, Dr. Pandurang Khankhoje, Adhar Chandra Laskar and other Indian students studying in California formed the Indian Independence Association, to propagate revolutionary ideas among the Sikhs living in California. Dr. Khankhoje and Adhar Chandra had joined the Military Academy at Kamal Pairu as waiters. With the combined efforts of the Indian Independence Association and the Sikh residents a bundle of the copies of the Revolutionary Declaration was sent to Lala Pindi Das. This resulted in his being sentenced to seven years’ rigorous imprisonment. By 1908, centres of the Indian Independence Association were set up in Salramento and Portland in Oregon. This was followed by propaganda in Canada. The “Koma gata maru” reached British Columbia round about 1912

⁷ Aprakashito Rajnitik Itihas (Bengali) by Dr. B. N. Dutt, p. 135-178.
to test her entry into Canada. But they were refused permission to land and the ship had to leave and after a lot of adventures the ship reached Budge Budge near Calcutta.

According to Dr. Khankhoje Portland was the headquarters of the Ghadr Party in 1910 and cyclostyled copies of revolutionary pamphlets were sent to all centres. The real leader there was Kashi Ram. This was the time when Sohan Singh Granthi joined the Indian Independence Association. Lala Har Dayal and Bhai Paramanand came to California in 1913. Bhai Paramanand did not join the Association, but Lala Har Dayal did, and he suggested that the name of the Association should be changed to Ghadr Party to give it a greater striking power. This Party had two divisions: Propaganda Division, called Prachar Vibhag and the Aggression Division, called the Prahar Vibhag. Lala Har Dayal was made the secretary of the Aggression Division and Dr. Khankhoje was made the secretary of the Propaganda Division. The party very badly needed a Muslim worker. Hence Professor Barkatulla was requested to come. About the same time Pandit Ramchandra also came to San Francisco and joined the Ghadr Party. Pingle came with a letter of introduction to Dr. Khankhoje. By this time Satyendra Nath Sen also joined the Ghadr Party. Tarak Nath Das was studying in the Barnote Military University and later on he joined a University in West America. But the British Government succeeded in getting him ejected from the University.

While Dr. Khankhoje was preparing for his Doctorate in the Minnesota University, he received an urgent communication from the Ghadr Headquarters to make a dash to California. He was ordered to return to India. Bishan Das Kochha, a Punjabi in engineering accompanied him. The rumour spread then by the British that the German Commander Bernhardi had divulged to Ghadr Party members about the imminent war between Germany and England was altogether unfounded. While in New York, the two met one Agase alias Mohamad Ali, a member of the Maharashtra Secret Society, who had been sent to Persia for military training.

Dr. Khankhoje and Bishan Das reached the Greek Port of Pireus by a Greek ship and from there Bishan Das was sent to India with a projector and other requisites. But he was arrested and detained as soon as he reached India. Dr. Khankhoje and
Mohammed Ali reached Turkey, where they met Syed (who, according to Dr. Bhetinda Nath Dutt, was a Punjabi whom Anwar Pasha had brought from Tripoli and put in charge of "Jahan-i-Islam") and Pramath Nath Dutt alias Dawood Ali. They met Anwar Pasha and Talat Pasha. Dr. Khankhoje told these Turkish dignitaries that in his capacity as the leader of the Ghadr Party he proposed to transfer the headquarters of the Party to Mahamara and Besra and from there the Party forces were to invade India when the time came.

The Pashas were agreeable to the plan of the revolutionaries. The Ghadr Party was informed by a message that everything was all right. This message was sent to California through the Government sources of Turkey and Germany. Then Pramath Nath Dutt and Agase went to Alexandria from Constantinople. By that time Turkey, had joined the fray and declared war. Following this declaration the British forces had shelled the city. The Indian revolutionaries went to Aleppo and then to Baghdad. By this time the Germans had formed an expeditionary force which aimed at doing revolutionary propaganda and assisting the revolutionaries in their work. Dr. Khankhoje and his colleagues formed a group to go towards Persia with a lot of revolutionary literature, but the all-powerful British intelligence was on their heels. They fled to Shiraz. There they met Sufi Amba Prasad. They went to Hareez and Kirman and formed the final groups, consisting both of Indian and Persian fighters. According to Dr. Bhetinda Nath Dutt, Kersasp went to Germany to study engineering and there he had become a member of the Indian Independence Committee. He had been sent to Persia by the Berlin Committee for carrying on revolutionary activities. He had helped the Germans in attacking the residence of the British Consul in Shiraz. Later on Kersasp and Basant Singh reached Kabul in search of Raja Mahendra Pratap. Basant Singh was also a member of the Ghadr Party and had been sent to Persia by the Indian Independence Committee of Berlin. As soon as they crossed the Afghan border and stepped on the Persian soil, they were arrested by the British and were shot along with other Indians.

Dr. Khankhoje sent Pramath to find out how things were on Baluchistan borders. Pramath did not find it safe. He escaped with a bullet. Dr. Khankhoje went to Bam to organise the Baluchis, befriended a Baluchi chief, Sardar Jiham Khan, and
with the help of his men, attacked the border area. A provisional Government was set up there and Sardar Jihan Khan was appointed the revolutionary representative.

Dr. Khankhoje returned to Bam where he got the news that Pramath Nath, Agase and some Germans after being defeated in a skirmish had gone to Bast. Khankhoje went with his men to that place. But they were all surrounded by the British soldiers. Khankhoje was arrested in a wounded condition. He learnt later that Pramath Nath and Agase had gone to Shiraz. Khankhoje escaped to Nepariz disguised as fakir. Sufi Ambadas was killed in a clash with the British. Dr. Khankhoje joined the Persian army and fought against the British till 1919 when the Persian army surrendered. Khankhoje again escaped and came to Bombay in disguise and contacted Tilak, but since none of them was in a position to give him shelter, he had no alternative but to return to Europe. He went to Germany via France; where he met Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutt again. He went to Moscow with Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutt and others and stayed there for three months. An attempt was made by these revolutionaries to rescue Pramath Nath from Persia through the Russian Foreign Department. But Pramath Nath reached Moscow on the day when Dr. Khankhoje and his companions were due to leave the city. Pramath settled down in Moscow, became a professor in the Archaeological Department of the Leningrad University. Dr. Khankhoje, Chattopadhyaya and Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutt came back to Berlin and started the Indian News and Information Bureau to help Indian students abroad. In 1924, Dr. Khankhoje went to Mexico and was appointed professor in an Agricultural College there. On hearing about his father's illness Dr. Khankhoje wrote a letter to the British Government to be allowed to proceed to India. But the request was turned down. It was only in 1949, after India became independent that the Madhya Pradesh Government arranged for his return.

The slogan "Jai Hind" of the Azad Hind Fauj occurred in a song which the Ghadr Party soldiers in Iran and other places sang before starting on their march.

The above is Dr. Khankhoje's account of the work done by Indian revolutionaries abroad. But this does not shed enough light on the work done in Europe. Some Indian revolutionaries in America met the German Consul there and proposed that an
Indian volunteer army should be organised and it should be sent to Germany. Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutt and Dr. Khan Chand Verma sponsored this proposal before the German Government. Ramchandra, the Ghadr Party leader at California, was instructed to enrol the Sikhs. Doctors and ambulance men had to be enrolled from among the students. But Ramchandra thought that no useful purpose would be served by sending volunteers to Europe, for there the Whites would fight the Whites and Indian volunteers would only be used as non-combatants. He was in favour of sending the Indians to India to organise the revolution there. A few days later Virendranath Chattopadhyaya published a small book called "Japan, the Enemy of Asia" which attracted the attention of the German Government. Bhupendra Nath Dutt says that the report of the Rowlatt Commission imagines German responsibility in the "Koma gata Maru" episode. But this is not true. The German Government had nothing to do with the Indian revolutionaries before the formation of the Indian Independence Committee in Berlin. The "Koma gata Maru" had been taken to Canada with the sole purpose of testing the Immigration Act of Canada.

When the revolutionaries got help from the Germans they thought that they were taking a loan repayable by the Government of an independent India. The Germans agreed to give arms and their ambassadors were to help Indian revolutionaries. The Turkish Government was expected to declare a Holy War on the British to stir up Indian Muslims.

This was the atmosphere in which the Indian Independence Committee was set up in Berlin in 1914 and the flag of the Indian Revolution unfurled.

Dr. Abinash Bhattacharya, an important member of the Committee, described the conditions of those days in the Bengali paper Jugantar of March 30, 1952:

"No sooner was the War declared, following the example of the emigre Japanese, we published a statement speaking ill of Japan and sympathising with Germany. The German Press noticed it favourably, nevertheless the German Government was not impressed. So I took the initiative and wired to my friend, Ernest Delbrote, that he should arrange our meeting with his uncle Clemence Farnbrook, the Minister for Self-Government in Prussia. In reply we were asked to contact Baron von Baeratheim
in the office. He talked for a while with Virendranath Chattopadhyaya after which he sent him on to Baron Oppenheim. He gave Chatto 500 Marks saying that he should be back to Berlin along with me. After this we were taken to Frau Wesler by one Hermann, a German who had returned from India and was sent on to us by that Baron. We presented to her a typed copy of our entire plan, which she accepted with a few reservations. And then we plunged into action. Along with Kersasp (who became a martyr in Afghanistan later on), Dhirendra Sarkar, Gopal Paranjpe (later on a professor in the Fergusson College), Marathe, Dr. Sukhtankar, Dr. Joshi, Prof. Shirish Chandra Sen, Sadashiv Rao, Satish Chandra Roy, Siddiki (later on Principal of the Osmania College), Karandikar, Mansoor Ahmed, Dr. Gyanendra Chandra Das Gupta (who later on joined the I.N.A.). Rehman, Subhan and C. Padmanabhan Pillay joined the party. Dr. Das Gupta and Dr. Champakaraman Pillay had independently written letters to the Foreign Office of Germany. Das Gupta was in Basle and Pillay was in Zurich, where he was the leader of the Pro-Indian Society which he had himself founded and he edited a bulletin with the same name. On hearing of the formation of the Committee, he contacted us. The German Committee of Indian Friends or Deutscher Verein der Freunde Indien was the name we chose for the Committee on the advice of Baron Oppenheim, and Albert Bala by Chief Executive of the Hamburg America Company was made its President. He was a personal friend of the Kaiser. Baron Oppenheim and Dr. Sukhtankar were co-Presidents and Dhirendra Sarkar was the first Secretary of the Committee. When Dr. Sukhtankar returned to India, Virendranath Chattopadhyaya was made one of the co-Presidents, and when Dhirendra Sarkar was sent to America with Marathe, Dr. Muller who was the Liaison Officer between us and the German Government, was made the Secretary.

"Within two days of our launching our activities we taxied to a bomb factory near Berlin and in no time we ourselves started making grenades, time bombs, landmines and other things. We were taken to the Berlin armoury and there we became acquainted with the latest types of arms. Virendranath Chattopadhyaya and Kersasp who were familiar with the languages of the East worked among those Muslim soldiers who had been captured by the Germans."
"The revolutionaries worked day and night. Dhirendra Sarkar and Marathe reached America secretly. They sent Jitendra Nath Lahiri, Lala Har Dayal, Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutt and Tarak Nath Das to Berlin and Kedarashwar Guha (who later on became professor in the Agricultural Department of the Santiniketan) and Birendranath Mukherjee (probably Bhupendra Mukherjee) to India. That was how the Ghadr Party established contact with Berlin.

"Mansoor was probably the first President of the Indian Independence Committee at Berlin. In the initial stages the President used to wield most of the executive authority, but later on the committee began to function on democratic lines. The committee entrusted Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutta and Mansoor with the responsibility of framing a constitution for the party. But they could not come to an agreement. The question was whether all those who called themselves Indians should be made members of the Committee. Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutt was in favour of it, but not Mansoor. According to Mansoor only the Hindu and the Muslims could be regarded as Indians. The Committee accepted Mansoor's point of view and it was decided not to accept Christians as members when the election was held on the basis of the new constitution. Virendranath Chattopadhyaya became the Secretary, and remained in that post for the period 1915-16. He was succeeded by Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutt who goes to the extent of saying that without the Indian Independence Committee at Berlin, no serious attempt to have a revolution in 1915-16 would have been made."

In May 1915, the Berlin Committee sent a German, Vincent Kraft, to Batavia for planning an invasion of the Andamans with a view to freeing the political prisoners and bringing them to a neutral country. But before he could actually do anything, he was arrested at Singapore. The Rowlatt Committee does not mention this, and one wonders if the British were aware of the plan at all. Upendra Nath Banerjee, one of the Alipur conspirators wrote in his autobiography that while he was a prisoner in the Andamans, he once came to know that the Government officials were afraid of a possible invasion of the islands. An American correspondent also wrote: "Somebody in America gave the information that when it was learnt that the German Government had promised to help the Indian revolutionaries, the captain of
the “Emden” was instructed by a wireless message to invade the Andamans. But no confirmation of this news was forthcoming. Later on a lieutenant of the “Emden” told a revolutionary in Sumatra that he received no such instruction. The main function of the Berlin Committee was to supply arms to Indian revolutionaries. In order to clear the way for the transit of arms from America, some young men were sent to places like China and Siam.”

Meanwhile revolutionary pockets had sprung up all over East Asian countries. The revolutionaries in Japan were able to secure aid from persons like Count Okuma, who had given the assurance that if a revolution started in India, Japan would do nothing to crush it. Indian revolutionaries also were in constant touch with the Chinese leader, Dr. Sun Yat-sen. All these events had led to the formation of an international volunteer corps which included many young men from respectable Japanese families. It was then that Bhagwan Singh was sent to the Philippines to carry on revolutionary activities. But he was exiled and the burden of future work fell on Dost Mohamad. Bhagwan Singh went to China and worked with Rash Bihari and then he went to Bangkok with Atma Ram Kapoor.

According to Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutt, it was planned that the Germans residing in Java should, in collaboration with the Indians, attack Burma and the Germans residing in China would split themselves in two groups one of which would join the group from Siam and the other would attack North Burma.

Apart from the Kraft plan it was also planned that one ship carrying 500 German officers and 1,000 soldiers would free the political prisoners in the Andamans and bring them all to Calcutta. It was also proposed that along with the invasion of Burma a call for revolution would be given in Bengal and the Punjab, and there would also be an invasion of India from the side of Afghanistan and Baluchistan. Unfortunately these plans did not materialise.

In the meantime, Jodha Singh, Chinchaiya, and Sukumar Chatterjee had gone to Bangkok from America and established contact with the German Consul there. The German Consul sent a report to Berlin saying that a Sikh labourer residing in Bangkok had been sent to India to bring the necessary information. This man had returned after seeing some revolutionaries at Chittagong.
The German Consul further reported that he was not happy at the arrival of those three men from America. The British soon got some information about these men and the Siamese police arrested them and handed them over to the British. The report also said that those three revolutionaries blurted out all the secrets after arrest. This was true of Jodha Singh and Sukumar Chatterjee; but Chinchaiya did not speak.

When the South Asian conspiracy collapsed some revolutionaries managed to escape to China. One of them, Phani Chakravarty alias Pine, was arrested in Shanghai and mercilessly tortured for many days. He blurted out everything. And the other revolutionaries fled to Japan. Rash Bihari and Herambalal Gupta were already there.

Under British pressure the Japanese were inclined to hand them over. But some of their Japanese friends came to their rescue, and hid them for many days in a small room outside Tokyo. Herambalal got fed up with all this, came out, donned Japanese dress, and escaped to America.

Dr. Dawood Dekar, leader of the Nationalist Party of Java, who was exiled by the Dutch, was sent by the Berlin Committee to help the Indian revolutionaries in Java. He had met many leaders of the Ghadr Party on his way to India and when he reached China, was arrested. He wrote to his sister in Holland saying that the British were giving him fair treatment and nothing should be done to incur their displeasure. Despite this the Berlin Committee continued to send a monthly allowance to her till the end of 1918. At the San Francisco trial Dawood Dekar appeared as a prosecution witness, revealed all the plans of the revolutionaries, and said on top of this that the Indian revolutionaries were very stupid and gullible.

There was also a Persian Independence Committee at Berlin, which worked under the leadership of Syed Takhjad, and in close collaboration with the Indian Independence Committee. Some revolutionaries reached Turkey in February or March 1915, another group reached Baghdad via Persia and a third group reached Damascus via Suez. Those who went to Siam left for Suez with an Indian. Abdul Rehman; but they could not proceed further.

Nineteen Muslim soldiers of the British Army, who managed to reach the Turkish camp, were given a warm reception and
were absorbed in the Sultan's bodyguards.

Early in 1915, Barkatulla, Kersasp and other revolutionaries met Anwar Pasha in Istanbul. When the Pasha was told that in spite of their Muslim names, all of them except one were Hindus, he was very pleased and said: "I keep religion and politics in two separate pockets." He appointed Ali Bay of the Eastern Countries Office, a branch of the Military Office of the Turkish Government, to take charge of these revolutionaries. Propaganda work among the Indian soldiers on the Turkish front was entrusted to Indians and Chait Singh, Basant Singh and others used to meet the soldiers and distribute revolutionary literature. As a result many soldiers deserted their posts, but in the no man's land they often ran into bandits, who mistook them for infidels and killed them.

Kutel Amara fell to Turkish hands in 1916, and propaganda work was started immediately among Indian prisoners. But somehow the Turkish Government did not take much interest. There were many Indian Muslims in Istanbul, a few Hajis, Turkish spies, even British spies, and a few Islamic stooges. There were some educated Muslims who were so communal that they resented the coming of Hindus to Istanbul. One such person was Abdul Jabbar of Delhi. He denounced the Hindi revolutionaries to Dr. Wese Denk of the German Foreign Office and said that Muslims would rule over India once again.

Abdul Jabbar joined the Berlin Committee but in private he used to say that he would work with the Hindus in order to destroy the power of the British, and once this task was accomplished, he would exterminate the Hindus. He was dismissed from the Berlin Committee and met Anwar Pasha and started abusing the Hindus, but he did not get much response from any quarters.

Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutt and Birendranath Das Gupta went to Istanbul to look into the charges of discrimination among Hindu and Muslim prisoners. They met 80 Muslim prisoners in Eskey who complained that despite their being Muslims they were not being given good treatment. They clamoured for an audience with the Caliph.

At Koniya they met Sikh and Hindu officers and learnt that the leader of the Muslim soldiers who had mutinied when Kutel Amara was besieged, was sentenced to death. Others were sent away to Basra. During that siege racial discrimination was prac-
tised even in the matter of distribution of foodstuffs. The three revolutionaries returned with the conviction that although some Indian Muslims had funny ideas, the Turkish authorities did not interfere in the matter of religion.

Before the fall of Kutel Amara, Major Diaz in South America was happy to know that 11,000 British soldiers had been besieged. He had read Indian history and it was his view that the War of 1857 was unsuccessful for want of proper leadership. He had come to Berlin to give the lead. But when the Turkish Government started using the Indian soldiers merely to win their war, his hopes were shattered. He came to know of the plight of the Indian soldiers who were made to toil in the desert. The Berlin Committee impressed upon the German Government to put pressure on the Turkish Government but without success. The German Committee withdrew itself from Turkey by the end of 1917.

Stockholm Committee

The Socialist Parties of Holland and Sweden held an International Socialist Convention in 1917. Two representatives of the Berlin Committee who attended the Convention were astounded to find that the allied powers were having the upper hand in it. They published a pamphlet and formed a Committee in Stockholm.

H. Kruger confirms this: "In Stockholm Chattopadhyaya and Acharya had numerous discussions on the Indian question with the leaders belonging to the right-wing of the Second Socialist International. But very soon the Indian revolutionaries became convinced that there was no effective assistance to be expected from that side." One of the letters written by Chattopadhyaya from Stockholm to the Berlin Committee says: "We all have the feeling that the question of subject nationalities is being deliberately ignored or put off by the socialists."*

In October 1917 a Russian, Troi Conaski, came there and established contacts with the Indian revolutionaries and on his return, formed an Indo-Russian Committee and also published a booklet. Later, he worked in collaboration with Leon Trotsky. When Trotsky was busy with the talks at Brest-Litovsk, the Indian Revolutionary Committee at Stockholm cabled him saying that he should put up a proposal for India's right to self-

determination. And Trotsky did put up proposals for the right of self-determination to be given to India, Ireland and Egypt.

H. Kruger throws more light on the subject: “Already in September 1917, the Indian branch office had contact with members of the Russian Bolshevik Party. (Unpublished speech by V. Chattopadhyaya). From this time onward the increasing political-ideological influence of the Bolshevikists can be traced in the declarations and reports issued by the Stockholm office.”

“The reason why the Indian revolutionaries became more and more oriented towards the Russian socialists and after the socialist October Revolution towards Soviet Russia lies in the fact that contrary to the imperialist policies and also contrary to the attitude of the right wing of the Second International, the Bolshevik Party under the guidance of Lenin consistently stood for the right of self-determination of all nations. This principle was firmly resting on the idea of proletarian internationalism and became a stable basis for the alliance between the national liberation movement, the Marxist working class movement and the socialist Soviet Union.

“During the peace negotiations between Germany and Soviet Russia in Brest-Litovsk the Stockholm office sent a telegram to the Soviet delegation with the request to take up the Indian question. This was done by the Soviet delegation which demanded that the allied powers should apply the right of self-determination as Russia had done and that India, Egypt and Ireland should be given freedom.”9

The German attitude towards the Indians changed with the realisation that quite a few of them had begun to look to the Soviet Union as a possible alternative to German imperialism.

In the beginning of 1918 Chattopadhyaya received an invitation by the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs to visit Petrograd. At first the German Foreign Office was in favour of his going, but in February 1918 it decided against this proposal. The sudden change in the attitude of the German Government made Chattopadhyaya write to his comrades in Berlin... “We are constrained to say that this is one of those cases in which we are regarded as pawns in the German game to be used only in the moment of need. It is true that Troi Anowski (i.e. a Russian

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Bolshevist with whom Chattopadhyaya had close contact—Kruger) is an opponent of German imperialism as well as of every other imperialism. But that is really no reason why he cannot work for the Indian cause and in this way against England. Are we ourselves not against every form of imperialism? . . .
As it is, the German Government is fighting shy of the question of nationalities in general, as well as of India, in spite of the African Colonies being flung in their face . . . it is really a question whether the German Government looks upon us . . . as sincere patriots or merely as tools, and pawns and temporary paid agents. . . .

"The German Government took notice of the new orientation of the Indian revolutionaries. In a secret document of the Foreign Office of 19th February, 1918, it said: 'According to his general conviction Chattopadhyaya stands near the maximalists. He will co-operate with Germany only as long as he considers this favourable for India.'

"There is another interesting line running from Kabul to Soviet Russia. In this connection the name of Obeidullah Sindhi, Professor Barkatullah and Mahendra Pratap are to be mentioned. Pratap was convinced that the October Revolution would help to awaken India. But when in the spring of 1919 the German Indologist H. V. Glasenapp who worked as an agent for the German Foreign Office reported that Pratap was going to publish a booklet where he exhorted the Germans to join the Spartacists and to co-operate with the Russian Bolshevists the then social democratic German Government called Pratap's opinion an interference in the 'internal affairs of Germany' denounced Pratap as an 'eulogist of Trotsky' and stopped the publication."

"The German officials were greatly disturbed by the new ideological outlook of the Indian revolutionaries. Already in the spring of 1918 the Indian nationalists were called 'anarchistic or very radical socialist' in a confidential document and that Indian patriots might arrive at the conclusion 'that India could expect more by the realisation of the Bolshevist revolutionary ideals in

11 NIA: AA WK II.
the whole world including England than from Germany'.

After the war a telegram was sent from Stockholm to Philip Snowden, the British Socialist, to champion India's demand for freedom. Similar telegrams were sent to many other persons including the American President, Mr. Woodrow Wilson. Surendra Nath Kar also sent such a cable to Mr. Wilson with the result he was always shadowed by the secret police.

Trotsky wanted to invite the Indian revolutionaries to Petrograd after 1917 but none could respond. In 1918 Troi Anowski required some men for the Oriental Department of the Russian Government, but again no Indian could reach for no passports were issued by the German authorities. The same situation prevailed in Sweden. Britain sent one Yusuf Ali to Stockholm to run down the Indian revolutionaries but Yusuf Ali was forced to flee Sweden. Nevertheless the revolutionaries were disillusioned and Lala Har Dayal went to the extent of airing his anti-German views in American papers. According to Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutt what Har Dayal wrote in his book, "Four Years in Germany", is not correct and the German Government continued to respect him till the very end. This is confirmed by Kruger.

Though familiar with Marxism Har Dayal did not understand the principles of proletarian internationalism but had remained a petty-bourgeois nationalist who worked to utilise the socialist movement. This is obvious from his proposal to publish a socialist journal and "thus join the rearguard of the Socialist parties... Give me one other friend and two socialists from India. This is quite sufficient to get a hearing as 'comrades'. Besides I can write in the regular socialistic style with quotations from Marx, etc. etc."

Meanwhile, Raja Mahendra Pratap had been at the helm of the revolutionary work in Afghanistan. When he went to Berlin, he was warmly received even by high officials and was even introduced to the Kaiser. An Indo-German mission was established consisting of Raja Mahendra Pratap, Barkatulla, some Pathan soldiers of the British army and a German doctor, Herr Hetting.

Some Indian rulers had also indicated to Raja Mahendra Pratap that should there be an invasion on India from the side of Afghanistan they would be all willing to co-operate with him.

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14 Loc. cit., Vol. 42.
The Kaiser handed over a letter for Amir Habibulla Khan of Afghanistan to Raja Mahendra Pratap and at the same time he also gave a letter addressed to the ruling princes of India and one to the Maharaja of Nepal to declare his independence from the British.

The Indo-German Mission led by Raja Mahendra Pratap reached Istambul in April 1915. Anwar Pasha handed over to the Raja a personal letter to the Amir.

With great difficulty the Mission proceeded encountering spies and turncoats all along the way. A Persian newspaper even published a news about the Mission and a dacoit gang waylaid them and took away most of the letters and money. But the most important letters were still with the Raja. The Mission ultimately reached Kabul. It came for a lot of discussion in the British Parliament and it was even pointed out that Mahendra Pratap was an ordinary talukdar in Oudh but the Berlin anarchists had passed him off as a ruling prince to the Kaiser.

The British pressurised Kabul but the Amir did not agree to throw it out and it was here that Raja Mahendra Pratap formed his Provisional Government. According to Dr. Hetting, Habibulla Khan did not oppose the British for the simple reason that he had with him only 8,000 soldiers and all of them were in their sixties. Captain Nidar Moyar also says that under no circumstances would Habibulla Khan have entered into war against the British. Raja Mahendra Pratap, however, said he did not receive the arms from the Germans which he had asked for. Habibulla felt that the pan-Islamic cry was in reality a move to carve a world empire for the Turks. His relations with the Germans and the Turks became gradually strained and in the end he took a neutral stand. In 1919 he had to pay the price for this with his life. Raja Mahendra Pratap returned to Berlin via Russia in 1918.

The defeat of Germany found the Indian revolutionaries in Berlin in a precarious position. Even then the Berlin Committee insisted that the point of India’s freedom should be stressed in the Treaty. Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutt states: “Had the War ended in the defeat of the so-called allies the Treaty of Versailles would have been written with a different ink and instead of the Indian yesmen there, supposed to represent India, the members of the Berlin Committee would have been called upon to put up the case of India’s independence at the time of the Treaty.”