

APPENDIX I

THE ATTONNATI SAMITI AND THE MUKTI SANGHA: THEIR ROLE IN THE MURDER OF NANDA LAL BANERJEE

Founded about 1897 at the Khelat Chandra Institution in Wellington Square, Calcutta, the Attonnati Samiti was at first chiefly concerned with mental and moral culture of the Bengali youths; but shortly afterwards physical culture came to occupy the most prominent place in its scheme of work. In the nineteenth century, the natives of India were very often subjected to unmerited oppression and humiliation, particularly at railway stations, at the hands of the *Feringhis*. As the nation was not yet dead, a natural reaction soon set in in order to counter this disgraceful state of affairs. Both Bankim Chandra and Vivekananda had adumbrated the cult of *Shakti Yoga* as the first step to the revival of our manhood. With a view to organizing self-defence against the *Feringhi* oppression and other forms of 'protected hooliganism' of the alien bureaucracy, the Attonnati Samiti was brought into being. Among the early workers of the Samiti may be counted such names as Satis Mukherjee (different from Satis Mukherjee of the Dawn Society), Nibaran Bhattacharya, Harish Sikdar, Tinkari De, Indra Nandy, Bhubaneswar Sen, Rajmohon Das, Probhas De, many of whom afterwards won distinction as scholars and educationists. Satis Mukherjee later became the Principal of the Chittagong College, Nibaran Bhattacharya Professor of Physiology in the Presidency College, Tinkari De Professor of Chemistry in the Bangabasi College, Probhas De Professor of English in the Coochbihar Victoria College and also in Ripon College. After some time the Samiti was enlarged by the joining of Bipin Behari Ganguli, Anukul Chandra Mukherjee, Girindra Nath Banerjee, Ashu Chakravarty, Asesh Mukherjee, Ranen Ganguli, Bhujanga Dhar, Krishna Pada Mukherjee, Ahindra Nath Chatterjee, Hira Lal Chatterjee and others. Physical training was imparted to its members every day. Monssieu Lord, a French, was the boxing teacher in the

club. As the Samiti was steadily growing in size and activities, it had to be shifted to the Khelat Chandra Branch Institution at Bowbazar. By 1906-07 when Sri Satis De, brother of Tinkari De, enrolled himself as a member, the Samiti had already been functioning at Bowbazar where the senior members (Ashu Chakravarty, Probhas De, Rajmohon Das, Bipin Ganguli, Asesh Mukherjee, Bhujanga Bhusan Dhar and Indra Nath Nandy) gave instruction in lathi-play, sword-play, boxing, wrestling, swimming etc. to the junior members of the Samiti. Besides physical exercises which were held daily, Sunday was specially meant for study and discussion in which all the members had to participate. Mazzini, Garibaldi, Pratap Singh, Plutarch's *Lives* of great men and similar themes pertaining to freedom's fight of different nations were taken up for discussion, while Seeley's famous book, *Expansion of England*, was taken up for critical assessment. Side by side with this physical and intellectual culture, the Samiti also tried to foster among its members the spirit of self-discipline and devotion to duty, and other moral virtues. The Gita ideal of *Nishkama Karma* or selfless work was constantly dinned into the ears of its members. The works of Vivekananda were also eagerly read in the *milieu* of the Samiti.

With the commencement of the Swadeshi Movement in 1905 which rapidly developed into a national struggle for Independence, the Attonnati Samiti came forward to play its destined role in the movement. In 1907, when Mahomedan *julum* in Jamalpore (Mymensingh district) was rampant, the Samiti sent out its armed emissaries for the protection of the hearth and home of the Hindus. The police took exception to this measure. Bipin Behari Ganguli and Indra Nath Nandy were bound down under Sec. 109 Cr. P. C.¹

At about the same time the Samiti formed an inner circle which secretly began to cultivate contact with the Manicktola band of revolutionaries. This inner group had little faith in India's salvation by peaceful and constitutional means; on the contrary, they believed in the efficacy of triumph through terror. The outer body of the Samiti worked openly among the public, while the inner body in the subterranean channel without the

1. See the I. B. Records of the Govt. of West Bengal F. N. 239 of 1915. Also see the statement by Indra Nath Nandy as appended to Dr. B. N. Datta's *Bharater Dwitiya Swadhinatar Itihas*.

knowledge of the outer body. During the years 1905-10, the Samiti, in the background of the mounting bureaucratic repression, struck its roots deep into the country and spread out its branches in different directions, one at the Malanga Lane run by Anukul Mukherjee, Girin Banerjee, Kalidas Bose etc., one at Taltola Lane led by Biman Ghose, one at Bhowanipur led by Srish Roy and Bankim Roy, another at Alambazar, Baranagore, conducted by Khagen Chatterjee and Parbati Mukherjee, and still another at Konnagar, Howrah, by Nibaran Mitra. Bipin Ganguli, it needs be emphasized, was the central figure in all the branches,² of which the Malanga branch in particular concentrated itself on the collection of arms and violent activities.

In 1907, the anniversary of the Attonnati Samiti was held in the big compound of the Khelat Chandra Branch Institution at Bowbazar under the chairmanship of Barrister Jogesh Chandra Choudhury. *Bande Mataram* was sung as the national anthem, and physical exercises such as jiu-jitsu, lathi-play, boxing, big lathi drill etc. were displayed by the Samiti members. Another important function was the *Birastami utsab* celebrated in the Astami Puja day at the Samiti premises under the presidentship of Sarala Devi Choudhurani. Demonstrations of boxing, wrestling, lathi-play, sword play etc. were held by the Samiti boys. About this time the Attonnati Samiti celebrated also the *Sivaji utsab* in the premises of Raja Subodh Chandra Mallick at 12, Wellington Square and demonstrated many feats of physical exercises. A Zemindar of Midnapore presided over the function.

Probably in 1909, the Attonnati Samiti was again shifted from the Khelat Chandra Branch Institution to 166, Bowbazar Street (now the Basumati Sahitya Mandir), the very premises where the National College was located at that time. In the premises of this building the students of the National College celebrated the Durga Puja. While offering their *anjalis* to the goddess a few of the Attonnati Samiti boys cut their breast with

2. Information about the genesis and early history of the Attonnati Samiti has been derived by the writer from Sri Satis De and Sri Ranen Ganguli. Also see an article on the history of the Attonnati revolutionary society by Satis De as published in the monthly *Basumati, Sravan*, 1371 B. S. as well as Satis De's book entitled *Nishsanga*. Incidentally it may be noted here that Srish Roy and Bankim Roy were the nephews of Sir Asutosh Mukherjee.

knives, besmeared the *bilwapatras* with their blood and dedicated them with vows of self-sacrifice in the cause of the country to the feet of the goddess. Sri Satis De was one of those who took part in this self-dedicating ceremony.

By this time a critical period had set in in the life of the Samiti. As an aftermath of the Muzaffarpur bomb outrage not merely the Manicktola Garden House was thoroughly ransacked and its important leaders, including Indra Nandy of the Attonnati Samiti, imprisoned, but other important samitis of the two Bengals were also proclaimed illegal and their leaders were either sent to prison or deported by the repressive Acts of the Government. As the repressive measures were mounting day by day, the Attonnati Samiti cut down its activities until it disbanded itself outwardly by the beginning of 1910. What was then left of the Samiti was its secret scheme of action from behind the gaze of the public or the agents of the alien bureaucracy.

II

The Mukti Sangha popularly known as the Bengal Volunteers (a name which it acquired after 1920) was originally brought into being at Dacca as a gymnasium by a group of young men led by Sri Hem Chandra Ghose as early as 1902. Its roots may be traced to a foot-ball association called the Volunteer Club, organized by Hem Ghose in 1896-97, to which also belonged Ullaskar Datta, son of Prof. Dwijadas Datta of the Dacca College. Deeply impressed by his contact with Swami Vivekananda who had been to Dacca for a fortnight in 1901 for having a dip in the Brahmaputra at Langalbandh on the day of the *Chaitra Sankranti* and also to see the house of Sadhu Nag Mahasay at Deobhog in Narayan-ganj, Hem Ghose shortly afterwards collected a band of young men and inspired them with the ideal of the Swamiji. The sayings of Swami Vivekananda that no big work can be accomplished by cheating or forgery and that a country under foreign yoke has no religion left deep impression on his youthful mind. Thus under the inspiration of Swami Vivekananda, Hem Ghose organized a society, Mukti Sangha by name, which was wedded to the cult of driving out the British from India by any means whatsoever. Among its early members may be

mentioned Haridas Datta, Rajendra Guha, Srish Pal *alias* Naren, Surendra Bardhan (later a medical practitioner and political organizer in Rangpur), Nillohit Das Gupta, Master Alimuddin Mian, Sailen Ghosh *alias* Rabi Ghose, Suresh Roy *alias* Haridas Roy, Bibhuti Bose, Prafulla Guha and others. The name Mukti Sangha was given to the society at its opening ceremony by Upadhyay Brahmabandhab who visited Dacca in 1902. On that occasion Upadhyay delivered a short speech in Bengali emphasizing before the audience that their first duty was to deliver the country from foreign yoke, and that that was their only religion. The members of the Sangha devoted themselves to study and discussion as well as to physical exercises. Hem Ghose, Haridas Datta, Master Alimuddin, Rajen Guha had their training in physical exercises at the hands of Paresh Nath Ghose and Shyama Kanta Banerjee, the two renowned athletes of Bengal of the time.³

The objects of the Mukti Sangha, at first somewhat vague and ill-defined, gradually became clear and precise after Hem Ghose's contact with the Dacca Anusilan Samiti (November, 1905) through Pulin Das and Naren Sen, the former being his elder brother's class-mate and the latter his own. Through the instrumentality of Ullaskar Datta Hem Ghose cultivated contact with Barin Ghose also as early as 1903.

The two major acts of the Mukti Sangha during 1902-08 were the suppression of hooliganism at the railway stations in the Dacca district and a showdown with the Mahomedans on the Nawabpur Road on the day of Lord Curzon's arrival at Dacca (December, 1904) to advocate the cause of Bengal Partition among the people. In the former act the party comprising Hem Ghose, Haridas Datta, Nillohit Das Gupta, Prafulla Guha etc. often patrolled the railway stations armed with lathis and swords and had frequent encounters with the hooligans, as a result of which Hem Ghose had to live in the Thana lock-up as many as seventeen or eighteen times during this period. Even a police surveillance was instituted over him in 1908 under the order of Mr. Salkeld, the District Magistrate of Dacca.

3. Facts about the origin and development of the Mukti Sangha have been gleaned by the writer from Sri Hem Chandra Ghose and Sri Haridas Datta.

The second incident centred round a quarrel between the Hindus and the Mahomedans on the question of fastening some festoons by the Hindus bearing the following slogans: "Long Live Curzon", "Save Us From Separation", "Pray Do Not Divide Bengal" etc. Sri Hem Ghose has informed the writer that on the day previous to Lord Curzon's arrival at Dacca the volunteers of the Mukti Sangha, under the advice of Ananda Chandra Roy and under the leadership of Paresh Nath Ghose, had fastened several festoons on the Nawabpur Road leading to the Nawab's house, Asanmanzil. But at the instigation of Nawab Salimullah of Dacca, his followers covered those festoons with *salu* cloth at night. As soon as the news reached Hem Ghose and his party, they hastened to the spot with lathis and swords, and a free fight ensued between the two camps which continued till the next morning when Lord Curzon was proceeding through that very route.

III

Another overt act of this period was the murder of Nanda Lal Banerjee, in which the hands of both the Mukti Sangha and the Attonnati Samiti boys were in operation. The name of Inspector Nanda Lal Banerjee had acquired extreme notoriety to the revolutionaries after his attempted arrest of Prafulla Chaki at the Mokamah^{Ghat} station, for avoiding which Prafulla "blew out his brains" by means of his revolver. Prafulla Chaki was an associate of Khudiram Bose in the Muzaffarpur bomb outrage (April 30, 1908) and was shadowed by Nanda Lal Banerjee in the train in course of his flight. The sequel of the Muzaffarpur incident was the frantic search by the police both in Calcutta and in the mofussil, leading to the arrest of a large number of persons including Aurobindo Ghose. The Attonnati Samiti, which was then spiritually and ideologically linked up with the Manicktola centre, decided to avenge it by doing away with the life of Nanda Lal Banerjee.

In 1908, Nanda Lal Banerjee, an intelligent and handsome young officer of the Police Department, was putting up for some time in Calcutta at the residence of his relative in Serpentine Lane, not far away from the junction of St. James Square (now Santosh Mitra Park). This information being obtained

by Probhas Chandra De, a senior member of the Attonnati Samiti, from Dr. Gyan Chatterjee (Bholada), a sympathiser of the Samiti and neighbour of Nanda Lal's relative, Ranen Ganguli was deputed to secure further news about Nanda Lal's movements in Calcutta. Incidentally, it may be noted that Ranen Ganguli, an employee of the Administrator General of Bengal, resided from November 1, 1908 at the house of his maternal uncle in Huzurimal Lane. November 9, 1908, which was a Government holiday, was fixed for the execution of the plot, and Srish Pal (*alias* Naren) and Ranen Ganguli were entrusted with it. Srish Pal, a member of the Mukti Sangha, frequently visited Calcutta and maintained intimate relation with the Attonnati Samiti mainly through Harish Sikdar, in whose tiled *basti* opposite to the Dufferin Hospital Srish Pal later on resided. Under instruction from Hem Ghose to kill Nanda Lal Banerjee, Srish Pal came to Calcutta and took part in the conspiracy in collaboration with the Attonnati Samiti.

On November 9, 1908 the leaders, viz., Probhas De, Harish Sikdar, Dhiren Chakravarty (a 5th year M. Sc. student),⁴ Ahin Chatterjee etc. met at Ranen Ganguli's maternal uncle's house in Huzurimal Lane. Soon came Srish Pal *alias* Naren, a nominee of Harish Sikdar, about whom Ranen Ganguli knew nothing beforehand, and the leaders provided Srish Pal and Ranen Ganguli with two revolvers, and also with two big knives besmearcd with potassium cyanide secured from the Chemistry Laboratory of the Presidency College by Dharendra Nath Chakravarty. The knives were meant for additional safeguards; if the revolvers miscarried as in the Overtoun Hall incident two days earlier, the knives could be used both for offence and defence. At the appointed hour Ranen and Naren set out and waited before the old *Siva* temple cracking and taking groundnuts, and shortly after finding Nand Lal Banerjee coming out of his house they moved forward. It was Naren (Srish Pal) who actually killed Nanda Lal just at the south-west corner of St. James Park at about 7 P.M. To be sure of the accomplished murder Ranen Ganguli also struck the head of the man with his own revolver.

4. Dharendra Nath Chakravarty, a grandson of Ram Chandra Tarkalankar, was a favourite student of Sir P. C. Ray at the Presidency College and later became Principal of the Ripon College.

Immediately after the incident Ranen Ganguli came home to change his dress, and within minutes he went to a tailor's shop to place an order for a shirt to ensure his alibi and then he went to Sir P. C. Ray to whom he narrated the entire story. Be it observed here that Sir P. C. Ray was a great sympathiser of the cause of the revolutionaries and frequently rendered financial help to them. According to Sri Hem Chandra Ghose, Srish Pal, after the murder of Nanda Lal Banerjee, went to Harish Sikdar to whom he surrendered his arms.

On this daring performance the *Statesman* commented as follows: "The circumstances under which this crime was committed disclose a remarkable daring combined with diabolical cunning, and point to the fact that the clever young officer has been long marked down and closely watched.

"Apparently, the whole affair had been well thought out and every detail carefully planned. That the assassins were able successfully to carry out their nefarious design in a congested part of the town at a time when there would be a number of persons moving about, points to the perpetrators of the crime being able to rely, at least, upon a safe refuge not far from the scene of their crime; for although the sudden and dastardly attack on the unfortunate officer was made at a cross-road, and at 7 o' clock in the evening, the miscreants appear to have been able to get away comfortably".⁵

5. *The Statesman*, November 10, 1908.

APPENDIX II

29 August, 1914

Dear M.

Before your letter came i.e. yesterday, the news was published that the Government had drawn back from its proposal, and today the Amrita Bazar with its comment arrived. I presume, therefore, no immediate answer from me is needed. But in case anything of the kind is raised again, I shall give you my opinion in the matter.

We gain nothing by preaching an unconditional loyalty to the Government, such as is the fashion now-a-days, or doing anything which even in appearance strengthens the discussion towards an abject and unmanly love in politics. Gandhi's loyalism is not a pattern for India which is not South Africa, and even Gandhi's loyalism is corrected by passive resistance. An abject love of servility in politics is not "diplomacy" and is not good politics. It does not deceive or disarm the opponent; it does encourage nervelessness, fear and a cringing cunning in the subject people. What Gandhi has been attempting in South Africa is to secure for Indians the position of kindly treated serfs—as a stepping-stone to something better. Loyalty and Ambulance Corps means the same thing in India. But the conditions of India are not those of South Africa; our position is different and our aim is different, not to secure a few privileges, but to create a nation of men fit for independence and able to secure and keep it. We have been beaten in the first attempt, like every other nation similarly circumstanced. That is no reason why the whole people should go back to a condition of abject fear, grovelling loyalty and whining complaint. The public Nationalist policy has always been:—

1. Eventual independence
 2. No co-operation without control
 3. A masculine courage in speech and action
- Let us add a fourth.
4. Readiness to accept real concessions and pay their just price, but no more.

Beyond that, I do not see the necessity of any change. We recognise that immediate independence is not practicable and we are ready to defend the British rule against any foreign nation, for that means defending our own future independence.

Therefore, if the Government accepts volunteers or favours the institution of Boy-Scouts, we give our aid, but not to be mere stretcher-bearers. This is the side of principle; now let us look at that of policy.

(1) I don't appreciate Sarat Maharaj's position. If self-sacrifice is the object, every human being has the whole of life as a field for self-sacrifice and does not depend on any Government for that. We can show our sacrificing activities every moment, if we want. It is not a question of sacrifice at all, it is a question of military training. If the young men wish to organise for charitable work, the Government is not going to stop it, even though they may watch and suspect. I put that aside altogether.

(2) The leaders suggested co-operation in return for some substantial self-government. They are now offering co-operation without any return at all. Very self-sacrificing, but not political. If indeed, Government were willing to train thousands of young men in military service as volunteers, territorials or boy-scouts, whether for keeping the peace or as a reserve in case of invasion, then we need not boggle about the return. But, after so much experience, do these addle-headed politicians think the Government is going to do that except in case of absolute necessity and as a choice between two evils? When will that absolute necessity come? Only if the war goes again, and then seriously and they have to withdraw their troops from India. I shall discuss that point later on.

(3) Meanwhile what have the Government been doing? After testing the temper of the people and, you may be sure, watching closely what young men came forward as volunteers and who did not, they have removed an offer which had already been whittled down to a mere harmless Ambulance Corps in which the young men have plenty of chances of getting killed, but none of learning real warfare. Mere common sense warns us not to trust such an administration and to think ten times before accepting its offers. We know Lord Hardinge's policy; (1) sweet words, (2) quiet systematic coercion, (3) concession where

obstinacy would mean too great a row and too much creation of deep-seated hostility.

Having prefaced so much, let us look at the utility of the things offered us or offered by us.

1. Ambulance Corps

The only possible utilities would be two: (1) to train two thousand young men to be steady under fire (2) to train them to act together under discipline in an easy but dangerous service. Now it is quite possible for us to create courage in our young men without these means, and I hope our best men, or let me say, our men generally do not need to become stretcher-bearers in a European War in order to have the necessary nerve, courage, steadiness and discipline. If therefore an Ambulance Corps is again suggested and accepted, either refuse or let only those young men go who are enthusiastic, but still lightheaded, self-indulgent or undisciplined. Possibly, the experience may steady and discipline them. It may be necessary to let this be done, if the circumstances are such that to refuse entirely would reflect on our national courage or be interpreted as a backing out from a national engagement.

Boy-Scouts=Volunteer Corps=Territorials. All these are entirely good, provided the policies are kept at a distance, and provided officers as well as men are trained and the Government control is limited to the giving of military discipline in the first two cases. Even without the second proviso, any of these things would be worth accepting.

Only in the case of volunteers going to the scene of war, you must see that we are not crippled by all our best men or even a majority being sent; only enough to bring in an element among us who have seen actual warfare.

I think any of these things may one day become possible. Since the last year new forces have come into the world and are now strong enough to act, which are likely to alter the whole face of the world. The present war is only a beginning, not the end. We have to consider what are our chances and what we ought to do in these circumstances.

The war is open to a certain number of broad chances.

1. Those bringing about the destruction of the two Teutonic empires, German and Austrian.

This may happen either by an immediate German defeat,

and the enemies being broken and chased back from Belgium and Alsace-Lorraine to Berlin, which is not probable, or by the Russian arrival at Berlin and a successful French stand near Rheims or Compiègne; or by the entry of Italy and the remaining Balkan states into the war and the invasion of Austria-Hungary from two sides.

II. Those bringing about the weakening or isolation of the British power.

This may be done by the Germans destroying the British expeditionary force and, entering Paris and dictating terms to France while Russia is checked in its march to Berlin by a strong Austro-German force opening in the German quadrilateral between the forts of Danzig, Thorn, Posen and Königsberg. If this happens Russia may possibly enter into a compact with Germany based on a reconciliation of the three Empires and a reversion to the old idea of a simultaneous attack on England and a division of her empire between Germany and Russia.

III. Those bringing about the destruction of British power.

This may happen by the shattering of the British fleet and a German landing in England.

In either of these two last cases an invasion of India by Germany, Russia or Japan is only a question of time, and England will be unable to resist except by one of those means.

1. Universal conscription in England and the colonies.
2. The aid of Japan or some other foreign power.
3. The aid of the Indian people.

The first is useless for the defence of India, in case III, and can only be applied in case II, if England is still mistress of the seas. The second is dangerous to England herself, since the ally who helps, may also covet. The third means the concession of self-government to India.

In case I, there will only remain four considerable powers in Europe and Asia, Russia, France, England, Japan—with perhaps a Balkan Confederacy or Empire as a fifth. That means as the next stage of struggle between England and Russia in Asia. There again England is reduced to one of the three alternatives of combination of them.

Of course, the war may take different turns from the above, with slightly altered circumstances and result; the one thing

that is impossible is that it should leave the world as it was before. In any case, the question of India must rise at no very long date. If England adopts more or less grudgingly the third alternative, our opportunity arrives and we must be ready to take it—on this basis, continuance of British rule and co-operation until we are strong enough to stand by ourselves. If not, we must still decide how we are to prepare ourselves, so as not to pass from one foreign domination to a worse.

I want those of you who have the capacity to consider the situation as I have described it, to think over it, enlarging our old views which are no longer sufficient, and accustom yourselves to act always with these new and larger conceptions in your minds. I shall write nothing myself about my views, just as yet, as that might prevent you from thinking yourselves.

Only, two things you will see obviously from it, first, the necessity of seizing on any opportunity that arises of organisation or military training (not self-sacrificing charity, that has already been done); secondly, the necessity of creating an organisation and finding the means, if no opportunity presents itself. It will be necessary for some one from Bengal to come and see me before long, but that will probably not be till October or later.

I shall write to you before long further on the subject, as also on other matters.

K.*

* Aurobindo Ghose wrote many letters in those days under the nickname of 'Kali' or 'K'. The addressee 'M' here refers to Moti Lal Roy of Chandernagore.

APPENDIX III

BERLIN—CHARLOTTENBURG WIELANDSTR 38

NOVEMBER 13, 1918*

TO

HERRN LEGATIONSTRAT VON WESENDONK
 AUSWARTIGES AMT,
 BERLIN.

The following private notes I respectfully forward to you for your kind consideration. The notes come from my personal capacity only.

Yours truly,

Bhupendranath Datta

“The war has come to an unexpected and sad conclusion on the part of Germany. Peace is going to take place and arms are going to be stored up. But none of the both sides are going to forget the insults and injuries that each has received at the hand of the other.

We on our part never believe that there will be any lasting world peace or a lasting peace between Germany and Great Britain. Great Britain is jealous of Germany and wants to ruin her politically and economically. The present war has been an economic war and as long as India remains in the hands of Great Britain, the latter country would remain as the Mistress of the world. This will jeopardise Germany's national development. By and by, Germany will see that Germany with her teeming millions cannot get a breathing space unless Great Britain gets weak and hurled down from her proud position.

But how that is to be achieved? The achievement lies in detaching India from Great Britain, i.e. India must be set free. India always is seething with discontent and there is always a natural antipathy between the British and the Indians. But a disarmed India cannot revolt.

Two things are necessary to bring about a revolution in

* A microfilmed copy of the original letter is to be found in the National Archives of India, New Delhi.

India: (1) Organization (2) Supply of arms. Organization prerequisites (a) Men (b) Money.

Men are available for the purpose but money is lacking. The rich men won't help the revolutionaries unless and until they see a complete chance of success on the part of the revolutionaries.

Whatever money the Indian revolutionaries get at home they spend for the home purpose. But money is necessary for work in foreign countries.

The work inside the country must be supported from outside.

The inside work consists in spreading a network of organization all over the land. This organization should import and store arms, make propaganda amongst the masses and the Indian soldiers, and they should be in constant communication with the workers in the foreign countries.

The money what the Indians raise from home is not enough. They must be financed from outside. Besides they must have secure means of correspondence with the foreign countries.

The work from the foreign lands consists in:

- (1) To bring the Indian question before every international political organization.
- (2) To make a vigorous propaganda for India from the Press and the Platform.
- (3) To produce and distribute literature on India.
- (4) To form a pro-India party in every country.
- (5) To teach Indians the manufacture of fire-arms.
- (6) To give military training to the Indians in secrecy.
- (7) To import arms to India.

These are the main points of work in order to bring about a successful revolution for India. We have already said that Great Britain is the perpetual enemy of Germany, and it will be of Germany's interest to see India free. But without a foreign help India can never be free. The Indian revolution must be financed.

The English formed and helped the English Balkan Committee which brought about the first Balkan War.

Some German Society and various German gentlemen helped the Bulgarian Komitadjis.

The British helped the young Turks who brought about the Turkish revolution.

A Japanese Syndicate helped the Chinese revolution.

The Armenians have been helped by the former Russian Government.

Further it will be seen from world's history that no nation becomes free without the help of another nation. For this reason, we pray that the German Government would consider the proposal of secretly supporting the Indian revolution.

If we are assured of the permanent support of the German Government, then we can work in the above mentioned way. We can bring some competent men from India to take charge of the various department of the work.

These men will conduct newspapers in English, French and German as organs of the Indian Nationalist Committee.

They will represent India in various international Congresses.

Also, centres are to be formed in Europe, America, Japan, China, Turkey, S. E. Africa, Turkestan and Afghanistan.

There is constant caravan route from central Asia to India through Afghanistan and Tibet. Indian merchants are always coming out and going to India from the Mediterranean and S. E. African coasts. Literature and news are to be smuggled through these routes. A small quantity of arms can be sent by that method. In case the German Government accedes to help us, then if it is possible, our correspondences should be carried through the German Consular Service as now.

Besides these propaganda works, there remains three more important works, i.e., propaganda among the Indian ruling Princes and Notables, and the supply of arms to India and the military training to the Indian revolutionaries.

If the German Government can see its way of helping the Indian nationalist movement, then notable Germans can be sent to India on the ostentatious object of travel and they will meet the Indian princes and notables, and make friendship with them and convert them to the revolutionist cause. Of course the Indian notables should be given hint of German support if necessary.

The Government in conjunction with the Indian revolutionaries have to smuggle arms to India.

Again, a good many competent young men are secretly to be given training in the manufacture of fire-arms and military training.

I respectfully request the Government to consider the pro-

posal of continually supporting the Indian revolutionary movement and if the proposal be agreeable to the Government then ways and means be found to make arrangements for the support.

Rhupendranath Datta

APPENDIX IV

Kerman (Persia)
August 3rd, 1915

My Dear Mr. Freeman,

I was sorry I could not write you earlier to keep you informed of my whereabouts, as I had to stop all correspondence for some time. Hoping to be excused. I believe my last letter from Constantinople, just on the eve of my depart, had reached you all right. Our fond ideas cherished by Har Dayal and myself on the banks of the Bosphorous has not yet come out to be a reality; but if this present war lasts for a long time sooner or later will my ideas be fulfilled. Har Dayal mysteriously disappeared from Constantinople for reasons known to him, and I had to work single-handed. My travels from Constantinople to Kerman by land route was very interesting. I visited Bushire, Shiraz, Ispahan, Yezd (C. Persia) as a delegate of the German Expeditionary party. I had my days of trouble at Bushire which is a zone of British influence. I had to make a midnight flight from there. I was there only four days, but kept hidden by Persian Nationalists. The Consul and a German doctor went arrested and sent over to Bombay as prisoners.

It was only two months since I had been here. Kerman is a province of South-East Persia bordering on Beluchistan. The arrival of an Indian as a German delegate near Beluchistan, the British Consul here smells something in it. There is a rumour from B. Consulate, both at Ispahan and Kerman, that if the German expeditionary party proceeds beyond Kerman they will be warmly received by British Indian troops. The German Consul, Dr. Erich Zugmayer, arrived here three weeks ago and

I am helping him to start the Consulate. Persia has entered a new life and although the Government at Tehran, influenced by Russia and England, or rather bribed by them, remains neutral, the people are entirely with the Germans and stand for the war. There is a change of Ministry and new Cabinet has just been formed, the particulars of which has not yet reached me. This new Cabinet is entirely due to German influence.

I would be leaving here very soon. Please send *G. A. (Galic American)* and other literature.....Give my hearty salaams to Mr. Devoy and other friends of *Galic American* and remember me kindly to our Indian friends.

Will you please let me know the present situation in Ireland and the attitude of the Washington Government in the present crisis? I am just writing to Madame Cama and Har Dayal after a lapse of 8 months. If you have occasion to write to them, be good enough to inform that I am in Persia, for my letters may not reach them. The Postal Service is very irregular row-a-days.

I am getting on well, hoping you to be the same. Excuse me again for the delay. With kindest personal regards.

Hoflichst grussend,

DAWOOD ALI KHAN.*

*The above letter was written by Pramatha Nath Datta, a Bengali revolutionary, under the *alias* of Dawood Ali Khan, to George Freeman, the Irish revolutionary then living in America.

APPENDIX V

LETTER OF VIREN CHATTOPADHYAY TO PRESIDENT WILSON,
OCTOBER 5, 1918

Mr. President,

In the name of the oppressed Indian people we thank you for the principles that you have enunciated in your speech of 27th September. We hope these principles will be the foundation of the future world peace and the safeguards of the weaker nations.

We, in behalf of the Indian people, appeal for impartial justice for India without bias or prejudice against her on political or racial grounds. We demand the same rights as are enjoyed by all other civilised nations. Under the oppressive system of British Rule India's normal development is hindered in order to serve the material interests of the British nation. Great Britain has established her Indian Empire by violating solemn treaties and pledges and trampling on the rights of many small nations. We point out, that a permanent world peace is impossible so long as India and other weak nations suffer from injustice. Therefore we pray that India should be admitted as a free nation in the proposed "League of Nations" without political or economic subordination to Great Britain and that the cause of India should be put before the League of Nations and the General Peace Congress, which should arrive at a definite agreement with regard to this important question of world-politics.

We appeal to your sense of justice and we hope that you will see that the noble principles enunciated in your speech are applied to India.

Yours truly
V. Chattopadhyay

